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Project 69: China and the Mediterranean World



BYZANTIUM EAST AND WEST
FROM ZOSIMUS TO LAONICUS

SELECT BYZANTINE TEXTS ON
LANDS AND PEOPLES



Compiled by

Samuel N.C. Lieu

President
UAI–IUA (2017-2021)
Bye-Fellow of Robinson College
Cambridge



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CAMBRIDGE



ANCIENT INDIA AND IRAN TRUST

FOREWORD



The material contained in this electronic archive is prepared under the auspices of the “China and the Ancient Mediterranean World before the Tenth Century CE” Project of the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale - UAI). An important landmark for the project was reached with the publication of:

G. COEDÈS, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East, From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, trans. John SHELDON, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* (SAA) 4, (Turnhout: 2009) ISBN: 978-2-503-53366-7 http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503533667-1

John SHELDON, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* (SAA) 6, (Turnhout: 2013) ISBN: 978-2-503-54602-5 http://www.brepols.net/Pages/ShowProduct.aspx?prod_id=IS-9782503546025-1

There is no standard collection of Greek and Latin sources on the Far East covering the medieval period save for:

Karl Dietereich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde (5-15. Jhd.)*, 2 pts. (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1912).

A work which has claimed its rightful place in the study of Byzantine historical geography but which has also remained little known to Anglophone Eurasian scholars because of its lack of easy availability and the fact that the translations are in German. An additional lack of incentive for using the work is that the original Greek texts were not given in Dietereich's volume(s).

As Dietereich's work covers all geographical information found in the main Byzantine sources, a complete English version will take decades to complete. For this reason, the directors of the UAI project have decided to translate select authors and also to include some Early Byzantine authors from the selection of Coedès with additional texts and commentary. Another important decision is to include Byzantine authors from the Crusading period (11th-15th C.) such as Anna Comnena as these are often highly informative on onomastics and toponyms. It is the hope of the directors that this collection will be used by Early Career Researchers as a 'Reader' in Byzantine texts and for this purpose, a detailed lexical index will in due course be provided.

The directors would like to thank Dr Greg Fox and Ms Camilla Ferrard for their involvement in this ongoing enterprise.

Prof. (Em.) Samuel N.C. Lieu
President UAI-IUA 2017-2021
Bye Fellow of Robinson College Cambridge 2017-2022.

ZOSIMUS



On the Empire of Palmyra

The so-called ‘New History’ (*Historia Nova*) of Zosimus *Comes et Exadvocatus Fisci* is second only in importance as a narrative source on the History of the Later Roman Empire to the ‘History’ (*Res Gestae*) of Ammianus Marcellinus. Like Ammianus, Zosimus was a pagan and the value of his work is particularly felt in the periods covered by the lost first thirteen books of Ammianus (96-353 CE). Zosimus narrative also goes down to 410 CE, thus giving a fuller account of the Invasions than does the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus which finished with the events of 378 CE.

For the period from 270-404 CE, Zosimus made extensive use of the now lost historical work of the pagan historian Eunapius of Sardis and he might even have had access to the now lost books of Ammianus except we have no idea when those books cease to be circulated. Zosimus is the only early Byzantine historian to have given a full account of the rise of the Empire Palmyra under Odaenathus and its fall under the redoubtable Zenobia.

For UAI Project 69: China and the Mediterranean World, the importance of the history of Palmyra as a trading centre is of utmost importance as the only silk textile of certain Chinese manufacture and embroidered with legible Chinese writing was found in one of the tower tombs of the city. Zosimus has left us the only detailed account of the unexpected rise of the city to a small but transitory mini-Empire in the Roman Near East. No less important is Zosimus’ account, albeit more disjointed, of the invasion of the Roman Empire by the Huns, probably the later West Iranian descendants of the Chinese Xiongnu.

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On Palmyra as a trading centre:

Seland, E.H., *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE*, *Philippika* 101 (Harrasowitz 2016).

On the Palmyrene Empire:

U. Hartmann, *Das pamyrenische Teilreich*, *Oriens et Occidens* 2 (Stuttgart, 2001).

SELECTIONS FROM

ZOSIMUS

Historia Nova

ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig, 1887)

Translated by Samuel N.C. Lieu

1. The rise and fall of Palmyra

I, 39-61 (Extracts)

39 Τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα κάκιστα διαθέντων καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὰς ἐκπολιορκησάντων, Γαλληνὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τούτους μετῆει μάχην ἤδη τὴν Θράκην καταλαβόντας, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἑῴαν πράγμασιν οὖσιν ἐν ἀπογνώσει βοηθεῖν Ὀδαινάθου ἔταξεν, ἄνδρα Παλμυρητὸν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων τῆς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀξιοθέντα τιμῆς· ὁ δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λελειμμένοις στρατοπέδοις δύναμιν ἀναμίξας ὅτι πλείστην οἰκείαν ἐπεξήει τῷ Σαπῶρη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν, καὶ τὰς τε πόλεις ἀνεκτάτο τὰς ἤδη παρὰ Περσῶν ἐχομένας, καὶ Νίσιβιν εἰλημμένην μὲν ὑπὸ Σαπῶρου τὰ Περσῶν δὲ φρονοῦσαν ἔλων ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσκαψεν. 2. Ἐπεξελθὼν δὲ μέχρι Κτησιφῶντος αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ δεύτερον, Πέρσας μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐναπέκλεισεν, ἀγαπῶντας εἰ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἑαυτοὺς περισώσαιεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἤδη πεπορθημένην χώραν, ὡς οἷός τε ἦν, εὖ διετιθεῖ· ἐπεὶ δὲ διατρίβων κατὰ τὴν Ἔμισαν καὶ τινα γενέθλιον ἄγων ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνηρέθη, τῶν ἐκεῖσε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεται Ζηνοβία, συνοικοῦσα μὲν Ὀδαινάθῳ, φρονήματι δὲ ἀνδρείῳ χρωμένη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συνόντων τὴν ἴσῃν εἰσφέρουσα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιμέλειαν.

...

44 Τῶν Σκυθῶν τοίνυν, ὡς διεξῆλθον, ἐσκεδασμένων καὶ τὸ πολὺ μέρος ἀποβαλόντων, μειζόνων ἐφιεμένη ἡ Ζηνοβία πραγμάτων Ζάβδαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκπέμπει, Τιμαγένου ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοῖς καταπραττομένου· συναχθέντος δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐκ Παλμυρητῶν καὶ Σύρων καὶ βαρβάρων ἐς ἑπτὰ μυριάδας, καὶ Αἰγυπτίων δὲ πέντε μυριάσιν ἀντιπαραταξαμένων, μάχης καρ-

39 The Scythians had brought worst misfortune over Greece and even captured Athens. Gallienus, who had already occupied Thrace, now tried to measure himself against them; to remedy the desperate situation in the Orient, the emperor appointed Odaenathus, a man from Palmyra, whom the rulers had considered particularly worthy of honour on account of his ancestors. He formed as strong a force as possible from among the legions remaining in the country and resolutely marched with it against Shapur, recaptured the cities already occupied by the Persians and destroyed Nisibis, which he had taken in the first onslaught, right down to the foundation walls; it had fallen into Shapur's hands and favoured the Persian cause. 2. Odaenathus pursued the enemy as far as Ctesiphon, not once but twice, and locked the Persians in their own fortresses, so that they must have been happy to save their children and women and themselves. In the area already plundered, he established order as well as possible. However, when he was in Emesa, he was the victim of an assassination at a birthday party. Zenobia, the wife of Odaenathus, took over the further management of state affairs in this country; however, she was a woman of masculine thinking, who, with the help of her husband's partisans, devoted the same care to tasks of government.

44 The Scythians, as I have already recounted, were thus dispersed, with the loss of a great part of their troops. Zenobia now began to conceive of more ambitious projects and sent Zabdas into Egypt, because Timagenes an Egyptian, attempted to place Egypt under the government of the Palmyrenes. He had for this purpose raised an army of Palmyrenes, Syrians and barbarians, to the number of seventy thousand, which was

τερᾶς γενομένης περιῆσαν οἱ Παλμυρηνοὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ φρουρὰν ἐγκαταστήσαντες πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἀνεχώρησαν. 2. Πρόβος δὲ καθῆραι τῶν καταποντιστῶν τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ βασιλέως ταχθεὶς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔγνω παρὰ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐχομένην, ἅμα τῇ σὺν αὐτῷ δυνάμει καὶ Αἰγυπτίων ὅσοι μὴ τὰ Παλμυρηνῶν φρονοῦντες ἔτυχον ἐπιθέμενος τὴν μὲν φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων, συναγαγόντος δὲ καὶ Πρόβου στρατόπεδον Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Λιβύων, ὑπέρτεροι μὲν ἦσαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Αἰγύπτου Παλμυρηνοὺς ἤλαυνον, Πρόβου δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῇ Βαβυλῶνι καταλαβόντος ὄρος καὶ ταύτη τὴν ἐπὶ Συρίαν τῶν πολεμίων πάροδον ἀποκλείοντος, Τιμαγένης ἄτε δὴ ἴδρις τῶν τόπων, ἅμα δισχιλίους Παλμυρηνῶν τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους κατασχών, ἀδοκίμοις ἐπιστὰς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διέφθειρεν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ Πρόβος ἀλοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάττει. 45 1. Τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοίνυν ὑπὸ Παλμυρηνοῖς γενομένης, ...

50 Διοικημένων δὲ ὦδε τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Παιονίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατείαν ἐπὶ Παλμυρηνοὺς ἄγειν διανοεῖτο, κρατοῦντας ἤδη τῶν τε Αἰγυπτιακῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῆς ἐώας ἀπάσης καὶ μέχρις Ἀγκύρας τῆς Γαλατίας, ἐθελήσαντας δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίας μέχρι Χαλκηδόνος ἀντιλαβέσθαι, εἰ μὴ βεβασιλευκέναι γνόντες Αὐρηλιανὸν τὴν Παλμυρηνῶν ἀπεσεΐσαντο προστασίαν. 2. Ἐλάσαντος τοίνυν ἅμα στρατῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀγκύρα τε προσετίθετο τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ Τύανα μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ἐξῆς ἅπασαι μέχρις Ἀντιοχείας, ἐν ἧ Ζηνοβίαν εὐρῶν ἅμα στρατῷ πολλῷ παρεσκευασμένην εἰκότως ἐς μάχην ἀπήντα καὶ αὐτὸς εὐτρεπῆς. 3. Ὅρων δὲ τοὺς Παλμυρηνῶν ἰππέας ὀπλίσει βαρεῖα καὶ ἀσφαλεῖ τεθαρρηκότας καὶ ἅμα πείρα τῇ περὶ τὴν ἰπασίαν πολὺ τῶν σφετέρων προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς πέραν ποῦ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ διεχώρισεν, σύνθημα δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἰππεῦσι δέδωκεν μὴ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀκμῆτι τῇ Παλμυρηνῶν ἵππῳ συνάμει, δεξαμένοις δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν δοκεῖν τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἄχρις ἂν ἴδωσιν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀπλῶν βαρύτητος πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ἀπειπόντας. 4. Οὗ δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἰππέων τὸ παράγγελμα φυλαξάντων, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθεάσαντο παρεμμένους ἤδη καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις κεκμηκόσιν ἀκινήτους τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἀνα-

opposed by fifty thousand Egyptians. A sharp engagement ensued between them, in which the Palmyrenes had the greater advantage. He then departed, leaving them a garrison of five thousand men. 2. Probus, who had been appointed by the emperor to clear the sea of pirates, when hearing of the subjugation of Egypt by the Palmyrenes, marched against them with his own forces, and with as many of the Egyptians as were opposed to the Palmyrenes, and drove out their garrison. The Palmyrenes rallied with fresh forces but Probus, who also levied a body of Egyptians and Africans, gained another victory, and drove the Palmyrenes out of Egypt. When Probus was encamped on a mountain near Babylon, thereby cutting off the passage of the enemy into Syria, Timagenes, who was well acquainted with the country, gained the summit of the mountain with two thousand men and attacked the Egyptians by surprise. Probus was among those taken prisoner but he killed himself. 45 1. Egypt was now in the hands of the Palmyrenes ...

59 After the problems in Italy and Pannonia had been solved, the emperor (i.e. Aurelian) prepared to march against the Palmyrenes, who had already become master of all Egypt and the East, as far as Ancyra in Galatia, and would have acquired Bithynia even as far as Chalcedon, if the Bithynians had not learned that Aurelian had been made emperor, and so shook off the Palmyrene yoke. 2. Ancyra submitted to the Romans as soon as the emperor arrived there, and afterwards Tyana, and all the cities between that and Antioch. There finding Zenobia with a large army ready to engage, as he himself also was, he marched into battle as honour obliged him. 3. But observing that the Palmyrene cavalry placed great confidence in their armour, which was very strong and heavy, and that they were very much better horsemen than his soldiers, he placed his infantry by themselves somewhere on the other side the Orontes. He ordered his cavalry not to engage immediately with the fresh cavalry of the Palmyrenes, but to wait for their attack, and then pretend to flee and to continue so doing until excess heat and the weight of their armour had so wearied both the men and their horses that they had to give up the chase. 4. This stratagem worked as the cavalry adhered to the order of the emperor. When they saw their enemy tired, and that their horses were scarcely able to stand under

λαβόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἐπήεσαν καὶ αὐτομάτους τῶν ἵππων ἐκπίπτοντας συνεπάτου· φόνοσ οὖν ἦν συμμιγῆς, τῶν μὲν ξίφεσι τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων οἰκείων τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων.

51 1. Εἰσελθόντων δὲ τῶν ὅσοι διαφυγεῖν οἴοι τε γεγόνασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, Ζάβδας ὁ Ζηνοβίας στρατηγὸς ὀρρωδῶν μὴ ποτε μαθόντες οἱ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας οἰκήτορες τὸ περὶ τὴν μάχην πταῖσμα σοφίσι ἐπιθίοντο, ἄνδρα μεσαιπόλιον ἐμφέρειάν τινα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδέαν δοκοῦντά πως ἔχειν εὐρών, καὶ σχῆμα περιθείς οἷον εἰκὸς ἦν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἔχειν μαχόμενον, διὰ μέσης ἄγει τῆς πόλεως ὡς δὴ τὸν βασιλέα ζωγρίαν ἐλών. 2. Καὶ τούτῳ τῷ σοφίσματι τοὺς Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀπατήσας αὐτὸς τε ὑπεξέδου τῆς πόλεως οὔσης νυκτὸς ἅμα τῷ λελειμμένῳ στρατεύματι, καὶ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἑαυτῷ συνεξαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἐν νῷ γενομένης ἡμέρας ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν περὶ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιθέσθαι τραπεῖσιν ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἔγνω φυγῆν, εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν εἰσῆει, δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως τῶν πολιτῶν. 3. Εὐρών δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἀπολιπόντας δέει τοῦ μὴ κακοῦ τινὸς ὡς τὰ Ζηνοβίας φρονήσαντας πειραθῆναι, προγράμματα πανταχοῦ πέμψας τοὺς πεφευγότας ἐκάλει, τῷ ἀκουσίῳ καὶ ἀναγκαστῷ πλέον ἢ προαιρέσει τὰ συμβάντα ἀνατιθεῖς.

52 Συνδραμόντων δὲ ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι τὰ προγράμματα τῶν πεφευγόντων καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως μετασχόντων φιλοφροσύνης, διαθείς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔμισαν ἤλαυνεν· μοῖραν δὲ τινα Παλμυρηῶν λόφον καταλαβοῦσαν εὐρών ὑπερκείμενον Δάφνης τοῦ προαστείου, τῷ ὑπερδεξίῳ τοῦ τόπου τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπόδοον εἶργειν οἰομένην, τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνεκελεύσατο συνασπισαμένοις καὶ πυκνῇ τῇ φάλαγγι τὴν πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἀνάβασιν ποιουμένοις τὰ τε βέλη καὶ τοὺς ὀλοιτρόχους, εἰ καὶ τούτους τυχὸν ἐπαφεῖεν, τῇ πυκνότητι τῆς φάλαγγος ἀποσείσασθαι. 2. Καὶ πρὸς τὸ παράγγελμα εἶχε προθύμους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προσταχθὲν τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες ἄνοδον ἐποίησαντο, καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰσοπαλεῖς ἔτρεψαν εὐθὺς εἰς φυγῆν· καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν φερόμενοι διερρήγγυντο, τοὺς δὲ οἱ διώκοντες ἀπέσφαττον οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ μὴ μετασχόντες τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἀνόδου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἐπ' ἀδείας τὴν διάβασιν ποιουμένοις ... χαίροντας κύρον κατὰ ταῦτα τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως χρωμένον. 3. Δέχεται μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν

them, or themselves to move, they drew up the reins of their horses, and, wheeling round, charged them, trampling them as they fell from their horses. A confused slaughter ensued, some falling by the sword, and others by their own and the enemies' horses.

51 After this defeat, the survivors fled into Antioch, and Zabdas, the general of Zenobia, fearing that the Antiochenes on hearing of the defeat, should rebel, chose a bearded man who bore some resemblance to the emperor in silhouette, and clothing him in a dress such as Aurelian was accustomed to wear, led him through the city as if he had taken the emperor prisoner. 2. After deceiving the Antiochenes by this ploy, he stole out of the city by night, and took with him Zenobia together with the remainder of the army to Emesa. As soon as it was day, the emperor called together the infantry, intending to attack the defeated enemy on both sides. However, when he learned of the escape of Zenobia, he entered Antioch and was received with great joy by the citizens. 3. Finding that many had left the city, under apprehensions that they should suffer for having espoused the party of Zenobia; he published edicts in every place to recall them and told them, that such events had happened more through necessity than of his own inclination.

52 When this was known to the exiles, they flocked back to share in the emperor's magnanimity; who having settled the affairs of that city proceeded to Emesa. There he found a contingent of Palmyrenes had got possession of a hill above the suburbs of Daphne, thinking that its steepness would enable them to obstruct the enemy's passage. He therefore commanded his soldiers to march with their shields close to each other, and in compact formation, to keep off any missiles and stones that might be thrown at them. 2. The soldiers followed the order with vigour and as soon as they had ascended the hill, and could engage their adversaries on equal terms, they put them to flight in such disorder, that some of them were dashed in pieces from the precipices, and others slaughtered in the pursuit by those who were on the hill, and those who were still making their ascent. Having gained the victory, they made the crossing, marched on unopposed [...], the emperor making his way through these regions. 3. He was liberally

Ἀπάμεια καὶ Λάρισσα καὶ Ἀρέθουσα· τὸ δὲ τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν στρατόπεδον ἰδὼν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς Ἐμίσης πεδίῳ συνειλεγμένον εἰς πλήθος ἑπτὰ μυριάδων ἕκ τε αὐτῶν Παλμυρηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῖς εἴλοντο μετασχεῖν, ἀντεστρατοπεδεύετο τῇ τε Δαλματῶν ἵππῳ καὶ Μυσοῖς καὶ Παίοσιν καὶ ἔτι γε Νωρικοῖς καὶ Ῥαιτοῖς, ἅπερ ἐστὶ Κελτικὰ τάγματα. 4. Ἦσαν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τέλους, ἕκ πάντων ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένοι καὶ πάντων διαπρεπέστατοι· συνετέτακτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Μαυρουσία ἵππος αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας αἱ τε ἀπὸ Τυάνων δυνάμεις καὶ ἐκ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Παλαιστίνης τέλη τινὰ τῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ὀπίσει κορύνας καὶ ῥόπαλα ἐπεφέροντο.

53 Συμπεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξεν ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἵππος κατὰ τι μέρος ἐκκλίνειν, ὡς ἂν μὴ πλήθει τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱπέων πλεονεκτούντων <καὶ> περιππαζομένων πως τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐμπεσὼν ἐς κύκλωσιν λάθῃ· τῶν τοίνυν Παλμυρηνῶν ἱπέων τοὺς ἐκκλινάντας διωκόντων καὶ ταύτη τὴν τάξιν τὴν οἰκείαν παρεξελθόντων, ἐς τοῦναντίον ἀπέβη τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῦσιν τὸ βουλευθέν· ἐδιώκοντο γὰρ τῷ ὄντι πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλασσωθέντες. 2. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐπιπτον πλεῖστοι, τότε δὴ τῶν πεζῶν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον γενέσθαι συνέβη· τὴν γὰρ τάξιν τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς διαρραγεῖσαν ἰδόντες ἐκ τοῦ τοὺς ἱπέας τῇ διώξει σχολάσαι, συστραφέντες ἀτάκτοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐσκεδασμένοις ἐπέθεντο· καὶ φόνος ἦν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺς, τῶν μὲν τοῖς συνήθεσιν ἐπιόντων ὄπλοις, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Παλαιστίνης τὰς κορύνας καὶ τὰ ῥόπαλα τοῖς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ τεθωρακισμένοις ἐπιφερόντων, ὅπερ μάλιστα τῆς νίκης ἐν μέρει γέγονεν αἴτιον, τῷ ξένῳ τῆς τῶν ῥοπάλων ἐπιφορᾶς τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντων. 3. Φευγόντων δὲ ἤδη τῶν Παλμυρηνῶν προτροπάδην, καὶ ἐν τῷ φεύγειν ἑαυτοῦς τε συμπατούντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρουμένων, τὸ πεδῖον ἐπληροῦτο νεκρῶν ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων, <τῶν> ὅσοι διαδρᾶναι δεδύνηνται τὴν πόλιν καταλαβόντων.

54 Ἀθυμίας δὲ πολλῆς εἰκότως ἐπὶ τῇ ἡττῇ Ζηνοβίαν ἐχούσης, βουλὴ προέκειτο περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου, καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἐμισαν πράγμασιν ἀπογνῶναι διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἐμισηνοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχοντας τὰ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεῖσθαι, Παλμύραν δὲ καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ὀχυρῷ τὴν ἀσφά-

entertained at Apamea, Larissa, and Arethusa. Finding the Palmyrene army drawn up before Emesa, numbering seventy thousand men, consisting of Palmyrenes and their allies, he arrayed against them the Dalmatian cavalry, the Moesians and Pannonians, and the Gothic legions of Noricum and Rhaetia, 4. and besides these the praetorians, chosen by merit from all and the most distinguished, the Mauretanian horse, and from Asia came contingents of Tyaneans, as well as Mesopotamians, Syrians, Phoenicians, and Palestinians, all known for their bravery. The Palestinians wielded clubs and staves, besides other weapons.

53 At the commencement of the engagement, the Roman cavalry made a partial withdrawal, in case the Palmyrenes, who outnumbered them, and were better horsemen, should surround the Roman army unawares. But the Palmyrene cavalry pursued them so fiercely, though their ranks were broken, that the outcome was quite contrary to the expectation of the Roman cavalry. For they were pursued by an enemy much their superior in strength, 2. and therefore most of them fell. The infantry had to bear the brunt of the action. Observing that the Palmyrenes had broken their ranks when the cavalry commenced their pursuit, they wheeled about, and attacked them while they were scattered and in disarray. An immense slaughter ensued, because while some fought with the usual weapons, those of Palestine brought clubs and staves against coats of mail made of iron and brass. 3. This was perhaps a contributory factor to the victory, as the enemies were paralysed by the unexpectedness of being attacked by staves. The Palmyrenes therefore ran away with the utmost haste and in their flight trod each other to pieces and were slaughtered by the enemy. The field was filled with dead men and horses, whilst those who could escape took refuge in the city.

54 Zenobia was naturally much disturbed by this defeat, and therefore deliberated on what measures to adopt. It was the common opinion that it would be prudent to relinquish all pretensions to Emesa, because the Emesenes were ill-disposed towards her and friendly to the Romans. They advised her to remain within Palmyra, and when

λειαν ἐπιτρέψαντας σχολαίτερον σκοπῆσαι τὰ κατὰ σφᾶς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργου καὶ λόγου τὸ μέσον, ἀλλὰ συνέθεον ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐδόκει. 2. Πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν Ζηνοβίας φυγὴν Αὐρηλιανὸς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἐμισαν εἰσῆει, προθύμως αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν δεχομένων, εὐρῶν δὲ πλοῦτον ὄν οὐχ οἷα τε ἐγεγόνει Ζηνοβία μετακομίσαι, παραχρῆμα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ Παλμύραν εἶχετο· καὶ ἐπιστὰς τῇ πόλει, κύκλῳ περιλαβὼν τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει, τῆς τροφῆς ἐκ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ἐθνῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χορηγουμένης· τῶν δὲ Παλμυρηνῶν ἐπιτωθαζόντων ὡς ἀδυνάτου τῆς ἀλώσεως οὕσης, ἤδη δὲ τινος καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα λόγους αἰσχροὺς ἀφιέντος, παρεστῶς τις τῷ βασιλεῖ Πέρσης ἀνήρ εἰ «κελεύεις» ἔφη, «τὸν ὕβριστὴν τοῦτον ὅψει νεκρὸν». 3. Ἐγκελευσάμενου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, προστησάμενος ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ὁ Πέρσης τοὺς ἀποκρύπτοντας, ἐντεινας τὸ τόξον καὶ βέλος ἀρμόσας ἀφίησιν, ὃ δὴ προκεκυφότι τῆς ἐπάλξεως τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἔτι τὰς ὕβρεις ἐπαφιέντι προσπαγὲν κατάγει τε τοῦ τείχους αὐτὸν καὶ νεκρὸν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεικνυσιν.

55 Ἐπει δὲ ἀντεῖχον πολιορκούμενοι, σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδεῶν ἀπαγορεύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίσαντες, ἐγκατεροῦντας θεώμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεία πιεζόμενοι γνώμην ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην δραμεῖν, κάκεισε παρὰ Περσῶν βοήθειαν εὐρέσθαι, πράγματά τε Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα μηχανήσασθαι. 2. Ταῦτα βουλευσάμενοι, καμήλῳ <...> τὴν Ζηνοβίαν ἀναβιβάσαντες, αἱ δὲ καμήλων εἰσὶν τάχιστα καὶ ἵππους ὑπεαίρουσαι τάχει, τῆς πόλεως ὑπεξάγουσιν· Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς Ζηνοβίας φυγῇ, τῷ κατὰ φύσιν οὐκ ἐνδοῦς δραστηρίῳ, πέμπει παραχρῆμα τοὺς διώξοντας ταύτην ἱπέας. 3. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἤδη τὸν Εὐφράτην αὐτὴν μέλλουσαν περαιοῦσθαι, καταγαγόντες ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου πρὸς τὸν Αὐρηλιανὸν ἄγουσιν· ὃ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ τῆς θέας περιχαρῆς ἐγεγόνει, φιλότιμος δὲ ὦν φύσει, λαβὼν κατὰ νοῦν ὡς γυναικὸς κρατήσας οὐκ ἔσται τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐπίδοξος, ἐδυσχέραινεν.

56 Τῶν δὲ ἐναποκεκλεισμένων τῇ πόλει Παλμυρηνῶν αἱ γνώμαι διχῆ διηροῦντο, τῶν μὲν προκινδυνεύειν τῆς πόλεως ἐθελόντων καὶ διαπολεμεῖν παντὶ σθένει Ῥωμαίοις, τῶν δὲ ἰκετηρίας ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους προτεινομένων αἰτούντων τε συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ἰκετείαν καὶ θαρρεῖν

they were safe in that strong city, they would deliberate at leisure on their important affairs. This was no sooner proposed than done, as there was no disagreement. Aurelian, upon hearing of the flight of Zenobia, entered Emesa, where he was enthusiastically welcomed by the citizens, and found the treasure which Zenobia could not carry along with her. 2. He (i.e. Aurelian) then immediately set off with his army to Palmyra, which, on arrival he invested on every side, while every kind of provision was levied for his troops from the neighbouring countryside. Meanwhile, the Palmyrenes derided the Romans, as if they thought it impossible for them to take the city; and one man in particular made obscene remarks about the emperor's own person. At this, a Persian who stood by the emperor said, "If you will allow me, sir, you shall see that insolent fellow dead." 3. The emperor consented to this, and the Persian, concealing himself behind some other men, shot at the man while he was looking over the battlements, and hit him whilst still uttering his insulting language, so that he fell down from the wall before the emperor and the army.

55 The besieged, however, held out in the hope that the enemy would withdraw for want of provisions. When they saw the Romans persisting in their resolution, and that they were themselves without essentials, they made the decision to flee to the Euphrates and from there request aid of the Persians and to cause new difficulties for the Romans. 2. Having made the plan, they set Zenobia on a female camel, ... which is the swiftest of that kind of animal, and much more swift than horses, and conveyed her out of the city. 3. Aurelian was annoyed by the escape of Zenobia; but naturally did not give way to the audacious deed and immediately sent out horsemen in pursuit. They succeeded in capturing her, as she was about to cross the Euphrates and took her off the boat to Aurelian. Though much pleased at this unexpected sight, yet being ambitious for honour, he became uneasy at the thought that the conquest of a woman would not stand to his credit among future generations.

56 Meanwhile, opinions came to be divided among Palmyrenes, who were shut up in the city, some resolved to risk themselves in defence of their city and to take on the full strength of the Roman army. While others, on the contrary, employed humble and submissive gestures from the walls, and begged pardon for what they had

παρακελευσαμένον, πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχέοντο, δῶρα καὶ ἱερεῖα προσάγοντες. 2. Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα τιμήσας τὰ δὲ δῶρα δεξάμενος ἀθώους ἠφίει· τῆς δὲ πόλεως γενόμενος κύριος καὶ τοῦ κατὰ ταύτην πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς καὶ ἀναθημάτων κρατήσας, ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἐμισαν εἰς κρίσιν ἤγαγε Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ταύτη συναραμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰτίας ἔλεγεν ἑαυτὴν ἐξαιρουῖσα, πολλοὺς τε ἄλλους ἤγεν εἰς μέσον ὡς παραγαγόντας οἷα γυναῖκα, ἐν οἷς καὶ Λογγῖνος ἦν, οὗ συγγράμματα ἔστι μέγα τοῖς παιδείας μεταποιουμένοις ὄφελος φέροντα. 3. Ὅπερ ἐφ' οἷς κατηγορεῖτο ἐλεγχομένῳ παραχρήμα ὁ βασιλεὺς θανάτου ζημίαν ἐπέθηκεν, ἣν οὕτω γενναίως ἤνεγκεν ὁ Λογγῖνος ὥστε καὶ τοὺς σχετιάζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει παραμυθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ Ζηνοβίας κατειπούσης κολάσεσιν ὑπαχθέντων. ...

done. The emperor accepted their supplication, and beseeched them to take courage. They poured out of the city, bearing gifts and sacrifices. 2. Aurelian paid due respect to the victims, received the gifts, and sent the bearers away unpunished. Having made himself master of this city (i.e. Palmyra), with all the wealth it contained, as well as other provisions and offerings, he returned to Emesa, where he brought Zenobia and her accomplices to trial. Zenobia claimed to be innocent and openly implicated many persons, who had led her astray as she was a simple woman. Among them was Longinus, whose writings are highly beneficial to all those interested in learning. 3. Upon finding him guilty of the crimes of which he was accused, the emperor immediately sentenced him to death. He bore the sentence with such fortitude that he was a comfort to those who were indignant at his suffering. Others besides Longinus suffered punishment on being denounced by Zenobia.

57 1. Ἄξιον <δὲ> τὰ συνενεχθέντα πρὸ τῆς [πρώτης] Παλμυρηνῶν καθαιρέσεως ἀφηγησασθαι, εἰ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐν ἐπιδρομῇ φαίνομαι ποιησάμενος διὰ τὴν εἰρημένην ἐν προοιμίῳ μοι πρόθεσιν· Πολυβίου γὰρ ὅπως ἐκτήσαντο Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ διεξελθόντος, ὅπως ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν αὐτὴν διέφθειραν ἔρχομαι λέξων. 2. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἐπειδὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ γένομαι τῆς ἱστορίας τῷ μέρει· Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ μέρους οὐκ ὀλίγου τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας ἤδη κεκρατηκόσιν, ὡς διεξῆλθον, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὰ προεμνηύθη τὴν συμβᾶσαν αὐτοῖς δηλοῦντα καθαίρεσιν· τίνα δὲ ταῦτα, ἐρῶ ἐν Σελευκείᾳ τῇ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν ἴδρυτο καλουμένου Σαρπηδονίου, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χρηστήριον. 3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λεγόμενα, καὶ ὡς ἅπασιν τοῖς ὑπὸ λύμης ἀκρίδων ἐνοχλουμένοις Σελευκιάδας παραδιδούς (ὄρνεα δὲ ταῦτα ἐνδαιτώμενα τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τόποις) συνεξέπεμπεν τοῖς αἰτουῦσιν, αἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀκρίσιν συμπεριπτάμεναι καὶ τοῖς στόμασιν ταύτας δεχόμεναι καὶ παραχρήμα διαφοροῦσαι πλήθος τε ἄπειρον ἐν ἀκαριαίῳ διέφθειρον καὶ τῆς ἐκ τούτων βλάβης τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπήλλαττον, ταῦτα μὲν τῇ τνηκαῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονία παρήμι, τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς γένους πᾶσαν ἀποσεισαμένου θεῖαν εὐεργεσίαν. 4. Τοῖς Παλμυρηνοῖς δὲ χρωμένοις εἰ καθέξουσιν τὴν τῆς ἐφώας ἡγεμονίαν, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς οὕτως Ἐξίτέ μοι

57 Now what happened prior to Palmyra's demolition is worth relating, even though I appear, in accordance with the purpose stated in my introduction, to have been composing my history in summarized form. For just as Polybius narrated how the Romans acquired their sovereignty over within a brief period of time, so I am going to tell how they lost it through their own blind folly within no long period of time. 2. But more this when I shall have come to the later portion of my history. Now as for the Palmyrenes, when they had obtained no small part of the Roman Empire, as I have recounted, many announcements portending their ultimate destruction were made by heaven: what these were I shall say. At Seleucia-in-Cilicia stood a temple to Apollo (who is there called Sarpedonius), wherein there was an oracle. 3. The things said about this god, even how that to all those annoyed by the damage of locusts he would make delivery upon request of Seleucidades (these were birds living in places around the temple), which would flit about the locusts, seize them in their beaks, consuming a countless multitude of them on the spot in a jiffy, and thus rid mankind of loss resulting from them – these things I resign to the blessed age of mankind, our own generation having repudiated all divine benevolence. 4. But when the Palmyrenes consulted the oracle as to whether they would hold the

μεγάρων, ἀπατήμονες οὐλοιοὶ ἄνδρες, φύτλης ἀθανάτων ἐρικυδέος ἀλγυντῆρες. Πυνθανομένοις δέ τισιν περὶ τῆς Αὐρηλιανοῦ κατὰ Παλμυρηῶν στρατείας ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε Κίρκος τρήρωσιν κρυερὸν γόον ἠγηλάζων, οἷος πολλῆσιν ταῖ δὲ φρίσσουσι φονῆα.

58 1. Καὶ ἕτερον δὲ Παλμυρηνοῖς συνηνέχθη τοιοῦτον Ἄφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἵδρυται· τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἔστιν ἐοικυῖα χειροποιήτῳ δεξαμενῇ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαίρας φαίνεται δίκην, συνόδων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνοις τακτοῖς γινομένων, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐφαίνετο χρόνων. 2. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα προσέφερον οἱ συνιόντες ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα, καὶ ὑφάσματα μέντοι λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης τιμιωτέρας· καὶ εἰ μὲν δεκτὰ ἐφάνη, παραπλησίως τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ τὰ ὑφάσματα κατεδύετο, εἰ δὲ ἄδεκτα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, αὐτὰ τε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπιπλέοντα τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ εἰ τί περ ἦν ἐν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις ὕλαις, αἷς φύσις οὐκ αἰωρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καταδύεσθαι. 3. Τῶν Παλμυρηῶν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς καθαιρέσεως ἔτει συνελθόντων ἐν τῷ τῆς ἑορτῆς καιρῷ καὶ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ὑφασμάτων κατὰ τῆς λίμνης ἀφέντων, πάντων τε τοῦ βάθους καταδύντων, κατὰ τὸ ἐχόμενον ἔτος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἑορτῆς ὠφθησαν αἰωρούμενα πάντα, τῆς θεοῦ διὰ τούτου τὰ ἐσόμενα δηλωσάσης. 4. Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰς Ῥωμαίους εὐμένεια τοῦ θείου τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγιστείας φυλαττομένης τοιαύτη· ἐπειδὴν δὲ εἰς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωμαι τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ βραχὺ βαρβαρωθεῖσα εἰς ὀλίγον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ διαφθαρέν, περιέστη, τῆνικαῦτα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας παραστήσω τοῦ δυστυχίματος, καὶ τοὺς χρησμούς ὡς ἂν οἷός τε ὧ παραθήσομαι τοὺς τὰ συνενεχθέντα μνηύσαντας.

59 Ἐπανελθεῖν δὲ τέως καιρὸς ὅθεν ἐξέβην, ἵνα μὴ τὴν τάξιν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀτελεῖ δόξω καταλιμπάνειν· Αὐρηλιανοῦ τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐλαύνοντος, καὶ συνεπάγοντός οἱ Ζηνοβίαν τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν ταύτης καὶ πάντας ὅσοι τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνησαν, αὐτὴν μὲν Ζηνοβίαν φασὶν ἢ νόσῳ ληφθεῖσαν ἢ τροφῆς μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἀνασχομένην ἀποθανεῖν, τοὺς δὲ

supremacy of the East, the god responded in these words: “Leave my sanctuary, deceitful, baneful men, you who cause the glorious stock of the gods pain.” And when certain men made inquiry concerning Aurelian’s campaign against the Palmyrenes, the god gave this answer: “A single hawk is the precursor of chill woe for many doves; they shiver at this murderer.”

58 The Palmyrenes received yet another oracle of the following kind: Aphaka is a place in between Heliopolis and Byblos, where there is a temple of Aphrodite of Aphaka. Nearby is a lake that resembles an artificially created water basin. There is now a fire in the area of the sanctuary and in the surrounding air, similar to a torch or orb, when gatherings take place there at certain times, and this process has even been observed up to our present day. 2. The attendees brought gifts made of gold and silver to the lake in honour of the goddess, as well as linen, Byssus and other precious materials. If the gifts appeared welcome, the tissues sank, as did the heavy objects; if, on the other hand, the goddess's tissues were unwellcome or contemptible, you could see them floating on the surface of the water, and likewise things made of gold, silver, or other substances that do not naturally float on the water but sink. 3. When the Palmyrenes sometimes gathered for the festival in the year before their city went into demise and threw gold, silver and weaving gifts into the lake in honour of the goddess, all the gifts sank deeply, while for the festival the following year sometimes everything was seen to be floating on the surface; and this is how the goddess revealed the coming events. 4. The benevolence of the deity towards the Romans was of the same kind, insofar as they maintained the sacred service. But then I come to those times when the Roman Empire was gradually barbarized and, only to a reduced extent, survived ruins. I will also explain the origins of the catastrophe and, to the best of my abilities, the oracles that announced the (later) events.

59 However, I must return to where I have left off in order that I may not seem to abandon my narrative and leave it incomplete. Aurelian marched towards Europe, taking with him Zenobia, her son, and those who were accomplices in the rebellion. Zenobia is said to have died, either of disease, or of her refusal of food, and that all the rest, except for the son of

ἄλλους πλὴν τοῦ Ζηνοβίας παιδὸς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ μεταξὺ Χαλκηδόνος καὶ Βυζαντίου πορθμοῦ καταποντωθῆναι.

60 Ἐχομένου δὲ Αὐρηλιανοῦ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην ὁδοῦ, κατέλαβεν ἀγγελία τοιαύτη, ὡς τῶν ἐν Παλμύρα καταλειφθέντων τινὲς Ἀψαῖον παραλαβόντες, ὃς καὶ τῶν προλαβόντων αὐτοῖς γέγονεν αἴτιος, ἀποπειρῶνται Μαρκελλίνου τοῦ καθεσταμένου τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπάρχου καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφῶας ἐγκεχειρισμένου διοίκησιν, εἴ πως ἀνέχεται σχῆμα βασιλείου ἐαυτῷ περιθεῖναι. 2. Τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸ διασκέπτεσθαι τὸ πρακτέον ἀναβαλλομένου, τὰ παραπλήσια καὶ αὐθις καὶ πολλακίς ἠνώχλουν· ὃ δὲ ἀποκρίσειν χρώμενος ἀμφιβόλοις αὐτὸς μὲν Αὐρηλιανῷ τὸ σκεφθὲν κατεμήνυσε, Παλμυρηνοὶ δὲ Ἀντιόχῳ περιθέντες ἄλουργές ἱμάτιον κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν εἶχον.

61 Αὐρηλιανὸς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκηκοὺς αὐτόθεν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐφῶαν ἐπέλλετο, καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἵππων ἀμίλλης ἐπιτελουμένης τῷ δήμῳ φανείς καὶ τῷ ἀδοκῆτῳ πάντα ἐκπλήξας ἐπὶ τὴν Παλμύραν ἤλαυνεν· ἀμαχητὶ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ κατασκάψας, οὐδὲ τιμωρίας Ἀντιόχον ἄξιον διὰ τὴν εὐτέλειαν εἶναι νομίσας ἀφήσιν· σὺν τάχει δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέας στασιάζοντας καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἰδόντας παραστησάμενος, θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην εἰσαγαγὼν μεγίστης ἀποδοχῆς ἐκ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐτύγγανεν. 2. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου δειμάμενος ἱερὸν μεγαλοπρεπῶς τοῖς ἀπὸ Παλμύρας ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθήμασιν, Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου καθιδρύσας ἀγάλματα· τούτων οὕτω διωκημένων, Τέτρικον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαναστάντας οὐ σὺν πόνῳ καθελὼν κατὰ τὴν Ἀζίαν μετήλθεν.

Zenobia, were drowned in the strait between Chalcedon and Byzantium.

60 As Aurelian continued his journey into Europe, he received the news that some of those he had left at Palmyra, having won over Apsaeus, who was responsible for the earlier events, were tempting Marcellinus, whom the emperor had appointed prefect of Mesopotamia and Rector of the East, to assume the purple. 2. Under pretence of taking time to decide on the right course of action, he delayed them so long, that they had to pester him repeatedly. He therefore framed ambiguous answers to their demands, while he notified Aurelian of their design. In the meantime, the Palmyrenes, having clothed Antiochus in purple, shut themselves in at Palmyra.

61 On hearing this news, Aurelian immediately set off for the east with only the troops at his disposal. On reaching Antioch, he surprised the people, who were then attending a horse-race, by his sudden appearance and carried on to Palmyra, which he took and razed without a contest, but, not thinking Antiochus worthy of being punished on account of his obscure origins, he dismissed him. After this action (i.e. the final subjection of Palmyra), he quickly won over the Alexandrians who were on the point of revolt, being already divided among themselves. He then entered Rome in triumph, and there he was received most enthusiastically by the senate and people. 2. At this period also he erected that magnificent temple of the Sun, which he ornamented with all the votive offerings that he brought from Palmyra; placing in it the statues of the Sun and Bel.

PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS



Procopius (c. 500-565 CE) has been described as the last major Greek historians of the Classical World. He might have come from a Syriac-speaking family and was most probably trained in rhetoric at Gaza and in Law at Beirut. His knowledge of Latin is manifest in his writings as he often gives Greek definitions for Latin terms. He accompanied Belisarius in the campaigns of Justinian I of which he wrote the history. His work on the wars has been later divided into *The Persian War* (Books I II), *The Vandal War* (Books III IV) and *The Gothic War* (Books V VI VII). He latter added an eighth book, now referred to in modern editions as *Gothic War IV*, which contains an important account of the importation of silk into Byzantium. He also wrote a laudatory but highly informative work on *Buildings* (De aedificiis) infamous *Secret History* (Ἀνέκδοτα, *Anecdota*) after he had become disillusioned with Justinian. Because of the shortage of other historical sources of the period, our view of the reign of Justinian is largely through the eyes of Procopius.

Procopius was extremely well informed on the affairs of the Sasanian Empire and in particular in the latter's travails in her dealings with Eurasian tribes like the Hephthalities. He was also one of the few early Byzantine authors to mention the trade in silk between Byzantium and the Sasanian Empire and other eastern neighbours, especially through Laizica and the ports on the Red Sea. Because the complete work of Procopius has been available in English translation for sometime in the Loeb Classical Library (translated by H.B. Dewing and completed by G. Downey), only sections covering the Hephthalite Huns, the Red Sea trade and the importation of silk into Byzantium have been included. The superior translation of Averil Cameron (1967) has been used wherever possible.

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PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS

De Bello Persico

Translated by Averil Cameron (pp. 3-24 and 49-50)
and H.W. Dewing (i, pp. 179-95)



Liber I

§3

1. Χρόνω δὲ ὕστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὐννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὐσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. 2. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὐννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὄμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ὄκνηται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὐ δὴ πόλις Γοργῶ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. 3. οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται. 4. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποιήνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ζῆν τῶ Μήδων στρατῶ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐννων οὗτοι λευκοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς ὄψεις εἰσὶν. 5. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαιταν ὁμοιότροπον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἑνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ζυμβάλλουσι, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἤσσαν. 6. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἐταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ζυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὐσης. 7. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶ αὐτοῦ ἐταιρισμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ζυμβαίη, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ζῆν αὐτῶ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος. 8. Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῶ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ζυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτῆς, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν καταρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμηνται, ἤεσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ὄνπερ ὄρη

1. Later Peroz, the Persian king (*r.* 459-484 CE), was waging war about land boundaries against the people of the Ephthalite Huns whom they called "White". He mustered a notable army and advanced against them. 2. The Ephthalites are a Hunnic people and are called Huns, but they do not mix with or associate with any of the Huns whom we know, for they have no land bordering on theirs. They do not in fact live near them at all, but next to the Persians toward the north, where the city called Gorgo is situated, on the very border of Persia, and there they often fight against each other over the boundaries. 3. They are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but have lived from old in a good land. For this reason they have never invaded Roman territory except with the Persian army. These alone of the Huns are white bodied and not hideous to look at. 4. Nor is their way of life the same as the others, 5. nor do they live the life of a beast like them. They are ruled by one king and have a lawful government and deal in an upright and just way with each other and with their neighbours, just like Romans and Persians. 6. The rich ones chose as many as twenty comrades or more to be their drinking fellows forever and share all their money, with common power over it. 7. When the man who made them his comrades dies it is the custom for these men to be taken alive with him to his tomb.

8. On Peroz's expedition against these Ephthalites an ambassador was present who had been sent to him by the Emperor Zeno (*r.* 474-491 CE), Eusebius by name. The Ephthalites, giving the enemy the impression that they were terrified by their approach and were going into flight,

ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἄγαν καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. **9.** ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὄρων προϊόντι ὡς πορρωτάτω ὁδὸς μὲν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεῖα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὄρων ἔληγε. **10.** Περόζης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντὸς ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἐννοῶν τε ὡς ἐν γῆ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε. **11.** τῶν δὲ Οὐννων ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νότου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὐπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντὸς τε τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω ἀναστρέφειν οἴοι τε ὄσιν. **12.** ὥπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν αὐτοῖ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλευέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι ἢν τίς ποτε μηχανῆ ἐς σωτηρίαν φέρουσα εἴη. **13.** ὁ δὲ Περόζης ἐς ὄσιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυπεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιίας λέοντά ποτε τράγω ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοιῆν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὀρμησαί μὲν ὡς ἀρπάζοντα, ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῆ ἔχουσαν στενὴν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην ἰδέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν, ἦν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπερθεῖν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. **14.** ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μὴ ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιήνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. **15.** Οὐννοι δὲ ἤδη ἐπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμοιο ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἴοι τε ὄσι. **16.** καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἡσθημένοι οὐ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. **17.** ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους περὶ ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδῶσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὐννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἦν γε αὐτὸν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον, καὶ ὄρκους

made at a run for a place encircled all around by precipitous mountains which were entirely covered by numerous trees with thick foliage. **9.** On going a long way within the mountains a path could be seen in the middle, very wide, but with no exit at its end, for it stopped at the circle of mountains itself. **10.** Peroz, therefore, innocent of all guile and not reflecting that he was in foreign territory, heedlessly pursued them. **11.** A few of the Huns were in flight ahead of him, but most of them came on the back of the enemy army by hiding in the rough ground. As yet they did not wish to be seen by them, so that the Persians would go further into the ambush, come right inside the ring of mountains, and be unable to get out again. **12.** The Persians heard them, however, for they could already perceive some danger, and while keeping quiet themselves through terror of Peroz they besought Eusebius to advise the king - who was in complete ignorance of his danger - to take care and not to be overbold, and to see whether there might be some means to safety.

13. He went to see Peroz, but did not reveal their present plight. Instead, he began with a parable: "A lion", he said, "once met a goat bound and bellowing in quite an accessible place. The lion in eagerness for its feast sprang to snatch it, but fell into a deep ravine with a narrow circular and continuous path (it had no outlet) which the goat's keepers had purposely built, placing the goat above the ravine as a snare for the lion".

14. When Peroz heard this he grew alarmed lest the Persians had pursued the enemy to their own detriment. He advanced no further; he remained there and thought about their position. **15.** But now the Huns (i.e. Ephthalites) in pursuit came out into the open and put a guard on the entrance to the place to stop the Persians from retreating. **16.** Then the Persians, knowing only too well what danger they were in, lamented their plight, with no hope that they would escape the danger. **17.** But the Ephthalite king sent some of his men to Peroz and jeered at him for his foolish rashness, as a result of which he was putting in ignominious jeopardy himself and the Persian race. He promised, however, that even so the Huns would give them safety if Peroz was willing to do obeisance to him as his lord and master, and give pledges on his native oaths that the Persians

τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὁμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη μήποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι. **18.** ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπυθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἶη. **19.** οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ ὅπῃ οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, ἐς μέντοι τὸ ἕτερον σοφία περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. **20.** εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. **21.** δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρησαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν ζυγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρα τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλίον προσκυνεῖν: ταύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναίτο. **22.** Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἢ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπὶ οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

would never campaign against the Ephthalite people. **18.** When Perez heard this he revealed it to the magi who were with him, asking whether he should fulfill the demands of the enemy. **19.** The magi answered that as to the oath he could do as he liked, but for the rest he must confound the enemy by guile. **20.** For, they said, they had a custom whereby every day they did obeisance to the rising sun. **21.** So Peroz should watch carefully for the time and meet the Ephthalite ruler at dawn, and then make his obeisance turning toward the rising sun. This way, they advised, he would be able to evade the dishonour brought by the action. **22.** So Peroz gave the pledges for the peace and made obeisance to his enemy as the magi advised him, and gladly retired home with the whole Persian army forthwith.

§4

1. Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὐννοὺς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. **2.** πάντα οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ζυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἤγε, τῶν παιδῶν ἓνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν ἑτηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἠβηκῶς ἔτυχε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. **3.** Ἐφθαλίται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοι τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἠπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. **4.** καὶ ὃς αὐτῶν ζῶν γέλωτι ἐπυθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἶη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. **5.** οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τᾶλλα πάντα ἠρτῆσθαι ζυμβαίνει. **6.** οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὑπαντιάζειν πάσῃ προθυμία ἠξίουσαν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐκώλυεν. οὐ γὰρ πῶ σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσι, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες: μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. **7.** ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἧ ἔμελλον Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἤθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον εἰργάσατο βαθεῖάν τε καὶ εὐροῦς ἰκανῶς ἔχουσαν, ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῆ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον ἵππων ὀδῶ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. **8.** καλάμους τε τῇ τάφρῳ ὑπερθεῖν ἐπιθείς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους συναμνησάμενος, ταύτη ἐπιπολῆς ἔκρυσεν, Οὐννων τε τῷ ὀμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν,

1. Not long afterwards, however, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he began to wish to exact vengeance on the Ephthalites for their insult to him. **2.** He mustered Persians and allies from all his territories and set out on an expedition against the Ephthalites, leaving behind only one of his sons, Cavadh by name, who was just a youth at the time, and taking all the rest with him, some thirty in number. **3.** When the Ephthalites heard of the expedition they were angry at being deceived by the enemy and reproached the king for abandoning everything to the Persians. **4.** But he laughed and asked them what it was of theirs that he had abandoned—their land, their arms or any other of their possessions. **5.** They answered that he had abandoned the opportune moment on which everything else depends. **6.** They eagerly advocated meeting the invaders, but he restrained them for the moment, maintaining that as yet the invasion was not certain, since the Persians were still in their own territory. But as he waited there he did this. **7.** In the plain where the Persians were likely to invade the land of the Ephthalites, he marked off a large and extensive space, making a broad, deep trench, and left a narrow piece in the middle untouched, just wide enough for ten horses. **8.** He laid reeds over the trench and concealed the real surface by scattering earth on top of the reeds. Then he told the Hunnic troops that when they were about to retire behind

ἐπειδὴν ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι, φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπίπτειν: **9.** τοὺς δὲ ἄλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὓς τὸν ὄρκον Περόζης ὤμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὐννοὺς ἐστράτευσεν. **10.** ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῆ τῇ σφετέρᾳ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἡσυχῆ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργῶ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς: τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν ὀρίοις τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατώρυχι ἔχοντας, ἠνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἴκοιντο. **11.** οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο. **12.** οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ζυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῆ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτίῳ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὀπισθεν εἶποντο: **13.** ἄτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ζὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ἦσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ ὃ δὴ ζυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ζὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ζυνδιεφθάρησαν. **14.** ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἦν ζὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασιν. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαι φασὶ τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἦσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὃ οἱ λευκοτάτον τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῆ ἔντιμον ἐξ ὧτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ρῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίη, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὐπω πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. **15.** οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὅτου οὖν ἐς φροντίδα ἤλθεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι τὸ τε οὓς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ μάργαρον ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. **16.** ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὐρέσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτας εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ὕστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι.

17. Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον: ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ

this trench, they were to draw themselves together into a narrow column and go carefully along this solid piece of land, taking care not to fall into the trench. **9.** And he hung from the top of the royal standard the salt upon which Peroz had earlier sworn the oath which he was breaking in making war on the Huns. **10.** As long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory he kept his peace, but when he learned from scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo, which is on the furthest boundary of Persia, and had now left there and were advancing upon his own army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops on his side of the trench, he ordered a few men to advance and show themselves to the enemy some distance away in the plain. And once they had merely been seen, they were to flee back again with all their might, remembering his instructions about the trench when they came near to it. **11.** The detachment did this, and when they came near the trench, they all crossed it, a few at a time, and rejoined the rest of the army. **12.** The Persians, filled with martial zeal against the enemy and with no inkling of the plot, came in full pursuit across the flat plain, and fell into the trench-not merely the leaders but those behind as well. **13.** For they were hot in pursuit, as has been said, and had no suspicion of the danger which had befallen the van. They fell on top of them with their horses and spears and, of course, killed them and perished equally themselves.

14. Among them was Peroz with all his sons. They say that just as he was about to fall into this trench, he realised the danger, and took the pearl that hung from his right ear, a jewel of dazzling whiteness and valuable for its great size, and flung it away, so that no one might wear it after him, it being exceedingly beautiful, such as no other king had possessed before. But I do not believe this tale, **15.** for in such a perilous situation he would not have thought of anything but the danger. I suppose that in fact his ear was crushed in the disaster and the pearl disappeared somewhere. **16.** The Roman Emperor wanted to buy it from the Ephthalites but did not succeed, for the barbarians could not find it, even after a very careful search. They say, however, that the Ephthalites found it later and gave it to Cavadh.

17. But it is worth recounting what the Persians

παντάπασιν ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. **18.** λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενί τὸ μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐστὶ, νήχεσθαι δὲ τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν: ἀνεωγένοι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τὰ ὄστρακα, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰκασθῆναι οὐδαμῆ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. **19.** κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἐπεσθαι κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῷ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθεῖν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδίων, εὐρόντα δὲ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὅτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος αὐθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπίπλασθαι. **20.** καὶ ποτε τῶν τινα γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιθεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκνήσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόζην ἅπαντα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν. **21.** ἃ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπειῖας τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπᾶραι. **22.** ὃν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότη οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν 'Ὁ δέσποτα, ποθεινὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ χρήματα, ποθεινότερα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ, πάντων μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. **23.** ὧν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκασθεῖς φύσει ἴσως ἂν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μαργάρου σε κύριον: θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα ἔχω. **24.** καὶ ἦν μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὐδελον ὡς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι. σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀποχρήσει, καίπερ οὐδέν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότη εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. **25.** εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἀλῶναι, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὃ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς θανάτου τοῦ πατρῴου ἀμείψασθαι. **26.** οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκῶς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀποίση μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὠφελῶν εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῆ εἶσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἂν εὐγνώμοσύνῃ ἀκίβδηλος γένοιτο μόνῃ ἢ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα.' **27.** τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν χώρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεῖς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ κύων αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ἐπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητό τις, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως ἔρημόν ποτε τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ λάβοι. **28.** ἐπειδὴ

say about this pearl, for perhaps the story may not seem wholly incredible to some. **18.** The Persians, then, say that when this pearl was in its oyster in the sea which borders the Persian coast, the oyster was swimming not far from the shore, and that its shell was open, in the interior of which lay the pearl, a wonderful sight, for no other anywhere could be likened to it in the whole of history either for size or for beauty. **19.** A shark of great size and fierceness became enamoured of this sight and followed in its tracks, relaxing neither by night nor by day. When it was forced to look for food, it would look around for something edible where it was, and when it had found something it would snatch at it and devour it as quickly as possible, and then come up with the oyster and again sate itself on the beloved sight. **20.** And they say that once a fisherman saw what was going on, but shrank from the danger in fear of the beast, and took the whole story to Peroz the king. **21.** They say that when Peroz had heard it he conceived a great longing for the pearl and urged this fisherman on with flattery and hope of gain. **22.** The other, they say, was unable to resist his lord's request and said this to Peroz: "My lord, riches are dear to men, but life is dearer, and children are most precious of all. **23.** Being naturally impelled by love for them a man might perhaps even dare all. I intend to make trial of the beast, and I hope to make you master of the pearl. **24.** If I succeed in this struggle, it is easy to see that henceforth I shall be ranked among those called blessed. For it is not unlikely that you, the king of kings, will reward me with all good things, and it will be enough for me, even if it should happen that I gain no reward, that I have been the benefactor of my master. **25.** But if it is my fate to be caught by this beast, it shall be your task, O King, to requite my sons for their father's death. **26.** For in this way even after my death I shall be earning for my family, and you will win greater fame for your virtue. For by helping my children you will reward me, though I shall have no power to thank you for your kindness. For the only generosity that cannot be counterfeited is that which is shown to the dead".

27. With these words he left. And when he reached the place where the oyster was wont to swim and the shark to follow, he sat down on a rock, waiting for a time when he might be able to

δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδείως ἐχόντων ἐντετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἀλιεύς τούς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπομένους τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺς τοῦ κτενὸς σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἦει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἠπειγετο. **29.** οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἰδὼν τε αὐτὸν ὁ σαγηνευτῆς, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡϊόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν θήραμα ἠκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλούς διεφθάρη οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον. **30.** ἀνελόμενοι δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμμένοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. **31.** τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ τῆδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ξυνενεχθῆναί φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. **32.** Οὕτω μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ζύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γὰρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκῶς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. **33.** καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθειται Πέρσαις μὴ ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῆ πολεμία ἐλαύνοντας δίωξιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα, ἢν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ζυμβαίῃ. **34.** ὅσοι μέντοι Περόζῃ οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα περιῆν μόνος. **35.** τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατυνάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἤξιου. ἦρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

catch the pearl abandoned by its lover. **28.** As soon as the shark had come upon something that would serve him for food, and was delaying over it, the fisherman left those who were with him on the beach to help with his task. Eagerly he made for the oyster and seizing it made haste to get clear of danger. **29.** But the shark heard and came to the rescue. The fisherman saw it, and since in his impending capture he was not far from the beach, he flung his prize with all his might onto the land and was himself not long afterwards caught and killed.

30. The men left on the shore retrieved the pearl and took it to the king and told him what had happened. **31.** This story, as narrated, is the Persian account of the pearl. But I return to my former narrative. **32.** In this way Peroz and all the Persian army was destroyed. For anyone who happened not to have fallen into the trench came into the hands of the enemy. **33.** And after this a law was made in Persia that while advancing in enemy territory they should never engage in pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been totally routed. **34.** Those who had not gone on the expedition but remained in their own country chose as king Cavadh, the youngest son of Peroz, who alone survived. **35.** And then the Persians became tribute-paying subjects of the Ephthalites, until Cavadh strengthened the Empire and would no longer pay the yearly tribute. The barbarians ruled the Persians for two years.

§5

1. Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναῖξι μίγνυσθαι Πέρσαις: ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῇ ἠρεσκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. **2.** καὶ βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσην τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν εἵλοντο, ἐπειδὴ γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρην Περόζῃ, ὅσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο, Πέρσαις δὲ οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι ἰδιώτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἐξιτήλου παντάπασι γένους τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντος. **3.** Βλάσης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο: τὸν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτινύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις τοῖς πλείοσιν. **4.** ἐνθα δὴ πολλὰ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν γνῶμαι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν

1. Later, however, Cavadh became more autocratic in his government and introduced among other innovations in the constitution a law providing that the Persians should be able to have intercourse with any of the women without distinction – which by no means pleased the people. **2.** For this reason they rose against him, deposed him, and threw him in prison and kept him under guard. They made Peroz's brother Blases their king, since no male issue of Peroz survived, as has been told, and since the Persians cannot lawfully make king a private citizen unless the royal house is utterly extinguished. **3.** And Blases, when he became king, called together the highest of the Persians and held a council about Cavadh, for the people did not wish to put him to death. **4.** Many views favoring different

τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὄνομα μὲν Γουσαν-αστάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα ἔειη δ' ἂν ἐν Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτό γέ, πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὁμορός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἢ τῶν ὀνύχων τὰ προὔχοντα Πέρσαις εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον δακτύλου ἀνδρός, πᾶχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον δακτύλου ἔχουσιν **5**. 'Ταύτην ὁρᾶτε,' εἶπε, 'τὴν μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὔσαν: αὕτη μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οἷα τέ ἐστιν, ὅπερ εἴ ἴστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὃ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι, μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐξεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο.' **6**. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, παραδηλῶν ὥς, ἦν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα πράγματα Πέρσαις περιῶν παρέξει. **7**. οἱ δὲ κτεῖναι ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος οὐδ' ὅλως ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν νενομίκασιν. **8**. ἦν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχη, οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφήσει μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θάνατος τῷ ὄνομακότι ἢ ζημία ἐστὶ: διὸ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν. **9**. ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελῦσθαι τὴν δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

conclusions were expressed. But a man of high standing among the Persians came forward, by name Gousanastades, a *chanaranges* by rank (that is, a Persian general), who ruled on the very borders of Persian territory in the land which borders on the Ephthalites. Showing the knife which the Persians use to cut their nails, a knife the length of a man's finger, but not a third of a finger in breadth, he said: **5**. "You see this knife, a very short one. Yet at this moment this knife can perform the task which very soon, rest assured, my dear Persians, twice ten thousand armored men will not be able to do". **6**. By this he meant to show that if they did not kill Cavadh, by surviving he would soon make trouble for the Persians. **7**. But they would not decide actually to put to death a man of royal blood, but only to keep him in the prison called "Oblivion". **8**. For if a man is thrown into that prison, the law allows no mention of him henceforth, death being the penalty for whoever names him. For this reason it has received this name from the Persians. **9**. But the history of the Armenians relates that the force of the law concerning the prison of Oblivion was once relaxed by the Persians in the following way. ...

§6

1. Καθειρχθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐσιουῶσα τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζουσα: ἦν δὲ ὁ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν ἤρξατο: ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπής. **2**. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνήν ξυνελθῶν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων ἠράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἔρωτα ἐξαισίον οἶον, **3**. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσοδούς ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένη εἴη, καὶ αὕτις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου. ἦν δὲ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδῃ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, **4**. ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο διατριβὴν εἶχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πῶς αὐτὸν ἐνδοθεν ἐξελεῖσθαι δυνήσεται. **5**. διὰ τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαιεν ὥς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. **6**. καὶ ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν γυναῖκα Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκίαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι,

1. Cavadh's wife looked after him while he was in prison, visiting him and bringing him provisions. The jailer began to try to seduce her, for she was very beautiful. **2**. When Cavadh heard this from his wife, he told her to submit to the man's demands. And so the jailer slept with the woman and fell very passionately in love with her. **3**. As a result he allowed her to visit her husband whenever she pleased and to leave again without interference from anyone. There was a man of high standing among the Persians called Seoses, a great friend of Cavadh, **4**. who spent all his time near this prison, watching for an opportunity to get Cavadh out. **5**. By means of Cavadh's wife he told him that horses and men were in readiness for him not far from the prison, giving details of their position. **6**. One night Cavadh persuaded his wife to give him her own clothing and to put on his cloak and sit in the prison instead of him where he used to sit. **7**. And so Cavadh escaped from the prison. When the guards saw him they thought it was his wife, and did not restrain him or in any way molest him.

οὐπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθητο. **7.** οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου. κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῆ ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι: ταῦτά τοι οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. **8.** ἅμα τε ἡμέρα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ᾤοντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. **9.** ἥ τε δόκησις αὐτῆ ἐν ἡμέραις συχναῖς ἠκμαζεν, ἕως Καβάδης πόρρω που τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνεχθέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς φῶς ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἦλθε, καὶ ὄντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον [ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλοις: διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφίημι. **10.** Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόση ἐς Οὐννοὺς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε στρατεύμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἄτε κηδεστῆ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. **11.** τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῆ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλη ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμητο. **12.** ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσαναστάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἶπε τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων τισὶν ὡς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκων ὑπουργεῖν βούλοιο. **13.** εἰπόντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐσήει, ὃς δὴ οὐκ ἔῃ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτριῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει. **14.** ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ τις ἴκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενῆς ὢν, τὸν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζηται λύειν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται. **15.** ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ξυνέβη τις τύχη ὥστε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἦκων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, ξυγγενῆς τε ὢν τῷ Γουσαναστάδῃ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. **16.** ὃς δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος, ἐδειτό τέ οἱ ἄτε δούλῳ ὃ τι βούλοιο χρῆσθαι. **17.** Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε Βλάσην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβῶν ἐξετύφλωσε, τρόπῳ δὲ ὅτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἔψοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὔτι μύοντας ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτῃ τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. **18.** καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Σεόσην

8. And at daybreak they saw the woman in the room in her husband's clothes and imagined- which was very far from the truth - that Cavadh was there.

9. This pretense lasted for many days until Cavadh was far on his way. What happened to the woman when the plot was revealed, and how they punished her, I cannot tell for certain, for the Persians do not agree about it. For this reason I do not recount the versions. **10.** Cavadh escaped all detection, and with Seoses reached the Ephthalite Huns. The king gave him his daughter in marriage and then, for Cavadh was now his son-in-law, put under his command a considerable army against the Persians. **11.** This army the Persians did not dare to meet, but dispersed in all directions in flight. **12.** But when Cavadh came to the land where Gousanastades has his domain, he told some of his attendants that he would appoint *chanaranges* whatever Persian on that day first came into sight and offered his allegiance. **13.** But as he spoke he regretted his words, for he remembered the law which forbids offices among the Persians going to others than those to whom each belongs by family right. **14.** He was afraid of someone coming to him first who was not related to the *chanaranges* and forcing him to break the law, so as to keep his word. But as he considered this, there came to him a chance of keeping his word without dishonouring the law. **15.** For the first to come to him chanced to be Adergoudounbades, a young man related to Gousanastades, and particularly excellent in warfare.

16. He was the first to call Cavadh his master and make obeisance to him as king and to ask him to use him like a slave for whatever he wished. **17.** So Cavadh reached the royal palace without difficulty and took Blases, abandoned by his defenders, and blinded him in the way in which the Persians customarily blinded malefactors-they boil oil and pour it, bubbling, onto their open eyes, or heat an iron needle in the fire and with this touch the inside of their eyes – and kept him afterwards under guard. His reign lasted for two years. **18.** Cavadh put Gousanastades to death and appointed Adergoudounbades to the office of *chanaranges* in his place, and immediately pro-

ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνεῖπε. δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ στρατιώταις ἅπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. **19.** ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτός τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις ἔσχεν: οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τι γέγονε: τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ζῶν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγχίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν.

claimed Seoses as “*adrastadaran salanes*”. This means the man who is in charge of all offices and over the whole army. **19.** Seoses was the first and only man among the Persians to hold this office. No one had it before or after him. And Cavadh strengthened his rule and maintained it in safety. For he was second to none in ingenuity and energy.

§7

1. Ὀλίγω δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὤφειλεν, ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀποτινύναι οἱ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἦτει ταῦτά οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα: ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἶη. **2.** οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἶων. ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιότεραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οικειοῖς ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὓς δὴ ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσις ἄμεινον εἶναι. **3.** διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεῦσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληισάμενος ἐς Ἄμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἧς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. **4.** Ἄμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μὲν, ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρόντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα προσχωρεῖν ἠθέλον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ τάλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον. **5.** Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἦσκητο. οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης ἡμέρας ὀδῶ, πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὐτὸν καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέβειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. **6.** καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ περιέβαλον, οὐ ξυνημμένοις μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁρᾶν τε τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι. **7.** καὶ στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτίναντο βραχὺ ὑπερθεν, ὅσον ὄμβρους τε καὶ νιφετοῦς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῆστο, πνίγει μὲν ἢ ψύχει ὡς ἥκιστα εἶκων, σπέρμασι δὲ τισὶν ἀποζῶν, οἷσπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ σιτιζέσθαι εἰώθει. **8.** τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἰάκωβον τῶν τινεῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῆ πολλῇ ἐντεινόμενοι βάλλειν

1. Not long afterwards Cavadh owed money to the king of the Ephthalites, and since he was unable to pay it he asked Anastasius, the Roman Emperor, to lend it to him. Anastasius confided in some of his courtiers and asked whether he should do so. **2.** They would not agree to his making the loan. They told him that it would not be in his interest to strengthen their enemy's friendship with the Ephthalites with Roman money - it would be better to throw them against each other as much as possible. **3.** And so Cavadh decided, without just reason, to make war on the Romans. First he invaded Armenia without previous warning, and after overrunning and plundering the greater part of it he came without notice upon Amida, a city in Mesopotamia, to which, although it was winter, he laid siege. **4.** The people of Amida had no soldiers, for it was a time of peace and prosperity, and were in other respects quite unprepared. Nonetheless, they were certainly not willing to surrender to the enemy, and they withstood the danger and hardship with unexpected determination. **5.** There was among the Syrians a just man, Jacob by name, who was far advanced in religious knowledge and practice. This man had many years before confined himself in a place called Endelion, a day's journey from Amida, so as to be able to devote himself in safety to the practice of holiness. **6.** The inhabitants thereabouts, to aid his intention, had built a fence round him, not interwoven, but with posts fixed independently of each other, so that those who approached could see and converse with him. **7.** And they had made a small roof over him to keep off the rain and snow. Here this man had sat for a long time, giving no thought to heat or cold, living off seeds which he ate only at long intervals, not every day. **8.** Certain of the Ephthalites saw this Jacob as they overran that part of the country, and they eagerly drew their bows to shoot him. But all

ἤθελον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γεγонуῖαι τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῆ εἶχον. **9.** ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἰδὼν τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ ζῶν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλιπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἐγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφήκε τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. **10.** Καβάδης μὲν οὖν: αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσῃν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιευσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει. **11.** ὁ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἴκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο: περιβόητος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. **12.** Καβάδης δὲ Ἄμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν αἰδοκοῖς τισιν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἕως ταύτη ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. **13.** πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβάλων καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ κατασεῖσαι ἤκιστα ἴσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἢ οἰκοδομία τοῖς δευμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἴργαστο. **14.** τούτου δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχῶν, λόφον τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῆ πόλει ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τεῖχους τὸ μῆκος, οἱ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατώρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὗπερ ἐγεγόνει σχήματος ἔμενεν οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρᾶσσομένου. **15.** πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαίνοντες ἐν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διενοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὀμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπροσθεν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. **16.** Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρεῖαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐπήγγειλε. **17.** τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἅτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ζῶν γέλῳτι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτώθαζον. **18.** καὶ τινες ἐταῖραι ἀνεγκύσασαι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδῃ ἄγχιστά που ἐστηκότι ἐδείκνυον ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνᾶ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν οὐ θέμις. **19.** ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσιν ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκώλυον,

their hands were fixed and could not work their bows. **9.** When this story, repeated among the troops, reached Cavadh, he wished to see for himself, and when he had seen it he, together with the Persians who were there, was filled with wonder and besought Jacob to forgive the barbarians. And he forgave them in one word, and they were released from their plight. **10.** Cavadh then told the man to ask for whatever he wanted, thinking that he would ask for a large sum of money, and actually rashly promised that he would be refused nothing. **11.** But he asked him to give him all who should come to him in this war as fugitives. This request Cavadh granted, and gave him a written guarantee of safety. Many came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there, for the affair became very famous. This is how it was. **12.** While Cavadh was besieging Amida, he brought against every part of the defences the machine called the ram. The people of Amida each time repelled the attack with transverse beams, but he did not give in until he realised that the wall could not be taken by this means. **13.** For though he attacked it many times he was unable to destroy or to shake any part of the rampart, so securely had the erection been fashioned long ago by its builders. **14.** Meeting with no success here Cavadh made an artificial hill as a fortress against the city, far higher than the wall; and the besieged within the rampart began to tunnel under the hill, secretly removing the earth and hollowing out the greater part of the inside of the hill. The outside remained in the shape in which it was built, giving no hint of what was happening. **15.** And many Persians climbed up to the top as if in safety, meaning to shoot from there down onto the heads of those inside the fortifications. But as the crowd assailed it at a run, the hill suddenly collapsed and killed nearly all of them.

16. Cavadh, at a loss as to how to deal with the situation, decided to raise the siege and ordered the army to retreat on the next day. **17.** Then the besieged, paying no attention to the danger, began to jeer and laugh at the barbarians from the fortifications. **18.** And some prostitutes shamelessly lifted up their skirts and displayed to Cavadh, who was standing very near, the parts of a woman's body which men should not see uncovered. **19.** When the magi saw this they came before the king and forbade the retreat, deducing

ξυμβαλεῖν ἰσχυριζόμενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἅπαντα Καβάδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτόμενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δείξουσιν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. **20.** Ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονόμου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν συχναῖς. **21.** νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἦκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρα τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδη ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὃς τῇ ἐπιγινομένη νυκτὶ κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνηνέχθη τύχη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. **22.** τὸν πύργον, ὃς δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτω ἐτύγχανεν ὧν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον, οὕσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νενομίκασι. τούτους ἐορτήν τινα τῷ θεῷ ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. **23.** ὅς ἐπεὶ τε ἡ νύξ ἐπεγένετο, ἅπαντες, ἅτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὀμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὕπνον τινὰ ἡδὺν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἤσθάνοντο. **24.** Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ' ὀλίγους γενόμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν ἅπαντας. **25.** ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου προσῆγεν. **26.** ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἡδὴ. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθόμενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβόηθουν ἐνταῦθα. **27.** ὠθισμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφοτέρω ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο, καὶ τὸ πλεόν ἡδὴ Ἀμιδηνοὶ ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν που ἐγένοντο. **28.** ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτὸς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὄρμῶν οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς Πέρσας, θανάτος τε ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. **29.** διὸ δὴ πλήθει πολλῷ οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων γενόμενοι ἐνίκησάν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἤλω ὀγδοηκοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἡμέρᾳ. **30.** φόνος τε Ἀμιδηνῶν πολλὸς ἐγγόνει, ἕως ἐσελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδης τῶν τις Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἱερεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεῦειν τοὺς ἠλωκότας εἶη. **31.** Καβάδης μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, 'Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;' ὁ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτίκα ἔφη, 'Ὅτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμετέρα γνώμη, ἀλλὰ σὴ

from the happening that it would come to pass that the people of Amida would soon show to Cavadh all their secret and hidden possessions. And so the Persian army remained there. **20.** But not many days later one of the Persians saw near the towers the exit of an old mine, badly concealed with small stones, and only a few at that. **21.** He went there alone at night, tested the means of entry, and found himself inside the fortifications. At dawn he told the whole story to Cavadh. The following night Cavadh made ladders ready and went to the place with a few men. A lucky chance befell him in the following way: **22.** The guarding of the tower which was nearest to the mine had fallen to the lot of those of the Christians who are the most strict, whom they call monks. It chanced that on that day they were celebrating a yearly festival to God. **23.** When night fell, all of them, tired out by the festival, and more than usually sated with food and drink, were sleeping a sweet and peaceful sleep, and as a result heard nothing of what was going on. **24.** The Persians entered the fortifications through the mine a few at a time, climbed the tower, and finding the monks still asleep killed them all.

25. When Cavadh heard of this, he brought the ladders up to the wall very near to this tower. **26.** It was already day. The besieged on guard in the next tower realized their danger and quickly came up to the rescue. **27.** There was a great struggle in both directions, and the citizens of Amida, getting the upper hand, killed many of those who climbed up. They pushed back the men on the ladders and came near to throwing off the danger. **28.** But Cavadh himself drew his sword, rushed to the ladders, and kept terrifying the Persians with it; and death was the punishment for those who dared to retreat from there. **29.** And so the Persians got the better of their enemies by sheer numbers and conquered them in battle. The city was taken by storm on the eighteenth day from the beginning of the siege. **30.** There was great slaughter of the townspeople, until an old man from amongst them, a priest, came up to Cavadh as he was entering the town and said that it did not befit a king to slaughter captives. **31.** Cavadh, still possessed by the martial spirit, answered: "But why did you resolve to fight me?" And the other said in answer: "Because it was God's will to

ἀρετῇ παραδιδόναι σοι Ἄμιδαν ἤθελε.’ **32.** τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἤσθεις κτείνειν οὐδένα τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε χρήματα ληΐζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιόντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελέσθαι ἅπαντας αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν. **33.** Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπῶν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Γλώνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηῶν ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ὀλίγους οἰκτρούς, οἳ δὴ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὑπηρετήσιν Πέρσαις ἔμελλον, αὐτὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἠλωκότας ἔχων ἐπὶ οἴκου ἀπήλυνεν. **34.** ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐχρήσατο βασιλεὶς προπόσῃ· χρόνον γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, **35.** ὃ τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια· φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἔτη ἑπτὰ ζύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ζυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

give Amida to you not by our decision, but because of your valour.” **32.** Cavadh was pleased with this reply and allowed them to kill no one after this, but told the Persians to plunder the riches and make slaves of the survivors, and to choose out for himself all those of high rank. **33.** A little later after leaving a thousand men to garrison the place, and putting Glones in charge, a Persian, and leaving also a few poor wretches from the towns-people to wait on the Persians, he made for home with all the rest of the army and the prisoners. **34.** But toward these captives he displayed a humanity worthy of a king. For in a short time he allowed them all to go home, though the official version was that they had escaped from him. **35.** And the Roman Emperor Anastasius also treated them in a manner worthy of their bravery, for he remitted the city of all yearly taxes for seven years and gave them many gifts, both communally and individually, so much so that they forgot for the most part what had happened. But this was later.

§8

1. Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἄμιδαν στρατεύμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκῆς ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδός τε, Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερία βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον, τῆς ἐφῶς δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγγανεν ὢν· **2.** καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ ἡμίονος Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν· ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρικίος τε ὁ Φρῶξ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς· οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες στρατηγοὶ ἦσαν. **3.** ζυνην δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστίνος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ζῆν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί, ὃς ὄπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτυράνησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδισκλός τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γόθων τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θεουδερῖχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναῖοι τε ὑπερφυῶς ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρω, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἶποντο. **4.** στρατεύμα γὰρ τοιοῦτό φασιν οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοις ζυσηῖναι. οὗτοι μὲντοι

1. At the time of which I was speaking, however, the Emperor Anastasius, learning that Amida was under siege, sent a considerable army with all speed. There were officers in charge of every company, but the supreme commanders were four in number: Areobindus, at that time general of the East, the son-in-law of Olybrius, who had not long before been Emperor of the West; **2.** Celer, the chief of the palace guard (the Romans call this office “magister”); and in addition, the commanders of the troops in Byzantium, Patricius the Phrygian and Hypatius, the Emperor’s nephew. These were the four generals. **3.** Justin, who later became Emperor on the death of Anastasius, was with them, too; Patriciolus with his son Vitalian, who took up arms against the Emperor Anastasius not long afterwards as a usurper; Pharesmanes, a Colchian by birth and very experienced in warfare; and Godidisculus and Bessas, both Goths from among those who did not follow Theodoric when he went to Italy from Thrace, both very noble and experienced in military matters; and many other men of great worth. **4.** It is said that the Romans never mustered such an army against the Persians either before or afterwards. But all these leaders did not

ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταὐτὸ ἀγγεργμένοι οὐδὲ στρατεύματα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἐξηγεῖτο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. **5.** χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίοις ἐπιφανής τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνεῖπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσία εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἢ βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι. **6.** Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὕτως χρόνῳ τε ζυνελέγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὔρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἐφοδὸν ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀνεχώρησαν ζὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. **7.** τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἠθέλε: πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομίσασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον: ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. **8.** οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδευόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν ἄγχιστα γὰρ που ἐτύγγανεν ὧν ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄρια κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπηντίαζεν. **9.** οὐπω μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν ὄντο στρατεύματα βραχὺ τι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. **10.** οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρζάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρικίον καὶ Ὑπάτιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ πενήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ οὐπω ἐνταῦθα ἀφῆκτο. **11.** Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιέναι σφίσι ἐπύθετο, ἀπολιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἅπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὤρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. **12.** ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολέμοι ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον. ἐνθεν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύματα ἦσαν. **13.** οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρικίον καὶ Ὑπάτιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίοις οἱ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦσαν, σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. **14.** οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ πεπυσμένοι, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. τὰ γοῦν ὄπλα καταθέμενοι ἄριστον σφίσι νητοίμαζον. ἤδη γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦγε. **15.** ῥύαξ δὲ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα καθαίρουν ἤρξαντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον. **16.** τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πνίγει καὶ λουῖσθαι ἠξίουσαν, ταύτῃ τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ῥύακος ὕδωρ πρόσω ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ

join together, or make one army for their expedition; each one led his own troops individually against the enemy. **5.** The Egyptian Apion was sent as treasurer of the expenses of the army, a man conspicuous among the patricians and full of energy. And the Emperor in a written statement declared him partner in the royal power so that he might have the power to direct the finances as he wished. **6.** The army was mustered with some delay and advanced but slowly. Accordingly, they did not come upon the barbarians in Roman territory, since the Persians had only made a sudden incursion and had immediately afterwards retreated to their own country with all the plunder. **7.** None of the generals wanted to start a siege against those who had been left in Amida for the moment, for they heard that they had brought in large quantities of provisions. Instead, they were eager to invade the enemy territory. **8.** Even so, they did not go together against the barbarians; as they advanced they camped separately from each other. When Cavadh heard this (for he was actually very close), he made with all haste for the Roman frontier and went to meet them. **9.** But the Romans did not know that Cavadh was advancing towards them with his whole army. **10.** They thought that it was a small detachment of Persians. Areobindus' force was encamped at a place called Arzanene, two days' journey from Constantina, and Patricius' and Hypatius' in a place called Siphrios, no less than forty-three and one-half miles from Amida. For Celer had not yet arrived. **11.** When Areobindus realised that Cavadh was advancing against them with the whole of his army, he abandoned the camp and fled with all his troops as fast as he could to Constantina. **12.** And when the enemy came up shortly afterwards, they took the camp, money and all, without a man in it. Then they advanced with all speed against the rest of the Roman army. **13.** But Patricius' and Hypatius' men met with eight hundred Ephthalites, who were ahead of the Persian army, and killed nearly all of them. **14.** But knowing nothing of Cavadh and the Persian army they thought themselves victorious, and relaxed their ways. They put down their arms and prepared their lunch, for it was now that time of day. **15.** A mountain stream flowed in the place where the Romans had begun to wash the meat which was to form their meal. **16.** Some, finding the heat oppressive, decided to bathe. Because of this the water in the stream was

ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ζυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος ἦει: **17.** κατιδὼν τε συγκεχυμένον τὸ τοῦ ρύακος ὕδωρ καὶ ζυμβάλων τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπαρασκεύους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐτοῖς ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὖσιν ἐπέστησαν. **18.** Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτη ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ζὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. **19.** ὅθεν δὴ οὐδένα σεσῶσθαί φασι, Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὑπάτιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐφόδου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὐννων πολεμίων ἐς γῆς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. **20.** ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ἦλθε, λόγου μέντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἴσοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὄντες ἀντεστάτων τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἠθέλον. **21.** Κέλερ δὲ ζὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβάς ἐσβολὴν τινα ἐς τὴν Ἀρζανηνὴν ἐποιήσατο. **22.** ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὴ ληισάμενοι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐπανήλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. δι' ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

disturbed in its flow. When Cavadh had heard what had happened to the Ephthalites, he advanced with speed against the enemy. **17.** But when he saw that the water of the stream was muddied, he guessed what was going on, realized that the enemy would be off their guard, and ordered his army to advance against them with all speed. They fell upon them at once as they ate, unarmed. **18.** The Romans could not withstand the attack, nor did they think of defence; each fled as best he could. Some of them were caught and killed, others, who had climbed the mountain which stretches up there, flung themselves down the cliff in panic and confusion. **19.** They say that no one was saved from this, but Patricius and Hypatius managed to escape at the beginning of the attack. Then Cavadh retired homewards with all his army, for enemy Huns had invaded his land, and he began to wage a long war against this people in the northern part of the country. **20.** In the meantime the Roman army arrived, but did nothing worthy of note because there was no one in full command of the war; the generals were of equal rank and opposed each other's wishes and would not agree. **21.** Celer crossed the river Nymphios with his men and attacked Arzanene. **22.** This river is very near Martyropolis, about three and one-half miles from Amida. But after plundering the land there they returned soon afterwards, and this attack was a short one.

§9

1. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βασιλέα μετὰπεμπτος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἄμιδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βία μὲν ἐλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον· πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. **2.** ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῆ ἀπορία, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῆ προσεδρεῖα καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθομένους ἐώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἦξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, τρόπῳ ὄτῳ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. **3.** οἱ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιτο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαιῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἶη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ζὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν

1. Later Areobindus was summoned by the Emperor and went to Byzantium. The rest went to Amida and laid siege to it in the winter season. They could not manage to take the place by storm, even after many attempts; but they might have done so by famine, for all the besieged's provisions had given out. **2.** But the generals knew nothing of their enemies' plight and seeing that the soldiers were distressed by the siege and by the winter weather, suspected that a Persian army was going to advance against them; so they were looking for a way to withdraw from the position. **3.** And the Persians, not knowing what was to become of them in this peril, concealed their shortage of provisions very carefully, keeping up an appearance of having an abundance of supplies; but they wanted to retire home with an honourable excuse. **4.** So both sides had talks, the

ἤθελον. **4.** γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσοῦ χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδώσουσι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάτεροί τε ἄσμενοι τὰ ζυγκείμενα ἐπιτελεῖ ἐποίουν, τὰ τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς Ἄμιδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλώνης γὰρ ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει τῷ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. **5.** Οὕτω μὲν στρατοπεδευσασμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὄντων οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιῶν λάθρα ὄρνις τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὠραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν Γλώνην οἱ ἐς χεῖρας παραδώσειν ζὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίους ὑπέσχετο, ἣν τινος ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶπεν. **6.** ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ὅς τὰ τε ἰμάτια δεινῶς διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἑοικῶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθε. **7.** παρὰ τε τὸν Γλώνην ἦκον τὰς τε τρίχας τίλλων, 'Ετύγχανον μὲν, ᾧ δέσποτα,' εἶπεν, 'ἅπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τάγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι 'καὶ γὰρ που ἐς τὰ ταῦτη χωρία κατ' ὀλίγους περιούντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζονται πληγὰς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ λησταὶ ὄχοντο, οἷς δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι νόμος. **8.** ἀλλ' ὅπως, ᾧ δέσποτα, σαυτῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνης. ἦν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προἴστια κληρονομήσων ἴης, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἢ τέτταρας οἱ κατάρατοι περιούντες λωποδυτοῦσιν.' **9.** ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλώνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἶεται οἱ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἰκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. **10.** ὁ δὲ πενήτηντα μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἢ κατὰ πέντε ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ζυμβῆναι οὐδὲν τι χεῖρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. **11.** Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἰπέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσι ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. **12.** ὁ δὲ ἄμεινον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιούντας Ῥωμαίους ἰδὼν ἀπαγγεῖλη, οὕτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον Πέρσας. εὖ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλώνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐπέλλετο. **13.** παρὰ τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρικίον ἦκον ἅπαντα ἔφραζε· καὶ ὅς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ζὺν αὐτῷ ἐπεμψεν. **14.** οὗς δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίου τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσαν ἐν

conditions being that the Persians would surrender the city to the Romans on receipt of a thousand pounds of gold. Each side gladly fulfilled its undertaking and the son of Glones surrendered Amida to the Romans. For Glones had now died in the following way. **5.** Before the Romans had captured Amida, but when they were not far away from the city, a farmer who used to go secretly into the city to sell fowl and loaves and many delicacies to this Glones at high prices came before Patricius the general and promised that he would deliver Glones to him with two hundred Persians, if there were hopes of some reward from him. **6.** Patricius sent the man off, promising him everything that he should ask. The man tore up his clothes and entered the city looking as if he had been weeping. **7.** He came before Glones, tearing his hair, and said: "My lord, I was bringing to you all the good things of the countryside when some Roman soldiers met me (for they go around the countryside in bands and terrorize poor farmers) and beat me terribly and went off with everything - the thieves, whose long-established custom it is to fear the Persians and terrorize the farmers.

8. Defend yourself, my lord, and us and the Persians. If you go hunting to the outskirts of the city, you shall have a prey by no means to be despised. For they do their robbery, curse them, in fours or fives." **9.** These were his words. Glones believed him and asked him how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for the task. **10.** He said that fifty would be enough, for they would not meet with more than five of them at a time on the way. But so that they should not be taken unawares by anything there would be no harm in taking even a hundred for the task. And if he took double this, so much the better. For no harm could come to a man from the larger number. **11.** Glones therefore chose two hundred cavalry and told the man to lead the way. **12.** But he assured him that it would be better that he should be sent on ahead as a spy, and if he reported that he had seen Romans still going about in the same areas, the Persians could then sally out when necessary. He seemed to Glones to speak well, and was sent out by his own order. **13.** He went to the general Patricius and told him everything. And Patricius sent with him two of his own bodyguard and a thousand soldiers. **14.** He concealed them near the village of Philasamon, five miles from Amida, in glens and

νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυσε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπέστελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. **15.** καὶ τῷ Γλώνῃ ἔτοιμον εἰπὼν τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε διέβησαν τὸν χῶρον οὗ προλοχίζοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκάθηντο, Γλώνην τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθῶν ἄπαντας, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξε. **16.** οὐσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας κατείδον Πέρσαι, κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλὴ εἶχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἴοι τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νότου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε πη ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμία ἐδύναντο. **17.** ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο, τῷ τε πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἡσσήθησάν τε καὶ ζῦν τῷ Γλώνῃ ἄπαντες διεφθάρησαν. **18.** ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλήσας τε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεῶνου νεῶν ἔκαυσεν, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Γλώνης κατέλυε. **19.** καίτοι ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν οὔτε Γλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπον ἐν γε Ἀμίδῃ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι. **20.** Οὕτω μὲν Ἄμιδαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἔαλω. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἢ τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγορία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτερόν τῆς διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. **21.** σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων τὸν ὄμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἑπτὰ μάλιστα ἡμερῶν ἠῦρισκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελειφθαι, καίπερ Γλώνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. **22.** Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ζῦν αὐτοῖς μείνασιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἱ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀήθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενοι πάντων, εἶτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. **23.** διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἦσθοντο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλώνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἐλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἰσχρὸς τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἄμιδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαβον. **24.** ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὐννοὺς πολέμου σφίσι μηκνομένου, ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ζυνιάσιν, αἶπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἑπτὰ ἔτη

woody places, and told them to stay in ambush, and set off at a run for the town. **15.** Telling Glonas that his prey was ready, he led him and his two hundred men to the enemy trap. When they had crossed the place where the Romans lay in ambush, without Glonas and the Persians seeing, he moved the Romans from their ambush and showed them the enemy.

16. When the Persians saw them bearing down upon them, they were confounded by the surprise attack, and did not know what to do. They could not retreat since the enemy were at their backs, nor could they flee in any other direction in this hostile territory. **17.** They ranged themselves for battle as well as they could in the circumstances and defended themselves against their attackers, but being far outnumbered they were defeated and were all killed with Glonas. **18.** When Glonas' son heard of this, he was greatly upset and, raging with anger that he could not help his father, burned the church of the holy Simeon where his father lodged. **19.** Neither Glonas nor Cavadh nor any other Persian deliberately destroyed or razed any other building by any other method either inside or outside Amida. But I will return to my former narrative. **20.** Thus the Romans paid the money and recaptured Amida two years after it had been taken by the enemy. When they were in the city, their own negligence and the hardihood of the Persians were discovered. **21.** After reckoning up the amount of corn left there and the numbers of barbarians who had left, they discovered that about seven days' rations were left in the city, although Glonas and his son had been giving corn to the Persians more sparingly than was necessary for a long time. **22.** For to the Romans who remained with them, as I mentioned before, they had decided to give nothing at all, ever since the time when the enemy had established the siege. These men had at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and then turned to every kind of unlawful thing, finally even cannibalizing. **23.** So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their weakness in showing themselves unruly, when they could have taken so great a number of Persians prisoners with the city, including Glonas' son, whereas the Romans had incurred great disgrace by giving money to their enemy and had only bought Amida from the Persians. **24.** But later the Persians made a truce with the Romans, for the Hunnic war was dragging on. The truce was made by Celer, the Roman, and

ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπε-
βέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ' οἴκου
τε ἀμφοτέροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.
25. οὕτω μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥω-
μαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τόδε ἐτελεύτα.
τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ζυνενεχθέντα
ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

Aspebedus, the Persian, and was for seven years.
Each side retreated to their own country and kept
the peace. Thus, as I have narrated, the war began
between Rome and Persia and thus it ended. **25.**
Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the
Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it
come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the
vents touching on the Caspian Gates.

§10

Trans. H.B. Dewing, pp. 77-79.

1. Τὸ Κιλικῶν ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ
πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν
Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μὲντοι
Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἰβήρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη
αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοα ταύτη
ᾤκηται. **2.** ἐξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν,
προϊόντι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα
εὗρους τε καὶ ὕψους διήκει. **3.** ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς
Ἰβήρων ὄρους ἀτραπὸς τίς ἐστὶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ
πολλῇ, ἐπὶ σταδίους πενήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη.
4. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὄλωσ
ἄβατον τελευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ
λοιπὸν φαίνεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ
χειροποίητον πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἢ
Κασπία ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. **5.** τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε
πεδία τέ ἐστιν ἰππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν
ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἰππόβοτός τε
καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. **6.** οὗ δὴ τὰ Οὐννων ἔθνη
σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντα ἱδρυται ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιωτῶν
διήκοντα λίμνην.

7. οὗτοι ἦν μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην
ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη,
ἀκραιφνεσί τε τοῖς ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ
οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες
χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς πενήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις
οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη,
διήκουσιν. **8.** ἐπ' ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς ἐξόδους ἰόντες
πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι
χρησθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ
αὐτοὺς περιεναίει πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας
κρημνώδεις. **9.** ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξ-
ανδρος κατενόησε, πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο
τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. ὁ δὲ
ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ
Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὐννος μὲν γένος, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ
Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ φίλος. **10.** οὗτος Ἀμβα-
ζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἔξ τε γῆρας ἀφίκτο βαθὺ καὶ
τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον,

1. The Taurus mountain range of Cilicia passes
first Cappadocia and Armenia and the land of the
so-called Persarmenians, then also Albania and
Iberia and all the other countries in this region,
both independent and subject to Persia. **2.** For it
extends to a great distance, and as one proceeds
along this range, it always spreads out to an
extraordinary breadth and rises to an imposing
height. **3.** And as one passes beyond the boundary
of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow
passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades.
4. This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs
and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass
through. For from there no way out appears,
except indeed a small gate set there by nature,
just as if it had been made by the hand of man,
which has been called from of old the Caspian
Gates. **5.** From there on there are plains suitable
for riding and extremely well watered, and
extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses,
and level besides. **6.** Here almost all the nations
of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the
Maeotic lake. **7.** Now if these Huns go through
the gate which I have just mentioned into the land
of the Persians and the Romans, they come with
their horses fresh and without making any detour
or encountering any precipitous places, except in
those fifty stades over which, as has been said,
they pass to the boundary of Iberia. **8.** If,
however, they go by any other passes, they reach
their destination with great difficulty, and can no
longer use the same horses. For the detours which
they are forced to make are many and steep
besides. **9.** When this was observed by Alex-
ander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in
the aforesaid place and established a fortress
there. And this was held by many men in turn as
time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun
by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the
Emperor Anastasius. **10.** Now when this

χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ἤτει, ἐφ' ὃ τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐνδώσει Ῥωμαίοις. **11.** βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος ἴδρᾶν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἠπίστατο οὔτε εἰώθει λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ὠμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. **12.** Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἔσχεν.

...

Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian Gates to the Romans. **11.** But the Emperor Anastasius was incapable of doing anything without careful investigation, nor was it his custom to act thus: reasoning, therefore, that it was impossible for him to support soldiers in a place which was destitute of all good things, and which had nowhere in the neighbourhood a nation subject to the Romans, he expressed deep gratitude to the man for his good-will toward him, but by no means accepted this proposition. **12.** So Ambazouces died of disease not long afterwards, and Cabades overpowered his sons and took possession of the Gates. ...

§19

1. Ἐννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἐταιρίσασθαι. ὅπη δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε ᾤκηται καὶ καθ' ὃ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν βασιλεὺς ἤλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. **2.** τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὄρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἤλιον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. **3.** αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλὰς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτης ἡτόνι ἐστίν, ἔνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὄρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἣ τε γῆ αὕτη τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾷ πόλεως σταδίους οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ χιλίους διέχουσαν.

4. ἐνθα Ἑβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκητο, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι Ῥωμαίων γεγέννηται. **5.** πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτη ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὀρῶσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐάνυμον νυκτὸς αἰεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὀρμίζονται. **6.** ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ζυμβαίνει εἶναι. **7.** ὄρμοι δὲ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστίν ὅπη παρατύχοι ὀρμίζεσθαι.

1. At that time the idea occurred to the Emperor Justinian to ally with himself the Aethiopians and the Homeritae, in order to injure the Persians. I shall now first explain what part of the earth these nations occupy, and then I shall point out in what manner the emperor hoped that they would be of help to the Romans. **2.** The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. **3.** Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending toward the south; on the other side a country deserted by men extends northward to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than one thousand stades distant from the city of Aelas. **4.** On this island Hebrews had lived from of old in autonomy, but in the reign of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans. From there on there comes a great open sea. **5.** And those who sail into this part of it no longer see the land on the right, but they always anchor along the left coast when night comes on. **6.** For it is impossible to navigate in the darkness on this sea, since it is everywhere full of shoals. **7.** But there are harbours there and great numbers of them, not made by the hand of man, but by the natural contour of the land, and for this reason it is not difficult for mariners to find anchorage

Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡϊόνα εὐθὺς μὲν ὄρους τοὺς Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν, **8.** οἱ ἐν τῷ φοινικῶνι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυνται. **9.** ἔστι δὲ ὁ φοινικῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν κατατεινὼν πολλήν, ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ φοινίκες φύονται μόνοι. **10.** τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶνι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδώρησατο, ὁ τῶν ἐκεῖνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατεστήσατο. **11.** ἀδήωτόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερὸς τε ἀεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος. **12.** τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶνα βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων οὐδ' ὁπωσιούν δυνατὰ ἐστὶ. **13.** γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀνυδρὸς ἐν μέσῳ οὓσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου ὅτουοῦν ἄξιός ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῆ ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' ὄνομα δώρου ὃ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωκε μόνον καὶ βασιλεὺς εὖ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ φοινικῶνι ταύτη πη ἔχει. **14.** τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἱ δὲ Μαδδηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ὀμηριτῶν κατήκοοι ὄντες. **15.** οἱ δὲ Ὀμηριταὶ οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα ὄκνηται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνι. ὑπὲρ τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρωποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἰδρῦσθαί φασι.

16. μεθ' οὓς δὴ τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐστὶν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν περὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν. **17.** Ὀμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὸν μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπειρῷ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Αὐξωμίται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασιλεία ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Αὐξωμίδι. **18.** καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν ἀνέμου μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουον διήκει. **19.** ταύτη γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχος ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῆ ἐστὶν· αὐτὴ πρὸς ἐνίων ἡ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ Αἰλὰν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς ὠνόμασται κόλπος. **20.** χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὀρίων Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις τῇ πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. **21.** ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν ὄρμος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικάς ὠνομάζεται. **22.** διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν

wherever they happen to be. This coast immediately beyond the boundaries of Palestine is held by Saracens, **8.** who have been settled from of old in the Palm Groves. **9.** These groves are in the interior, extending over a great tract of land, and there absolutely nothing else grows except palm trees. **10.** The Emperor Justinian had received these palm groves as a present from Abochorabus, the ruler of the Saracens there, and he was appointed by the emperor captain over the Saracens in Palestine. **11.** And he guarded the land from plunder constantly, for both to the barbarians over whom he ruled and no less to the enemy, Abochorabus always seemed a man to be feared and an exceptionally energetic fellow. **12.** Formally, therefore, the emperor holds the Palm Groves, but for him really to possess himself of any of the country there is utterly impossible. **13.** For a land completely destitute of human habitation and extremely dry lies between, extending to the distance of a ten days' journey; moreover the Palm Groves themselves are by no means worth anything, and Abochorabus only gave the form of a gift, and the emperor accepted it with full knowledge of the fact. So much then for the Palm Groves. **14.** Adjoining this people there are other Saracens in possession of the coast, who are called Maddeni and who are subjects of the Homeritae. **15.** These Homeritae dwell in the land on the farther side of them on the shore of the sea. And beyond them many other nations are said to be settled as far as the man-eating Saracens. **16.** Beyond these are the nations of India. But regarding these matters let each one speak as he may wish. **17.** About opposite the Homeritae on the opposite mainland dwell the Aethiopians who are called Auxomitae, because their king resides in the city of Auxomis. **18.** And the expanse of sea which lies between is crossed in a voyage of five days and nights, when a moderately favouring wind blows. **19.** For here they are accustomed to navigate by night also, since there are no shoals at all in these parts; this portion of the sea has been called the Red Sea by some. For the sea which one traverses beyond this point as far as the shore and the city of Aelas has received the name of the Arabian Gulf, **20.** inasmuch as the country which extends from here to the limits of the city of Gaza used to be called in olden times Arabia, since the king of the Arabs had his palace in early times in the city of Petrae. **21.** Now the harbour of the Homeritae from which they are accustomed to put to sea for the

Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν λιμένα. Ἄδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων διέχει (τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι), πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν δώδεκα.

23. Πλοῖα μέντοι ὅσα ἐν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἐστὶν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ᾧπερ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες πεποῖνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσση οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ὄτρωον χρῖονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς ἰόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ σανίδες ξυμπεπήγασιν, ἀλλὰ βρόχοις τισὶ ξυνδέδενται.

24. αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὔσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἐαυτὰς ἔλκουσαι ἑτεκμήριον δέ: ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἡρμοσμέναις, οὔποτε τοιοῦτον ξυνηέχθη παθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. **25.** οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἷοί τε εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. **26.** θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἡ ζημία ἐστὶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσῃ καὶ χώρα ἢ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερά ἐστι ταύτη πη ἔχει.

27. Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὄρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ. **28.** ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἴδρυται καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὤκηται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπτὰ ἐτέρων ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν: **29.** ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιος ὡς ἦκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἑτέροις γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν ὑψηλαίαν ἀνέχουσαι τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι, στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυτο, ὧνπερ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὀασιν ὤκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἡγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς αἰὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἰδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσιν τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρα

voyage to Aethiopia is called Bulicas; **22.** and at the end of the sail across the sea they always put in at the harbour of the Adulitae. But the city of Adulis is removed from the harbour a distance of twenty stades (for it lacks only so much of being on the sea), while from the city of Auxomis it is a journey of twelve days. **23.** All the boats which are found in India and on this sea are not made in the same manner as are other ships. For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance, nor indeed are the planks fastened together by iron nails going through and through, but they are bound together with a kind of cording. **24.** The reason is not as most persons suppose, that there are certain rocks there which draw the iron to themselves (for witness the fact that when the Roman vessels sail from Aelas into this sea, although they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Aethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. **25.** Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; **26.** for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea and of the land which lies on either side of it. **27.** From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. **28.** Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; **29.** but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow (for rocks rise to an exceedingly great height at no great distance from the Nile and spread over the rest of the country), while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their own habitations, and to settle

πολλῆ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνονι ἤσπερ τὰ πρότερα ᾤκητο.

30. οὕτω γὰρ ᾤετο αὐτοὺς τε οὐκέτι τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὀασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι Βλέμυάς τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους. **31.** ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίητο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσι ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ζύμπασαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον. **32.** τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσωνται.

33. ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδὲν τι ἤσπον καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν. **34.** καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νεῖλῳ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτη δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεῶς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσι οἰόμενος. **35.** διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐσπερ Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντα, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὄσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον.

36. οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασιν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. **37.** Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἅτε ἠὲτομοληκότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθη, τῶν ἐκείνη στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τὰ τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγεῖλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied. **30.** For in this way he thought that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least, and that they would possess themselves of the land given them, as being their own, and would probably beat off the Blemyes and the other barbarians. **31.** And since this pleased the Nobatae, they made the migration immediately, just as Diocletian directed them, and took possession of all the Roman cities and the land on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. **32.** Then it was that this emperor decreed that to them and to the Blemyes a fixed sum of gold should be given every year with the stipulation that they should no longer plunder the land of the Romans. **33.** And they receive this gold even up to my time, but none the less they overrun the country there. Thus it seems that with all barbarians there is no means of compelling them to keep faith with the Romans except through the fear of soldiers to hold them in check. **34.** And yet this emperor went so far as to select a certain island in the River Nile close to the city of Elephantine and there construct a very strong fortress in which he established certain temples and altars for the Romans and these barbarians in common, and he settled priests of both nations in this fortress, thinking that the friendship between them would be secure by reason of their sharing the things sacred to them. **35.** And for this reason he named the place Philae. Now both these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatae, believe in all the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also reverence Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus. **36.** But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the sun. These sanctuaries in Philae were kept by these barbarians even up to my time, but the Emperor Justinian decided to tear them down. **37.** Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I have mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans, being commander of the troops there, tore down the sanctuaries at the emperor's order, and put the priests under guard and sent the statues to Byzantium. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

§20

1. Ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἑλλησθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς, Χριστιανὸς τε ὢν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὀμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπειρῶ ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὄντας, πολλοὺς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἦν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον οὐκ ἐχούση ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνη Χριστιανούς χρῆσθαι, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στρατεύμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε, καὶ μάχη νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστήσάμενος, Ὀμηρίτην μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἐσιμψαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε. 2. τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιοπῶν στρατοῦ δοῦλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν εἶχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμία τῆς Ὀμηριτῶν χώρας: ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστίν. 3. Οὗτος ὁ λεῶς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ζῆν ἐτέροις τισὶν Ἐσιμψαῖῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τινὶ τῶν ἐκείνη φρουριῶν καθεῖρξαν, ἕτερον δὲ Ὀμηρίταις βασιλέα κατεστήσαντο, 4. Ἄβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Ἄβραμος οὗτος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει Αἰθιοπῶν Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασία διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. 5. ἃ δὴ Ἑλλησθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαι τε Ἄβραμον ὁμοῦ τοῖς ζῆν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμψαῖον ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στρατεύμα τε τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ζυγγεῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. 6. οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι ἐθέλοντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Ἀβράμῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἔς τε ζυμβολὴν καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον.

7. θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαῖος ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολὺ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ' οἴκου εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. δεῖσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσεν.

8. Ἑλλησθεαῖου δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους

1. At about the time of this war Hellestheaeus, the king of the Aethiopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of this faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite main-land were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews, and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day call Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both the king and many of the Homeritae. He then set up in his stead a Christian king, a Homerite by birth, by name Esimiphaeus, and, after ordaining that he should pay a tribute to the Aethiopians every year, he returned to his home. 2. In this Aethiopian army many slaves and all who were readily disposed to crime were quite unwilling to follow the king back, but were left behind and remained there because of their desire for the land of the Homeritae; for it is an extremely goodly land. 3. These fellows at a time not long after this, in company with certain others, rose against the king Esimiphaeus and put him in confinement in one of the fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abramus by name. 4. Now this Abramus was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Aethiopia. 5. When Hellestheaeus learned this, he was eager to punish Abramus together with those who had revolted with him for their injustice to Esimiphaeus, and he sent against them an army of three thousand men with one of his relatives as commander. 6. This army, once there, was no longer willing to return home, but they wished to remain where they were in a goodly land, and so without the knowledge of their commander they opened negotiations with Abramus; then when they came to an engagement with their opponents, just as the fighting began, they killed their commander and joined the ranks of the enemy, and so remained there. 7. But Hellestheaeus was greatly moved with anger and sent still another army against them; this force engaged with Abramus and his men, and, after suffering a severe defeat in the battle, straightway returned home. Thereafter the king of the Aethiopians became afraid, and sent no further expeditions against Abramus. 8. After the death

Ἄβραμος ὠμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο. **9.** Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοπι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἐσιμφαιίου δὲ ἐν Ὀμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἅμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὠνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν· αὕτη δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἦν πάλαι μὲν Ἑλληνας Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουσαν, τανῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν, Ὀμηρίται δὲ ὅπως Καῖσὸν τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσονται καὶ στρατῶ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὀμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν.

10. ὁ δὲ Καῖσὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δὲ τινα Ἐσιμφαιίου ξυγγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν ἔφευγεν ἢ δὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ἐστίν. **11.** ἑκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἴτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελεῖ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπέπεμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὠμολογημένα οὐδέτερος. **12.** τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοπι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρμοις γινόμενοι οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα αἰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταίρουσιν, ἅτε χώραν προσοικοῦντες τὴν ὁμορον, ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασιν, καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημόν τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὁδὸν κατατείνουσαν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους πολλῷ μαχιμωτέρους ἰέναι.

13. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἄβραμος ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέςτατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ὠμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλλειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὀπίσω εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Ὀμηριτῶν ταύτη Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν.

of Hellestheaeus, Abramus agreed to pay tribute to the king of the Aethiopians who succeeded him, and in this way he strengthened his rule. But this happened at a later time. **9.** At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name "seric"). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caïsus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. **10.** This Caïsus was by birth of the captain's rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphæus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. **11.** So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. **12.** For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. **13.** Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.

De Bello Gothico IV

§17

Translated by Dr John Sheldon¹

1. Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινες μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες, γνόντες τε ὡς Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ διὰ σπουδῆς εἶη μηκέτι πρὸς Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐς βασιλεία γενόμενοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ δὴ μετάξῃ διοικήσεσθαι ὠμολόγουν, ὡς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐγ Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου τε ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσωνται. 2. χρόνου γὰρ κατατρῖναι μῆκος ἐν χώρᾳ ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη τὰ πολλὰ οὕση, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται, ταύτη τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὅποια ποτὲ μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δυνατὰ εἶη. 3. Ἐνδεδεχέστατα δὲ διερευνημένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυθανομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθῆς εἶη ἔφρασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκόληκας τινὰς τῆς μετάξῃς δημιουργοὺς εἶναι, τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς διδασκάλου τε οὕσης καὶ διηνεκῶς ἀναγκαζούσης ἐργάζεσθαι. 4. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκόληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακομίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν γόνον εὐπορόν τε καὶ ῥάδιον ὄλωσ. Εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκολήκων τῶνδε τὸν γόνον ὡς ἐκάστου ἀνάριθμα.

5. Ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ὡς χρόνῳ πολλῷ τῆς γονῆς ὕστερον κόπρῳ καλύψαντες ἄνθρωποι ταύτη τε διαρκῆ θερμήναντες χρόνον ζῶα ποιοῦσι. 6. Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρήσασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸν λόγον. 7. Οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι ἐν Σηρίνδῃ² αἰθίς τὰ τε ὡς μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκόληκας τε ἡαῦτὰ τρόπῳ ὅπερ ἐρρήθη μεταπεφυκέναι διαπραξάμενοι τρέφουσι τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῆ.³

1. About this time some of the monks coming from India, knowing that it was a matter of importance to the Emperor Justinian that the Romans should no longer purchase silk from the Persians, came to the king and agreed to supply him with the wherewithal for silk manufacture so that the Romans would no longer make this purchase from their enemies the Persians or any other race; 2. for they said that they had spent a length of time in a country which was beyond the many tribes of India – a place called Serinda – and there had accurately learned by what means it would be possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. 3. When the king scrutinized the matter most carefully and asked if the story were true, the monks affirmed that certain worms were the producers of silk and that nature was their teacher and continually constrained them to perform this task. 4. But they said that there were no practical means of transporting the worms there alive, but that the breeding of them was absolutely plain and simple; for the method of generation of these worms was in countless numbers of eggs each one produced. 5. Men cover these eggs with dung a long time after they are laid and, keeping them warm there for an appropriate period of time, they produce living creatures. 6. When they said this the king, promising to load the men with many good things, encouraged them to confirm what they had said with a practical test. 7. They returned to Serinda and brought eggs back to Byzantium. They succeeded in turning them into worms in the manner described; they fed them on the leaves of the mulberry tree; and from that they established silk production in the land of the Romans for the rest of time.

¹ Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 125-26 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 228-29. (Augmented by Samuel N.C. Lieu.)

² Var. Σηρίνδη Ἰνδία.

³ This passage of Procopius is cited by Zonaras XIV,9,16-20 and by Michael Glykas IV,270. See various complementary references to the introduction of silk into Byzantium in Procopius, *De Bello Persico* I,20; II,6 and Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccles.* XVII,32.

NOTES

1. μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἦκοντες In view of Byzantine vague use of the term India these monks may have come from Southern Arabia. In any case, they knew about silk manufacture and according to the account given here, this made the Byzantine empire independent of Persia as a source of this important material. See next note and note on **Aethiopes** in Pomponius Mela III 67.

2. χώρα ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη ... Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται Σηρίνδα ‘Serinda’ occurs only here in C’s excerpts. It is a convenient, though vague, description of seeming Indian and Chinese ethnicity and could be applied to many inhabitants of the ‘Silk road’. See Herrmann *RE* IV (1923) 1727-8. It roughly describes today’s Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of the People’s Republic of China. The suggestion that it is the same as Serendib ‘Ceylon’ made by Winstedt 1909 p 352 is wrong. This sounds as though the monks had gone beyond ‘India’ to a place of silk manufacture i.e. a sea voyage to an eastern port or, more likely, a land route to Central Asia where Khotan for example was an important silk town. See note on **ὅτι τὴν σκολήκων ... κατεῖχον** in Theophanes of Byzantium 3. On the vexing and unique term ‘Serinda’ as used here by Procopius see esp. Wada Hiroshi, *Prokops Rätselwort Serinda und die Verpflanzung des Seidenbaus von China nach dem oströmischen Reich* (Diss. Inaug. Köln, 1971) 50-62

3. σκολήκας τινας ... ἐργάζεσθαι This is a completely accurate description of silkworms and their natural production of silk.

5. ταῦτα ... ποιῶσι Silkworm eggs laid by the moths will hatch into tiny worms if kept in reasonably warm conditions. This method of incubating them in dung sounds appropriate for places with a cold winter.

7. συκαμίνου συκάμινος seems to be synonymous with μωρέα (μόρος) ‘mulberry tree’. There may have been some early confusion with συκόμορος, the sycamore or fig mulberry. This word is probably a direct borrowing of Hebrew *shikemah*. In the Gk. mind it was popularly etymologized from σῦκον ‘fig’ and μόρος ‘mulberry’. Today ‘sycamore’ (or ‘sycamore’) describes a number of different genera. See Theophanes of Byzantium 3 (*infra*).

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES



On Trade with India and China

Cosmas Indicopleustes was an Alexandrian Egyptian Greek of the Sixth Century and a traveller to 'India' who later probably became a monk. His *Christian Topography* in twelve books aims to refute the view prevalent among pagans that the earth was a sphere; for Cosmas the world is shaped like the tabernacle built by Moses to house the Ark of the Covenant. Written about 550 CE the *Christian Topography* contained some of the earliest and most famous maps. There are copies of these in extant mss. of his work, the earliest of which is dated to the Ninth Century CE. Photius (cod.36) is the first author to cite him and his name was sometimes taken to be an invention punning on κόσμος 'world'. Sir Henry Yule (*Cathay and the Way Hither*, Vol. 1 (London, 1915) 25-28) has some harsh words for him e.g. p 27: 'Altogether the book is a memorable example of that mischievous process of loading Christian truth with a dead-weight of false science, which has had so many followers.' He does, however, say on p 28 that 'Cosmas had a very correct idea of the position of China, as lying on the extreme eastern coast of Asia.' This is supported by Zhang Xushan (2005) who regards Cosmas as 'the first Greek or Roman' to show real familiarity with China's geographical location. Zhang Xushan attributes this to the fact that at the time Cosmas was writing silk cargoes from South China had for some time been carried westwards by the Kun-lun people (Malayans and Indonesians). As a result of the prosperous trade in India, where much of the cargo came to port, and from its shipment further west, it is easy enough to see how knowledge of the general lay-out of the east Chinese coast could be acquired by an observer such as Cosmas. Like other Christian geographers, he believed in a circumambient ocean; hence a Chinese coast was to be expected unlike the 'unknown land' which Ptolemy puts on this boundary. Cosmas's second excerpt from Book Eleven may belong not to the *Christian Topography* but to another work either drafted or completed by this author.

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COSMAS INDICOPLUESTES

TOPOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA

PG 88, cols. 137 and 337

Translated by Dr John Sheldon⁴

II (137) = ed. Winstedt 96c-97b (pp. 68-69)

... Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἱ ποθοῦντες πολλὰ μανθάνειν καὶ περιεργάζεσθαι, εἴπερ ἦν ὁ παράδεισος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ γῆ, οὐκ κνουν οἱ πολλοὶ φθάσαι μέχρι τῶν αὐτόθι. Εἰ γὰρ διὰ μετὰξιον εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς τινες ἐμπορίας οἰκτρᾶς χάριν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι διελθεῖν, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς θεᾶς αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραδείσου κνησαν πορεύεσθαι; Αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα τοῦ μεταξίου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρᾳ πάντων Ἰνδία, κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος εἰσιόντων τοῦ Ἰνδικοῦ πελάγους, περαιτέρω πολὺ τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῆς νήσου τῆς καλουμένης παρὰ μὲν Ἰνδοῖς, Σελεδίβα, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι, Ταπροβάνη, Τζίνιτζα⁵ οὕτω καλουμένη, κυκλουμένη πάλιν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ Βαρβαρία κυκλοῦται ἐκ δεξιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Καὶ φασιν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ καλούμενοι Βραχμάνες, ὅτι ἐὰν βάλῃς ἀπὸ Τζίνιτζας σπαρτίον, διελθεῖν διὰ Περσίδος ἕως Ῥωμανίας, ἀπὸ κανόνος τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν, καὶ τάχα ἀληθεύουσι. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀριστερά ἐστὶν, ὡς δι' ὀλίγου χρόνου βασταγὰς μεταξίου γίνεσθαι ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖ, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν ἐν Περσίδι διὰ τῆς γῆς· διὰ δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πάνυ πολλὰ διαστήματα ἀπέχουσα ἀπὸ τῆς Περσίδος. Ὅσον γὰρ διάστημα ἔχει ὁ κόλπος ὁ Περσικὸς εἰσερχόμενος ἐν Περσίδι, τοσοῦτο διάστημα πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ταπροβάνης καὶ περαιτέρω ποιεῖ ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰσερχόμενός τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τζίνιτζα· μετὰ τὸ καὶ διαστήματα πάλιν ἰκανὰ ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξωθεν τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου ὅλον τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος ἕως Ταπροβάνης καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Διατέμνει οὖν πολλὰ διαστήματα ὁ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ Τζίνιτζα⁶ ἐπὶ Περσίδα, ὅθεν καὶ πλῆθος μεταξίου ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα εὐρίσκεται· περαιτέρω δὲ τῆς Τζίνιτζας,

... furthermore many men desiring copious knowledge and experience, on the assumption that paradise existed on this earth, were not hesitating to push their research into the affairs of people here. For if some for the sake of lamentable trade did not hesitate to cross to those lands in search of silk in most distant places, how would they have hesitated to travel there to observe the same 'paradise'? This land of silk is in the most remote part of all India; it is on the left-hand side for those entering the Indian Ocean, far removed from the Persian Gulf and from the island called among the Indians Sele-dipa, but among the Greeks Taprobane. Called Tzinitza it is in turn surrounded by the Ocean on its left side, just as the land of the barbarians is surrounded by it on its right side. The Indian philosophers called Brahmans assert that if you were to stretch a cord from Tzinitza it will pass through Persia until it reaches Roman territory; this is the midpoint of the world according to measurement – and perhaps they speak the truth. It is very far to the left, since in a short time consignments of silk from the people there reach Persia conveyed in relays by other peoples through this land; while the route by sea is much further from Persia. The distance covered by someone in Tzinitza coming to the left and travelling back from Taprobane and beyond is the same as is covered by the Persian Gulf in Persia. After that the Indian Sea covers comparable distances starting from its beginning outside the Persian Gulf as far as Taprobane and beyond. Therefore one taking the road from Tzinitza to Persia cuts off much distance. Thus it is that an

⁴ Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 130-32 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 234-38.

⁵ Var. Τζίνη.

⁶ Var. Τζίνιστα.

οὐδὲ πλέεται οὐδὲ οἰκεῖται.

abundance of silk is always found in Persia: beyond Tzinitza there is no navigation and habitation.

Ἀπὸ γοῦν τῆς οὖν Τζινίτζας ὡς ἀπὸ σπαρτίου ὀρθῶς ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν τις μετρῶν τὰ διαστήματα τοῦ μήκους τῆς γῆς, εὐρήσει πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον μονῶν υ', ἀπὸ μιλίων λ'. Μετρητέον δὲ οὕτως· ἀπὸ τῆς Τζινίτζας ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Περσίδος πᾶσα Ἰουυία⁷ καὶ Ἰνδία, καὶ ἡ Βάκτρων χώρα εἰσὶ περί που μοναὶ ρν', εἰ μὴ τι πλείους οὐκ ἔλαττον· ...

Anyone who measures by a stretched cord the distance of the earth's magnitude from Tzinitza to the West will find 400 stages more or less, each one being 30 miles. This is how it should be measured: from Tzinitza to the start of Persia, all Iouuia and India and the land of the Bactrians comprise at least 150 stages; if this is not exactly so, there are more rather than less...

NOTES

ὁ παράδεισος The Christian writer uses the word in the sense it gained in biblical usage. Old Iranian *pairi.daēza* 'walled enclosure, park' (*AIW* col 865) is borrowed into Gk. and first recorded by Xenophon in *Anabasis* of Persian royal parks. It came later to have the general meaning 'park, garden'. It is specifically the Garden of Eden in biblical writings, then more generally 'paradise' as here. Arabic *firdaws* is a borrowing found in Persian. Compare Firdawsi, the name of the author of the *Shahnama*.

μετάξιον Winstedt 1909 p 68 adopts the ms. variant *μέταξιυ*. See note on *ἀπὸ σπαρτίου* below.

Ταπροβάνη Taprobane is always the name given to the island of Ceylon by Lat. writers. In Gk. we find another name, *Palaisimoundou* Παλαισιμουνδου which is almost certainly caused by failure to separate two words since variants of Σιμουνδου occur without *παλαι-* 'ancient'. Σαλικη is a name for it in Ptolemy and *Sieladipa* is found in Cosmas Indicopleustes. It is worth noting with D.P.M Weerakoddy (*Taprobane: Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greeks and Romans* (Turnhout 1997) 20) that Pliny in discussing the embassy to Claudius gives the name of the capital city as *Palaesimundum*, which is also the name of a nearby river. In some of its occurrences a case has been made for Taprobane being Sumatra. See Weerakoddy, *op. cit.* 18-20. The attempt to see Skt. *tāmra* 'copper-coloured' (*tamba panni*, *tāmraparṇi* etc.) in the first part of this word is not wholly convincing, though it is part of the Sri Lankan historical tradition and still appears regularly in their scholarly writings. cf. Weerakoddy 1997 p 19. Another suggested Skt. etymology is *dvīpa rāvana* 'Island of Rāvana', a designation of Ceylon in Brahmanical writings. This has some plausibility. Winstedt, *op. cit.* 352 regards the designation of Ceylon as Taprobane to be as early as Megasthenes. Weerakoddy 1997 p120, however, says, 'According to our evidence, the earliest writer to mention Taprobane in a Gk. text was Onesicritus of Astypalaea, whom Pliny introduces as an admiral (praefectus) of the fleet of Alexander the Great, and who appears to have written before the end of the Fourth Century BC.' (Sheldon, *Comm.* 32)

Τζίνιτζα The variant Τζίνη given by C does not appear in the *apparatus criticus* of Winstedt 1909 p 68 who is unaccountably inconsistent in giving the name in an undeclined and a declined form. While it is true that toponyms, especially exotic ones, are often undeclined in the ms. tradition, Winstedt's *apparatus* shows a majority of declined forms. These are rightly preserved in Migne 1860 vol 88, the text used by C. Winstedt's other departures from the Migne text in C's excerpts are of little significance and sometimes less good e.g. *πλέον ἔλαττον* for *πλεῖον ἢ ἔλαττον*. He prints *πλεῖον* forms elsewhere. *εἰσιν* also appears for *εἰσι* against the normal convention of *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* and has no merit. The name Τζίνιτζα itself has given rise to much speculation. It is most likely to conceal an Iranian form such as *Chinastan* cf. Skt. *Cinasthāna*. Among the Sogdian Ancient Letters dated probably early in the Fourth Century CE *cynst'n* (Ancient Letter 2.17) seems to be the name for

⁷ Var. Οἶννια (Coedès notes).

China, though Henning was unsure whether this referred the whole of China or merely a part of it. See W.B. Henning, 'The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters' *BSOAS* 12 (1949) 609 and N. Sims-Williams 'Ancient Letters' in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol II (New York 2000) 7 and note on **μεγάλους ... κατανεύονται** in Theophylactus Simocatta VII 9 8 (*infra*). See also H.H. Schaeder *Iranica I. Das Auge des Königs 2. Fu-Lin (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen)* (Berlin 1934) 48ff. and criticism of his suggestions in Henning, *op. cit.* 308 n 2. The Eighth Century CE Syriac inscription from Xi'an (i.e. Chang'an, the western capital under the Tang dynasty) has *Činistan* i.e. 'Tzinista'. See S.N.C. Lieu, 'Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica' in *Exigisti Monumenta: Festschrift in Honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams* (Wiesbaden 2009) 229-230. As Lieu (*op. cit.* 239) points out: 'names of regions ending in -(i)stan are commonly encountered in the administrative geography of Sassanian Iran.' See M. Morony *Iraq after the Islamic Conquest* (New Jersey 1984) 125-164. Cosmas has replaced the usual *Thinae, Sinae, Seres* etc. with a different name. Zhang Xushan (*op. cit.* 1) does not find this surprising, as the traditional name 'had almost disappeared at that time in all Byzantine authors.' In any case the land in question is probably Southern China, although others have made a case for Thailand or Malaya. See Winstedt, *op. cit.* 334 and Weerakkody, *op. cit.* 133 n 3. Zhang Xushan, *op. cit.* 2 rightly believes that this interpretation is too narrow. Cosmas is the first western geographer we know of to locate China's eastern boundary on the Ocean. The relative geography of China, Persia and the Roman East ascribed by Cosmas to Brahman philosophers is well expressed. See Winstedt, *op. cit.* 355. Here we may have a clear description of the Silk Road. Silk is brought through Tzinitza to Persia by a direct overland route. The **μεσσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου**, i.e. the most central point in the known world suggests the general region of the Taklamakan Desert in the middle of the silk route. The speed of the land route is contrasted with the slow voyage of ships which we may assume to be bearing silk.

Σελεδίβα This is an accurate rendering of an ancient Skt. name for Ceylon; Cosmas compares the Indian name with Taprobane which is the usual Gk. designation. See note on **Divis et Serendivis** in Ammianus XXII 7 10.

πραιτέρω τῆς Τζινίτζης ... οἰκεῖται If no one sails there, it cannot be certain that no one lives there; absence of habitation is deduced but not proved from absence of sea voyages to those parts.

ἀπὸ σπαρτίου This is geographical measurement, in our parlance, 'as the crow flies'. The shortest distance here is gauged by an imaginary rope stretched from one extremity of the earth to the other. In going from Tzinitza to Persia it passes through the land of the 'Huns', India and Bactria. India vaguely describes its northernmost mountainous regions. One may note that the word **σχοῖνος** was an Egyptian unit of land measurement. The noun means 'reed', hence 'rope plaited from reeds'. Note also that, according to Winstedt *op. cit.* 332, in late Lat. *metaxa* is used for 'silk' although it earlier meant 'rope'. See note on **ζῶα νήθοντα μέταξον** in Hesychius *Lexicon*.

Ἰουνία The variant Οὔννια is to be preferred. This may represent *Hunnia*. There are variants *Hunnos* etc. here and mss. of Honorius have a variety of forms including *Cumi*. In Winstedt p 324 in the section following Cosmas's second excerpt we have **πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ Οὔννιαν διαίρει ὁ Φεῖσων ποταμός** 'the River Phison divides all India and Hunnia'. The Phison here refers to the Ganges. cf. Jacques de Vitry LXXXV 30-32. See Winstedt *op. cit.* 325. An identification of Huns as Scyths is not out of the question. C. Beckwith, *Empires of the Silk Road* (Princeton and Oxford 2009) 82 says, 'The Huns are first noted by Ptolemy (III 5 25 Χοῦνοι) in the Second Century. They lived in the eastern Pontic Steppe in Sarmatia, that is, east of the sea of Azov and beyond the Don River.' On p 72 he dismisses the identification of the Xiongnu with European Huns on linguistic grounds. Sims-Williams, *op. cit.* 7, however, notes that in the second of the Sogdian Ancient Letters *xwn* is used for Hun. 'The equation of *xwn* with Xiongnu is of major historical importance since it goes a long way to establishing the sometimes disputed identity of the name of the far-eastern Xiongnu with that of the Huns of Europe.' It seems that the balance of scholarly opinion is now in favour of this equation.

Byzantine sources on Lands and Peoples

XI (337) = ed. Winstedt, 14-33 (p 322) 1-2 (p 323)

Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων, λέγω δὴ τῆς Τζινίτζας καὶ ἐτέρων ἐμπορίων, δέχεται μέταξιν, ἀλοὴν, καρυόφυλλον, τζανδάναν, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ χώραν εἰσί· ... Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ Τζίνιτζα τὴν μέταξιν βάλλουσα· ἧς ἐνδοτέρω οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερα χώρα· ὁ Ὠκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολάς.

From the interior regions, I speak of Tzinitza and other trading posts, it (Taprobane) gets its silk, aloes, cloves, sandalwood and whatever else according to country ... and for the rest there is Tzinitza which contributes silk – further inland from this there is no other country, for the Ocean surrounds it on the eastern side.

NOTES

καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων ... χώραν εἰσί This section lists exported products and may be part of a different book of Cosmas. See introduction above. ‘Of the trading places from which Ceylon received its eastern products, the eastern coast of India is not so famous for cloves, whereas cloves are indigenous to the eastern Indonesian islands.’ (Zhang Xushan, *op. cit.*, 4). According to Yule, *op. cit.* 28 ‘Cosmas professes no knowledge of geographical details between Ceylon and China, but he is aware that the clove country lies between the two, which is in itself a considerable step in geography for the Sixth Century. Silk, aloe-wood, cloves and sandalwood are the chief exports that came westward to Ceylon from China and the intermediate countries.’ Weerakkody, *op. cit.* 145 makes the interesting observation that ‘whereas these (the other rivers of Paradise) go underground and are interconnected, the Pheison proceeds on the surface and provides visible evidence of its origin in Paradise by the transport of a clove, a product of that sacred region, through the intervening desert down to its mouth. Cosmas, with a more personal knowledge as a merchant, prefers to place the Clove Country further east from India unconnected with the idea of an earthly Paradise.’

Τζανδάναν This is a transliteration of Skt *chandana* ‘sandal-wood’. According to Tennent 1859 vol 1 p 590 it is ‘mentioned by the Chinese travellers as an export from Ceylon, but is no longer found there.’

MENANDER PROTECTOR



On Turks and Sogdians

Menander the Protector (*i.e.* one of the imperial bodyguards), Byzantine historian, was born in Constantinople in the middle of the 6th century A.D. The little that is known of his life is contained in the account of himself quoted by Suidas. He at first took up the study of law, but abandoned it for a life of pleasure. When his fortunes were low, the patronage accorded to literature by the emperor Maurice (582) encouraged him to try writing history. He took as his model Agathias, who like him had been a jurist, and his history begins at the point where Agathias leaves off. It embraces the period from the arrival of the Cotriguri Hunni in Thrace during the reign of Justinian in 558 down to the death of the emperor Tiberius in 582. Considerable fragments of the work are preserved in the excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and in Suidas. Although the style is sometimes bombastic, he is considered trustworthy and is one of the most valuable authorities for the history of the 6th century, especially on geographical and ethnographical matters. He was an eye-witness of some of the events he describes. Like Agathias, he wrote epigrams, one of which, on a Persian *magus*, who became a convert to Christianity and died the death of a martyr, is preserved in the Greek anthology (*Anth. Pal.* i. 101).

The *History* of Menander, as mentioned above, has not survived intact but fortunately it was heavily excerpted by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (r. 913-59) in his work *Excerpta de Legationibus*. The modern editors of the work have separated it into two sections *Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* and *Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos*. In them are preserved a rare account of a mercantile delegation from the Turks through Sogdian intermediaries. Along with the account of Taugast in Theophylact Simocattes, that of Menander is an invaluable and much cite source on the history of Eurasia in the pre-Islamic period.

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MENANDER PROTECTOR

Ap. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, Excerpta de Legationibus (ed. C. de Boor)

Translated by Camilla Ferard and Samuel N.C. Lieu

§10.1

(Excerpta de legationibus gentium ad Romanos 7, pp. 450—452)

Ὅτι ἀρχομένου τοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας πρεσβεία τῶν Τούρκων ἀφίκετο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. ὡς γὰρ τὰ Τούρκων ἐπὶ μέγα ἤρθη, οἱ Σογδαῖται οἱ πρὸ τοῦ μὲν Ἐφθαλιτῶν, τηνικαῦτα δὲ Τούρκων κατήκοοι, τοῦ σφῶν βασιλέως ἐδέοντο πρεσβείαν στείλαι ὡς Πέρσας, ὡς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπιόντες οἱ Σογδαῖται ὄνιον παράσχοιντο τὴν μέταξαν τοῖς Μήδοις. καὶ οὖν πείθεται ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἀφίησί τε πρεσβευσομένους Σογδαῖτας· ἐξηγεῖτο δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας Μανιάχ. ἀφικόμενοι δὴ οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα Περσῶν ἐδέοντο τῆς μετάξης περί, ὅπως ἄνευ τινὸς κωλύμης αὐτοῖς προέλθοι ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὰ τῆς ἐμπορίας. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν βασιλεύς (οὐδαμῶς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἤρεσκε τὰ τοιάδε, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐνθένδε ἄδεια ἔσοιτο τούτοις τοῖς Περσῶν ἐμβατεύειν ὀρίοις) ἀνεβάλετο ἐς τὸ αὔριον· καὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτίς ἀναβολῇ ἐχρήτο πάλιν ἑτέρα. ὡς δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὸ παρὸν ἀπεκρούετο, τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν ἐκλιπαρούντων τε καὶ ἐγκειμένων, τότε Χοσρόης ἐκκλησιάσας ἀνελογίζετο. καὶ οὖν ὁ Κάτουλφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ἐφθαλίτης, ὃς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βασιλέως γεγεννημένην βιαίαν μίξιν τῇ γυναικὶ προὔδωκε τὸ ὁμόφυλον τοῖς Τούρκοις, οὗτος γοῦν (μετανάστης γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ἐγεγόνει τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐμῆδιζεν ἤδη) παρήγεσε βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν μέταξαν οὐδαμῶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ὠνήσα-σθαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὲν καταθέσθαι τιμήματα, θεωμένων δὲ ἄλλως τῶν πρέσβεων ταύτην ἀφανίσαι πυρί, ὡς ἂν μήτε ἀδικεῖν δόξοι μήτε μὴν βούλεσθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ ἐκ Τούρκων μετάξῃ. καὶ ἡ μὲν μέταξα ἐπυρπολήθη, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ γεγεννημένῳ ἤκιστα χαίροντες. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ τὰ ξυγκυρήσαντα ἔφρασαν, αὐτίκα ὄγε καὶ ἑτέρα πρεσβεία ἐχρήτο ὡς Πέρσας φιλοποιήσασθαι τὴν κατὰ σφᾶς πολιτείαν

At the beginning of the fourth year of the reign of Justin (569 CE), an embassy of the Turks arrived in Byzantium. As the power of the Turks had greatly increased, the inhabitants of Sogdiana, former subjects of the Ephthalites, and then the Turks, had asked their princes to send an embassy to the Persians, with the intention of going there and selling silk to the Persians. Sizabul was persuaded and allowed the inhabitants of Sogdia to send the embassy. Its leader was Maniach. When they arrived at the king of the Persians, they requested, in the matter of the silk, that they be permitted to trade in his country without any obstacle. The Persian king, who did not like the fact that the Turks were allowed to enter the Persian territory from this side, postponed the matter until the next day. And the next day he used another prevarication. Afterwards, he had soon thrown off his concern by this method, but the pleading and urging of the people of Sogdia became more and more intense and Chosroes convened a council meeting and considered the matter. An Ephthalite, named Katulph, who, since his prince had once raped his wife, had supplied his countrymen to the Turks, but who had then emigrated and adopted Persian customs, advised the Persian king not to allow the silk to pass freely, but rather instead to buy it up, mark it up, and destroy it by fire before the eyes of the envoys, so that it would appear that he did not do wrong, and did not want to make any use of the Turkic silk. So, the silk was burned, and the envoys returned home, unconcerned about what had happened. After informing Sizabul of the decision, he immediately sent a second embassy to the Persians, as it was his desire to make their

βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Τούρκων πρεσβεία αὐθις ἀφίκετο, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἐν τέλει Περσῶν καὶ τῷ Κατούλφῳ ἐγνωμάτευε, πάντη ἀξύμφορον εἶναι Πέρσαις φιλίαν θέσθαι ὡς Τούρκους· τὸ γὰρ Σκυθικὸν εἶναι παλίμβολον. ταύτη τοι καὶ παρενεγύησε δηλητηρίῳ φαρμάκῳ ἐνίους διαφθαρήναι τῶν πρέσβων, ὅπως ἀπέπειοιεν τῆς ἐκεῖσε μετέπειτα παρουσίας. καὶ δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν πρεσβευσαμένων Τούρκων τῇ περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν μίξει τῶν ἀναιρετικῶν φαρμάκων αὐτοῦ που τὸν βίον κατέλυσαν πλὴν τριῶν ἢ τεσσάρων. θροῦς δὲ ἐφοίτησε Πέρσαις ὡς διώλοντο τῷ πνιγηρῷ τῶν Περσῶν αὐχμῷ τῶν Τούρκων οἱ πρέσβεις, ἅτε τῆς αὐτῶν χώρας θαμὰ νιφετῷ παλυνομένης, καὶ ἀδύνατον ὄν αὐτοῖς ἄνευ κρυμώδους καταστήματος βιοτεῦναι. ταύτη τοι καὶ ἄλλως ὑποτοπήσαντες, οἱ γε τὴν ἐπιβουλήν διέφυγον, οὕτω ξυμβὰν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν ἐπανελθόντες τὰ ἄπερ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ διεψιθύρισαν ταῦτα. ὅμως ὁ Σιζάβουλος (ἀγχίνους γὰρ τις καὶ δεινός) οὐκ ἠγνόησε τὸ πραχθέν, φήθη δέ, ὅπερ καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐδολοφονήθησαν οἱ πρέσβεις. ἐνθεν τοιγαροῦν ἡ δυσμένεια ἤρξατο Περσῶν τε καὶ Τούρκων. καὶ λαβόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ, ὃς τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν προειστήκει, τοιοῦδε καιροῦ ξυμβουλευεὶ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἄμεινον εἶναι Τούρκοις ἀσπάσασθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὄνιον ἀποκομίζεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν, ὡς γε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεόν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων χρωμένους. ἐτοιμότατα δὲ ἔχειν ἔφη ὁ Μανιάχ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπαίρειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν τῶν Τούρκων· καὶ ὡς ταύτη φίλοι ἔσονται Ῥωμαῖοί τε καὶ Τούρκοι. τούτοις δὴπου κατανεύσας τοῖς ῥήμασιν ὁ Σιζάβουλος ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἐτέρους τινὰς ὡς βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευσομένους προσρήσεις τε ἀποκομιοῦντας καὶ δῶρα μετάξης οὐκ ὀλίγον τι χρῆμα καὶ συλλαβάς τινας. [ζῆται ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιστολῶν.]

Τοιάσδε τινὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐπιφερόμενος ὁ Μανιάχ ἀπήρξατο τῆς ὁδοιορίας, καὶ δὴ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πολλὴν διανύσας ἀτραπὸν χώρους τε διελθὼν ἐσότι πλείστους ὄρη τε μέγιστα καὶ ἀγχινεφῆ καὶ πεδία καὶ νάπας λίμνας τε καὶ ποταμούς, εἶτα τὸν Καύκασον τὸ ὄρος ὑπερελθὼν, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀφίκετο ἐς Βυζάντιον. καὶ τοίνυν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία

state a friend. When this second embassy of the Turks had arrived, the king, together with his ministers and Katulph, expressed his opinion that it was completely unfavourable for the Persians to enter into friendly relations with the Turks, since the whole Scythian race is unreliable. He also ordered that some of the envoys be removed by poison, in order to avert their subsequent appearance at his court. Thus, most of the Turkic envoys lost their lives, except for three or four, due to the mixing of physical poison with the food, and the Persians spread the rumour that the envoys had been destroyed by the hot and dry climate of Persia, especially since the Turks' own country was often covered in snow and it was impossible for them to live in a climate other than a cold one. Even those who had escaped the re-introduction and returned home, spread the rumour the Persians had propagated, even though they suspected otherwise. But Sizabul, who was very keen-sighted and clever, recognised what had happened and believed, as was the case, that the envoys had been ruthlessly murdered. It was from here that the hostility between the Persians and the Turks is recorded; Maniach, who was at the head of the people of Sogdia used an opportunity to advise Sizabul that it was better for the Turks to cultivate the friendship of the Romans and to sell the silk to them, since they used this same more than others. Maniach also said that he was very willing to leave with the Turkic envoys, with the intention of making the Romans and Turks friends in this way. With these words Sizabul agreed, and he sent him and some others as envoys to the Roman emperor, who were to bring him compliments and gifts of silk of no mean value, as well as some letters.

Provided with such letters, Maniach began the journey. After he had come a long way and had passed through many different regions, over mighty mountains that rose to the clouds, through plains and forest valleys, over lakes and streams, and after he had eventually crossed the Caucasus, he himself finally reached Byzantium. After introducing

παρελθὼν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα γενόμενος ἅπαντα ἔπραξε τὰ ὅσα ἔπεται τῷ τῆς φιλίας θεσμῷ, τό τε γράμμα καὶ τὰ δῶρα ἐνεχείρισε τοῖς ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοις, καὶ ἐδεῖτο μὴ ἀνονήτους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τοὺς τῆς ὁδοπορίας ἰδρῶτας. ἀτὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλεξάμενος διὰ τῶν ἐρμηνέων τὸ γράμμα τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἀσμενέστατα προσήκατο τὴν πρεσβείαν. τοιγαροῦν ἤρετο τοὺς πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ χώρας. οἱ δὲ γε ἔφασαν τέτταρας μὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἡγεμονίας, τὸ δὲ γε κράτος τοῦ ζύμπαντος ἔθνους ἀνεῖσθαι μόνῳ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ. πρὸς γε ἔλεξαν ὡς παρεστήσαντο καὶ Ἐφθαλίτας μέχρι καὶ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν. πᾶσαν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, τὴν τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν † ἐποιήσασθε δύναμιν; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔλεξαν οἱ πρέσβεις. αὐθις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πόλεις ἢ που ἄρα κατὰ κώμας ᾄκουν οἱ Ἐφθαλίται; οἱ πρέσβεις· ἀστικοί, ὧ δέσποτα, τὸ φύλον. εὐδηλον οὖν, ἦ δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς ἐκείνων δήπου τῶν πόλεων κύριοι καθεστήκατε. καὶ μάλα, ἔφασαν. ὁ βασιλεὺς· ἄρα ἡμᾶς ἀναδιδάξητε ὅση τῶν Ἀβάρων πληθὺς τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἀφηνίασεν ἐπικρατείας, καὶ εἴ τινες ἔτι παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰσὶ μὲν, ὧ βασιλεῦ, οἱ γε τὰ ἡμέτερα στέργουσιν ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ δήπουθεν ἀποδράσαντας οἴμαι ἀμφὶ τὰς εἴκοσιν εἶναι χιλιάδας. εἶτα ἀπαριθμησάμενοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἔθνη κατήκοα Τούρκων τὸ λοιπὸν ἠντιβόλουν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα εἰρήνην τε ξυνεστάναι καὶ ὀμαιχιμίαν Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Τούρκοις. προσετίθεσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐτοιμώτατα ἔχουσι καταπολεμῆσαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπικρατείας τὸ δυσμενές, ὅποσον ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀγελάζονται ἡπειρον. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα τῷ λέξαι τὸ χειρὸς ὑποῦ ἀνατείνας ὁ Μανιάχ οἱ τε ξὺν αὐτῷ ὄρκῳ ἐπιστώσαντο μεγίστῳ ἢ μὴν ὀρθογνώμονι διανοίᾳ ταῦτα εἰρηῆσθαι. πρὸς γε καὶ κατέχεον ἀρὰς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει, εἴ γε οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἀληθῆ τε εἶη καὶ πρακτέα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὸ φύλον οἱ Τούρκοι φίλοι ἐγένοντο Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὐχὶ ἄλλως ἐφοίτησαν πολιτεία.

himself to the imperial palace and being led before the kings, he did all that was in accordance with the statute of friendship, handed over letters and presents to the commissioned ones (officials), and requested that the great sufferings of the journey should not have been in vain. When the Emperor, with the help of the interpreters, had read the Scythian letter, he graciously accepted the embassy. He then inquired of the envoys about the form of government and the country of the Turks, who told him that they had four principalities, but that the supreme authority over the entire nation was transferred to Sizabul. Further, they reported how they had subjected the Ephthalites and made them tributary, "The whole power of the Ephthalites is thus destroyed," replied the envoys. And again, the emperor asked: "Do the Ephthalites live in towns or villages?" And the envoys replied: "They are a city people, illustrious ruler." "Then it is quite clear," said the emperor, "that you have made yourself masters of their cities." "Certainly," they said. And again, the emperor asked, "So tell us how great the multitude of the Avars is, who have freed themselves from dominion, and if there are still some in your power?" "There are, illustrious emperor, some still there that have escaped from us; their number may amount to about 20,000." After the envoys had specified the peoples under Turkic jurisdiction, they proposed to the emperor that in the future a covenant of protection and defence be concluded between the Romans and the Turks. They added that they were ready to fight against all who were hostile to Roman rule, wherever they might appear in their territory. As soon as they had said this, Maniach, and all who were around him, raised both hands and swore a sacred oath, that all this was spoken in a genuine way; they called down curses on themselves and on Sizabul, indeed on all their people, if the promise was not true and they did not keep their promise. Thus, the tribe of the Turks became friends with the Romans, and they never visited our state with any other purpose.

§10.2

(*Excerpta de legationibus Romanorum ad gentes* 7, p. 192)

Ὅτι τῶν Τούρκων τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων τὸ πάλαι πρεσβείαν ποιησαμένων πρὸς Ἰουστίνου περὶ εἰρήνης, ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιήσατο ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμψαι πρεσβείαν ὡς Τούρκους· καὶ δὴ Ζημάρχῳ τῷ Κίλικι ἔλεγε παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ὅς τῶν πρὸς ἔω πόλεων τηνικαῦτα ὑπῆρχε στρατηγός. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἅπαντα αὐτῷ τὰ ὅσα πρὸς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξηρτυμένα ἦν, ἠνίκα πρὸς τὸ πέρας ἠνύετο τῆς Ἰουστίνου βασιλείας τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐνιαυτῷ τῆς πεντεκαίδεκαετηρίδος περιφορᾶς, περὶ τὰ προοίμια τοῦ παρὰ Λατίνοις Αὐγούστου μηνός, ὁ μὲν Ζήμαρχος ἀπῆρεν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ζὺν αὐτῷ Μανιάχῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτόν.

After the Turks, who were called Sakas in the old days, had sent a peace embassy to Justin, the emperor intended to send an embassy to the Turks. And he ordered the Cilician Zemarchos to prepare for this, since he was the general of the eastern provinces. Now that he had prepared everything for the long journey, which took place towards the end of the fourth year of the reign of Justin, Zemarchos travelled in the second year of the yearlong indiction, at the beginning of the month called August in Latin, together with Maniach himself and his entourage from Byzantium.

§10.3

(*Excerpta de Legationibus Romanorum ad gentem* 8, pp. 193-95)

Ὅτι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διανύσαντες οἱ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἐπειδὴ παρήσαν ἐν τοῖς τῶν Σογδαϊτῶν τόποις, ὀπηνίκα τῶν ἵππων ἀπέβησαν, τῶν Τούρκων ἔνιοι ὡς ἔοικεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνειμένοι, ὄνιον σφίσι προΐσχοντο σίδηρον, οἷμαι τῷ ποιήσασθαι ἔνδειξιν τινα, ὡς μέταλλα αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει σιδήρου· λέγεται γὰρ ὡς παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐπόριστόν τι χρῆμα ὁ σίδηρος. ταύτη ἔνεστι τεκμηριῶσαι ὡς ὑπαινιττόμενοι ἔχειν γῆν σιδηροφόρον τῷ τοιῷδε ἐχρήσαντο κόμπῳ. ἕτεροι δὲ τινες τοῦ φύλου τοῦ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοῦς ἀναφανέντες, οὓς εἶναι ἔλεγον τῶν ἀπαισίῳν ἐλατήρας, ἀγχοῦ ἦλθον τῶν περὶ Ζήμαρχον· καὶ τοῖσιν ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐ<πεφέροντο φορτία ἀράμενοι ἔθεσαν ἐν μέσῳ. εἶτα τοῖς τοῦ λιβάνου κλάδοις πῦρ ἀνάψαντες τῇ Σκυθικῇ φωνῇ βάρβαρα > ἄττα ῥήματα ὑπεψιθύριζον, ἐπιπαταγοῦντες δὲ κώδωνί τι καὶ τυμπάνῳ ὑπερθεν τοῦ φόρτου περιέφερον τὸ φυλλῶδες τοῦ λιβάνου τῇ φλογὶ λακίζόμενον, καὶ ἅμα γινόμενοι μανιώδεις καὶ ἐμβριμούμενοι τὰ πονηρὰ ἀπελαύνειν ἐδόκουν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀποτρόπαιοι τινες εἶναι καὶ ἀλεξίκακοι ἐδόκουν. ἀποδιοπομπησάμενοι δὲ οὖν, ὡς ᾤοντο, τὰ δυσχερῆ Ζήμαρχόν τε αὐτόν δι’ αὐτῆς παρήγαγον τῆς φλογός, ὧδέ τε ἔδοξαν καὶ σφᾶς ἀφαγνίζειν. τούτων δὲ ταύτη γεγενημένων ἔπειτα ἐπορεύοντο ζὺν τοῖς ἐς τὸ τοιόνδε τεταγμένοις, ἵνα ὁ Χαγάνος αὐτὸς ἦν, ἐν ὄρει τινὶ λεγομένῳ Ἐκτάγ, ὡς ἂν εἴποι χρυσοῦν ὄρος Ἑλλήν ἀνὴρ. καὶ τοῖσιν αὐτοῦ ἀφικόμενοι, ὅπη

After Zemarchos and his entourage had travelled for several days, they came to the regions of the Sogdians; when they dismounted the horses, it appears that some Turks instructed them to buy iron in order, as I believe, to provide them with proof that they had iron mines. It is said, for instance, that iron is not an easy material to obtain; this suggests the proof that they used only cunning to indicate that they had a land producing iron. Some others of their tribe, who were said to be instigators of despicable things, also showed themselves and came close to the people of Zemarchos. They took all the baggage they had brought and put it in the middle. Then they lit a fire with branches of incense, murmured some barbarous words in Scythian language, and making noise over the baggage with a bell and a drum, they carried the branches with the burning incense, which was still crackling, and seemed to be getting into a frenzy and gesticulating in order to ward off the evil spirits. Since they believed the evil spirits would be averted elsewhere. Having, as they believed, summoned the wicked, they themselves led Zemarchos through this flame; because then they also believed themselves to be cleansed. Thereupon they went with the officials to a place where the Khagan himself lived on a mountain called Ektag, which means in Greek “Golden Mountain”. This was then the habitation of the Sizabul, namely in a gorge of

τηνικαῦτα τῷ Σιζαβούλῳ ἦσαν αἱ διατριβαί, κατὰ δὴ κοιλάδα τινὰ τοῦ προσαγορευομένου Χρυσοῦ ὄρους, ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἐκεῖσε ἐφοίτησαν, μετάκλητοι γενόμενοι παραχρῆμα τοῦ Σιζαβούλου ἦλθον ἐς ὄψιν. ἦν δὲ ἄρα ἔνδον σκηνῆς, καθῆστο δὲ ἐπὶ διτρόχου καθέδρας χρυσεῖς, ἐλκομένης, ὀπηνίκα ἔδει. ὑπὸ ἵππου ἐνόσ. προσειπόντες δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, τὰ δῶρα προῖσχοντο· καὶ τοίνυν οἷς γε τοῦτο ἐν φροντίσι ἦν ὑπεδέξαντο. ἀτὰρ ὁ Ζήμαρχος· σοὶ δῆτα, ἔφη, ὧ τοσοῦτων ἐθνῶν ἡγεμὼν, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀγγελιαφόρῳ χρησάμενος ἐμοὶ ἐσήμηνεν εἶναι ἐς αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην αἰσίαν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν, ἐν ἡδονῇ ποιουμένῳ σοὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ πρὸς γε φιλοφρονουμένῳ ἡμᾶς, ἔστω δὲ σοὶ κρατεῖν αἰεὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν καὶ λαφύραγωγεῖν τὸ πολέμιον. ἀπέστω δὲ βασκανία τις ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ἡμῶν οἷα τε οὖσα διαρρηγνύναι τοὺς τῆς φιλίας θεσμούς. ἐπιτήδεια ἔμοιγε τῶν Τούρκων τὰ φύλα καὶ ὅσα κατήκοα Τούρκων· ἔξετε δὲ τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἄλλως, τοιαῦτα ἄττα ἔλαξεν ὁ Ζήμαρχος· ὁ δὲ δὴ Σιζάβουλος καὶ αὐτὸς προσήρσεσιν ἐχρήσατο ὁμοίαις. εἶτα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπησαν ἐς θοίνην, καὶ πανημερία εὐωχούμενοι διετέλουν ἐν αὐτῇ δῆπου τῇ σκηνῇ. κατεσκευάστο δὲ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὑφασμάτων σηρικῶν τε καὶ διαπεποικιλμένων τοῖς χρώμασιν εὐτέχνως. οἶνω μὲν οὖν ἐχρήσαντο, οὐχ ὁμοίῳ δὲ τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐκθλιβομένῳ ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀμπελοφόρος αὐτοῖς ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ μὴν ἐγχωριάζει παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιόνδε γένος· ἐτέρου δὲ τινος βαρβαρικοῦ ἐνεφορήθησαν γλεύκους, καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν ὅποι αὐτοῖς ἡ κατάλυσις ἦν. εἶτα ἐς τὸ αὐριον ἐν ἐτέρα τινὶ καλύβῃ ξυνῆλθον, ἡμφιεσμένη δὲ καὶ καταπεποικιλμένη οὐκ ἄλλως ἐξ ἱματίων σηρικῶν, ἐνθα καὶ ἀγάλματα διάφορα τῇ μορφῇ εἰστήκει. ὁ δὲ Σιζάβουλος ἐνίζανεν ἐπὶ κλίνης τινὸς ὄλης ἐκ χρυσοῦ. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἐνδαιτήματος κάλπεις τε χρυσαῖ καὶ περιρραντήρια, ἔτι τε πίθοι χρυσοῦ. θοινησάμενοι δ' οὖν καὶ αὐθις καὶ τὰ ὅσα ἐχρῆν ἐν πότῳ εἰπόντες τε καὶ ἀκηκοότες ἀνεχώρησαν. τῇ ἐξῆς ἐν ἐτέρα ἐγένοντο διαίτη. ἐνθα ξύλινοι κίονες ἦσαν τινες ἐνδεδυμένοι χρυσοῦ, χρυσήλατός τε κλίνη ὁμοίως, ἦντινά γε δῆπου καὶ ταῶνες χρυσοῦ τέτταρες ἠώρουν. κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐμπρόσθιον τῆς διαίτης ἐπὶ πολὺ παρετέταντο ἄμαξαι, ἐν αἷς πολὺ τι χρῆμα ἀργύρου ἐπῆν, δίσκοι τε καὶ κανᾶ, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ καὶ τετραπόδων ἰνδάματα πλείστα, καὶ αὐτὰ γε δῆπουθεν ἀργυροποίητα οὐδέν τι ἀποδέοντα τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τῷ τῶν Τούρκων ἡγεμόνι ἔνεστι χλιδῆς. τῶν δὲ περὶ Ζήμαρχον ἔτι ἐκεῖσε ἐνδιατριβόντων, ἔδοξε τῷ

the so-called Golden Mountain. After Zemarchos had arrived there with his people, they were immediately led before Sizabul. He sat in a tent on a golden armchair with two wheels, which, if necessary, was pulled by a horse. After they had greeted the barbarians, as was their custom, they brought out the gifts, and they received the officials. Now Zemarchus said: "To you, illustrious prince of so many peoples, our mighty emperor has proclaimed through me a message that happiness is always favourable and salutary to you who have joy in the fate of the Romans and whom you welcome us hospitably. And it is your privilege to always keep your enemies in check and to chase away their prey. Let envy also be far from us, because it is able to tear the bonds of friendship. May the tribes of the Turks and all who are subject to them serve me well; then you too will be inspired towards us by the same attitude." And so spoke Zemarchos and Sizabul, making similar recitations. Then they went to a banquet and spent all day in this tent. It was lined with silken fabrics that were artfully interwoven with bright colours. They drank much wine, except that it is not pressed out of the grapevine like ours; because their land does not produce any wine, and this people is not at home with this method, they fill up with another barbaric drink, similar to must. They then went to their quarters. Thereupon they met the next day in another tent, which was likewise clothed and decorated with silken cloths; there were also variously shaped statues. Sizabul was sitting on a couch of pure gold, and in the middle of the tent stood golden drinking vessels and pitchers, as well as golden pitchers. Afterwards, they were given another drink and saying and hearing everything they needed while drinking, they went away. The next day they came together in another tent, with wooden pillars covered in gold, and also a bed of gold, bearing four golden peacocks. In the front part of the room, in a long row, there were carts containing a great deal of silver, plates and bowls, and also numerous figures of animals, also made of silver, which are not found in ours. Such luxury can be found with the prince of the Turks. While the people of Zemarchos were still there, Sizabul made the decision that Zemarchos, with twenty of his servants and retinue, should accompany him in his campaign against the Persians, while the rest of the Romans should return to the land of Choliatae and await the return of Zemarchus. Upon leaving, he sent them away them with

Σιζαβούλω ὥστε αὐτὸν μὲν Ζήμαρχον ἅμα εἴκοσι
 θεραπευταῖς τε καὶ ὀπαδοῖς ἔπεσθαί οἱ ἐκστρα-
 τευομένῳ κατὰ Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ῥω-
 μαίους ἐπαναστρέφοντας κατὰ δὴ τὴν χώραν τῶν
 Χολιατῶν ἀναμένειν τὴν Ζημάρχου ἐπάνοδον.
 καὶ δὴ † ὃς τῷ προύβη, δώροις τε φιλοφρονη-
 σάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ Ζήμαρχον καὶ
 θεραπαίνην ἐτίμησε δοριαλώτῳ· ἡ δὲ ἦν ἐκ τῶν
 λεγομένων Χερχίρ· καὶ ὁ Ζήμαρχος σὺν τῷ
 Σιζαβούλω ἐπορεύετο μαχησομένῳ Πέρσαις. ἐν
 ταύτῃ δῆπου τῇ πορείᾳ γενόμενοι, ἐν χώρῳ τινὶ
 καταλυσάντων αὐτῶν ἐπικαλουμένῳ Τάλας
 ὑπαντιάζει τῷ Σιζαβούλω Περσῶν πρεσβευτῆς.
 καὶ τοίνυν ξυνεκάλεσε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐστιασομένους
 τοὺς τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσῶν πρέσβεις. καὶ δὴ
 παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁ Σιζά-
 βουλος ἐν τιμῇ πλείονι ἐποιήσατο, ὡς καὶ κατὰ
 τὴν ἐπικυδεστέραν ἀνακλίνειν στιβάδα. πρὸς γε
 καὶ πλείστα ἐπιμεφόμενος ἦν τοὺς Πέρσας, ἅτε
 δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄδικα πεπονθῶς, καὶ ὡς τούτου
 ἕνεκα ἔρχεται πολεμήσων. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν πρεσ-
 βευτῆς, τοῦ Σιζαβούλου συντονώτερον ἐπεγκαλο-
 οῦντος, περιφρονήσας τὸν νόμον τῆς σιωπῆς τὸν
 ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσιν, ἐπι-
 τροχάδην ἤρξατο διαλέγεσθαι τοῦ Σιζαβούλου
 γενναίως τὰ ἐπικλήματα ἀπωθούμενος, ὡς καὶ
 θαυμάσαι τοὺς παρόντας τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τῆς
 αὐτοῦ ὀργῆς, ὡς παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος τὸν νόμον
 πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀκολάστοις ἐχρήσατο. ἐν τούτοις
 ἀπαλλαγέντων, ὁ μὲν Σιζάβουλος παρεσκευάζετο
 τὴν ἐπὶ Πέρσας. τῷ τοι ἄρα τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ζήμαρχον
 μετακαλεσάμενος καὶ ὡς ἐνήν πρὸς τοὺς Ῥω-
 μαίους φιλίαν ἐμπεδώσας, ἀφῆκεν αὐτῆς ἀπονοσ-
 τήσοντας, ἕτερον πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῖς συναποσ-
 τείλας τῷ τὸν πρότερον λεγόμενον Μανιάχ τε-
 θνάται. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ κλησὶς τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον πρεσ-
 βευτῆ Ταγμαῖ αὐτῷ. ἀξίωμα δὲ Ταρχάν. οὗτος δὴ
 οὖν ἐστάλη ὑπὸ Σιζαβούλου ὡς Ῥωμαίους πρεσ-
 βευσόμενος. καὶ μὲν οὖν σὺν αὐτῷ ὁ τοῦ ἤδη
 ἀποικομένου παῖς, φημὶ δὴ τοῦ Μανιάχ, κομιδῆ
 μειράκιον, ὅμως δὲ τὸ πατρῷον διαδεξάμενος
 γέρας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ τὴν μετὰ τὸν Ταγμαῖ Ταρχάν
 κληρωσάμενος ἀξίαν· οἶμαι δὲ τῷ ἐπιτηδειότατόν
 τε καὶ εὐνούστατον γενέσθαι τῷ Σιζαβούλω τὸν
 Μανιάχ τοῦ πατρῷου τὸν παῖδα τυχεῖν ἀξιώ-
 ματος.

presents that pleased them; he also honoured
 Zemarchos with an imprisoned slave, which
 came from the people of the so-called Cherchis.
 Now Zemarchos set out with Sizabul to fight the
 Persians. As they descended in a place Talas, on
 this march, an envoy of the Persians came to
 Sizabul and invited both the envoys of the
 Romans and the Persians to dine with him. When
 they came to him, Sizabul was more honourable
 to the Romans, and allowed them to take the
 place of honour. He also charged the Persians
 with heavy accusations, as if he had been wrong-
 ed by them and as if he had come to fight him.
 And as Sizabul became more and more outrage-
 ous, the Persian envoy, disregarding the law pre-
 vailing among them at the banquets, began to
 speak quietly and hotly, courageously rejecting
 the accusations of the Sizabul, so that the atten-
 dees marvelled in the highest degree about his
 wrath; for he used many good manners, putting
 aside many and violent words. So, they parted
 and Sizabul made his preparations against the
 Persians. Thus, he took a back seat to the entou-
 rage of Zemarchos, and when they were in place,
 fortified his friendship with the Romans and
 allowed them to return to their homeland, and he
 gave them another envoy, since the above-men-
 tioned Maniach had died. The title of the one who
 was sent to him was Tagma and his office dignity
 Tarchan. He was thus sent by Sizabul to the
 Romans as envoy, and at the same time with him
 the son of the late Maniach, a still young man,
 but who had followed his father in his office and
 on whom the lot had fallen to become Tagma's
 office dignity. I think the young man received his
 father's title because of Maniak's friendship and
 loyalty to to Sizabul.

THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

ON SILK AND TAUGAST (CHINA)



Theophylactus Simocatta or Simocattes (first half of Seventh Century) wrote a history of the Emperor Maurice (539-602 CE). According to Whitby (1988: 29) he was probably born c. 585-90 CE in Alexandria and moved from there to Constantinople. He seems to have been trained as a lawyer and shows a good knowledge of Classical authors such as Homer, Euripides, Menander etc. as well as later writers like Lucian and Aelian. The eight books of his *History*, which include more specifically Christian material than any of his surviving predecessors, complete the reign of Maurice, but he may have planned to write more. Book VII contains the longest digressions which include the Central Asian Turks and the flooding of the Nile. See Whitby 1988:43, 45, 48-50. His work continued the tradition of Procopius, Agathias and Menander Protector who had covered the period from the accession of Justin I to the death of Tiberius i.e. 518-582 CE. As well as the *History* three minor works of a quasi-philosophical nature have survived. See Whitby and Whitby 1986: xiv to xvi. Nicolaus Copernicus translated his copy (the only book he ever bought on his own account) into Lat. and had it printed in Cracow in 1509. Gibbon called him 'a vain sophist', 'an imposter', 'diffuse in trifles, concise in the most interesting facts'. However, there is little doubt that his digression on Taugast is the most accurate account of North China found in a Classical source before the rise of Islam (VII 9 1-11).



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SELECTIONS FROM

THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

HISTORIAE

Ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, Teubner, 1887.

Translated and annotated by Dr John Sheldon⁸ and augmented by Samuel N.C. Lieu

III,6,9-14

9. τῶν Οὐννων τοιγαροῦν τῶν πρὸς τῷ βορρᾷ τῆς ἕως, οὓς Τούρκους ἔθος Πέρσαις ἀποκαλεῖν, καταπολεμηθέντων λίαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐγκρατῶς ὑπὸ Ὀρμίσδα, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Πάρθων, ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα ὁ Βαρᾶμ τὸν πόλεμον μετεβίβαζεν. 10. ἐς τοσοῦτον γὰρ οἱ τῆς Περσικῆς ἤρθησαν βασιλείας ἀρχένης, ὡς φορολογεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τοὺς Οὐννους, τὸ πρὶν τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδας χρυσῶν ἡρεμίας προφάσει τοὺς Μήδους εἰσπραττόντων τῶν Οὐννων. 11. πολυχρύσου τοίνυν τῆς τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν γεγονυίας, ἐς μεγάλην τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἐτέτραπτο πολυτέλειαν· κλῖνας τε γὰρ ἐσφυρηλατοῦντο χρυσᾶς καὶ τραπέζας καὶ κύλικας καὶ θρόνους καὶ βήματα ἵππικούς τε κόσμους καὶ πανοπλίας, καὶ ὅσα τῇ μέθῃ τοῦ πλοῦτου ἐπινενόηται. 12. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον παρασπονδησάντων τῶν Τούρκων καὶ ἀξιούντων περαιτέρω τῶν εἰωθότων δίδοσθαι χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ βαρυτάτην ἐπενθήκην γενέσθαι, τῶν τε Περσῶν τὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τῶν φόρων οὐ φερόντων φορτίον, χειροτονεῖται ὁ πόλεμος. 13. καὶ λαμπρᾶς τοῖς Πέρσαις γενομένης τῆς νίκης, ἀντικαταρρεῖ μετὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν φορολογοῦνται οἱ Τούρκοι προσαφαιρεθέντες καὶ ἂ πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνήθροιστο χρήματα. 14. καὶ πάλιν κομᾷ τὰ Περσῶν, καὶ περίβλεπτα τῷ Ὀρμίσδα καθεστήκει τὰ τρόπαια· λαφυραγωγοῦνται γὰρ κλῖναι καὶ τράπεζαι καὶ θρόνοι χρυσοῖ κόσμος τε ἵππικὸς ἀμφορεῖς τε καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐς τυράννων συντεταγμένα τιμῆν.

9. Now that the north-eastern Huns, who according to Persian custom are called Turks, were fiercely fought by the Parthian king Hormisdas, Baram (the Persian general) played the war over to Colchis. 10. For the yoke of Persian rule had been loosened such that the Huns were made tributary by the Babylonians (i.e., the Persians), while in the old days the Huns drove 40,000 gold pieces for appeasement from the Persians. 11. Thus, after the Turkic government had accumulated much gold from the Persians, this tribe turned to a great luxury; they made beds, tables, trophies, thrones and altars, rosettes and armour, and all that is invented in the intoxication of wealth driven gold. 12. When, sometime later, the Turks violated the treaties and demanded greater sums of money than usual and a heavy tribute, and the Persians could not bear the burden of the tax surcharge, war was decided. 13. And when the Persians had achieved a brilliant victory, the tide turned, and the Turks were tributary to the Persians, taking away all the gold they had previously brought together. 14. And now the trophies once again adorned the palaces of the Persians and became an object of glory for Hormisdas; for beds, tables, golden armchairs, steed ornaments, pitchers and everything that is produced in honour of a ruler, was carried away as booty.

VII,6,5

Ταῖς ἑαριναῖς τοιγαροῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν νηστείας ἐναβρυνόμενος, χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς χρυσαῖς καὶ λιθοκολλήτοις κλῖναις τοῖς τε νήμασι τῶν Σηρώων, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ξυλίνην στιβάδα ὁ

Priding himself on the spring fasts of the Christians and renouncing golden and gem-encrusted beds and silk garments, the emperor (Maurice) spent the night on the priest's wooden

⁸ Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 135-38 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 242-51.

βασιλεὺς κατεπαννουχίζετο, θείας τινὸς ἐντεῦθεν ὥσπερ οἰόμενος μεταλήψεσθαι χάριτος.

bed, as though he thought that he would acquire some divine grace from there.

NOTES

5. ταῖς ἑαριναῖς ... χάριτος Maurice was greatly influenced by the Patriarch John Nesteutes (the ‘Faster’) and, when the latter died in 595 CE, the emperor found that the priest’s possessions consisted of a cheap wooden bed, coarse blankets and an unsightly cloak. Inspired by this he practiced great austerity in his own private life as exemplified here. A brief Syriac hagiography describes the austere prayerful life of the Christian Maurice (Whitby, *op. cit.* xvii). Theophylactus himself seems to have been an orthodox Christian. In saying that Maurice hoped to obtain divine grace from his ascetic life, the author is sincere and in no way sceptical.

Σηρῶων This form is anomalous and should probably be emended to Σηρῶν.

VII,7,7-12

7. θέρους ἐνεστῶτος κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τον ἐν-
αυτὸν ὁ πρὸς τῆ ἕφ ὑπὸ τῶν Τούρκων Χαγάνος
ὑμνούμενος πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε Μαυρικίῳ τῷ
αὐτοκράτορι, ἐπιστολὴν τε συντεταχῶς ἐπινίκια
ἐνεχάραττεν ἐν αὐτῇ. 8. ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
ἐπιγραφή εἶχεν ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως “τῷ βασιλεῖ
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Χαγάνος ὁ μέγας δεσπότης ἐπτά
γενεῶν καὶ κύριος κλιμάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης
ἐπτά.” τῷ ὄντι γὰρ τὸν ἐθνάρχην τῶν Ἀβδελῶν
(φημὶ δὴ τῶν λεγομένων Ἐφθαλιτῶν) κατα-
πολεμήσας οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁ Χαγάνος ἐνίκησε τὴν
τε τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχὴν περιεβάλετο. 9. ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ
τοῖνν εἰς μέγα ἀρθεῖς καὶ τὸν Στεμβισχάδαν
σύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὸ τῶν Ἀβάρων ἔθνος
κατεδουλώσατο. ἀλλὰ μὴ τις οἰέσθω παριστορεῖν
ἡμᾶς τὰ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀβάρους
εἶναι διανοοῦμενος τοὺς ἀνὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ
τὴν Παννονίαν προσοικοῦντας βαρβάρους, καὶ
τούτων τὴν ἄφιξιν πρεσβυτέραν γενέσθαι τῶν
χρόνων Μαυρικίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. 10. ψευ-
δωνύμως γὰρ Ἀβάρων προσηγορίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν
Ἴστρον περιεβάλοντο βάρβαροι· ὅθεν δὲ τὸ
γένος αὐτοῖς, ὅσον οὐπω εἰρήσεται. Ἡττηθέντων
γοῦν τῶν Ἀβάρων, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας
τὴν Ταυγᾶστ τὰς ἀποφυγὰς ἐποιήσαντο. 11. Ἡ δὲ
Ταυγᾶστ πόλις ἐπιφανής, τῶν τε λεγομένων
Τούρκων ἀπώκισται χιλίοις πρὸς τοῖς πεντα-
κοσίοις σημείοις· αὐτὴ ὁμορος καθέστηκε τοῖς
Ἰνδοῖς. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγᾶστ ἀυλιζόμενοι βάρ-
βαροι ἔθνος ἀλκιμώτατον καὶ πολυανθρω-
πότατον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσι διὰ
τὸ μέγεθος ἀπαράλληλον. 12. Ἐτεροὶ τῶν Ἀβάρων
διὰ τὴν ἦτταν πρὸς ταπεινότεραν ἀποκλίνα-
ντες τύχην παραγίνονται πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους

7. When summer had dawned, the envoy, called
Khan in the East by the Turks, sent to the
Emperor Mauricius a letter written by him, in
which he sang victorious hymns. 8. The heading
of the letter read word to word as follows: “The
Emperor of the Romans, Khan, the great lord of
seven generations and lord of seven climates of
the world.” For in fact this same Khan had
defeated the patriarch of the Abdelel (I refer to
the so-called Hephthalites) in fierce fighting and
had taken dominion over the tribe. 9. In the
exultation of victory, he had then made the Stem-
bischans his ally and subjugated the tribe of the
Avars. In any case, nobody believes that I have
falsely reported the events, assuming that the
Avars were the barbarians living in Europe and
Pannonia and that they had arrived in the days
before the Emperor Mauricius. 10. Because the
barbarians who live around the Danube (Ister)
have been named “Avars” incorrectly; where
their origins are recorded will be explained soon.
Returning to the subject: of the Abari who had
been conquered some made their escapes to those
who lived in Taugast. 11. Taugast is a famous
city; it is established at a distance of 1500 miles
from those called Turks. It is situated on the
border of India. These barbarians dwelling aro-
und Taugast are a most valiant and populous
race, and unparalleled in size among races in the
inhabited world. 12. The remainder of the Abari
on account of their defeat, turned to a much lower
station in life and joined the so-called Moucri.
This race live very close to Taugast and their
bravery is considerable in military engagements

Μουκρί.⁹ Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔθνος πλησιέστατον ὄντων τῶν Ταυγάστ, ἀλκὴ δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὰς παρατάξεις πολλὴ διὰ τε τὰ ἐκ τῶν γυμνασίων ὁσημέραι μελετήματα διὰ τε τὴν περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῆς ψυχῆς ἐγκαρτέρησιν. ...

NOTES

10. Ἡπτιθέωντων ... ἐποῦσαντο Ἄβαροι is the normal spelling for the Avars in the *History*. The reign of Maurice was dominated by warfare in the Balkans against Slavs and Avars, as well as problems with the Persians on the eastern frontier. The origin of the Eurasian Avars is unknown, as is their ethnicity. Menander Protector (Sixth Century CE) said that the language of the Ουαρχωνῖται (Ουαρχονῖται / *Varconites*) was the same as that of the Huns. They may have been an Oghuric Turkic people; Iranian and Mongol ethnicity has been suggested for them on inadequate evidence. It seems that by the time they arrived in Europe they were a heterogeneous polyethnic people. As steppe nomad warriors they would have been united but of multiple ethnicity. By 600 CE they had established a nomadic empire stretching from modern-day Austria to the Pontic steppes ruling over a multitude of peoples. During Maurice's Balkan campaigns in the 590's the Avars experienced setbacks. Some defected to the Byzantines in 602 CE. See Beckwith *op. cit.* 390.

11. ἡ δὲ Ταυγάστ ... ἀπαράλληλον Taugast is here a city on the border of India. The surrounding people are described in the same way as *Seres* in other authors. Taugast correctly describes Northern China elsewhere so that we can only assume the misapplication of a people name to a place. Simocatta's source, which is vague about people further east, may derive from Turkish ambassadors. See Boodberg (*op. cit.*) and note on **πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ** in VII 9 1. See further Yule *op. cit.* 31-34 and Herrmann *RE* IV A 2 (1932) 2523-4.

12. ἕτεροι τῶν Ἀβάρων ... ἐγκαρτέρησιν If Moukri is Korea, these Avars have certainly been displaced a long distance. For Pelliot's equation of Moukri and Korea see Noh, Tae-don 1977. The vagueness of the Turkish reports is almost certainly at the bottom of this. The reported athleticism of the Moukri and their psychological preparedness for dangerous (warlike) activities cannot help but recall tribal warrior culture in Japan and Korea, but this cannot go beyond speculation in the light of the evidence available here. Μουκρί here is rightly imported from Photius. The latter is quoting the definition of Μουκρί by Nicephorus Callistus in his *Ecclesiastical History* XVIII 30, where he calls them ἔθνος τῶν Μουκριτῶν. Μούκνη is read in Vaticanus Graec. 977, our best ms., and is a mistake. Μουκρί for Μουκροί is a Latinism in Callistus and Photius.

VII,8,13-15

13. τοῦ Χρυσοῦ ὄρους παραχωρεῖν. δυσι δὲ μεγίστοις τισὶ τὰ Τούρκων ἔθνη μεγαλαυχεῖ-
φασὶ γὰρ ἄνωθεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδέποτε
λοιμῶν ἐπιδημίαν θεάσασθαι, τῶν τε σεισμῶν
σπάνιν εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν. τὴν δὲ
Βακὰθ ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐνονουγούρων πάλαι ποτὲ πολι-
σθεῖσαν καταπεσεῖν τοῖς σεισμοῖς, τὴν δὲ Σουγ-
δαηνὴν καὶ λοιμῶν καὶ σεισμῶν ἔμπειρον πεφυ-
κέσαι. 14. τιμῶσι τοιγαροῦν οἱ Τούρκοι λίαν ἐκ-
τόπως τὸ πῦρ, ἀέρα δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ γεραίρουσιν,
ὑμνοῦσι τὴν γῆν· προσκυνοῦσι δὲ μόνως καὶ
θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν
καὶ τὴν γῆν. 15. τούτῳ θύουσιν ἵππους καὶ βόας
καὶ πρόβατα, ἱερεῖς κεκτημένοι, οἳ καὶ τὴν τῶν
μελλόντων αὐτοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐκτίθεσθαι προ-
αγόρευσιν.

13. Two great virtues are enjoyed by the Turkic tribes; it is said that they have never experienced epidemics from the beginning, and that earthquakes are something very rare in that land. However, Bakath (i.e. Bactria), founded of old by the Onogurs fell to an earthquake and Sougdanē (i.e. Sogdiana) experienced both famines and earthquakes. 14. The Turks have an extraordinary respect for fire, worship the air and water, and sing hymns to the earth; they worship and call God the one who made heaven and earth. 15. They sacrifice steeds, cattle and sheep to him and are in possession of priests, who believe that they can predict the future.

⁹ *Var.* Μούκνη ; ἔθνος τῶν Μουκριτῶν (*ap.* Nicephorus Callistus). (Coedès).

VII,9,1-11

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων¹⁰ Χαγάνος τὸν ἐμφύλιον καταλυσάμενος πόλεμον εὐδαιμόνως ἐχειραγῶγει τὰ πράγματα, ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ συνθήκας πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ, ὅπως βαθεῖαν πάντοθεν τὴν γαλήνην ἐμπορευόμενος ἀστασίαστον τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσῃται. 2. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγάστ κλιματάρχης Ταῖσαν ὀνομάζεται, ὄπερ υἱὸς θεοῦ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φωναῖς ἐνσημαίνεται. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ταυγάστ οὐ στασιάζεται· γένος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν χειροτονίαν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρέχεται. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἔθνει θρησκεία ἀγάλματα, νόμοι δὲ δίκαιοι, καὶ σωφροσύνης ἔμπλεος ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς. 3. Ἔθος δὲ τούτοις νόμον μιμούμενον, μηδέποτε κόσμῳ χρυσῷ καλλωπίζεσθαι ἄρρενας, καίτοι ἀφθονίας πολλῆς ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ κύριοι καθεστῶτες διὰ τὰς μεγάλας καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς ἐμπορίας. Ταύτην τὴν Ταυγάστ ποταμὸς διορίζει. 4. Πάλαι τοίνυν ποτὲ δύο μεγίστοις ἔθνεσιν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμεσίτευν ἀντιθέτοις ἀλλήλοις· ἐσθῆς δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ μέλαινα, 5. τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ κοκκόβαφος. Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοίνυν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, Μαυρικίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐπέχοντος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν μελαινοφόρων τοῖς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν περιβεβλημένοι ἐσθῆτα διαπεραιωσάμενον τὸν ποταμὸν συνίστησι πόλεμον, εἶτα νενικηκὸς τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας γίνεται κύριον. 6. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν Ταυγάστ οἱ βάρβαροι λέγουσι κτίσαι τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅπνῃκα τούς τε Βακτριανούς καὶ τὴν Σογδοανὴν ἐδουλώσατο δέκα καὶ δύο καταφλέξας μυριάδας βαρβάρων. 7. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει τὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γύναια ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένας ἔχουσι τὰς ἄρμαμάξας, ἐλκομένην ἐκάστην ὑπὸ βοῦδιου ἐνὸς κεκοσμημένου πολυτελῶς ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου μεγατιμίου· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χαλivoὶ τοῖς βουσί χρυσοκόλλητοι. 8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ταυγάστ ἀνειληφὼς ἐπτακοσίας γυναῖξι κατεπαννυχίζετο. Τὰ δὲ γύναια τῶν περιφανεστέρων τῆς Ταυγάστ ἀργυραῖς κέχρηνται ταῖς ἄρμαμάξαις. Λόγος δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δείμασθαι πόλιν ἀπὸ σημείων ὀλίγων· Χουβδάν¹¹ ὀνομάζουσι ταύτην οἱ βάρβαροι. 9. Τεθνηκότα δὲ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ὑπὸ τῶν γυναιῶν πενθεῖσθαι διὰ παντὸς ξυρομένων μὲν τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ μέλαιναν περιβαλλομένων ἐσθῆτα· καὶ νόμος αὐταῖς μηδέποτε τὸν τάφον ἀπολιπεῖν. Ἡ δὲ Χουβδάν δύο μεγάλοις διείληπται ποταμοῖς, αἱ δὲ τούτων ὄχθαι ταῖς κυπαρίττοις ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν κατανεύονται. 10. Ἐλέφαντες δὲ τῷ ἔθνει πολλοί. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰνδοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας συναναμίγνυνται· τούτους δὲ φασὶ τοὺς

When the Khagan of the Turks had concluded the civil war he handled his affairs successfully and made a treaty with the men of Taugast so that, capitalizing on the profound peace on all sides, he might settle the kingdom without seditious elements. 2. The Climatarch of Taugast is called Taisan which means 'son of god' in Greek speech. The kingdom of Taugast is not riven by factions; birth status provides them with the appointment of their leader. This race worships statues, but its laws are just and their way of life full of wisdom. 3. They have a custom, which has the force of law, that males should never adorn themselves with golden ornaments although they possess a boundless supply of silver and gold on account of large scale profitable trade. A river forms the boundary of Taugast. 4. In former times the river divided two very considerable races who were hostile to each other; one race wore black garments, the other scarlet. 5. In our times when Maurice was emperor of the Romans the black-clothed race, having crossed the river engaged in war against those clad in scarlet; then being victorious the former took over the entire realm. 6. The barbarians say that Alexander the Macedonian founded this city of Taugast when he reduced to slavery the Bactrians and the land of the Sogdians, destroying 120,000 barbarians. 7. In this city the wives of the ruler have carriages made of gold, each one drawn by one steer richly adorned in gold and highly precious metal; the reins of the oxen are encrusted with gold. 8. The man who has assumed sovereignty of Taugast spends his nights with seven hundred wives. The wives of the more important citizens of Taugast make use of silver carriages. The story is that Alexander built another city some miles away; the barbarians call it Chubdan.

9. When the ruler dies he is mourned by the women whose heads are completely shaven and are clad in black garments; and their law is that they should never leave the tomb. Chubdan is divided by two great rivers; their banks are overhung by cypresses.

10. The nation possesses many elephants. They associate with the Indians in commercial matters. They say that those Indians reared in the north

¹⁰ Var. Τῶν εἰς ἕω Τούρκων (ap. Nicephorus).

¹¹ Var. Χουμαδᾶν.

περὶ τὰ βόρεια τετραμμένους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς πεφυκέναι. 11. Οἱ δὲ σκώληκες, ἐξ ὧν τὰ Σηρῶν καθέστηκε νήματα, πάνυ παρὰ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἔθνει πολλοὶ ἐναλλάξ καὶ ποικίλην τὴν χροιάν κεκτημένοι, τὴν τε περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζῶα φιλοτεχνίαν φιλοτίμως ἀσκοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι.¹²

are born white-skinned. 11. The caterpillars from which the textures of the Seroes are woven exist in very considerable quantities among that race and possess crinkled and dappled skin; the barbarians assiduously practice the cultivation of these creatures.

NOTES

1. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων Χαγάνος The Turks took over the title Khagan from tribes of Xianbei origin, the last of whom to use it were the Ruanruan. See Liu 1989 and Beckwith 2009 p 104 n 36. and pp 114-116. I note that Turkish *qut* ‘luck’ which accompanies the title Khagan, like *tianming* in Chinese, is used in the same way as Iranian *farrah/farn*. Cf. M Dobrovits, ‘They called themselves Avar’ – Considering the pseudo-Avar question in the work of Theophylactus’ in *Ērān ud Anerān Webfestschrift Marshak* (2003) 2-3. (<http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/dobrovits.html>).

πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγᾶστ Ταυγᾶστ is used here as a plural i.e. ‘the men of Taugast’. Pelliot saw in Taugast (China) a description of the Turkish or Mongolian speaking Tuobawei 拓跋魏 dynasty (Tuoba = *T’ak-buāt* in Early Middle Chinese). The name appears as *Tabgač* or *Tabqač* in Turkish and other Central Asian (including Arabic) sources. Schaeder *op. cit.* 44 notes that this Turkish name for China is found on the early Eighth Century Orchon Inscription as well as in Uighur Turkish texts. Boodberg, *op. cit.* 238-241 explores a number of popular etymologies assigned to the ethnonym Tuoba (*T’ak-buāt*) (Taugast) in Chinese histories. While of considerable interest in themselves, they do not shed light on the ultimate derivation of Taugast, which this author sees as ‘a primary ethnic name’ and consequently ‘has no etymology.’ ‘Applied by the Turks to the whole of northern China, the name of Tuoba was apparently used by them in the Sixth Century to refer also to the Chinese court and its seat.’ Schaeder, *op. cit.* 45 suggested that this toponym reached the Turks not directly from Chinese, but through Sogdian. He rightly notes that the ending *-č* is used in that language to form adjectives. See I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (Oxford 1954) 59 with example *-’nc*. The adjectival form could be an abbreviation of ‘the Tabgač Kingdom’; Schaeder *op. cit.* 46 provides parallels for such usage. The milieu in which Sogdian words for Chinese toponyms could come into Turkish has been thoroughly explored in E. de la Vaissière, *Histoire des Marchands Sogdiens* (Paris 2004) 180-189 and lends support to Schaeder’s theory. However, Professor Sims-Williams points out that there is a confusion here between two Sogdian suffixes forming ethnic adjectives: *-’nc* (fem. of *’ny*) and *-c* (common gender) as in *sm’rkndc* ‘of Samarkand’ and concludes (pace Schaeder) that there is no reason to think that the form *Tavgack* contains a Sogdian suffix. Important evidence is found in the account of the visit to Constantinople by the Sogdian Turkish ambassador Maniakh in 568 CE found in the fragments of Menander Protector. The earliest reference to the Turks in the Chinese Dynastic Histories involves a Sogdian intermediary in 545 CE. See *Zhoushu* 周書 50.908. Cf. G. Doerfer ‘Turkish-Iranian Language Contacts’ in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* Vol V (New York 2002) 482 in discussing the Bugut inscription of 581 CE notes that, although this is the earliest evidence for the history of the Turkish emperors, it is written in Sogdian language and script. The only Turkish words are titles all with the *-n* ending ‘characteristic of Tavgatch (Tuobawei) a Mongolian language.’ See Yoshida and Moriyasu (ed.) *Bugut Inscription* in T. Moriyasu and A. Ochir, *Provisional Report on Researches on Historical Sites and Inscriptions in Mongolia from 1996 to 1998* (Osaka 1999) 122-125.

Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγᾶστ κλιματάρχης The description of the governor of a province as a Climatarch is also attested in the Sixth Century historian Joannes Lydus. κλίμα ‘inclination’ moved early into the language of terrestrial geography as a word for ‘region.’

Ταισᾶν Boodberg *op. cit.* has solved the mystery of this word. Based on its given meaning as ‘son of god’ J. Klapproth *Mémoires relatifs à l’Asie* (Paris 1824-8) 8 saw it as a corruption of Chinese *tianzi* 天子 ‘Son of Heaven’. Yule’s *Taizong* is impossible chronologically as this imperial title belongs to the later period of the Tang; it was the name of one of the Tang emperors. However, as Boodberg, *op. cit.* 235 points out, *Ταισᾶν* is a faithful transcription of *taishang* 太上, a title applied between 300 and 630 CE to abdicated emperors, usually those replaced by their son as ruler. Three rulers in Northern China bore this title during the period covered by Simocatta’s description. The details relevant to our text are set out in Boodberg, *op. cit.* 237-8. He sums up the evidence: ‘The Chinese title of “abdicated” emperors who exercised the real power behind the throne was thus

¹² Apart from some unimportant differences and the variants cited in the notes, this passage is reproduced word for word by Nicephorus Callistus, *Ecclesiastical History* XVIII,30.

well known at the court of the Turkish Khans.’ He even suggests that the use of this term and other details of the description given here ‘tend to indicate that the Turkish brief of information on which Simocatta’s text is based dates from the last years of the Zhou dynasty, most probably from the period April 579-June 580.’ It may be added that ‘son of the (abdicated) emperor’ is not such a far cry from ‘son of god’ in eastern cultures where divinity and kingship are closely aligned. The emphasis is on ‘son’. Persian-Turkish *baypur* is the usual translation of Chinese *tianzi* with this meaning ‘son of heaven’.

2. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ταυγᾶστ ... ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς Here the Chinese are seen and assessed from the Turkish viewpoint. The favourable descriptions are in keeping with what we find in most of the sources in Boodberg, *op. cit.* 234 calls them ‘natural clichés which nomads would use to describe a thickly settled, highly civilized, and orderly (even in those troubled days) country like China.’ The worshipping of statues recalls Buddhism, ‘stronger in Qi than in Zhou’, as Boodberg notes.

3. ἔθος ... δὲ τούτοις ... ἐμπορίας The prohibition of gold ornaments for men, though not for their chariots, has not been satisfactorily explained by reference to Chinese sources. See Boodberg, *op. cit.* 234.

4-5. Πάλαι τοῖνον ... κύριον Again Boodberg, *op. cit.* 224-232 has gone to the Chinese histories to shed light on this episode the details of which have often previously been dismissed as fantasy, although commentators have always seen here some direct or oblique reference to the re-unification of the northern and southern parts of the Chinese empire in 589 CE. Boodberg establishes beyond doubt that the colours black and red refer to the military uniforms of the opposing armies. The black were worn by the Zhou, the red (sometimes yellow in the sources) were worn by the Qi; the former were the successors of the western, the latter of the eastern Wei. ‘The color patterns affected by the two rival Chinese states must have been well known to the Turks who were in intimate contact with both powers, and there is thus no doubt that the famous passage in Theophylactus Simocatta’s text refers primarily to events in Northern China. The river dividing the two nations is thus undoubtedly the Yellow river (Huanghe) and not the Yangzi, as generally believed.’ As for the date of these recorded events, Boodberg, *op. cit.* 232 argues for the period around 577 CE, thus just ante-dating the establishment of the Sui. He relies for this partly on Simocatta’s statement in VII 9 8 that ‘the man who had assumed sovereignty of Taugast spent his nights with seven hundred wives’. This can be related to a Zhou emperor of 579 CE recorded in *Zhoushu* 7. At the same time *Beishi* 8 tells of Guo Hui, the last emperor of the Qi, whose extravagance in the matter of women became proverbial, having a vision in 565 CE attested by ‘seven hundred palace women attending the emperor at night.’

6. Ταύτην δὴ τὴν Ταυγᾶστ ... βαρβάρων Boodberg, *op. cit.* 242 has an ingenious explanation for why a Gk. historian like Simocatta might bother to report such a garbled account of the foundation of Taugast and Chubdan (VII 9 8) by Alexander the Great. In any case the information appeared sufficiently credible for the Arabic geographer Qudāma to repeat it three centuries later. Schaeder, *op. cit.* 47-48, in line with his emphasis on the part played by the Sogdians in the transmission of the names Taugast and Chubdan, is convinced that the source of confusion is a Sogdian variant of the *Alexander Romance* transmitted by those traders to Byzantium and Central Asia. This work, often cited as Pseudo-Callisthenes, was translated into Middle Persian in Sassanian times and from this came the Syriac which was the source of the Arabic versions. See introductory note on Palladius *De Brachmanibus*. Schaeder speculates that Sogdians brought the story to the Far East and made the association with the two capitals Taugast and Chubdan, whence it eventually found its way back to the west and was part of the Turkish information available to Simocatta. In Qudāma, however, we read that the two towns were called Chumdan and Šarag. The latter is well-attested as Luoyang. It is Sarag in Syriac on the Xi’an inscription. Compare **Σάραγα / Σάρατα** in Ptolemy VII 3 5 where *Sagara* is read by Berthelot. See Lieu, *op. cit.* 233 and Schaeder, *op. cit.* 46-47. For Sarag in Sogdian and a connexion between Sarag and Σηρικὴ see Schaeder, *op. cit.* 49 and 49 n 3.

7. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ... χρυσοκόλλητοι The comment of Boodberg, *op. cit.* 233 is worth quoting in full: ‘For the Qi chariots decorated with gold (gilding or inlay) were in common use at the courts of all dynasties; the minute regulations covering every type of vehicle and the pattern of decoration have been preserved in dynastic histories and those of the period in question are found in *Suishu* 10. The Zhou ceremonial is quite complicated; only some vehicles for women are said to be drawn by oxen, the majority of palace chariots being described as horse-drawn. For Qi only few details are given, but among them we find that princesses of the blood (*gongzhu*) rode in varnished chariots, both chariots and oxen being decorated with gilt and solid silver. At the same time while gold decorations are said to be prescribed for chariots of officers of higher rank, those of lower rank could only use copper which would indicate that there existed a definite gradation in the use of different metals according to official position. The distinction that Simocatta’s text draws between the women of the ruler and those of the nobles (VII 9 8) could thus well have been based on reality.’

8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ... κατεπαννυζίζετο See note on VII 9 4-5 *ad fin.*

Λόγος δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν ... Χουβδάν The text is dislocated here. These words belong in VII 9 6. After mentioning the foundation of Taugast by Alexander it would be natural to mention his reputed foundation of Chubdan as well. There is a further dislocation after the mention of Chubdan here. Ἡ δὲ Χουβδάν δύο μεγάλοις ... κατανεύονται in VII 9 9 logically belongs in VII 9 6. The intervening references to the ruler's wives should be connected. The sequence would then be (a) Alexander founded Taugast (b) he is also said to have founded Chubdan (c) Chubdan is divided by two rivers (d) description of the ruler's wives (e) the mourning custom of the women instead of the present confused arrangement (a) (d) (b) (e) (c). Chubdan (Khubdan) can certainly be equated with Chang'an 長安 in geographical terms and its derivation from the latter can be explained satisfactorily. Khubdan is clearly the Kūmdān of the Syriac Nestorian Christian inscription there. Boodberg, *op. cit.* p 241 tentatively suggested that it might be a transcription of Chinese Xianyang 咸陽 which was the old capital of the Qin and still a city of some importance at this time. This suggestion is attributed to G. Haloun by W.B. Henning, 'The Name of the "Tocharian" Language', *Asia Major* (1949) 608. Its position on the confluence of the Wei and Feng rivers lends some plausibility to this. In the second Ancient Sogdian letter, dated probably to the Fourth Century CE, we find Khumdan ('xwmt'n) in lines 15 and 18. In the second occurrence *cynn cynstn* ('out of Čīnastan') has been written above it. Henning notes here that Čīnastan seems to mean the region around Khumdan, or at least chiefly that region, but not 'China'. He is surprised that the original meaning of the term ('the lands of Qin') was still used at this time. He sees the gloss as a self-correction to give the meaning 'out of Khumdan – nay, even out of Čīnastan'. Haloun (quoted by Henning 1949 p 608) comments: 'one would have to assume that this appellation (Xianyang) was continued in use and applied to Chang'an when that town supplanted Xianyang as the capital of the Han empire in 200 BC, but was not the name of Qin (*cynstn*) also so retained as the name for the whole country, after the fall of the Qin dynasty?' He suggests that both of these names may have come into Sogdian at the same time through contacts made in trading. Schaefer, *op. cit.* 45-46 points out that the name is certainly attested in Sogdian as *gwmt'n* in a colophon. On the colophon the name is in an adjectival form in the expression *gwmt'nčw kndyh* 'city of Chumdan'. See Gershevitch, *op. cit.* 159 and compare remarks on Tabgač in note on πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ in VII 9 1.

9. **Τεθνηκότα ... ἀπολιπεῖν** The shaving of the head and the wearing of black garments are familiar symbols of mourning from many cultures. They are well known in Gk. writings from the famous section in Herodotus' treatment of the subject in Egypt. There is no compulsion therefore to see with Boodberg, *op. cit.* 243 reference to refuge for these widows in Buddhist monasteries.

αἱ δὲ τούτων ὄχθαι ... κατανεύονται The two rivers would be the Wei and the Feng. Although Chinese sources can be cited for willows lining the banks of rivers in this region, Boodberg, *op. cit.* 242, n 59 laments the lack of references to cypresses to confirm this statement.

10. **Ἐλέφαντες ... πεφοκέναι** The ἔθνος referred to here must be the inhabitants of Taugast and nearby Khubdan in Western China; hence they may be identified as trading with Indians. As it is the latter that possess many elephants there is good ground to see further dislocation of the text here. If the text is sound, these elephants could only be those found south of the Yellow River which is an area not covered by Turkish information given throughout this section. It is more likely that Indians are the possessors of many elephants, just as those of them dwelling in the north of the country have paler complexions than those in the south.

11. **Οἱ δὲ σκόληκες ... βάρβαροι** This paragraph on Chinese sericulture is accurate. The description of the skin of the worms as crinkled and dappled is certainly apt.

Summary of Photius (Cod. LXV)

Cod. 31a30-31b1:

Εδουλώσατο δὲ καὶ Ἀβάρους. Διέξεισι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ταυγάστ ἐθνῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μουκρί, ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἄβαροι ἠττηθέντες διεσπάρησαν, ... καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυγάστ, περὶ τε τῶν σκολήκων τῶν τικτόνων τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν Σηρικὴν, καὶ ὡς πολλή ἐστι περὶ τὴν λεγομένην

He (Emperor Maurice) also enslaved the Abari. (Theophylact) comments on the tribes inhabiting Taugast and the Mucrici among whom the Abari were dispersed after they had been defeated ... and (speaks) about Taugast, and about the caterpillars which are the source of Seric raiment,

Byzantine sources on Lands and Peoples

Χουβδάν ἢ τῆς μετάξεως γένεσις, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν νόμιμα. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν λευκῶν τὸ σῶμα. and about how much silk production there is around so-called Chubdan and the customs found there ... and he treats of the Indians with white bodies.

NOTES

Photius was Patriarch of Constantinople 858-67 CE and again 877-86 CE. He was involved in the Councils of Constantinople, the *filioque* controversy and the Great Schism. See notes on Pseudo-Ctesias and later entries on Theophanes of Byzantium and Photius *Lexicon*. The summary is found in Cod. LXV.

Byzantine sources on Lands and Peoples

THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM



On sericulture

This Theophanes (c. 750-817 CE) is not to be confused with Theophanes of Byzantium (fl. c. 925-945 CE), a Byzantine palace official and advisor to Emperor Romanos Lekapenos (r. 920-944 CE). Our Sixth Century author wrote a history of the Persian War under Justin II (565-578 CE) in ten books. This *Chronographia* was lost but it is cited in the *Myriobiblion* (also called *Bibliotheca*) of the Patriarch Photius of Alexandria who was involved in the Great Schism. Theophanes was a monk. His work contains valuable historical material about the Empire's struggles with foreign invasions and internal religious disputes. It is thus a sort of encyclopaedia in the form of book reviews. It has been suggested that much of its material was obtained by Photius from Arabic sources while he was on an embassy to the Abbasid court at Samarra in 845 CE.

THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM (ap. Photius, *Myriobiblon*)

Ed. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*,
Paris, Didot, 1851, Vol. IV, pp. 270-71.

Translated and annotated by Dr John Sheldon¹³

3. Ὅτι τὴν τῶν σκολήκων γένεσιν ἀνήρ Πέρσης βασιλεύοντος Ἰουστινιανοῦ, ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπέδειξεν οὐπω πρότερον ἐγνωσμένην Ῥωμαίοις. Οὗτος δὲ ἐκ Σηρῶν ὀρμηθεὶς ὁ Πέρσης, τὸ σπέρμα τῶν σκολήκων ἐν νάρθηκι λαβὼν μέχρι Βυζαντίου διεσώσατο, καὶ τοῦ ἔαρος ἀρξαμένου ἐπὶ τὴν τροφήν τῶν συκαμίνων φύλλων ἐπαφῆκε τὰ σπέρματα· τὰ δὲ τραφέντα τοῖς φύλλοις ἐπεροφύησέ τε καὶ τᾶλλα εἰργάσατο. Ὡν τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστίνος ὕστερον τοῖς Τούρκοις ὑποδείξας ἐθάμβησεν. Οἱ γὰρ Τούρκοι τότε τὰ τε Σηρῶν ἐμπόρια καὶ τοὺς λιμένας κατεῖχον· ταῦτα δὲ πρὶν μὲν Πέρσαι κατεῖχον.

3. (Theophanes reports) that a Persian man in the reign of Justinian demonstrated in Byzantium the origin of (silk)worms previously unknown to the Romans. This Persian on setting out from Seres took the eggs of the worms in a casket and got them safe to Byzantium; when spring began he exposed what hatched from the eggs to a diet of mulberry leaves. When reared on these leaves the worms grew wings and completed the rest of their life cycle. When the emperor Justin at a later time demonstrated their origin and workmanship to the Turks, he astonished them: for the Turks then controlled the markets and harbours of the Seres; but the Persians had previously controlled these.

NOTES

ὅτι τὴν τῶν σκολήκων ... κατεῖχον This account of the introduction of silk production into the Byzantine Empire is to be compared with Procopius, *Bell. Goth.* IV,17,1. Whereas Procopius tells of two monks coming from India (used vaguely) offering to supply Justinian with information to allow the Byzantines to be independent of the Persians for their supply of silk, Theophanes speaks of the

¹³ Excerpted from G. Coedès, *Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E.*, translated by John Sheldon, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 4 (Turnhout: Brepols 2010) 151 and J. Sheldon, *Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East*, *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) 276-77.

Byzantine sources on Lands and Peoples

informant as a 'Persian man'. Procopius says that the monks encouraged by Justinian went to Serinda (same vagueness) and returned with eggs; he does not specify how they were conveyed. Theophanes says that the Persian brought them ἐν νάρθηκι which may be translated as a 'cane (of giant fennel)' or better as a 'casket'. The rest of the accounts are basically the same. Feltham 2009 p16 argues that the monks (possibly Nestorians) or the 'Persian man' may well have travelled through Sogdiana (then a satrapy of the Sassanian empire) to reach Byzantium. She suggests that the monks may have been Sogdians. She qualifies this by saying that they may also have come by the sea route from the Coromandel or Malabar coast of India. The latter idea is ruled out, I think, because Procopius says that the monks had been in Serindia (i.e. Central Asia).

Ὡς τήν τε ... κατείχον Justin II (565-578 CE) received an embassy from the Turks in 569 CE in which a proposal was made to bypass Persian domination of the silk trade by opening a new route. This angered the Turks but appealed to Justin. The result was an alliance between Byzantium and the Turks until 576 CE when, according to fragment 19 1-2 of the historian Menander Protector, the Khan ended it abruptly. See de la Vaissière 2004 pp 206-209 and Beckwith 2009 pp 116-117.

ANNA COMNENA



On the First Crusade

Princess and historian, Anna Comnena (1083-1153) wrote an account of the reign of her father Alexios I Comnena (1081-1118) – the *Alexiad* - which is generally regarded as a classic of Byzantine historiography. Her account of the First Crusade from the Byzantine point of view is a rare and important document and much used by scholars chronicling the tumultuous events triggered off by the preaching of Peter the Hermit and of Pope Urban II against Islamic occupation of the holy sites of Palestine and Syria even though the event took place during the author's early teenage years. Unavowedly prejudiced against the western warriors who were clearly intent on creating Latin fiefdoms in the lands recovered from Muslim rule, Anna's account is factually sound and is also one of the most important Greek source of 'Western' onomastics, toponyms and titles. The Greek text of Anna is provided here because it is not often consulted by scholars thanks to the relative unavailability of the edition of Leib (1943) and the very costly edition of Reinsch and Kambylis (2001).

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ANNA COMNENA

Alexiados

Trans. Elizabeth Dawes, pp. 247-99.

Liber X

§5

1. Καὶ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνακτησάμενος τῶν πολλῶν μόχθων, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Τούρκους τὰ ἐντὸς Βιθυνίας κατατρέχοντας εὔρε καὶ ληζομένους ἅπαντα, τῶν δυτικῶν πραγμάτων ἐκ θατέρου μέρους πρὸς ἑαυτὰ ἐπισπωμένων τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πλέον ἐν τούτοις ἢ ἐν ἐκείνοις κάμων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ κατεπεῖγον μᾶλλον ὁ πόνος ἦν) ἐπίνοιαν ἐπινοεῖται μάλα μεγαλουργὸν καὶ ἀξίαν τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν Βιθυνίας ἀποταφρεύει τὰς ἐκείνων καταδρομὰς διὰ τοιαύτης κατασκευῆς ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ἐκείνην διηγήσασθαι. 2. Ὁ γὰρ Σάγγαρις ποταμὸς καὶ ἡ παραλία ἢ μέχρι τοῦ χωρίου Χηλῆς ἰθυτενῶς καταφερομένη καὶ ἡ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνακάμπουσα πολλὴν ἔνδον περικλείουσι χώραν. Ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν χώραν πονηροὶ γείτονες γεγονότες ἡμῖν ἀνέκαθεν οἱ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐρημίαν τῶν κωλυόντων διὰ τε Μαρνανδηνῶν καὶ τῶν πέραν Σαγγάρεως ῥαδίως κατελήζοντο καὶ μᾶλλον τὴν Νικομήδους ἐπέθλιβον τὸν ποταμὸν διαπεραιούμενοι. Τὴν τοιαύτην τοίνυν ὀρμὴν ἀνακόπτων τῶν βαρβάρων ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν τῆς χώρας καταδρομὴν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Νικομήδους ἀσφαλιζόμενος κατωτέρω τῆς Βαάνης λίμνης μακρότατον ὄρυγμα κατιδὼν καὶ παρακολουθήσας αὐτῷ μέχρι πέρατος κατενόει ἀπὸ τε τῆς θέσεως καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ὡς ἄρα ὁ τόπος οὐκ ἐκ ταυτομάτου διαβεβόθρωται οὐδὲ συσσεσηράγγεται φυσικῶς, ἀλλὰ χειρὸς τινος ὑπῆρχε μηχανήμα. Πολυπραγμονήσας οὖν τὸ τοῦ τόπου μανθάνει παρά τινων, ὡς ἄρα τῆς τοιαύτης διώρυχος Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Δίκουρος ἐπεστάτησε. Τί μὲν βουλόμενος, οὐκ εἶχον λέγειν ἐφαίνετο δ' οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀλεξίῳ, ὡς δὴ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐκείνος ἐβούλετο ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης ὕδωρ μετοχετεύειν ἐς ταυτηνὴ τὴν χειροποίητον χαράδραν. Πρὸς τοιαύτην τοίνυν ἐνθύμησιν ἀναχθεὶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀλέξιος τὴν τε τάφρον εἰς βάθος ἰκανώτατον διορύσσειν ἐκέλευε. 3. Δεδοικῶς δὲ μή ποτε καὶ πορεύσιμα γένοιτο τὰ τῶν ποταμῶν κατὰ τὰς συναφὰς τῶν ῥευμάτων, ἀνιστᾷ

1. After a short rest from the many toils, he (sc. Alexius) found that the Turks were overrunning the interior of Bithynia and plundering everything, and that on the other side affairs in the West were calling for the Emperor's attention. He was more troubled about the former than the latter (for his business naturally to attend to what was urgent) and he devised a device which was really magnificent and worthy of his brain, and by this contrivance he safely fenced off Bithynia with a canal against the Turks' incursions. And it is worthwhile describing this contrivance. 2. The river Sangaris and the coast-line which runs straight as far as the village Chele and the other which turns to the north enclose within them a large tract of country. Now this country was easily devastated by the men who from of old have been troublesome neighbours to us; that is, the Ishmaelites, for due to the entire absence of any who could prevent them they came through the Myrandeni and from beyond the Sangaris, and they used to cross the river and especially oppress the town of Nicomedia. The Emperor wished to check these barbarian inroads and raids upon the country, and above all to protect the town of Nicomedia. Below the Lake of Baana he noticed a very long trench, and following it up to its end he gathered from its position and shape that it had not been dug out by mere chance, nor been hollowed by nature, but was the cunning work of some hand. After making close enquiries about the place, he found out from somebody that that it was indeed Anastasius Dicurus (r. 491-518) who was the originator of this trench. With what intent they could not say; but to the Emperor Alexius it seemed that the former Emperor had wished to divert the water from the lake into this artificial canal, and consequently he was led to the same idea and ordered the trench to be dug very deep. 3. He was afraid, however, that the river might be fordable at the

φρούριον ἐρυμνότατον, πανταχόθεν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ ἀνεπιχειρήτον ἔχον ἀπὸ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς ὕψος καὶ πάχος τειχοποιίας· ὄθεν καὶ τὴν σιδηρᾶν ἀπηνέγκατο κλῆσιν. Καὶ ἔστι νῦν τὸ σιδηροῦν τουτὶ πυργίον πόλις πρὸ πόλεως καὶ τείχους προτείχισμα. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐφίστατο τῇ τοῦ πολιχνίου οἰκοδομῇ ἀπὸ πρωΐας μέχρι ἐσπέρας, καίτοι πολλῆς τῆς ἀλέας οὔσης τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν τοῦ ἡλίου διαπορευομένου, καὶ καύσωνος ἠνείχετο καὶ κονίας. Καὶ πολλὴν τὴν δαπάνην κατεβάλλετο ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἐρυμνότατον γεγονέναι τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἀπρόσμαχον, τοὺς σύροντας ἕκαστον τῶν λίθων, εἰ ἔτυχεν εἶναι πεντήκοντα ἢ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, δαυιλῶς ἐπιφιλοτιμούμενος. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ οὐ τῶν τυχόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιώτης ἅπας καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτόχθων τε καὶ ἐξ ἀλλοδαπῆς ὀρμώμενος πρὸς τὴν τῶν τοιούτων λίθων ὀλκὴν ἐκεκίνητο δαυιλεῖς ὀρῶντες τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καθάπερ ἀθλοθέτην τινὰ ἐφιστάμενον. Τέχνη γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο ἵνα πολλῶν συρρεόντων ῥᾶον ἢ ὀλκὴ τῶν παμμεγέθων ἐκείνων λίθων γίνοιτο. Οὕτως ἦν ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι βαθύτατος καὶ καταπραῶσαι μεγαλουργότατος.

4. Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μέχρι τῆς ... ἐπινεμήσεως τοῦ ... ἔτους κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον προβέβηκεν· οὐπω δὲ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀναπαύσας λογοποιουμένην ἠκηκόει ἀπείρων Φραγγικῶν στρατευμάτων ἐπέλευσιν. Ἐδεδίει μὲν οὖν τὴν τούτων ἔφοδον γνωρίσας αὐτῶν τὸ ἀκατάσχετον τῆς ὀρμῆς, τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἄστατον καὶ εὐάγωγον καὶ τᾶλλα ὅποσα ἢ τῶν Κελτῶν φύσις ὡς ἴδια ἢ παρακολουθήματά τινα ἔχει διὰ παντὸς καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ χρήμασι κεχρηνότες αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν αἰτίαν τὰς σφῶν συνθήκας εὐκόλως ἀνατρέποντες φαίνονται. Εἶχε γὰρ αἰεὶ τοῦτο ἀδόκον καὶ πάνυ ἐπαληθεῖον. Καὶ οὐκ ἀναπεπτόκει, ἀλλὰ παντοίως παρεσκευάζετο, ὥστε καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἔτοιμον πρὸς τὰς μάχας εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ πλέω καὶ φοβερώτερα τῶν φημιζομένων λόγων ἦσαν τὰ πράγματα. Πᾶσα γὰρ ἢ ἐσπέρα καὶ ὅποσον γένος βαρβάρων τὴν πέραθεν Ἀδρίου μέχρις Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κατόκει γῆν, ἅπαν ἄθροον μεταναστεῦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν διὰ τῆς ἐξῆς Εὐρώπης ἐβάδιζε πανοικί τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενον. Ἔσχε δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν τοιαύτην συγκίνησιν τὴν αἰτίαν ἐνθένδε ποθέν.

5. Κελτός τις Πέτρος τοῦνομα, τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Κουκούπετρος, εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου

junction of the streams, so he erected a very strong fort, safe and impregnable on all sides, by reason of the river and the height and thickness of [248] its walls; and from this it got the name of 'Iron'. And now this 'Iron Tower' is a city in front of a city, and an advanced fortification of a fortification! The Emperor himself superintended the building of the fort from morning till evening, in spite of the great heat, for the sun had already passed the summer solstice, and he put up with the burning heat and the dust. He incurred great expenses in order to ensure by these means that the fort should be very strong and impregnable, and he lavished money upon the men who dragged the stones, one by one, no matter whether there were fifty or a hundred, men. Thus it came about that they were not just anybody, but that every soldier and soldier servant, both native and foreign, was stirred to help with the hauling of these stones by seeing the lavish pay and the Emperor himself presiding like a judge at the games. His craft was also shown in this for by the flocking together of so many men the hauling of these immense stones was made much easier. For the Emperor was ever like that, very deep in his ideas, and magnificent in executing them.

4. The Emperor's reign had proceeded as I have described up to the ... Indiction of the ... year.

Before he had enjoyed even a short rest, he heard a report of the approach of innumerable Frankish armies. Now he dreaded their arrival for he knew their irresistible manner of attack, their unstable and mobile character and all the peculiar natural and concomitant characteristics which the Frank retains throughout; and he also knew that they were always agape for money, and seemed to disregard their truces readily for any reason that cropped up. For he had always heard this reported of them, and found it very true. However, he did not lose heart, but prepared himself in every way so that, when the occasion called, he would be ready for battle. And indeed the actual facts were far greater and more terrible than rumour made them. For the whole of the West and all the barbarian tribes which dwell between the further side of the Adriatic and the pillars of Heracles, had all migrated in a body and were marching into Asia through the intervening Europe, and were making the journey with all their household. The reason of this upheaval was more or less the following. 5. A certain Frank, Peter by name, nicknamed

ἀπελθὼν καὶ πολλὰ δεινὰ πεπονθὼς παρὰ τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ληζομένων Τούρκων τε καὶ Σαρακηνῶν μόγις ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ ἴδια. Καὶ διαμαρτῶν τοῦ σκοποῦ οὐκ ἔφευγεν, ἀλλ' αὐθις ἠβούλετο τῆς αὐτῆς ἄψασθαι ὁδοῦ. Συνιδὼν δὲ ὡς οὐ χρὴ μόνον αὐθις τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον ὁδοιπορίας ἄψασθαι, ἵνα μὴ χεῖρόν τι γένηται οἱ, βουλὴν βουλευέται συνετήν. Ἡ δὲ ἦν διακηρυκεῦσαι εἰς ἀπάσας τὰς τῶν Λατίνων χώρας ὡς “Ὁμοφὴ θεία παρακελεύεται με πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν Φραγγίᾳ κόμησι κηρῦξαι, ἅπαντας τῶν ἰδίων ἀπᾶραι καὶ εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου ἀπελθεῖν καὶ σπεῦσαι ὅλη χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα λυτρώσασθαι χειρός”.
6. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ κατώρθωκεν. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τινα θεῖαν ὁμοφὴν ἐνθέμενος εἰς τὰς ἀπάντων ψυχὰς τοὺς ὅπουδῆποτε Κελτοὺς ἄλλον ἀλλαχόθεν σὺν ὀπλοῖς καὶ ἵπποις καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ συναθροίζεσθαι παρεσκεύαζε. Κάκεινοι μὲν οὕτως εἶχον προθυμίας τε καὶ ὀρμῆς καὶ πᾶσα λεωφόρος τούτους εἶχε· συνεπήει δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκεῖνοις Κελτοῖς καὶ ψιλὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἄμμοι καὶ τὰ ἄστρα πλῆθος φοίνικας φέρον καὶ σταυροὺς ἐπ' ὤμων, γυναῖά τε καὶ τέκνα τῶν σφῶν ἐξεληλυθότα χωρῶν. Καὶ ἦν ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς καθάπερ τινὰς ποταμοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν συρρέοντας καὶ διὰ τῶν Δακῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν [πρὸς τὰς] πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπερχομένους πανστρατιᾷ.

7. Προηγῆσατο δὲ τῆς τῶν τούτων λαῶν ἐλεύσεως ἀκρις τῶν μὲν πυρῶν ἀπεχομένη, τοὺς δὲ ἀμπελῶνας δεινῶς κατεσθίουσα. Ἦν δ' ἄρα τοῦτο τὸ σύμβολον, ὡς οἱ τότε συμβολομάντιες ἀπεμαντεῦοντο, ὡς ἡ ἔφοδος τοῦ τούτου Κελτικοῦ στρατεύματος τῶν μὲν Χριστιανικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόσχηται, δεινῶς δ' ἐπιβρίσειε κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν μέθη καὶ οἶνω καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ δεδουλευκότων. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ γένος Διονύσῳ τε ὑπεῖκει καὶ Ἔρωτι καὶ πρὸς παντοίας μίξεις καταφορώτατον καὶ μὴ συμπεριτεμνόμενον τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ τὰ πάθη, καὶ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δοῦλον καὶ τρίδουλον τῶν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης κακῶν. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ τὴν Ἀστάρτην αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀσταρῶθ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ σέβονται καὶ τοῦ ἄστρου τὸν τύπον περὶ πλείονος τίθενται καὶ τὴν χρυσοῦν παρ' ἐκεῖνοις Χοβάρ. Ὁ μέντοι σίτος εἰς τὸν χριστιανισμὸν τοῖς συμβολικοῖς τούτοις ἐξελαμβάνετο διὰ τὸ νηφάλιον τε καὶ τροφιμώτατον. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἱ μάντιες τὰς ἀμπέλους καὶ τὸν πυρὸν ἐξεδέξαντο. **8.** Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν μάντεων οὕτως ἐχέτω· τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν

Cucupeter, had gone to worship at the Holy Sepulchre and after suffering many things at the hands of the Turks and Saracens who were ravaging Asia, [249] he got back to his own country with difficulty. But he was angry at having failed in his object, and wanted to undertake the same journey again. However, he saw that he ought not to make the journey to the Holy Sepulchre alone again, lest worse things befall him, so he worked out a cunning plan. This was to preach in all the Latin countries that ‘the voice of God bids me announce to all the Counts in France that they should all leave their homes and set out to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, and to endeavour wholeheartedly with hand and mind to deliver Jerusalem from the hand of the Hagarenes.’ **6.** And he really succeeded. For after inspiring the souls of all with this quasi-divine command he contrived to assemble the Franks from all sides, one after the other, with arms, horses and all the other paraphernalia of war. And they were all so zealous and eager that every highroad was full of them. And those Frankish soldiers were accompanied by an unarmed host more numerous than the sand or the stars, carrying palms and crosses on their shoulders; women and children, too, came away from their countries. And the sight of them was like many rivers streaming from all sides, and they were advancing towards us through Dacia generally with all their hosts.

7. Now the coming of these many peoples was preceded by a locust which did not touch the wheat, but made a terrible attack on the vines. This was really a presage as the diviners of the time interpreted it, and meant that this enormous Frankish army would, when it came, refrain from interference in Christian affairs, but fall very heavily upon the barbarian Ishmaelites who were slaves to drunkenness, wine, and Dionysus. For this race is under the sway of Dionysus and Eros, rushes headlong into all kind of sexual intercourse, and is not circumcised either in the flesh or in their passions. It is nothing but a slave, nay triply enslaved, to the ills wrought by Aphrodite. For this reason they worship and adore Astarte and Ashtaroth too and value above all the image of the moon, and the golden figure of Hobar in their country. Now in these symbols Christianity was taken to be the corn because of its wineless and very nutritive qualities; in this manner the diviners interpreted the vines and the wheat. **8.** However let the matter of the prophecy

βαρβάρων οὕτω παρηκολουθήκει καὶ καινόν τι κατανοεῖν τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ἐνήν. Τῆς γὰρ τῶν τούτων ἐλεύσεως οὐχ ὁμοῦ οὐδὲ κατὰ ταῦτόν γινομένης (καὶ πῶς γὰρ τοσαῦτα πλήθη ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων ἐξορμήσαντα ὁμαδὸν τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας πορθμὸν διανήξασθαι ἐνήν;) οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, οἱ δὲ δεύτεροι, οἱ δὲ τούτων ὀπισθεν καὶ καθεξῆς οἱ ἅπαντες τὸν ἀπόπλου οὕτω ποιούμενοι διὰ τῆς ἠπειροῦ διήρχοντο. Προηγεῖτο δὲ ἐκάστου στρατεύματος τούτων ἀκρις ἀμύθητος, ὡς ἔφαμεν. Ἄπαντες γοῦν ἅπαξ καὶ δις τοῦτο θεασάμενοι προδρόμους ταύτας τῶν Φραγκικῶν ταγμάτων ἐγνώρισαν. **9.** Ὡς δὲ σποράδην τινὲς τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας διεπέρων ἤδη πορθμὸν, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετακαλεσάμενός τινας τῶν ῥωμαϊκῶν δυνάμεων ἀρχηγούς ἐκπέμπει τούτους πρὸς τὰ μέρη Δυρραχίου καὶ Αὐλώνος ἐντειλάμενος δέχεσθαι μὲν προσηνῶς τοὺς διαπερῶντας πανηγύρεις τε δαψιλεῖς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν χωρῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐξάγειν, εἶτα ἐνεδρεῦειν παρακολουθοῦντας διόλου καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκδρομάς τινας τούτους θεαίντο ποιουμένους εἰς προνομήν τῶν παρακειμένων χωρῶν ἐκτρέχοντας, ἀναστέλλειν διὰ μετρίων ἀκροβολισμῶν. Συμπαρήσαν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τινες τῆς λατινικῆς διαλέκτου εἰδήμονες, ἵνα τὰς ἀναφουρένας μεταξὺ μάχας καταστέλλωσιν.

10. Ἄλλ' ὅπως σαφέστερον ἀφηγησαίμην τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ κατὰ μέρος, ταύτης τῆς φήμης διαδραμούσης ἀπανταχοῦ πρῶτος ὁ Γοντοφρὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπεμπολήσας χώραν τῆς προκειμένης ὁδοῦ εἶχετο. Ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος πολυχρήματος καὶ ἐπὶ γενναιότητι καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γένους περιφανείᾳ μεγάλως αὐχῶν' ἕκαστος γὰρ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐσπευδε προτρέχειν τῶν ἄλλων. Καὶ γέγονε συγκίνησις οἷαν οὐδέπω τις μέμνηται ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν, τῶν μὲν ἀπλουστέρων ὡς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου προσκυνῆσαι τάφον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροῦς ἱστορῆσαι τόπους ἐπειγομένων ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ, τῶν δὲ γε πονηροτέρων καὶ μᾶλλον ὁποῖος ὁ Βαίμουντος καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες ἄλλον ἐνδομυχοῦντα λογισμὸν ἐχόντων, εἴ που ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι δυνηθεῖεν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατασχεῖν καθάπερ πόρισμά τι ταύτην εὐρηκότες. Ἐτάρασε δὲ τὰς τῶν πλειόνων καὶ γενναιότερων ψυχὰς ὁ Βαίμουντος ὡς παλαιὰν μῆνιν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τρέφων. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα διακηρυκεῦσαι πάντων προηγησάμενος τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας διεπέρασε πορθμὸν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν χιλιάδων ὀγδοήκοντα, ἰπέων δὲ χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ διὰ τῶν

rest. The incidents of the barbarians' approach followed in the order I have described, and persons of intelligence could feel that they were witnessing a strange occurrence. The arrival of these multitudes did not take place at the same [250] time nor by the same road (for how indeed could such masses starting from different places have crossed the straits of Lombardy all together?) Some first, some next, others after them and thus successively all accomplished the transit, and then marched through the Continent. Each army was preceded, as we said, by an unspeakable number of locusts; and all who saw this more than once recognized them as forerunners of the Frankish armies. **9.** When the first of them began crossing the straits of Lombardy sporadically the Emperor summoned certain leaders of the Roman forces, and sent them to the parts of Dyrrachium and Valona with instructions to offer a courteous welcome to the Franks who had crossed, and to collect abundant supplies from all the countries along their route; then to follow and watch them covertly all the time, and if they saw them making any foraging-excursions, they were to come out from under cover and check them by light skirmishing. These captains were accompanied by some men who knew the Latin tongue, so that they might settle any disputes that arose between them.

10. Let me, however, give an account of this subject more clearly and in due order. According to universal rumour Godfrey, who had sold his country, was the first to start on the appointed road; this man was very rich and very proud of his bravery, courage and conspicuous lineage; for every Frank is anxious to outdo the others. And such an upheaval of both men and women took place then as had never occurred within human memory, the simpler-minded were urged on by the real desire of worshipping at our Lord's Sepulchre, and visiting the sacred places; but the more astute, especially men like Bohemund and those of like mind, had another secret reason, namely, the hope that while on their travels they might by some means be able to seize the capital itself, looking upon this as a kind of corollary. And Bohemund disturbed the minds of many nobler men by thus cherishing his old grudge against the Emperor. Meanwhile Peter, after he had delivered his message, crossed the straits of Lombardy before anybody else with eighty thousand men on foot, and one hundred thousand on horseback, and reached the capital by way of

μερῶν τῆς Οὐγγρίας τὴν βασιλεύουσαν κατέλαβεν. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν γένος, ὡς εἰκάσαι τινά, καὶ ἄλλως λίαν θερμότατον καὶ ὀξύ, ἐπὰν δὲ καὶ ἀφορμῆς δράξοιτο, ἀκάθεκτον.

Hungary. For the Frankish race, as one may conjecture, is always very hot-headed and eager, but when once it has espoused a cause, it is uncontrollable.

§6

1. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἅπερ ὁ Πέτρος προεπεπόνθει παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων γινώσκοντος καὶ συμβουλευόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν κομήτων καρτερῆσαι ἔλευσιν, οὐκ ἐπειθετο θαρρῶν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνεπομένων αὐτῷ καὶ διαπεράσας ἐπήξατο τὸν χάρακα εἷς τι πολίχνιον Ἐλενούπολιν ὀνομαζόμενον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Νορμάνοι τούτῳ συνείποντο εἰς δέκα χιλιάδας ποσούμενοι, ἀποκριθέντες τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Νίκαιαν ἐλήζοντο πᾶσιν ὠμοτάτως χρησάμενοι. Τῶν τε γὰρ βρεφῶν τὰ μὲν ἐμέλιζον, τὰ δὲ ξύλοις περιπεύροντες ὥπτιζον ἐν πυρί, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς τῷ χρόνῳ προήκοντας πᾶν εἶδος ποινής ἐπεδείκνυντο. **2.** Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν γινομένων ἐν αἰσθήσει γεγονότες ἀναπετάσαντες τὰς πύλας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξήεσαν. Καρτεροῦ δὲ τηλικαῦτα συρραγέντος πολέμου παλίνορσοι εἶσω τοῦ κάστρου γεγόνασιν ἐκθύμως τῶν Νορμάνων ἀγωνισαμένων. Καὶ ὡς τὴν λείαν ἄπασαν ἀναλαβόμενοι κατέλαβον αὐθις τὴν Ἐλενούπολιν. Λόγου δὲ ἀναμεταξὺ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν μὴ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπελθόντων κινήθεντος, ὅποια φιλεῖ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, τοῦ φθόνου τὸν θυμὸν ἀναφλέγοντος τῶν ἀπολειφθέντων κἀντεῦθεν ἀψιμαχίας ἀμφοῖν γενομένης οἱ τολμηταὶ Νορμάνοι ἀποκριθέντες αὐθις τὴν Χερίγορδον καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχον. **3.** Μαθῶν δὲ τὸ γεγονός ὁ σουλτὰν κατ' αὐτῶν μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως ἐκπέμπει τὸν Ἐλχάνην. Ὁ δὲ καταλαβὼν αἰρεῖ μὲν τὴν Χερίγορδον, τῶν δὲ γε Νορμάνων τοὺς μὲν ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα ἐποίησατο, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζωγρίαν ἦγε μελετήσας ἅμα καὶ κατὰ τῶν συναπολειφθέντων τῷ Κουκουπέτρῳ. Καὶ λόχους μὲν ἐν ἐπικαίροις καταστήσας τόποις, ὡς ἂν <ἐν> τῷ κατὰ τῆς Νικαίας ἀπέναί τούτοις ἀπροόπτως ἐμπίπτοντες ἀναιρῶνται, γινώσκων δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐρασιχρήματον δύο τινὰς δραστηρίους τὴν γνώμην μεταπεμψάμενος ἐνετείλατο ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Κουκουπέτρου διακηρυκεύοντας ὡς οἱ Νορμάνοι, κατασχόντες τὴν Νίκαιαν, δασμὸν τῶν ἐνότων ἐν αὐτῇ ποιοῦνται.

4. Αὕτη ἡ φήμη τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Πέτρου συνόντας καταλαβοῦσα δεινῶς συνετάραξε. Δασμὸν γὰρ καὶ χρήματα ἀκκοότες παραχρῆμα τῆς πρὸς τὴν

1. The Emperor, knowing what Peter had suffered [251] before from the Turks, advised him to wait for the arrival of the other Counts, but Peter would not listen for he trusted to the multitude of his followers, so crossed and pitched his camp near a small town called Helenopolis. After him followed the Normans numbering ten thousand, who separated themselves from the rest of the army and devastated the country round Nicaea, and behaved most cruelly to all. For they dismembered some of the children and fixed others on wooden spits and roasted them at the fire, and on persons advanced in age they inflicted every kind of torture. **2.** But when the inhabitants of Nicaea became aware of these doings, they threw open their gates and marched out upon them, and after a violent conflict had taken place they had to dash back inside their citadel as the Normans fought so bravely. And thus the latter recovered all the booty and returned to Helenopolis. Then a dispute arose between them and the others who had not gone out with them, as is usual in such cases, for the minds of those who had stayed behind were aflame with envy, and thus caused a skirmish after which the headstrong Normans drew apart again, marched to Xerigordus and took it by assault. **3.** When the Sultan heard what had happened, he dispatched Elchanes against them with a substantial force. He came, and recaptured Xerigordus and sacrificed some of the Normans to the sword, and took others captive, at the same time laid plans to catch those who had remained behind with Cucupeter. He placed ambushes in suitable spots so that any coming from the camp in the direction of Nicaea would fall into them unexpectedly and be killed. Besides this, as he knew the Franks' love of money, he sent for two active-minded men and ordered them to go to Cucupeter's camp and proclaim there that the Normans had gained possession of Nicaea, and were now dividing everything in it.

4. When this report was circulated among Peter's followers, it upset them terribly. Directly they heard the words 'partition' and 'money' they

Νίκαιαν φερούσης ὁδοῦ ἀσυντάκτως ἤψαντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι μονονοῦ καὶ στρατιωτικῆς ἐμπειρίας καὶ τῆς τοῖς πρὸς μάχην ἀπιοῦσιν ...¹⁴ εὐταξίας. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως τὸ τῶν Λατίνων γένος φιλοχρηματώτατον, ὥσπερ ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς καταδρομὴν χώρας ἀπονεύσειε, καὶ λόγῳ μὴ χρώμενον ἀχαλιναγώγητον. Μὴ κατὰ στοίχους δὲ μήτε ἰλαδὸν πορευόμενοι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Δράκοντα λοχῶσι Τούρκοις περιπίπτοντες οἰκτρῶς ἀνηροῦντο. Καὶ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος Κελτῶν τε καὶ Νορμάνων ἔργον μαχαίρας Ἰσμαηλικῆς ἐγεγόνει ὥστε, τὰ ἐκασταχοῦ κείμενα λείψανα τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν συγκομίσαντες, μέγιστον οὐ λόφον φημι οὐδὲ βουνὸν οὐδὲ σκοπιὰν ἐποίησαντο, ἀλλ' οἷον ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος ἀξιολογώτατον ἀπολαμβάνον· τοσοῦτος ἔκειτο ὁ τῶν ὀστέων κολωνός. Καὶ τινες ὕστερον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων βαρβάρων ἐν σχήματι πόλεως οἰκοδομήσαντες τεῖχος μεσέμβολά τινα καθάπερ κάκληκας τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐνέθεντο τρόπον τινὰ τάφον αὐτοῖς τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦμενοι. Ἦτις καὶ εἰς τὴν τήμερον ἴσταται τετειχισμένη ὁμοῦ τε λίθοις καὶ ὀστοῖς ἀναμιξ ἔχουσα τὸν περίβολον.

5. πάντων οὖν ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα γεγονότων μόνος ὁ Πέτρος μετ' ὀλίγων τινῶν εἰς Ἐλενούπολιν αὐθις ὑποστρέψας εἰσῆει. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι αὐθις τοῦτον ἐνήδρευον ἐλεῖν ἐθέλοντες. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἅπαντα ἀκηκοὺς καὶ τὴν τσοσάτην ἀνδροκτασίαν βεβαιωθείς, ἐν δεινῷ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἀλόφῃ. Παραχρῆμα τοίνυν μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Κατακαλὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν Εὐφορβηνόν, οὗ ὁ λόγος ἐν πολλοῖς ἤδη ἐμνήσθη, ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις ἐν ναυσὶ πολεμικαῖς ἐμβάλων διαπόντιον εἰς ἀρωγὴν αὐτοῦ πέπομφε. Θεασάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον οἱ Τοῦρκοι καταλαβόντα φυγαδεῖα ἐχρήσαντο. Ὁ δὲ μηδὲ μικρὸν ἀναμείνας ἀναλαβόμενος τὸν Πέτρον μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, ῥητοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, διασώζει πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. **6.** Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀναμνησκοντος αὐτὸν τῆς ἀρχῆθεν ἀβουλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅπως ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑποθημοσύναις μὴ πειθόμενος τοσοῦτοις ἐνεπεπτόκει δεινοῖς, ὅποια Λατίνος ὑψαύχην οὐχὶ ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον τοῦ τοσοῦτου κακοῦ ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους τοὺς μὴ αὐτῷ πειθομένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδίῳις θελήμασι χρωμένους, ληστὰς ἀποκαλῶν τούτους καὶ ἄρπαγας καὶ μηδὲ παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἀγίου τάφου διὰ ταῦτα δεκτοῦς. **7.** Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Λατίνων, ὅποῖος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ οἱ τούτου ὁμόφρονες, ἔρωτα τῆς

started in a disorderly crowd along the road to Nicaea, all but unmindful of their military experience and the <necessary> discipline which is essential for those starting out to battle. For, as I remarked above, the Latin race is always very fond of money, but more especially when it is bent on raiding a country; it then loses its reason and gets beyond control. As they journeyed neither in ranks nor in squadrons, they fell foul of the Turkish ambushes near the river Dracon and perished miserably. And such a large number of Franks and Normans were the victims of the [252] Ishmaelite sword, that when they piled up the corpses of the slaughtered men which were lying on either side they formed, I say, not a very large hill or mound or a peak, but a high mountain as it were, of very considerable depth and breadth – so great was the pyramid of bones. And later men of the same tribe as the slaughtered barbarians built a wall and used the bones of the dead to fill the interstices as if they were pebbles, and thus made the city their tomb in a way. This fortified city is still standing to-day with its walls built of a mixture of stones and bones.

5. When they had all in this way fallen a prey to the sword, Peter alone with a few others escaped and re-entered Helenopolis; and the Turks who wanted to capture him, set fresh ambushes for him. But when the Emperor received reliable information of all this, and the terrible massacre, he was very worried lest Peter should have been captured. He therefore summoned Constantine Catacalon Euphorbenus (who has already been mentioned many times in this history), and gave him a large force which was embarked on ships of war and sent him across the straits to Peter's succour. Directly the Turks saw him land they fled. Constantine, without the slightest delay, picked up Peter and his followers, who were but few, and brought them safe and sound to the Emperor. **6.** On the Emperor's reminding him of his original thoughtlessness and saying that it was due to his not having obeyed his, the Emperor's, advice that he had incurred such disasters, Peter, being a haughty Latin, would not admit that he himself was the cause of the trouble, but said it was the others who did not listen to him, but followed their own wills, and he denounced them as robbers and plunderers who, for that reason, were not allowed by the Saviour to worship at

¹⁴ <προσηκούσης> (CFHB).

τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐκ μακροῦ ἔχοντες καὶ ταύτην ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι, πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου διακηρύκευσιν εὐρηκότες, ὡς εἴρηται, τὴν τοιαύτην συγκίνησιν ἐποιήσαντο ἀπατήσαντες τοὺς ἀκεραιότερους καὶ σχηματιζόμενοι κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπέρχεσθαι εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τὰς ἰδίας ἐπίπρασκον χώρας.

His Holy Sepulchre. 7. Others of the Latins, such as Bohemund and men of like mind, who had long cherished a desire for the Roman Empire, and wished to win it for themselves, found a pretext in Peter's preaching, as I have said, deceived the more single-minded, caused this great upheaval and were selling their own estates under the pretence that they were marching against the Turks to redeem the Holy Sepulchre.

§7

1. Οὐβος δέ τις ὁ τοῦ ῥήγος Φραγγίας ἀδελφὸς φουσῶν τὰ Ναυάτου ἐπ' εὐγενείᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης μέλλων ἐξελθεῖν τάχα ὡς πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον τάφον ἀποστείλας ἀπονοίας ῥήματα ἐμήνυσε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα προμηθευόμενος λαμπρὰν τὴν ὑπαντὴν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι "Ἰσθι" λέγων "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὡς ἐγὼ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ὁ μείζων τῶν ὑπ' οὐρανόν. Καὶ καταλαμβάνοντά με ἤδη ἐνδέχεται ὑπαντῆσαί τε καὶ δέξασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἀξίως τῆς ἐμῆς εὐγενείας". 2. Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας, ἐπεὶ δοῦξ μὲν ἔτυχε Δυρραχίου Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς Ἰσαακίου τοῦ σεβαστοκράτορος, περὶ οὗ ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, τοῦ δὲ στόλου Νικόλαος ὁ Μαυροκατακαλῶν περὶ τὸν λιμένα τοῦ Δυρραχίου ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνορμίσας τὰς ναῦς κάκειθεν αὐθις τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ποιούμενος καὶ τὰ πελάγη περισκοπῶν, ὡς μὴ λάθοιεν αὐτὸν ληστρικαὶ νῆες παραπλεύσασαι, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς γράμματα πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἐκπέμπει ἐντειλάμενος τὸν μὲν δοῦκα Δυρραχίου διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ τῆς παραλίας ἐφεδρεύειν τὴν τούτου ἔλευσιν καὶ παραντίκα τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ταχεῖαν τῆς τούτου ἐλεύσεως δοῦναι γνῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Οὐβὸν ὑποδέξασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς, τὸν δὲ δοῦκα τοῦ στόλου παρακελεύσασθαι μηδαμῶς ἀναπεπτωκέναι μηδὲ καταρραθυμεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐργηγορέναι διὰ παντός. 3. Κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν δὲ τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας ὁ Οὐβὸς διασωθεὶς πρέσβεις τηνικαῦτα ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Δυρραχίου εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς τέσσαρσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, θώραξι χρυσεῖσι σὺν αὐταῖς κνημῖσι περιπεφραγμένους, μετὰ τοῦ κόμητος Τζερπεντηρίου καὶ Ἡλία τοῦ ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης ἀποδράσαντος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· "Γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, δούξ, ὅτι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Οὐβὸς ὅσον ἤδη καταλαμβάνει ἀναλαβόμενος ἀπὸ Ῥώμης τὴν χρυσοῦν τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου σημαίαν. Ἀρχηγὸν δὲ τοῦτον ἐπίστασο τοῦ Φραγγικοῦ στρατεύματος ἅπαντος. Ἦτοι-

1. One Ubus, brother of the King of France, and as proud as Novatus of his nobility, riches and power, when on the point of leaving his native land, ostensibly to go to the Holy Sepulchre, sent a ridiculous message to the Emperor, with a view to arranging beforehand that he should [253] have a magnificent reception. "Know, O Emperor," he wrote, "that I am the king of kings and the greatest of those under heaven; and it behoves you to meet and treat me on arrival with all pomp and in a manner worthy of my nobility." 2. At the time that this message arrived, John, the son of the Sebastocrator Isaac (of whom mention has been made above) happened to be Duke of Dyrrachium, and Nicolas Mavrocatalon, a Duke of the Fleet, had anchored the ships at intervals round the harbour of Dyrrachium, and made frequent excursions from there and scoured the seas so that no pirate-ships might sail past without his noticing them. On receipt of this message the Emperor at once sent letters to these two, commanding the Duke of Dyrrachium to keep watch over land and sea for the Franks' coming, and to signify the Emperor of his arrival at once by a swift messenger, bidding him also receive Ubus with all ceremony, and exhort the Duke of the Fleet in no way to relax his vigilance or be negligent, but to be on the look-out all the time. 3. When Ubus had arrived safely at the seaboard of Lombardy, he sent ambassadors from there to the Duke of Dyrrachium, twenty-four in number, protected with cuirasses and greaves of gold, together with the Count Tzerpenterius and Elias who had deserted from the Emperor at Thessalonica. They spoke as follows to the Duke, "Be it known to thee, Duke, that our Lord Ubus is on the point of arriving, and is bringing with him from Rome the golden standard of Saint Peter. Understand, too, that he is the leader of the whole Frankish army. Therefore prepare a reception for

μάσθητι¹⁵ γοῦν πρὸς τὴν τούτου καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων δοχὴν ἀξίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίας καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπαντὴν ποιησόμενος.”

4. Τούτων τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα λεγόντων ὁ Οὔβος διὰ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς Λογγιβαρδίαν, ὡς εἴρηται, κατελθὼν καὶ διὰ τῆς Βάρεως ὡς πρὸς τὸ Ἰλλυρικὸν τὸν ἀπόπλουον ποιούμενος κλύδωνι μεγίστῳ περιπεσὼν ἀπόλεσε τὰ πλείω τῶν αὐτοῦ πλοίων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐρέταις καὶ ἐπιβάταις, ἐνὸς μόνου σκάφους, ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἔτυχε, κατὰ τὴν μεσαίχιμον παραλίαν τοῦ τε Δυρραχίου καὶ τόπου τινὸς καλουμένου Πάλους ἀποπτυσθέντος οἷον παρὰ τῶν κυμάτων καὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμιθραύστου. Παραδόξως δὲ τούτῳ σωθέντι περιτυχόντες δύο τινὲς τῶν περισκοποῦντων τὴν τούτου ἔλευσιν μετεκαλοῦντο αὐτὸν λέγοντες ὡς “Ὁ δοῦξ ἀπεκδέχεταιί σου τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐπιποθῶν σε θεάσασθαι”. Ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἵππον ἐζήτει. Ἄτερος δὲ τούτων ἀποβὰς τοῦ ἵππου τοῦτον αὐτῷ μάλα προθύμως δίδωσιν. 5. Οὕτω γοῦν τοῦτον ὁ δοῦξ σωθέντα θεασάμενος καὶ προσηγορίας ἀξιώσας, ὅπη τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐπερωτήσας καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ διαπλωζομένῳ τὰ δεινὰ ζυμβέβηκε μαθὼν καὶ ἐπανακτησάμενος χρησταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τράπεζαν αὐτῷ δαμιλῆ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρατίθησιν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐωχίαν ἄνετον μὲν, οὐκ ἐλεύθερον δὲ παντελῶς εἶχε. Ταχὺ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν δηλώσας ἐκαρτέρει τὸ ποιητέον ἐκεῖθεν δέξασθαι. Ἄπαντα δὲ μεμαθηκῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ὀξέως τὸν Βουτουμίτην πέμπει πρὸς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον, ἣν πολλακίς Δυρράχιον κατονομάσαμεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν Οὔβον ἀναλαβέσθαι καὶ μὴ τὴν εὐθεῖαν βαδίσει, ἀλλὰ παρεκκλίνει καὶ διὰ τῆς Φιλίππουπόλεως αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν. Ἐδεδίει γὰρ τὰ ὀπισθεν ἐρχόμενα Κελτικὰ πλήθη καὶ στρατεύματα. Δεξάμενος δὲ τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντίμως καὶ παντοίας φιλοφροσύνης ἀξιώσας χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδοὺς πείθει παραχρῆμα ἄνθρωπον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν τοῖς Λατίνοις συνήθη ὄρκον ἐπομοσάμενον.

him, and the forces under him, which will be worthy of His Highness, and get ready yourself to meet him.”

4. While the envoys were thus speaking to the Duke, Ubus, who, as has been said, travelled through Rome to Lombardy, and was crossing from Bari to Illyria, was caught in a very severe storm and lost the greater number of his vessels, crews, soldiers and all, and only the one skiff on which he was, was spat out, so to say, by the waves on to the coast between Dyrrachium and a place called Palus, and he on it half-broken. After he had been thus miraculously saved, two of the men who were on the look-out for his arrival, found him, and addressing him by name, said, “The Duke is anxiously looking for your coming, and is most desirous to see you.” Thereupon Ubus at once asked for a horse, and one of the two men dismounted and very willingly gave him his horse. 5. Thus the Duke met him after his deliverance, and welcomed him and asked him about his journey and his [254] country, and heard about the disaster which overtook him on his crossing; so he comforted him with fair promises, and finally set a rich banquet before him. After the feast he detained him and left him, not without supervision, but certainly free. He speedily acquainted the Emperor with the facts, and then waited to receive further instructions. On receipt of the news the Emperor quickly sent Boutumites to Epidamnus (which we have often called Dyrrachium) to fetch Ubus and escort him to the capital, but not to travel along the direct road, but to deviate from it, and pass through Philippopolis. For he was afraid of the Frankish hosts and armies which were coming behind him. The Emperor received him with all honour and shewed him much friendliness, and by also giving him a large sum of money he persuaded him to become his ‘man’ at once and to swear thereto by the customary oath of the Latins.

§8

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Οὔβον ἐκ προοιμίων· ὁ δὲ γε Βαίμουντος, οὗ ἄνωθεν ὁ λόγος πολλακίς ἐμνήσθη, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν οὕτω διελθουσῶν διεπέρασεν εἰς τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ Καβαλίωνος μετὰ κομήτων διαφόρων καὶ στρατεύματος ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαίνοντος ἅπαντα. Τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐγγὺς τῆς Βοούσης· ὀνόματα δὲ

1. Now this story of what happened to Ubus may serve as a preface. Bohemund (who has often been mentioned in this history already) crossed scarcely fifteen days later to the coast of Cabalion with various Counts and an army that was beyond all numbering. This Cabalion is a place near Bousa; these are the names of places in those

¹⁵ Ἦτοιμάσθητι (Leib) – ἔτοιμάσθητι (CFHB).

ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκεῖνοις τόπων. Καὶ μεμφέσθω μηδεὶς ἡμῖν τοιούτοις χρωμένοις ὀνόμασι βαρβαρικοῖς καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἔστι τὸ ὕφος τῆς ἱστορίας καταμιαίνεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' Ὅμηρος ἀπηξίωσε Βοιωτοὺς ὀνομάζειν καὶ τινὰς βαρβαρώδεις νήσους διὰ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκρίβειαν.

2. Κατὰ πόδας δὲ τούτου καὶ ὁ κόμης Πρεβέντζας ταῖς ἀκταῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ Λογγιβαρδίας προσπελάσας, ἐπεὶ διαπερᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο, μυριοφόρον ναῦν ληστρικὴν μισθωσάμενος τριάρμενον ἑξακισχιλίων χρυσίνων στατήρων, ἐν ἧ ἔρεται μὲν διακόσιοι, ἐφόλκια δὲ τὰ συνεφεπόμενα ταύτῃ τρία. Τὸν ἀπόπλου οὐ πρὸς τὰ μέρη τοῦ Αὐλῶνος ἐπεποιήτο καθὼς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν Λατίνων στρατεύματα, ἀλλὰ τὸν ῥωμαϊκὸν ὑφορώμενος στόλον λύσας τὰ πρυμνήσια μικρὸν παρεκκλίνας κατευθὺ Χιμάρας τὸν ἀπόπλου ἐποιεῖτο οὐρίου τυχῶν πνεύματος.

3. Φεύγων δὲ τὸν καπνὸν εἰς πῦρ ἐπεπτώκει. Καὶ γὰρ οὐχὶ τοῖς σποράδην ἐνεδρεύουσι τὸν τῆς Λογγιβαρδίας πορθμὸν ναυτικοῖς περιέτυχεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τῷ δουκὶ τοῦ ὄλου ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου Νικολᾶφ τῷ Μαυροκατακαλῶν. Ὅς πόρρω περὶ τῆς ληστρικῆς ἐκεῖνης νηὸς μεμαθηκώς, τὰς τοῦ ὄλου στόλου διήρεις καὶ τριήρεις καὶ τινὰς δρομάδας ἀναλαβόμενος ναῦς ἀπελθὼν ἴστατο εἰς Καβαλίωνα ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἄσωνος, ἐξ οὐπερ ἐξεληλύθει τὸν μέγαν ἐκεῖσε στόλον καταλιπών. Καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὸν καλούμενον δεῦτερον κόμητα μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου κατέργου ἐξκουσσάτου παρὰ τοῖς ναυτικοῖς καλουμένου ἐπισκήψας αὐτῷ, ἵν' ὀπνήκα τὰ πρυμνήσια τῆς ἤδη ῥηθείσης νηὸς οἱ ἐρέται λύσαντες εἰς κῦμα θαλάσσης ἐμβάλωσι, πυρσὸν ἀνάψῃ. Ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν παραχρῆμα τὸ κελευσθὲν ἐποίησε. **4.** Ὁ δὲ δουξ Νικόλαος τοῦτο θεασάμενος τὰς μὲν τῶν νηῶν τοῖς ἰστίοις παραχρῆμα ἐπτέρου, τὰς δὲ καὶ οἷον πολυπόδας ταῖς κώπαις ἀπεργασάμενος κατὰ τοῦ διαπερῶντος χωρεῖ κόμητος. Οὐπω δὲ τρεῖς σταδίου ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου διαπλωσάμενον καταλαμβάνει τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν περαιῖαν Ἐπιδάμνου σπεύδοντα, ἐνόπλους μὲν στρατιώτας ἔχοντα χιλίους πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις, ἵππους δὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων ὀγδοήκοντα. Ὁν θεασάμενος ὁ πηδαλιούχος τῆς νεῶς φησι πρὸς τὸν κόμητα Πρεβέντζας· “Ἐκ Συρίας ὁ ἤδη καταλαμβάνων ἡμᾶς στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ κίνδυνος μαχαίρας καὶ ξιφῶν παρανάλωμα γενέσθαι.” Παραχρῆμα γοῦν ὁ κόμης θωρήξασθαι τε ἐκέλευεν ἅπαντας καὶ καρτερῶς μάχεσθαι.

5. Κἂν δὲ μέσος χειμῶν ἦν, ὅποτε ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχαις μεγίστου Νικολάου τελεῖται, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦς

parts. Let no one find fault with me for introducing these barbaric names which are a stain on the style of my history; for not even Homer disdained to mention Boeotians and certain barbarian islands for the sake of accuracy in his history.

2. Close on his heels the Count of Prebentza came down to the shores of the straits of Lombardy, since he also wished to cross. He hired a three-mastered pirate-vessel capable of carrying 10,000 measures, for six thousand gold ‘starters.’ there were two hundred rowers to it, and three tenders accompanied it. He however did not sail in the direction of Valona, as the other Latin armies did, but fearing the Roman fleet, he loosed his cables, tacked a little and meeting a favouring breeze, sailed straight to Chimara.

3. But whilst trying to avoid the smoke, he fell into the fire. For he did not stumble upon the ships which were watching the straits of Lombardy at different points, but upon Nicolas Mavrocatalon himself, the Duke of the whole Roman fleet. The Duke had heard about this pirate-vessel from afar, and had consequently taken with him all the biremes, triremes and a few fast cruisers (i.e. *dromons*, lit. ‘runners’) from the whole fleet and stationed himself at Cabalion opposite Ason, the port from which he had sailed out, and [255] where he had left the large fleet. Ad he sent the so-called ‘second Count’ with his own galley (called by the sailors ‘Excussatum’) with injunctions that directly he saw the sailors of the afore-mentioned ship loose the cables and throw them into the sea, he should light a torch. The Count went off and did as he was bid. **4.** On seeing the signal the Duke Nicolas at once had the sails of some of the ships spread for sailing, the others, like polypods, he worked with oars and sailed towards the Count who was crossing. And he caught him before he had sailed more than three stades from the mainland and was hurrying towards the opposite coast of Epidamnus, and he had on board one thousand five hundred soldiers besides the eighty horses of the nobles. When the helmsman of the ship saw him he said to the Count of Prebentza, “The Syrian fleet is bearing down upon us, and we risk falling victims to the knife and sword.” So the Count at once ordered all to put on their armour and fight valiantly.

5. Though it was the middle of winter, the day of commemoration of Nicolas, the greatest saint in

νηνεμία ἔτυχε παντελής καὶ ἡ νύξ πανσέληνος φαίνουσα τότε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἔαρι. Πεπαυμένων δὲ παντάπασι τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκέτι ἡ ληστρική ναὺς κινεῖσθαι πρὸς ἰσχύος εἶχε καὶ συνέβαινε ταύτην ἀτρεμεῖν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι. Ἄλλ' ἐνταυθοῖ τοῦ λόγου γενομένη βουλοίμην ἂν τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπαφεῖναι τοῖς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ κατορθώμασι. Ὅς παραχρῆμα <παρὰ> τοῦ δουκὸς τοῦ στόλου καὶ ἰδίου πατρὸς τὰ κουφότερα τῶν πλοίων αἰτήσας κατευθῆ τῆς νεῶς ἐκείνης ἵεται καὶ τῆ πρόωρα συνεισπεσὼν ταύτης ἀπεπειράτο. Συνέρρεον δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐκείσε οἱ ἔνοπλοι καρτερῶς τοῦτον ἐξωπλισμένον πρὸς μάχην θεασάμενοι. Ὁ δὲ Μαρριανὸς τοῖς Λατίνοις τῆ ἐκείνων ἀποχρώμενος διαλέκτῳ παρεκελεύετο μὴ δεδιέναι μηδὲ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὁμοπίστους. Βάλλει δὲ τις τοῦτον τῶν Λατίνων διὰ τῆς τζάγγρας κατὰ τῆς κόρυθος.

6. Ἡ δὲ τζάγγρα τόξον μὲν ἐστὶ βαρβαρικὸν καὶ Ἑλλησι παντελῶς ἀγνοούμενον. Τείνεται δὲ οὐχὶ τῆς μὲν δεξιᾶς ἐλκούσης τὴν νευρὰν, τῆς δὲ λαῖας ἀνθελκούσης τὸ τόξον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν διατείνοντα τὸ ὄργανον τουτὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ ἐκηβολώτατον, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ὑπτίον κείμενον ἐκάτερον μὲν τῶν ποδῶν ἐνερεῖσαι τοῖς ἡμικυκλίοις τοῦ τόξου, ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τὴν νευρὰν μάλα γενναίως ἀνθελκύσαι. Ἦς κατὰ τὸ μέσον σωλήν ἐστὶ κυλινδρικὸν ἡμίτομον ἐξημμένον αὐτῆς τῆς νευρᾶς καὶ ὥσπερ τι βέλος ἀξιόλογον μέγεθος ἀπολαμβάνον διήκει ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς νευρᾶς ἐς τὸ τοῦ τόξου μεσαίτατον· ἀφ' οὗ βέλη παντοδαπὰ διεκπίπτουσιν. Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν τὰ βέλη τιθέμενα βραχύτατα μὲν τῷ μήκει, παχύτατα δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀξιόμαχον βάρους σιδήρου λαμβάνοντα. Καὶ τῆ ἀφ᾽ ἑσεί τῆς νευρᾶς μετὰ σφοδρότητος καὶ ῥύμης ἀπάσης ἀφείσης τὰ βέλεμνα οὗ ἂν τύχη ἐπείσπεσόντα οὐκ εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἀποπίπτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀσπίδα διέτρησε καὶ θώρακα βαρυσίδηρον διατεμόντα ἐκείθεν διὰ θατέρου μέρους ἐξεπετάσθη. Οὕτως ἐστὶ σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀκατάσχετος ἡ ἄφ᾽ ἑσεί τῶν τοιούτων βελῶν. Ἦδη τοῦτο τὸ βέλος καὶ ἀνδριάντα διεπερόνησε χαλκοῦν καὶ τείχει ἐμπεπτωκὸς μεγίστης πόλεως ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶνδον προῦκυψε τοῦ βέλους ἢ ἀκμῆ ἢ ἐνδεδικὸς κατὰ τὸ μέσον τοῦ τείχους ἀφανὲς γέγονε. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς τζάγγρας πρᾶγμα τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὡς ὄντως δαιμόνιον· ὁ δὲ πειρασθεὶς τῆς ἐκ τούτου πληγῆς ἀθλιώτατος ἀναισθήτως ἀποθνήσκων καὶ μηδὲ τῆς πληγῆς, ὀπόση τίς ἐστίν, αἰσθανόμενος.

7. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς τζάγγρας βέλος ἐμπεσὼν τῷ ἄκρῳ τῆς κόρυθος διήλασεν αὐτὴν ἀποπτᾶν οὐδ' ἄχρι τριχὸς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ἐφαψάμενον·

the Hierarchy, yet there was an absolute calm, and the full moon was shining more brightly than in spring. As all the winds had fallen, the pirate-vessel was no longer able to move under sail, so that she lay there motionless upon the waters. Having reached this point in my history, I should like to descant on the exploits of Marianus. He at once asked his father, the Duke of the fleet, for the lighter vessels, and then steered for the Count's ship, and dashing into its prow, attacked it. The warriors at once flocked to that spot, as they saw he was strongly armed for battle. But Marianus, speaking in their language, advised the Latins to have no fear, and not to fight against fellow-Christians. But one of the Latins hit his helmet with his cross-bow.

6. This cross-bow is a bow of the barbarians quite unknown to the Greeks; and it is not stretched by the right hand pulling the string whilst the left pulls the bow in a contrary direction, but he who stretches this warlike and very far-shooting weapon must lie, one might say, almost on his back and apply both feet strongly against the semi-circle of the bow and with his two hands pull the string with all his might in the contrary direction. In the middle of the string is a socket, a cylindrical kind of cup fitted to the string itself, and about as long as an arrow of considerable size which reaches from the string to the very middle of the bow; and through this arrows of many sorts are shot out. [256] The arrows used with this bow are very short in length, but very thick, fitted in front with a very heavy iron tip. And in discharging them the string shoots them out with enormous violence and force, and whatever these darts chance to hit, they do not fall back, but they pierce through a shield, then cut through a heavy iron corselet and wing their way through and out at the other side. So violent and ineluctable is the discharge of arrows of this kind. Such an arrow has been known to pierce a bronze statue, and if it hits the wall of a very large town, the point of the arrow either protrudes on the inner side or it buries itself in the middle of the wall and is lost. Such then is this monster of a cross-bow, and verily a devilish invention. And the wretched man who is struck by it, dies without feeling anything, not even feeling the blow, however strong it be.

7. To resume, the arrow from the cross-bow struck the top of Marianus' helmet and pierced it in its flight without touching a hair of his head,

πρόνοια γὰρ ἀπεῖρξεν. Ὁ δὲ γοργῶς ἄλλον κατὰ τοῦ κόμητος ἐπαφεῖς οἷστον πλήττει τοῦτον κατὰ τοῦ βραχίονος· ὃς τὴν ἀσπίδα διατρήσας τὸν τε φολιδωτὸν διεληλυθῶς θώρακα καὶ αὐτῆς ἤψατο τῆς πλευρᾶς. Ἰερεὺς δὲ τις Λατῖνος τρισκαὶ δέκατος τυγγάνων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ μαχομένων τοῦτο θεασάμενος πρυμνόθεν ἰστάμενος πολλὰς βολίδας κατὰ τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν. Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὁ Μαρριανὸς ἐνεδίδου αὐτὸς τε ἐκθύμως μαχόμενος καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοῦτο παρακελευόμενος, ὡς τρισάκις τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Λατίνου ἱερέως ὑπαλλαχθῆναι τιτρωσκομένους τε καὶ κοπιῶντας. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς, κἄν πολλὰς τὰς πληγὰς δεδεγμένος ἦν καὶ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι περιρρέομενος, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄτρεστος ἦν. **8.** Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Λατῖνοις περὶ τῶν ἱερωμένων δέδοκται· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐντετάλμεθα παρά τε τῶν κανόνων καὶ νόμων καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ δόγματος· “Μὴ θίξης, μὴ γρύξης, μὴ ἄψη· ἱερωμένος γὰρ εἶ”. Ὁ δὲ τοι βάρβαρος Λατῖνος ἅμα τε τὰ θεῖα μεταχειριεῖται καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ θέμενος καὶ τὸ δόρυ τῇ δεξιᾷ ἐναγκαλισάμενος ὁμοῦ τε μεταδίδωσι τοῦ θεοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος καὶ φόνιον ὄρᾳ καὶ αἱμάτων ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Δαυιτικὸν ψαλμὸν γίνεται. Οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ βάρβαρον τοῦτο γένος οὐχ ἦττον ἱερατικὸν ἢ φιλοπόλεμον. Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ῥέκτης μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερεὺς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἐνεδιδύσκετο καὶ τὴν κόπην μετεχειρίζετο καὶ πρὸς ναυτικὸν πόλεμον καὶ μάχην ἀφώρα κατὰ ταῦτόν καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀνδράσι μαχόμενος. Τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα, καθάπερ ἔφθην εἰρηκυῖα, τῆς ... Ἀαρὼν καὶ Μωσέως καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρώτου ἀρχιερέως ἐξήρτηται.

9. Ἀλλὰ τῆς μάχης ἐξ ἐσπέρας αὐτῆς μέχρι μέσης τῆς ἐπιφανοῦσης ἡμέρας καρτερᾶς γεγυῖας ὑπέικουσι κἄν μὴ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λατῖνοι τῷ Μαρριανῷ λόγον ἀπαθείας ἐξ αὐτοῦ αἰτησάμενοι καὶ τυχόντες. Ὁ δὲ γε μαχιμώτατος ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲ τῶν εἰρηλικῶν σπονδῶν τελομένων τῆς μάχης ἐπέπαυτο, ἀλλὰ τὸν γωρυτὸν βελῶν ἐκκενώσας χερμάδα ἀναλαβόμενος λίθον πέμπει κατὰ τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ, τοῦ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος περιφράττοντος πλήξας τὴν ἀσπίδα διεῖλε τετραχῆ καὶ τὴν κόρυθα κατέθραυσεν. Ὁ δὲ Μαρριανὸς τῇ τοῦ λίθου βολῇ συγχυθεὶς ἀπολλωλεκῶς τὸ φρονοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναυδος παραχρῆμα ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ἔκειτο, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἑκτώρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ λίθου βολῆς τοῦ Αἴαντος μικροῦ δεῖν ἐψυχορράγει. Μόλις δ' ἀνενεγκὼν καὶ ἑαυτὸν συναγαγὼν τρισάκις τὸν παίσαντα ἔπληξε

for Providence warded it off. Then the man speedily discharged another arrow at the Count, and hit him in the arm; the arrow bored through the shield, passed through his cuirass of scale-armour, and touched his side. A certain Latin priest who happened to be standing in the stern with twelve other fighting men, saw this, and let fly several arrows against Marianus. Not even then did Marianus surrender, but fought fiercely himself and encouraged his men to do the same, so that three times over the men with the priest had to be replaced, as they were wounded and sore-pressed. The priest himself, however, although he had received many blows, and was streaming with his own blood, remained quite fearless. **8.** For the rules concerning priests are not the same among the Latins as they are with us; for we are given the command by the canonical laws and the teaching of the Gospel, “Touch not, utter not, handle not! For thou art consecrated.” Whereas the Latin barbarian will simultaneously handle divine things, and wear his shield on his left arm, and hold his spear in his right hand, and at one and the same time he communicates the body and blood of God, and looks murderously and becomes ‘a man of blood.’ as it says in the psalm of David. For this barbarian race is no less devoted to sacred things than it is to war. And so this man of violence rather than priest, wore his priestly garb at the same time that he handled the oar and had an eye equally to naval or land warfare, fighting simultaneously with the sea and with men. But [257] our rules, as I have just remarked, are derived from the ... of Aaron and Moses and our first high-priest.

9. After the battle had raged fiercely from the evening till next midday, the Latins surrendered to Marianus, much against their will, after asking and obtaining a promise of immunity. But that most bellicose priest did not stop fighting, even while the truce was being concluded, but as he had emptied his quiver of darts, he picked up a sling-stone and hurled it at Marianus. The latter protected his head with his shield, but the stone struck the shield and broke it in four pieces and shattered his helmet. And Marianus was overwhelmed by the blow from the stone, and at once fell unconscious, and lay speechless a long time, just as the hero Hector almost gave up the ghost when hit with a stone by Ajax. He recovered with difficulty, and then pulled himself together and by shooting arrows at him, thrice hit the man who

βέλεμνα κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπαφείς. Ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκεῖνος μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερεὺς μηδέποτε μάχης κορευόμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἅπαντας ἀπεπέμψατο τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ἀπλῶς ἦν καὶ λίθων κενός καὶ βελῶν, οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ δράσειεν οὐδὲ δι' ὧν ἀμυνεῖται τὸν ἀντίπαλον, ἐσφάδαζε μὲν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐξεφλέγετο καὶ ἐμεμήνει καθάπερ θηρίον εἰς ἑαυτὸν συστρεφόμενος. Τοῖς γοῦν παρατυχοῦσιν αὐτίκα καὶ ἀποχρώμενος ἦν. Σάκκον οὖν μάζης μεστὸν ἐφευράμενος ἐκεῖθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σάκκου καθάπερ χερμάδας τὰς μάζας ἐβαλλεν, ὥσπερ ἱερατεύων καὶ τελετὴν τινα ποιούμενος καὶ ἱεροτελεστίαν τὸν πόλεμον. Μᾶζαν γοῦν τινα μίαν ἀναλαβόμενος καὶ ὄλη χειρὶ πιθήσας ἐπαφίησι ταύτην κατὰ τῆς τοῦ Μαρριανοῦ ὄψεως καὶ πλήττει τοῦτον κατὰ τῆς παρεΐας. **10.** Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἱερέα ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας· ὁ δὲ κόμης Πρεβέντζας πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ νηὶ καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν προθύμως τῷ Μαρριανῷ εἶπετο τοῦ λοιποῦ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν χέρσον γενόμενοι ἀπέβαινον τῆς νηός, πολλὰ καὶ πολλάκις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἐζήτει τὸν Μαρριανὸν τὴν κλησιν μὲν αὐτοῦ μὴ γινώσκων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρώματος τῶν ἀμφίων τοῦτον ἀνακαλούμενος. Προσελθὼν δὲ τούτῳ περιχυθεὶς κατησπάζετο ἐγκαυχόμενος ἅμα ὡς “Ἐἴ μοι κατὰ τὴν χέρσον ἐντετυχήκατε, πολλοὶ ἂν ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερσὶν ἀνηρέθητε”. Ἐκβαλὼν δ' ἐπιδίδωσι τούτῳ ἀργυροῦν θηρίκλειον τιμῆς στατήρων ἑκατὸν πρὸς τοῖς τριάκοντα. Ταῦτα δὲ ὁμιλῶν καὶ διδοὺς ἐξεπενεύκει.

had struck him. Yet that polemarch, rather than priest, was not even then sated with fighting, and as he had hurled all the tones he had, he was now utterly unarmed and bereft both of stones and of darts; so not knowing what to do or how to defend himself against his adversary, he grew impatient, and stormed and raged and twisted himself about like a wild beast; and directly he saw anything handy he used it. Then he discovered a sack of barley-cakes and began throwing out the barley-cakes from the sack as though they were stones, as if he were officiating and taking a service, and turning war into a sacred celebration. And one barley-cake he picked up, drove it with all his might, aiming at Marianus' face and hit him on the cheek.

10. So much for that priest and the ship and its crew. The Count of Prebentza, after surrendering himself and his ship and his soldiers to Marianus, immediately followed him. And when they had reached land and were disembarking, that same priest often and repeatedly asked for Marianus and, because he did not know his name, he called him by the colour of his clothes. When he found him, he threw his arms round him and embraced him, whilst saying boastfully, “if you had met me on dry land, many of you would have been killed by my hands.” Then he pulled out and gave him a large silver cup worth one hundred and thirty staters. And with these words and this gift he breathed his last.

§9

1. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κόμης Γοντοφρὲ τῷ τότε καιροῦ διαπεράσας μεθ' ἐτέρων κομητῶν καὶ στρατεύματος ἰππέων μὲν χιλιάδων δέκα, πεζῶν δὲ χιλιάδων ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν μεγάλολοπολιν περὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς προποντίδος κατήθησιν αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα, διῆκον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔγγιστα τοῦ Κοσμιδίου διακειμένης γεφύρας μέχρι καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ. Παρακελευομένου δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τῆς προποντίδος διαπερᾶσαι πορθμὸν ἡμέραν ἕξ ἡμέρας ὑπερτιθέμενος καὶ αἰτίαν αἰτία συνείρων ἀνεβάλλετο. Τὸ δὲ πᾶν, τὴν τοῦ Βαῖμούντου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κομητῶν ἀνέμενεν ἄφιξιν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Πέτρος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου τὴν τσαούτην ὁδοπορίαν ἀνεδέξατο, οἱ δὲ γε λοιποὶ κόμητες καὶ τούτων μᾶλλον ὁ Βαῖμούντος παλαιὰν μὴνιν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τρέφοντες καὶ εὐκαιρίαν ζητοῦντες ἀντίποινα τούτῳ παρασχεῖν τῆς λαμπρᾶς ἐκείνης νίκης, ἦν ἤρατο κατ'

1. Now Count Godfrey crossed about this time, too, with more Counts, and an army of ten thousand horsemen and seventy thousand foot, and on reaching the capital he [258] quartered his army near the Propontis, and it reached from the bridge nearest to the monastery of Cosmidium right up to the church of St. Phocas. But when the Emperor urged him to cross the straits of the Propontis, he let one day pass after another and postponed doing so on one pretext after another; the truth was that he was awaiting the arrival of Bohemund and the rest of the Counts. For although Peter for his part undertook this great journey originally only to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, yet the rest of the Counts, and especially Bohemund, who cherished an old grudge against the Emperor, were seeking an opportunity of taking their vengeance on him for that brilliant victory he had gained over

αὐτοῦ, ὁπότε κατὰ τὴν Λάρισσαν τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνῆψε πόλεμον, ὁμογνωμονήσαντες καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κατασχεῖν ὄνειρώττοντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐληλύθεισαν γνώμην (καὶ τούτου πολλάκις ἐμνημονεύσαμεν ἄνωθεν), τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ τὴν πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὁδοιπορίαν ποιοῦμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλῦσαι καὶ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν κατασχεῖν ἐθέλοντες.

2. Ἄλλ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πανοῦργον αὐτῶν πάλαι γινώσκων τὰς τῶν ἐθνικῶν δυνάμεις σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόσι διὰ γραφῶν παρεκελεύσατο ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀθύρα μέχρις αὐτοῦ Φιλέα ἰλαδὸν καταστῆναι (τόπος δὲ παράλιος οὗτος τοῦ πόντου) καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν, εἴ πού τις τοῦ Γοντοφρέ πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένους κόμητας ἀποστέλλοιτο ἢ ἐξ ἐκείνων αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, <καὶ> ἀπείργειν αὐτῶν τὴν διόδον.

3. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ δὲ γίνεται τι τοιοῦτον. Μεταπεμψαμένου γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως τινὰς τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ κομητῶν ἐφ' ᾧ τούτοις συμβουλευσασθαι ὑποθέσθαι αὐτῷ πληρῶσαι τὸν ὄρκον, τριβομένου τε τοῦ καιροῦ διὰ τὸ φύσει λάλον τε καὶ μακρηγορώτατον τῶν Λατίνων ψευδῆς διέδραμεν εἰς αὐτοὺς φήμη κατασχεθῆναι τοὺς κόμητας παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως. Εὐθύς οὖν πυκιναὶ κατὰ τῆς Βυζαντίδος κεκίνητο φάλαγγες καὶ παραχρῆμα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀργυρᾶν καλουμένην Λίμνην διακείμενα παλάτια παντελῶς ἐξηρίπωσαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Βυζαντίδος ἀπεπειρώοντο κἄν μὴ δι' ἐλεπόλεων, οὐ γὰρ παρήσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑαυτῶν πλήθει θαρροῦντες τοῦτον κατηναιδέυσαντο ὡς καὶ πῦρ τολμῆσαι ἐπαφεῖναι κατὰ τῆς κάτωθεν τῶν ἀνακτόρων πύλης, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ ἐν ἱεράρχαις μεγίστου Νικολάου πάλαι παρὰ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων ἀνοικοδομηθέντος τεμένους.

4. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅποι τοῦ συρφετώδους ὄχλου τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ ἀνάκτιδες πάντη καὶ ἀπειροπόλεμοι τὰς τῶν Λατίνων φάλαγγας θεασάμενοι ἔστενον ὤμωζον ἐστερνοτύπου μὴ ἔχοντες ὑπὸ φόβου ὅ τι καὶ δράσαιεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ὅποι εὖνοι περὶ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τὴν πέμπτην ἐκείνην φανταζόμενοι καθ' ἣν ἢ τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν ἄλωσις, καὶ δεδιότες διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐνισταμένην ἡμέραν, μὴ τις ἔκτισις τῶν τότε γεγεννημένων συμβαίῃ. Πάντες δὲ ὅσοι στρατιωτικῆς εἰδήμονες ἦσαν ἀσυντάκτως πρὸς τὰ βασιλεῖα συνέρρεον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὠπλίσατο μὲν οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ φολιδωτὸν περιβάλετο θώρακα οὐδὲ σάκος οὐδ' ἐγχοῦς ἐνηγκαλίσσατο οὐδὲ ξίφος περιεζώσατο, ἀλλ' ἐδραίως ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἐσταλμένος καθῆστο θρόνου καὶ μεθ' ἰλαροῦ βλέμματος πάντας θαρρύνων καὶ θάρσος ἐνιεῖς ταῖς σφῶν ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγενέσι δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόσι τοῦ

Bohemund when he engaged in battle with him at Larissa. The other Counts agreed to Bohemund's plan, and in their dreams of capturing the capital had come to the same decision (which I have often mentioned already) that while in appearance making the journey to Jerusalem, in reality their object was to dethrone the Emperor and to capture the capital.

2. But the Emperor, aware of their rascality from previous experience, sent an order by letter that the auxiliary forces with their officers should move from Athyra to Phileas (a seaside town on the Euxine) and station themselves there by squadrons, and watch whether any messenger came from Godfrey to Bohemund and the other Counts behind, or contrariwise one from them to him, and if so, to prevent their passage. **3.** But in the meantime the following incident occurred. The Emperor invited some of the Counts with Godfrey in order to advise them to suggest to Godfrey to take the oath; and as time was wasted owing to the longwinded talkativeness of the Latins, a false rumour reached the others that the Counts had been thrown into prison by the Emperor. Immediately numerous regiments moved on Byzantium, and to begin with they demolished the palace near the so-called Silver Lake. They also made an attack on the walls of Byzantium, not with siege-engines indeed, as they had none, but trusting to their numbers they actually had the impudence to try to set fire to the gate below the palace which is close to the chapel built long ago by one of the Emperors to the memory of Nicolas, the greatest saint in the hierarchy.

4. Now it was not only the promiscuous mob of Byzantines, who were utterly cowardly and unused to war, that wailed and howled when they saw the Latin troops, and beat their breasts, not knowing what to do for fear, but the loyal adherents of the Emperor, recalling that Friday on which the [259] city was taken, were alarmed lest on this day vengeance might be taken on them for their former actions. All who had military knowledge rushed helter-skelter to the palace. But the Emperor did not trouble to arm himself, did not even put on his corselet of scale-armour, nor take shield or spear in hand, nor gird on his sword, but sat firmly on his throne and with cheerful countenance encouraged and inspired confidence in them all, while deliberating with his kinsmen and generals, about the action to take.

στρατοῦ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων συμβουλευόμενος.

5. Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα οὐδ' ὄντιναοῦν κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων τοῦ τείχους ἐξενεγκεῖν προτεθύμητο, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἐνισταμένην ἐκείνην σεβασμίαν τῶν ἡμερῶν (πέμπτην γὰρ ἦν τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἀγίας τῶν ἑβδομάδων, ἐν ἧ ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸν ἐπονείδιστον ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑπέστη θάνατον), τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον παρεκκλίνων φόνον. Πολλάκις οὖν μεταπεμψάμενος συνεβούλευε τοῦ τοιούτου ἀπέχεσθαι ἔργου· “Αἰδέσθητε” λέγων “τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν τὴν σήμερον σφαγέντα Θεὸν μηδὲ σταυρὸν καὶ ἥλους καὶ λόγχην τὰ κακούργοις προσήκοντα τῆς ἡμῶν ἕνεκα παραιτησάμενον σωτηρίας. Εἰ δὲ μάχης ὑμῖν ἔφεσις ἐστὶ, μετὰ τὴν ἀναστάσιμον τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμέραν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔτοιμοι παρεσόμεθα.” 6. Οἱ δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐχ ὑπέεικοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατεπύκνουν μᾶλλον τὰς φάλαγγας συχνὰς τὰς βολὰς πέμποντες, ὡς καὶ τινα τῶν ἀγγοῦ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου ἱσταμένων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον πληξαι. Ὅπερ οἱ πλείονες τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα παρισταμένων τοῦ βασιλέως θεασάμενοι ἀνεχώρουν· ὁ δὲ ἀτρέμας ἐκάθητο ἀνακτώμενος τοὺτους καὶ πρῶως πως νεμεσῶν· ὁ καὶ θάμβος πᾶσι παρείχεν. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναισχύντως τοὺς Λατίνους τοῖς τείχεσι πελάζοντας ἐώρα καὶ τὸ συμφέρον βουλευομένῳ μὴ ὑπέεικοντας, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ Νικηφόρον τὸν ἐμὸν Καίσαρα παρεκελεύσατο ἄνδρας πολεμικωτάτους ἀναλαβόμενον καὶ τοξείας εἰδήμονας τοῦ τείχους ἄνωθεν καταστήσαι παρεγγυησάμενος συχνοὺς μὲν οἷστοὺς κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων πέμπειν, μὴ κατὰ σκοποῦ δέ, ἀλλὰ διαμαρτάνειν τὰ πλείω, ὡς μόνον ἐκφοβεῖν τῇ πυκνότητι τῶν βελῶν, ἀναιρεῖν δὲ μηδαμῶς. Ἐδεδίει γάρ, ὡς ἄνωθεν εἴρηται, τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας σεβάσιμον καὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον φόνον οὐκ ἠθέλεν. 7. Ἐτέρους δὲ τῶν ἐκκρίτων [ἡγεμόνων] τοὺς πλείους μὲν τόξα φέροντας, τοὺς δὲ ἔγχεα μακρὰ ἐναγκαλισαμένους τὴν κατὰ τὸν ἅγιον Ῥωμανὸν πύλην ἀναπετάσαντας σφοδρὰν ἐνδείξασθαι κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐκέλευε τοιαύτην καταστησαμένους τὴν παράταξιν, ... ἕκαστον τῶν τὰ δόρατα φερόντων ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους ὑπὸ δύο φυλάττεσθαι πελταστῶν. Οὕτω δὲ ἑαυτοὺς καταστήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βραδεῖ ποδὶ στείχειν, ὀλίγους δὲ τινας τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν προεκπέμπειν πόρρωθεν μὲν τοὺς οἷστοὺς βάλλοντας καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα πυκνὰ περιστρεφομένους, ἐπὰν δὲ τὸ μεσαιχμίον ἀποστενωθὲν θεάντο, τῆνικαῦτα τοῖς συνεφεπομένοις αὐτοῖς τοξόταις παρακελευσαμένους πυκνοὺς ἐκπέμψαι τοὺς οἷστοὺς κατὰ τῶν ἵππων, οὐ τῶν ἐποχουμένων, ὅλας ἡνίας κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων λῦσαι, τὸ μὲν ἵνα τῶν ἵππων

5. To begin with he insisted that not a single person should go out of the city to fight the Latins, firstly, because of the sacredness of that day (for it was the Friday of the greatest and holiest week, the day on which our Saviour suffered an ignominious death for us all) and secondly, because he wanted to avoid civil strife. So he sent frequent messengers to persuade the Latins to desist from their undertaking; “Reverence,” he said, “the God who was slain for us all to-day, who for the sake of our salvation refused neither the Cross nor the nails nor the lance, things fit only for malefactors. But if you really desire war, we shall be ready for you the day after our Lord’s resurrection.” 6. Not only did the Latins not obey him, but they even placed their troops more closely and sent such heavy showers of darts that one of the men standing by the Emperor’s throne was hit in the chest. Seeing this most of those who were standing on either side of the Emperor proceeded to draw back. But he sat on unmoved consoling and gently chiding them in a way; this demeanour filled all with amazement. However, when he saw that the Latins approached the walls quite shamelessly and would not listen to sensible advice, he sent first for his son-in-law, Nicephorus, my Caesar. Him he ordered to take stout soldiers, skilled archers, and station them on the top of the wall, and added the command that they should shoot plenty of arrows at the Latins without taking aim, but should rather miss, so as to terrify them by the frequency of the darts, but by no means to ill. For, as I said above, he respected the sanctity of the day and did not wish for civil war. 7. Then he bade others of the nobles, most of whom carried bows, and others wielding long lances, to throw open the gate of St. Romanus and make a display of violent assault upon them. They were to draw themselves up in this order, ... each of the spear-bearers was guarded by two peltasts on either side; then in this order they were to proceed at a slow pace, but send a few skilled archers ahead to shoot at the Franks from a distance, and to keep [260] turning about from one side to another. And as soon as they saw only a narrow space left between the armies, they were to give the order to the archers accompanying them to direct a shower of arrows at the horses, not the riders, and to dash at full speed against the Latins, partly to break the violence of the Franks’ onrush by wounding the horses so that they could

πληττομένων ἀποπαύηται τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὀρμῆς τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως κατὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰππάζωνται, τὸ δέ τι, ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἵνα μὴ χριστιανοὶ κτείνωνται. Ἐκθύμως τοίνυν τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀπεπλήρουν πρόσταγμα καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τοὺς ῥυτῆρας κατ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιδόντες, ποτὲ δὲ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνασειράζοντες κτείνουσι μὲν πολλοὺς, ὀλίγοι δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ ταυτηνὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐτρώθησαν. **8.** Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐρρέσθων· ὁ δ' ἐμὸς δεσπότης ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀναλαβόμενος, ὡς εἴρηται, τοὺς τῆς τοξείας εἰδήμονας ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων ἴστατο τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιτοξαζόμενος. Καὶ πάντες μὲν εἶχον τόξα καὶ εὖστοχα καὶ εὐθύβολα· νεανία γὰρ ἦσαν σύμπαντες οὐχ ἥττους τοῦ ὀμηρικοῦ Τεύκρου εἰς τοξικὴν ἐμπειρίαν. Τὸ δὲ τόξον τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἀπόλλωνος ἦν ἄρα τόξον αὐτόχρομα· οὐδὲ γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς ὀμηρικοὺς Ἑλληνας νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶ, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον ἦγέ τε καὶ ἐφήμοττε κυνηγετῶν ἀρετὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος κατ' ἐκείνους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ ἀθανάτων τόξων θανασίμους ἀπέπεμπεν ὁἷστους καὶ οὐπερ ἄν στοχάσαιτο κατευστοχῶν ἦν, εἰ μόνον θελήσειε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις καιροῖς, ὀπηνίκα καιρὸς ἀγῶνος καὶ μάχης παρῆν, ὄντινα καὶ σκοπὸν ἔθετο, εὐθὺς οὐκ ἄστοχον ἔβαλλε, καὶ ᾧ ἄν μέρει ἐπετοξάσατο, κατ' ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους εὐθὺς ἐτίτρωσκεν αἰεὶ. Οὕτως ἰσχυρὸν ἔτεινε τόξον ἐκεῖνος καὶ βέλος ἠφίει ὀξύτατον, κἂν τῇ τοξείᾳ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τεύκρον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς Αἴαντας φαινόμενος. Ἀλλὰ καίπερ τοιοῦτος ὢν δεδιῶς τὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας αἰδέσιμον καὶ τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος παραγγελίαν ἐγκάρδιον ἔχων ἔτεινε μὲν τόξον ἰταμῶς τούτους καὶ ἀλόγως τοῖς τείχεσι πελάζοντας ὀρῶν καὶ ἀσπίσι καὶ κυνέῃ ἑαυτοῦ περιφράττοντας καὶ τὸ βέλος ἐτίθετο τῇ νευρᾷ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἄστοχα θέλων ἔβαλλεν, ὅπου μὲν εἴσω πέμπων, ὅπου δὲ καὶ ὑπερπέμπων. **9.** Κἂν δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἡμέραν ὑπεστέλλετο εὐστόχως κατὰ τῶν Λατίνων βαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Λατίνος τις ἰταμὸς καὶ ἀναίσχυντος οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἰσταμένων πυκνοὺς ἐξέπεμπεν ὁἷστους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ πολλὰ φωνῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐδόκει, τείνει μὲν κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Καῖσαρ τὸ τόξον· τοῦ δ' οὐχ ἄλιον βέλος ἔκθορε χειρὸς, ἀλλὰ διέτρησε μὲν τὸν θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ φολιδωτὸν θώρακα σὺν αὐτῷ διελὼν τῷ βραχίονι τῇ πλευρᾷ τὸ βέλος περιέπειρεν. Ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἄφωνος ἔκειτο χαμᾶζε κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν, φωνὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἦκε τῶν μὲν ἐπαγαλλομένων τῷ Καίσαρι, τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ πεπτωκότι ἀπολοφυρομένων. Καρτερῶς οὖν αὐθις τῶν τε ἰππέων ἐκεῖθεν μαχομένων τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἰσταμένων βαρῶς καὶ δεινὸς ἐξ

not ride against the Romans, and secondly, which was more important, to prevent any Christians being killed. The nobles joyfully fulfilled the Emperor's bidding; threw open the gates, and now galloping at full speed against the enemy, and now checking the horses, they killed many of them while only a few of their own party were wounded on this day.

8. I leave them to their perdition. My lord, the Caesar, took, as I have said, the experienced archers and stood on the towers shooting at the barbarians. And all aimed well and shot far; for all these young men were as skilled as the Homeric Teucer in the use of the bow. But the Caesar's bow was in very deed the bow of Apollo; and he did not after the manner of the Homeric Greeks draw the string to his breast and place the arrow and fit it to the bow exhibiting like them the art of the hunter, but like a second Heracles, he discharged deadly arrows from immortal bows and provided he willed it, he never missed the mark at which he aimed. For on other occasions during the time of strife and battle, he invariably hit whatever object he proposed himself, and whatever part of a man he aimed at, that part exactly he always struck. With such strength he stretched his bow, and with such swiftness he sent his arrows that in archery he appeared to excel even Teucer himself, and the two Ajaxes. But although he was so skilful, he respected the sanctity of the day and took the Emperor's injunction to heart, and when he saw the Latins recklessly approaching the walls while protecting themselves with shield and helmet, he did indeed stretch his bow and fix the arrow to the string, but purposely shot without aim, launching them sometimes short of the foe, and sometimes beyond. **9.** Even though on that day he only pretended to aim properly at the Latins, yet if a reckless and impudent Latin not only aimed several arrows at them up above, but also seemed to be shouting out insults in his own tongue, than the Caesar did indeed stretch his bow at him. And the arrow did not leap from his hand in vain, but pierced through the long shield and the corselet of mail and pinned the man's arm to his side. And he, as says the poet, at once lay on the ground speechless. And [261] the cry went up to heaven of our men congratulating the Caesar and of the Latins lamenting over the fallen. As our cavalry was fighting bravely outside, and our men on the walls equally so, a serious and severe battle was kindled between

ἀμφοτέρων ἀνερριπίζετο πόλεμος. Ἐπιβαλὼν δ' αὐθις ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὰς ἰδίας δυνάμεις εἰς φυγὴν τὰς τῶν Λατίνων προὔτρέψατο φάλαγγας. **10.** Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν ἀπελθὼν ὁ Οὐβος συνεβούλευε τῷ Γοντοφρῆ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπεῖξαι θελήματι, εἰ μὴ καὶ δευτέραν βούλοιοτο τῆς τούτου περὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἐμπειρίας πείραν λαβεῖν, καὶ ὁμωμοκέναι καθαρὰν πίστιν φυλάττειν αὐτῷ. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦτον κατεμέμφετο λέγων· “Σὺ ὡς βασιλεὺς τῆς ἰδίας ἐξεληλυθὼς χώρας μετὰ τούτου πλοῦτου καὶ στρατεύματος νῦν ἐξ ὕψους τούτου εἰς δούλου τάξιν ἑαυτὸν συνήλασας· εἶτα ὡς μέγα τι κατωρθωκὼς κάμοι τοιαῦτα συμβουλεύων ἦκεις...” Ὁ δὲ· “Ἐχρῆν ἡμᾶς” ἔφη “ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις προσμένειν χώραις καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀπέχεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ μέχρις ὧδε κατήλθομεν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κηδεμονίας δεόμενοι, εἰ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πειθόμεθα λόγοις, οὐκ ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν συμβήσεται”. Ὡς δὲ κενὸν τὸν Οὐβὸν ἐκεῖθεν ἐξέπεμψε, πληροφορηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένους ἐγγίζεν ἤδη κόμητας, ἀποστείλας τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκκρίτους τινὰς μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεων ἐπέσκηψεν αὐθις συμβουλεύσασθαι αὐτῷ καὶ καταναγκάσαι διαπερᾶσαι. Τούτους οἱ Λατῖνοι θεασάμενοι καὶ μὴδὲ μικρὸν ἀναμειναντες μῆτε μὴν τὸ τί ἂν βούλοιντο ἐπερωτήσαντες πρὸς πολέμους καὶ μάχας ἐχώρουν. Πολέμου δὲ ἀναμεταξὺ συρραγέντος ἰσχυροῦ πίπτουσιν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἱκανοί, τιτρώσκονται δὲ οἱ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ὅποι ἀναισχυντότερον αὐτῷ προσέβαλον. Ἐκθυμότερον δὲ τούτων μαχομένων τὰ νῶτα οἱ Λατῖνοι ὑπεῖχον.

11. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ Γοντοφρῆ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστοίχει θελήματι. Προσελθὼν οὖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπωμόσατο ὄνπερ ἀπητεῖτο ὄρκον, ὥστε ὀπόσας πόλεις καὶ χώρας ἢ φρούρια φθάσει κατασχεῖν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων τὸ πρῶτον τελοῦντα, πρὸς τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποστελλόμενον ἀρχηγὸν παραδιδόναι. Ταῦτ' οὖν ἐπομοσάμενος χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ λαβὼν ὁμέστιός τε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος αὐτῷ γεγονῶς καὶ δαυιλῶς εὐωχηθεὶς διαπεράσας κατὰ τὸν Πελεκάνον ἠύλισατο. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῆνικαῦτα ἐπέσκηψε δαυιλεῖς πανηγύρεις ἐξάγειν αὐτοῖς.

the two armies. Finally the Emperor threw in his own troops and drove the Latins into headlong flight. **10.** On the following day Ubus went and advised Godfrey to yield to the Emperor's wish, unless he wanted to have a second experience of the latter's military skill, and to swear that he would keep good faith with him. But Godfrey reprimanded him severely and said, “You who came from your own country as a king with great wealth and a great army have brought yourself down from that high position to the rank of a slave; and then just as if you had won some great success you come and advise me to do the same?” The other replied, “We ought to have remained in our own countries and not have interfered in foreign affairs; but as we have come as far as this where we sorely need the Emperor's protection, matters will not turn out well for us if we do not fall in with his wishes.” But since Godfrey sent Ubus away without his having effected anything and the Emperor received news that the Counts coming after were already near, he sent a selected few of the generals with their troops, and enjoined them again to advise, nay even to compel, Godfrey to cross the straits. Directly the Latins caught sight of them, with out waiting even a minute or asking what they wanted, they betook themselves to battle and fighting. A severe battle arose between them in which many fell on either side, and ... the Emperor's ... were wounded, who had attacked him too recklessly. As the imperial troops fought very bravely, the Latins turned their backs.

11. In consequence Godfrey shortly afterwards yielded to the Emperor's wish. He went to the Emperor and swore the oath which was required of him, namely, that whatever towns, countries or forts he managed to take which had formerly belonged to the Roman Empire, he would deliver up to the Governor expressly sent Emperor for this purpose. After he had taken this oath, and received a large sum of money, he was invited to the Emperor's hearth and table, and feasted luxuriously, and afterwards crossed the straits and encamped near Pelecanus. Thereupon the Emperor gave orders that abundant supplies of food should be conveyed to them.

§10

1. Κατόπιν δὲ τούτου ἐφθακῶς καὶ ὁ Ῥαοὺλ καλούμενος κόμης μετὰ πεντεκαίδεκα χιλιάδων ἰπέων τε καὶ πεζῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν προποντίδα

1. After this man the Count called Raoul arrived with fifteen thousand horse and foot and bivouacked by the Propontis [262] near so-called

περὶ τὴν καλουμένην μονὴν τοῦ πατριάρχου σκηνώσας μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν κομήτων τοὺς λοιποὺς μέχρις αὐτοῦ Σωσθενίου κατέθετο. Ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Γοντοφρῆ φρονῶν ἀνεβάλλετο τέως τὴν τῶν ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένων ἀπεκδεχόμενος ἔλευσιν, ὁ βασιλεὺς στοχαζόμενος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐδεδῖει τὴν τούτων ἄφιξιν καὶ αὐτῶν ὅλη χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ τὴν διαπεραίωσιν ἐπέσπευδεν. Ἀποστείλας τοίνυν τὸν «Ὠπον μετεκαλεῖτο (εὐγενῆς δὲ οὗτος φρονήσει καὶ τῇ περὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐμπειρία μηδενὸς ἀποδέων) καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρῆν, μεθ' ἑτέρων γενναίων ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξέπεμψε παρακελευσάμενος καταναγκάσαι τούτου τὴν διαπεραίωσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτον ἑώρα τῷ βασιλικῷ μηδαμῶς ὑπέικοντα προστάγματι, ἀλλ' ἀναισχυντοῦντα καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φρουαττόμενον, ὀπλισάμενος παρετάξατο μορμολυττόμενος τάχα τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἰόμενος πείσειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν περῶν διαπλώσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ θᾶττον ἢ λόγος μετὰ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ Κελτῶν παρατάξάμενος ὡς λέων ἐχάρη μεγάλῳ ἐπὶ σώματι κύρσας καὶ τηνικαῦτα μετὰ τοῦ Ὠπου μέγαν συνίστησι πόλεμον. **2.** Καταλαβὼν δὲ καὶ ὁ πηγᾶσιος διαπόντιος ἐφ' ᾧ τούτους διαπερᾶν καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρον μάχην καὶ τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἰταμώτερον τῷ ῥωμαϊκῷ στρατεύματι προσβάλλοντας τῶν νηῶν ἐξεληλυθὼς ἐξ ὀπισθίων προσβάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς τοῖς Κελτοῖς. Ἀναιροῦνται τοίνυν τηνικαῦτα πολλοί· πλεῖστοι δὲ καὶ τιτρώσκονται. Καὶ οὕτως οἱ σωθέντες ἀνακαλοῦνται τὴν διαπεραίωσιν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, μηχανικώτατος ὢν ἀνὴρ, σκεψάμενος μὴ τῷ Γοντοφρῆ ἐνωθέντες καὶ τὰ συμβάντα τούτοις ἀφηγησάμενοι τοῦτον κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐρεθίσωσι, τὴν αἴτησιν τούτων ἀσμένως δεξάμενος ἐν πλοίοις τούτους ἐνήσι καὶ διαποντίους πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος τάφον ἐκπέμπει, τοῦτο καὶ αὐτῶν ἐξαίτησαμένων. Ἀποστέλλει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζομένους κόμητας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης μηνύει ῥήματα χρηστὰς αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας διδούς. Οἱ καὶ καταλαβόντες πᾶν τὸ προσταττόμενον προθύμως ἐπλήρουν. **3.** Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ κόμητος Ῥαούλ· ἀναριθμήτου δὲ καὶ ἑτέρου πλήθους ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένου συμμίγην ἐξ ἀπασῶν μικροῦ τῶν Κελτικῶν χωρῶν συνειλεγμένου μετὰ τῶν ἀγόντων αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνων, ῥηγῶν τε καὶ δουκῶν καὶ κομήτων καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἀποστέλλων ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ φιλοφρόνως αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο καὶ ἐπεικειᾶς ἐξέπεμπε λόγους, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος δεινὸς τὸ μέλλον προμηθεύσασθαι καὶ προαρπάσαι τὸ συμφέρον. Ἐπισκήπτει δὲ καὶ τὰ ζωαρκῆ τούτοις ἐρχομένοις ἐπιχορηγεῖν τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ

monastery of the Patriarch with the Counts under him, and the rest he quartered on the shore right up to Sosthenium. He, with the same intention as Godfrey, put off crossing as he, too, was awaiting the arrival of the others who were coming after him, but the Emperor foreseeing what might happen, dreaded their advent, and tried to hurry on Raoul's crossing by every possible means. So he sent and had Opus fetched (a man of noble mind and not inferior to anyone in military experience), and when he arrived he dispatched him with some other brave men overland to Raoul with orders to compel the latter to cross the straits. But when he found that Raoul would certainly not obey the Emperor's order, but rather spoke impudently and most insolently of the Emperor, he drew up his lines for battle, thinking perhaps to terrify the barbarian, and in this way persuade him to sail across to the other side. But Raoul drew up the Franks he had with him more quickly than can be told, and rejoiced 'like a lion that has lighted upon a huge carcass,' and straightway commenced a serious battle with Opus. **2.** Now Pegasius came to the place by sea in order to transport the Franks, and when he saw the battle being fought on land, and the Franks attacking the Roman army very boldly, he disembarked, and himself attacked the Franks from the rear. In this battle many were killed, but a far greater number wounded, and consequently the survivors asked to be put across the sea. Now the Emperor in his great prudence reflected that if they joined Godfrey and related what happened to them, the latter would be enraged against him, so he gladly received their request, put them on boats and transported them by sea to the Saviour's tomb, at their own urgent request. To the Counts who were expected he sent envoys carrying messages of kindly greeting and holding out great expectations, consequently on arrival they willingly fulfilled all his orders.

3. This is sufficient about Count Raoul. After him came another innumerable, heterogeneous crowd, collected from nearly all the Frankish countries, together with their leaders, kings, dukes, counts and even bishops. The Emperor sent men to receive them kindly and to convey promises of reasonable help, for he was always clever at providing for the future, and in grasping at a glance what was expedient for the moment. He also gave orders to men specially appointed for this purpose to supply them with victuals on their

τούτω τεταγμένοι, ὡς μὴ λαβὴν αὐτοὺς τὸ παράπαν ἐσχηκέναι μηδ' ἐξ οἴας οὖν αἰτίας. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἠπείγοντο. Τάχα δὲ εἶπέ τις οὐρανοῦ ἀστέρας εἶναι τούτους ἢ ψάμμον παρὰ τῷ χεῖλει τῆς θαλάττης ἐκκεχυμένην. Ἦσαν γὰρ ὅσα φύλλα καὶ ἄνθεα γίνεται ὥρη καθ' Ὅμηρον τῇ Κωνσταντίνου πελάζειν ἤδη κατεπειγόμενοι.

4. Τὰς δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων κλήσεις καὶ προθυμομένη περ ἐξειπεῖν οὐ βούλομαι. Ναρκᾶ γάρ μοι ὁ λόγος τὸ μὲν τι βαρβαρικὰς φωνὰς ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀδυνατούση διὰ τὸ ἄναρθρον, τὸ δὲ τι καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐκείνων ἀποβλεπούση. Καὶ ἵνα τί τούτου πλῆθους κλήσεις ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι πειρώμεθα, οὐς καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες ἀκηδίας ἐπληροῦντο ὀρῶντες ... Ὡς οὖν τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ἤδη κατέλαβον, κατατίθενται τὰ τούτων στρατεύματα ἐπισκήψει τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀγχοῦ τῆς μονῆς Κοσμιδίου καὶ μέχρις αὐτοῦ διήκοντα Ἱεροῦ. 5. Οὐκ ἐννέα δὲ κήρυκες, καθάπερ ποτὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τούτους βοδῶντες ἐρήτυον, ἀλλ' ἱκανοὶ καὶ γενναῖοι ὀπλίται οἱ τούτοις ἐφεπόμενοι τοῖς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κελεύσμασιν ὑπέεικον ἀνέπειθον. Τούτους δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τὸν τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ συνελάσαι ὄρκον διηρημένως προσεκαλεῖτο ἰδία προσομιλῶν, ἄττα καὶ βούλοιτο, καὶ τοῖς εὐγνωμονεστέροις χρώμενος μεσασταῖς τῶν ἀπειθεστέρων. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέειθον τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου παραδοκοῦντες ἔλευσιν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλους τρόπους εὐρίσκοντες ἐξαιτήσεων ἄλλο τινα προσαπαιτοῦντες ἦσαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν προτιθέμενον ῥᾶστα διαλύων καὶ παντοίως τούτους μετελθὼν συνήλασεν εἰς τὸν τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ ὄρκον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελεκάνου ἐπὶ τῷ παρεῖναι τοῦ ὄρκου τελουμένου διαπόντιον.

6. Πάντων οὖν συνελθούτων καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ ὄρκος ἤδη τετέλεστο ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κομήτων, τολμήσας τις εὐγενὴς εἰς τὸν σκίμποδα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκάθισεν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἠνείχετο τούτου μηδὲν τι φθεγξάμενος, πάλαι τὴν ἀγέρωχον τῶν Λατίνων φύσιν εἰδῶς. Προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ κόμης Βαλδουῖνος καὶ ἀνάμενος αὐτοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ἠγειρεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ πολλὰ καταμεμψάμενος ἔφη· “Οὐκ ἐξῆν σοι τοιοῦτον ἐνταῦθα ποιῆσαι δουλείαν τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ὑποσχομένῳ. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔθιμον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων συνέδρους ἔχειν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτούς· δούλους δὲ ὁμότας τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας γεγονότας χρὴ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τῆς χώρας τηρεῖν”. Ὁ

journey, so that they might not for any [263] reason whatsoever have a handle for a quarrel against him. And they (the Crusaders) hastened on to the capital. One might have likened them to the stars of heaven or the sand poured out along the edge of the sea. For these men that hurried on to approach Constantinople were as many ‘as there are leaves and flowers in the spring time,’ as Homer says.

4. Though I much desire to do so, I cannot detail the names of the leaders. For my speech is paralysed partly because I cannot articulate these strange names which are so unpronounceable, and partly because of the number of them. And, why indeed should we endeavour to recount the names of such a multitude, when even the men who were present were soon filled with indifference at the sight? When they finally reached the capital they disposed their armies at the Emperor's bidding close to the Monastery of Cosmidium and they extended right up to the Hieron. 5. It was not nine heralds, as formerly in Greece, who controlled this army by their shouts, but a large number of brave hoplites who accompanied them and persuaded them to yield to the Emperor's orders. Now the Emperor was anxious to force them all to take the same oath as Godfrey had taken so he invited them separately and conversed with them privately about his wishes, and made use of the more reasonable ones as intermediaries with the more recalcitrant. As they would not obey, for they were expecting Bohemund to arrive, but found various means of evasion by continually making some fresh demands, the Emperor very easily saw through their pretences and by harassing them in every possible way, he forced them to take Godfrey's oath, and sent for Godfrey from over the sea at Pelecanus that he might be present during the taking of the oath.

6. Thus they all assembled, Godfrey amongst them, and after the oath had been taken by all the Counts, a certain venturesome noble sat down on the Emperor's seat. The Emperor put up with him and said not a word, knowing of old the Latins' haughty nature. But Count Balduinus stepped forward and taking him by the hand raised him up, rebuked him severely, and said, “It was wrong of you to do such a thing here, and that too when you have promised fealty to the Emperor; for it is not customary for the Roman Emperors to allow their subjects to sit beside them on the throne, and those who become his Majesty's sworn bondmen must observe the customs of the country.” He

δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν Βαλδουῖνον ἐφθέγγετο οὐδέν, δριμύτερον δὲ ἐνατενίσας τῷ βασιλεῖ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῇ οἰκείᾳ διαλέκτῳ λόγους τινὰς ἀπεφθέγγετο λέγων· “Ἴδε, ποῖος χωρίτης κάθηται μόνος παρισταμένων αὐτῷ τοιούτων ἡγεμόνων”.

7. Οὐδ’ ἡ κίνησις τῶν χειλέων τοῦ Λατίνου τὸν βασιλέα διέλαθε· καλέσας δ’ ἓνα τῶν τὴν λατινικὴν διάλεκτον μεθερμηνευόντων ἡρώτα περὶ τῶν λεχθέντων. Ἀκούσας δὲ τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ῥηθέντα οὐδὲν μὲν τέως πρὸς τὸν Λατῖνον εἰρήκει, ἐτήρει δ’ ὅμως τὸν λόγον παρ’ ἑαυτῷ. Συντασσομένων δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ πάντων μετεκαλεῖτο τὸν ὑψηλόφρονα Λατῖνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀναιδῆ καὶ ἐπυθάνετο τίς τέ ἐστι καὶ ὅθεν ὄρμηται καὶ ἐκ ποίου γένους. Ὁ δὲ· “Φράγγοι μὲν εἰμι καθαρὸς” ἔφη “τῶν εὐγενῶν· ἐν δὲ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅτι ἐν τριόδῳ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν αὐτὸς ὄρμηται, τέμενός ἐστι πάλαι οἰκοδομηθέν, ἐν ᾧ πᾶς ὁ προθυμούμενος μόνος πρὸς μόνον μάχην ἀναδήσασθαι εἰς μονομάχου τάξιν ἑαυτὸν καταστήσας προσερχόμενος βοήθειαν μὲν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖθεν αἰτεῖται, βραδύνει δὲ τὸν κατ’ αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντα ἀπεκδεχόμενος. Καθ’ ἣν τριόδον ἐχρόνισα καὶ αὐτὸς σχολάζων καὶ ζητῶν τὸν μετ’ ἐμοῦ μαχεσόμενον· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τολμήσων οὐδαμοῦ.” Ταῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀκηκοὺς ἔφη· “Εἰ πόλεμον τότε ζητῶν οὐχ εὔρες, πάρεστῖσσι καιρὸς ὁ πολλῶν σε πολέμων ἐμπλήσων· παρεγγυῶμαι δέ σοι, μήτε πρὸς οὐραγίαν μήτε πρὸς λοχαγίαν ἴστασθαι φάλαγγος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέσον ἔχειν τῶν ἡμιλοχιτῶν· ἐπιστήμη γὰρ τῆς μεθόδου τῶν πολέμων τῶν Τούρκων ἐκ μακροῦ ἔσχηκα”. Οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ μόνῳ ταῦτα συνεβούλευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅποσα τούτοις συναντήσῃν ἔμελλεν ἀπερχομένοις κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν προλέγων παρηγγυᾶτο μὴ ἀκρατῶς διώκειν, ὀπηνίκα τὴν νίκην αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων δοίη Θεός, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι λοχαγοῖς περιπίπτοντες ἀναιρῶνται.

made no reply to Balduinus, but darted a fierce glance at the Emperor and muttered some words to [264] himself in his own language, saying, “Look at this rustic that keeps his seat, while such valiant captains are standing round him.”

7. The movement of the Latin’s lips did not escape the Emperor, who called one of the interpreters of the Latin tongue and asked the purport of his words. When he heard what the remark was, he said nothing to the Latin for some time, but kept the saying in his heart. As they were all taking leave of the Emperor, he called that haughty-minded, audacious Latin, and enquired who he was and of what country and lineage. “I am a Frank of the purest nobility.” he replied, “all that I know is that at the crossroads in the country whence I come there stands an old sanctuary, to which everyone who desires to fight in single combat goes ready accoutred for single combat, and there prays to God for help while he waits in expectation of the man who will dare to fight him. At those cross-roads I too have often tarried, waiting and longing for an antagonist; but never has one appeared who dared to fight me.” In reply to this the Emperor said, “If you did not find a fight when you sought for it then, now the time has come which will give you your fill of fighting. But I strongly advise you not to place yourself in the rear nor in the front of your line, but to stand in the centre of the ‘hemilochitae,’ for I have had a long experience of the Turkish method of fighting.” It was not to this man only that he gave this advice, but to all the others he foretold the accidents likely to happen on their journey, and counselled them never to pursue the barbarians very far when God granted them a victory over them, for fear of being killed by falling into ambushes.

§11

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γοντοφρὲ καὶ Ῥαοῦλ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς συνεπομένους αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ γε Βαῖμοῦντος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κομήτων καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἄπρων καὶ μήτ’ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντα ἑαυτὸν ἐπιγινώσκων μήτε δυνάμεις πολλὰς συνεπαγόμενος δι’ ἣν εἶχε σπάνιν τῶν χρημάτων, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος βουλόμενος ἐπισπάσασθαι εὐνοίαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συγκαλύψαι τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐθέλων, μετὰ δέκα καὶ μόνων Κελτῶν προεξελθὼν τῶν ἄλλων κομήτων

1. So much then about Godfrey and Raoul and the others who accompanied them. Now when Bohemund reached Apron with the other Counts, he reflected that he was not sprung from the nobility, nor was he bringing a large force owing to his poverty, but he was anxious to win the Emperor’s goodwill and at the same time counsel his own designs against him, so leaving the other Counts behind he rode ahead with only ten Franks and hastened to reach the capital. As

ἔσπευσε καταλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλεύουσαν. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰς αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς γινώσκων καὶ τὸ ὑπουλον καὶ ἐνεδρευτικὸν αὐτοῦ ἦθος ἐκ μακροῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἔσπευσε πρὸ τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καταλαβεῖν κόμητας ὁμιλήσαι τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων καὶ πείσαι πρὸ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀφίξεως διαπερᾶσαι, ἵνα μὴ ἐνωθεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνοντων ἤδη καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων διαστρέψει γνώμας. Εἰσελθόντι δὲ ἰλαρὸν εὐθὺς ἐνατενίσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιορίαν ἐπυνθάνετο καὶ ὅπου τοὺς κόμητας κατέλιπε. **2.** Τοῦ δὲ ἅπαντα διασαφήσαντος αὐτῷ, ὡς εἶχε γνώμης, ἀστεϊζόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ Δυρράχιον καὶ τὴν Λάρισσαν τετολμημένων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀναμιμνήσκει τηνικαῦτα καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας ἐκείνης. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὡς “Ἐγωγε κἄν ἐχθρὸς κἄν πολέμιος τότε ἦν, ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτόμολος ἦκω φίλος τῆς σῆς βασιλείας”. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ διὰ πολλῶν μετελθὼν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀκροθιγῶς πως ἀποπειράσας τὸν αὐτοῦ λογισμόν, ἐπεὶ διέγνω κατανεύσοντα τοῦτον ὄρκια πιστὰ δοῦναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Τὰ νῦν μὲν κεκοπιακότα σε ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιορίας χρῆ ἀπελθόντα διαναπαύσασθαι, ἐς νέωτα δὲ περὶ ὧν βουλόμεθα ὁμιλήσομεν”. **3.** Ἀπελθόντι οὖν εἰς τὸ Κοσμιδίον, οὐπὲρ τὰ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτῷ προηυτρέπιστο, τράπεζα τούτῳ παρατίθεται δαψιλῆς παντοίων ὄψων καὶ ἐδεσμάτων μεστή. Εἶτα καὶ ὠμὰ κρέα χερσαίων τε καὶ πτηνῶν ζώων προσενεγκόντες οἱ ὀψοποιοὶ ἔφασαν· “Ἡμῖν μὲν τὰ ὄψα, ὡς ὄρας, ηὐτρέπισται κατὰ τὸ σῆς ἔθος· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄρεστάσοι ταῦτα, ἰδοὺ καὶ ὠμὰ καὶ κατασκευασθήτωσαν καθά γε βούλει”. Οὕτω γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος κατασκευάσαι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἐντεταλμένον αὐτοῖς ἦν. Καὶ γὰρ ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος δεινὸς ἦθος καταστοχάσασθαι ἀνδρὸς, δεινὸς εἰς καρδίαν βάψαι καὶ λογισμοὺς θηρᾶσαι ἀνθρώπου, τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιστάμενος δύσνον καὶ κακότηδες ἐστοχάσατο τοῦ ὄντος. “Ἴν' οὖν μὴ ὑποψίαν τινὰ κατ' αὐτοῦ σχοίη, καὶ τὰ ὠμὰ κρέα ἐν ταύτῳ προσενεχθῆναι αὐτῷ προσέταξε διαλύων τάχα τὴν ὑποψίαν. Οὐκ ἠστόχει δὲ τοῦ σκοποῦ. **4.** Ὁ γὰρ δεινὸς Βαϊμοῦντος τῶν μὲν ὄψων οὐ μόνον ἀπογεύσασθαι ὄλωσ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄκροις δακτύλοις προσψαῦσαι ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' ἀπώσατό τ' εὐθὺς καὶ μηδενί τι τῆς ὑποδραμούσης αὐτῷ ὑπονοίας ἐμφήνας τοῖς παρεστῶσι πάντα διένειμε, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τούτους ὑποκρινόμενος, τῇ δ' ἀληθεία, εἴ τις καλῶς σκοποίη, θανάτου κρατῆρα κεράσας αὐτοῖς. Οὐδὲ τὸν δόλον ἐπέκρυπτε, τοῦτον καταφρονητικῶς περὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν διέκειτο. Τὰ μέντοι ὠμὰ κρέατα κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης τοῖς ἰδίοις

the Emperor knew his machinations and had been long aware of his treacherous and scheming nature desired to talk with him before the other Counts arrived, and to hear what he had to say, and to persuade him to cross into Asia before the others in order that he might not join those who were on the point of arriving, and corrupt their minds also. So when Bohemund entered, he smiled at [265] him cheerfully and asked him about his journey and where he had left the Counts. **2.** All these things Bohemund explained clearly as he thought best, and then the Emperor joked and reminded him of his former daring deeds at Dyrrachium and his former enmity. To this the other replied, “Though I was certainly your adversary and enemy at that time, yet now I come of my own free will as a friend of your Majesty.” The Emperor talked of many things with him, and lightly sounded his feelings, and as he perceived that he would agree to take the oath of fidelity, he dismissed him saying, “You must be tired from your journey and must go and rest now; tomorrow we can talk of whatever we like.”

3. So Bohemund went away to Cosmidium where a lodging had been prepared for him, and a rich table spread for him, laden with all manner of meats and eatables. The cooks also brought in the uncooked flesh of land-animals and birds, and said, ‘You see, we have prepared the food in our usual fashion; but if those do not please you, see, here is raw meat which shall be cooked in whatever way you like.’ For they prepared the food and spoke in this way be the Emperor’s orders. For he was wonderfully clever in judging a man’s character, clever, too, in penetrating to the heart and ferreting out a man’s thoughts, and as he knew Bohemund’s suspicions and maliciousness, he guessed at the truth. Consequently, to prevent Bohemund suspecting him, he ordered those raw meats to be taken to him at the same time in order to allay any suspicion. Nor was he wrong in his surmise. **4.** For that dreadful Bohemund not only refrained from tasting the viands at all, or even touching them with the tips of his fingers, but pushed them all away at once, and, though he did not speak of his secret suspicion, he divided them up amongst the attendants, pretending to all appearance to be doing them a kindness, but in reality, if you look at it aright, he was mixing a cup of death for them. And he did not even conceal his craft, for he treated his servants with contempt. The raw meats, however,

ὄψοποιοῖς κατασκευάσαι ἐπέταττε. Τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν δὲ τοὺς τὰ ὄψα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηδοκότας ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως αὐτοὺς διέθεντο. Τῶν δὲ “Καὶ λίαν καλῶς” εἰρηκότων καὶ ὡς μηδὲ τῆς τυχούσης αἰσθῆσθαι βλάβης, ἀποκαλύψας αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀπόρητον ἔφη ὡς “Ἐγώ γε, μεμνημένος τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἠολέμων καὶ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης, ἐδεδίειν μὴ τὸν ἐμὸν ἴσως ἐξαρτύση θάνατον, θανάσιμόν τι φάρμακον τοῖς ὄψοις ἐπεμβάλων”. Τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου· ἐγὼ δ' οὐποτε πονηρὸν ἐθεασάμην μὴ τοῦ ὀρθῶς τι ποιεῖν πόρρω που ἐν πᾶσι λόγοις καὶ πρακτέοις θέοντα· ὀπηνίκα γάρ τις τῆς μεσότητος ἐκσταίη, πρὸς ὀπότερον ἂν τῶν ἄκρων νεύσειε, πόρρωθεν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔστηκε. **5.** Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν Βαϊμούντον ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν συνήθη τοῖς Λατίνοις καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐζήτει ὄρκον. Ὁ δὲ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἐκ προγόνων περιφανῶν ἐγεγόνει οὔτε χρημάτων εὐπορίαν εἶχε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ δυνάμεις πολλὰς, ἀλλὰ μετρίους πάνυ τοὺς συνεπομένους αὐτῷ Κελτούς, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ φύσει ἐπίορκος ὢν, μάλα προθύμως τῷ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπεῖξε θελήματι. Καὶ οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τὰ βασιλεία οἰκίσκον τινὰ ἀφορίσας εἰς τοῦδαφος κατέστρωσε παντοῖον εἶδος χρημάτων, ... καὶ ἀμφίων χαράγματός τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῆς κατωτέρω ὕλης τοῦτον πληρώσας τὸ οἶκμα, ὡς μηδὲ βαδίζειν δύνασθαι τινα τῷ πλήθει τούτων συμποδίζομενον. Τῷ δὲ μέλλοντι ὑποδειξαι ταῦτα τῷ Βαϊμούντῳ ἐπέταττεν ἀθρόον τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαι. Ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων θεᾷ ἐκπλαγεῖς φησιν· “Εἰ τοσαῦτά μοι προσῆν χρήματα, πολλῶν ἂν χωρῶν κύριος πάλαι ἐγεγόνειν αὐτός”. Καὶ ὅς· “Ταῦτά σοι τὴν σήμερον ἀποχαρίζεται ἅπαντα ὁ βασιλεὺς”.

6. Ὁ δὲ περιχαρῶς ταῦτα δεξάμενος καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἀπῆει ἀναπαυθησόμενος οὗ κατέλυσεν. Ἀποκομισθέντων δὲ τούτων αὐτῷ, μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν τεθαυμακῶς ἔφη· “Οὐδέποτε τοιαύτην ἀτιμίαν ἔσεσθαι μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤλπισα· λαβόντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπαγάγετε τῷ πέμψαντι”. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ φύσει παλίμβουλον τῶν Λατίνων γινώσκων τὸν δημῶδη λόγον ἀντέφησε· “Κακὸν πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἐπανερχέσθω αὐθέντην”. Τοῦτο ὁ Βαϊμούντος ἀκούσας καὶ τοὺς ἀποκομίσαντας ἐπιμελῶς ἀναζητοῦντας αὔθις αὐτὰ ὀρῶν μεταβαλὼν ὁ πρὶν ἀποπεμπόμενος ταῦτα καὶ ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἰλαρὸν βλέμμα τοῖς ἀποκομισταῖς ἐδείκνυ καθάπερ τις πολύπους μετασχηματιζόμενος ἐν βραχεῖ. Φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ πονηρὸς καὶ ὀξὺς πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα, πονηρία καὶ ἀνδρεία τοῦτον ὑπερέχων ἀπάντων

he ordered his own cooks to prepare in the usual Frankish way. The next day he asked the men who had eaten the supper how they felt. When they replied that they felt exceedingly well and had not suffered even the slightest discomfort from it, he discovered his hidden thought, and said, “When I recalled my wars with him and that terrible battle I must own I was afraid that he would perhaps arrange my death by mixing poison with my food.” So spake Bohemund. I have never seen a wicked man who did not [266] act wrongly in all his words and deeds; for whenever a man deserts the middle course of action, to whatever extreme he inclines, he stands far away from goodness. **5.** The Emperor sent for Bohemund and requested him to take the customary oath of the Latins. And he, mindful of his own position, namely, that he was not descended from illustrious ancestors, nor had a great supply of money, and for this reason not even many troops, but only a very limited number of Frankish retainers, and being moreover by nature ready to swear falsely, yielded readily to the Emperor’s wish. Then the Emperor selected a room in the palace and had the floor strewn with every kind of riches, ... and so filled the chamber with garments and stamped gold and silver, and other materials of lesser value, that one could not even walk because of their quantity. And he told the man who was to show Bohemund these things, to throw open the doors suddenly. Bohemund was amazed at the sight and exclaimed “If all these treasures were mine, I should have made myself master of many countries long ere this!” and the attendant replied, “The Emperor makes you a present of all these riches to-day.”

6. Bohemund was overjoyed and after thanking for the present he went away to rest in the house where he lodged. But when these treasures were brought to him, he who had admired them before had changed his mind and said, “Never did I imagine that the Emperor would inflict such dishonour on me. Take them away and give them back to him who sent them.” But the Emperor, knowing the Latins’ characteristic fickleness, quoted the popular proverb, ‘Let bad things return to their own master.’ When Bohemund heard of this and saw the porters carefully packing the presents up again, he changed his mind – he, who a minute before was sending them away and was annoyed at them, now gave the porters pleasant looks, just like a polypus that changes its form in an instant. For by nature the man was a rogue and

τῶν τότε διερχομένων Λατίνων, ὅποσον δυνάμεσί τε καὶ χρήμασιν ἦττητο· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς πάντων ἐκράτει κακεντρεχείας περιουσία, τὸ δὲ παλίμβουλον ὧς φυσικόν τι τῶν Λατίνων παρακολούθημα παρείπετο καὶ αὐτῷ. Τὰ γοῦν χρήματα ὁ ἀπωθούμενος περιχαρῶς τηνικαῦτα ἐλάμβανε.

7. Δύσνους γὰρ ὦν τὴν γνώμην, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ χώραν ὅλως κεκτημένος τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης ἐξῆει τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ χάριν τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου προσκυνήσεως, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ ἀρχὴν ἑαυτῷ περιποιήσασθαι προμηθευόμενος καὶ μᾶλλον, εἰ γένοιτό οἱ, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἐπιδράξασθαι χωμένῳ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθημοσύναις· καὶ πάντα κάλων τὸ τοῦ λόγου κινοῦντι, πολλῶν ἐδεῖτο χρημάτων. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ δύσνον καὶ κακόηθες αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἔσπευδε τὰ συναίρομενα πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτυφομένους αὐτῷ λογισμοὺς εὐφυῶς περιαιρεῖν. Διὸ καὶ τὸ δομεστικᾶτον αἰτούμενος τῆς ἀνατολῆς οὐκ ἔτυχε τῆς αἰτήσεως πρὸς Κρήτα κρητίζων. Δεδιώξ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς, μὴ ἐξουσίας δραξάμενος καὶ δι' αὐτῆς δουλαγωγήσας τοὺς κόμητας ἅπαντας ῥαδίως περιάγοι τοῦ λοιποῦ, ὅπη βουλευτὸν αὐτῷ ἐστὶ, μὴ θέλων τε τὸν Βαίμοῦντον ὑπονοῆσαι ὅλως ὅτι ἤδη πεφώραται, ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς αὐτὸν ὑποσαίνων ἔφη· “Τούτου μὲν καιρὸς οὐπω πάρεστι, διὰ δὲ τῆς σῆς ἐνεργείας καὶ πίστεως μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ τοῦτο γενήσεται”.

8. Ὅμιλῃσας τοίνυν αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοίαις δωρεαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς φιλοφρονησάμενος τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ καθῆστο θρόνου· μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν τε τὸν Βαίμοῦντον καὶ τοὺς κόμητας ἅπαντας περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς συμβησομένων ὠμίλει βουλευόμενος τὰ συμφέροντα, ἀναδιδάσκων ἅμα καὶ αἷς εἰώθασιν οἱ Τοῦρκοι χρῆσθαι μεθοδείαις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ ὑποτιθέμενος ὅπως τε παρατάττεσθαι χρὴ καὶ λόχους καθιστᾶν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ πολὺ διώκειν, ὅπηνίκα τούτοις οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὰ νῶτα διδόασιν. Καὶ οὕτως διὰ τε χρημάτων διὰ τε λόγων καταμαλάξας αὐτῶν τὸ ἄγριον καὶ τὰ συνοίσοντα ὑποθέμενος τὴν διαπεραιώσιν προὔτρεψατο.

9. Τὸν δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλην ἠγάπα διαφερόντως διὰ τε τὸ περιὸν αὐτῷ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ὑπολήψεως τὸ ἀνόθευτον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βίου καθαρὸν, γινώσκων ἅμα καὶ ὅποσον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀληθείας μέλει μηδὲν ταύτης μηδέποτε προτιμωμένῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν Λατίνων

ready for any eventualities; in roguery and courage he was far superior to all the Latins who came through then, as he was inferior to them in forces and money. But in spite of his surpassing all in superabundant activity in mischief, yet fickleness like some natural Latin appendage attended him too. So he who first rejected the presents, afterwards accepted them with great pleasure. **7.** For he was sad in mind as he had left his country a landless man, ostensibly to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, but in reality with the intent of gaining a kingdom for himself, or rather, if it were possible, to follow his father's advice [267] and seize the Roman Empire itself, and as he wanted to let out every reef, as the proverb has it, he required a great deal of money. But the Emperor, who understood his melancholy and ill-natured disposition, did his best cleverly to remove anything that would assist him in his secret plans. Therefore when Bohemund demanded the office of Great Domestic of the East, he did not gain his request, for he was trying to 'out-Cretan a Cretan.' For the Emperor feared that if he gained power he would make the other Counts his captives and bring them round afterwards to doing whatever he wished. Further, he did not want Bohemund to have the slightest suspicion that he was already detected, so he flattered him with fair hopes by saying, "The time for that has not come yet; but by your energy and reputation and above all by your fidelity it will come ere long,"

8. After this conversation and after bestowing gifts and honours of many kinds on them, the next day he took his seat on the imperial throne and summoned Bohemund and all the Counts. To them he discoursed of the things likely to befall them on their journey, and gave them useful advice; he also instructed them in the Turks' usual methods of warfare, and suggested the manner in which they should dispose the army and arrange their ranks, and advised them not to go far in pursuit of the Turks when they fled, And after he had in this way somewhat softened their savage behaviour by dint of money and advice, and had given them good counsel, he suggested their crossing into Asia.

9. Isangeles he liked especially because of his superior wisdom and genuine sincerity and purity of life, also because he recognized that he valued truth above everything; for he 'shone' amidst all the Latins 'as the sun amidst the stars of heaven.' And for this reason he kept him by him for some

ἐν πᾶσι διέφερον ὅσον ἀστέρων ἥλιος. Διὰ τοῦτο παρακατέσχεν αὐτὸν τέως μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀπάντων οὖν συνταξαμένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς προποντίδος πορθμοῦ τὸ Δαμάλιον καταλαβόντων ἀναθεῖς τῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀγλήσεως συχνάκις τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην μετεπέμπετο, ἀναδιδάσκων ἅμα καθαρώτερον τὰ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν συμβήσεσθαι μέλλοντα τοῖς Λατίνοις, παρεγγύμου δὲ καὶ ἦν περὶ τῆς τῶν Φράγγων γνώμης εἶχεν ὑπόληψιν. Ταῦτα πολλάκις ἀποστοματίσας τῷ Ἰσαγγέλη καὶ τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς οἶον ὑπανοίξας αὐτῷ πύλας καὶ πάντα διατρανώσας ἐπέσκηψεν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ἐργηγορέναι κακίαν, ἵνα βουλόμενον παρασπονδῆσαι ἀπειρήγη τοῦτον τοῦ ἐγγειρήματος καὶ διὰ πάσης μεθόδου διαλύη τὰς ἐκείνου μηχανάς. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορά φησιν· “Ἐκ προγόνων καθάπερ τινὰ κληρὸν τὴν ἐπιορκίαν καὶ τὸν δόλον ὁ Βαϊμούντος κεκτημένος, θαῦμα μέγιστον εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα διατηρήσειεν· ἔγωγε δ' ὅμως ὡς ἐνὸν σπεύσω τὸ προσταχθὲν αἰεὶ ἀποπληροῦν”. Καὶ συνταξάμενος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἄπεισιν ἐνωθησόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατεύματι τῶν Κελτῶν.

10. Ὁ μέντοι αὐτοκράτωρ ἤθελε μὲν μετὰ τῶν Κελτῶν κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπιέναι, ἐδεδίει δὲ τὸ αὐτῶν ἀναριθμητὸν πλῆθος. Δεῖν οὖν ἐλόγισατο τὸν Πελεκάνον καταλαβεῖν, ἵν' ἐγγύθεν Νικαίας ἐνδιατρίβων μανθάνοι μὲν τὰ τοῖς Κελτοῖς συμβαίνοντα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν Τούρκων ἐξωθεν ἐφόδους καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντὸς Νικαίας κατάστασιν. Ἐν δεινῷ γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ μὴ τι στρατηγικὸν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ καὶ αὐτὸς κατορθῶι, καὶ διεσκοπεῖτο, ἵνα εἰ ἐπιτήδεια τὰ πράγματα εὐρήσει, αὐτὸς τὴν Νίκαιαν ἀνέλη καὶ μὴ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν αὐτὴν σχοίη κατὰ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ὁμωμοσμένα. Εἶχε δὲ τὴν βουλήν ταύτην ὑποβρύχιον καὶ πᾶν ὅπερ ἄν ὠκονόμει καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν γίνεται αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος ἠπίστατο μόνῳ τῷ Βουτουμίτη τοῦτο ἐμπεπιστευκῶς καὶ τοῦτον ἀποστείλας ἐφ' ᾧ ὑποποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντὸς Νικαίας βαρβάρους διὰ παντοίων ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ἀπαθείας τελείας, ἐν μέρει δὲ καὶ ἀπειλούμενος τόσα καὶ τόσα πείσεσθαι καὶ παρανάλωμα ξίφους γενέσθαι, εἰ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶεν, καὶ πάλαι τὸν Βουτουμίτην γινώσκων εὐνοῦστατον καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δραστήριον. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦτον παρηκολουθήκει τὸν τρόπον.

time. After the Counts had all taken leave of the Emperor and reached Damalium by crossing the Propontis, and the Emperor was relieved from the disturbance they caused, he often sent for Isangeles and explained to him more clearly what he suspected would happen to the Latins on their journey, and he also laid bare to him the suspicions he had of the Franks' intention. He often repeated these things to Isangeles and opened, so to say, the doors of his soul to him and, after stating everything clearly, he enjoined him to be ever on the watch against Bohemund's wickedness and if the latter tried to break his oath to check him and by all possible means frustrate his plans. Isangeles replied to the [268] Emperor, “Bohemund has acquired perjury and treachery as a species of ancestral heritage, and it would be a miracle if he kept his oath. However, I will endeavour as far as in me lies always to carry out your orders.” And taking his leave of the Emperor, he went away to rejoin the whole Frankish army.

10. Now the Emperor desired to march against the barbarians with the Franks, but their countless masses terrified him. So he decided it would be wise to go to Pelecanus and stay there, so that being close to Nicaea he could learn how the Franks fared and hear also about the Turks' expeditions outside the city and the state of affairs within. For he considered it would be a pity if in the meantime he did not succeed in some military exploit and he aimed at capturing Nicaea himself, if the occasion seemed propitious, and not receiving it from the Franks in accordance with their pledged word. He kept this plan to himself and the arrangements he made, and the reason for them only he himself understood, and Butumites who was his sole confidant. Him he sent to win over the barbarians inside Nicaea partly by promising them complete immunity beside many other things, and partly by warning them that they would endure terrible sufferings and fall a prey to the sword if the city were taken by the Franks. For the Emperor had found out before this that Butumites was most loyal to him, and very energetic in missions of this nature. These events, then, followed this course from the beginning.

Liber XI

§1

1. Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμοῦντος καὶ πάντες οἱ κόμητες ἐνωθέντες, οὗ διαπλώσασθαι πρὸς τὴν Κιβωτὸν ἐμελλον, μετὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη προσέμενον ἄφιζιν. Πλήθος δὲ ὄντες ἀναριθμητον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο αὐτοῦ που προσμένειν διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν βοσκημάτων, εἰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἀνέμενον ἄφιζιν, ἵνα κείθι συνταξάμενοι αὐτῷ τῆς πρὸς Νίκαιαν φερούσης ἄψωνται, διχῆ' διαιρεθέντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς Βιθυνῶν καὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας πρὸς Νίκαιαν ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ τὸν τῆς Κιβωτοῦ διανηξάμενοι πορθμὸν ἐς ταῦτόν συνελήλυθεσαν. Καὶ οὕτως τῇ Νικαίᾳ προσπελάσαντες τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰς μεταξὺ κορτίνας σφίσι αὐτοῖς διενείμαντο, κατὰ τάξεις τινὰς τὴν τειχομαχίαν ποιεῖν βουλευσάμενοι, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἕτερος πρὸς ἕτερον ἐρίζοντες καρτερωτέραν τὴν πολιορκίαν ποιοῖντο· τὸ δὲ λάχος τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη κενὸν ἔασαντες, τὴν ἐκείνου προσέμενον ἄφιζιν. Ἐν ταῦτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τὸν Πελεκάνον κατέλαβε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων τὴν Νίκαιαν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν.

2. Οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς Νικαίας βάρβαροι τὸν σουλτάνον πολλάκις εἰς τὴν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀρωγὴν μετεπέμποντο. Ἐκείνου δ' ἔτι βραδύνοντος καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐξ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου μέχρι καὶ δύσεως αὐτῆς ἐν πολλαῖς ἡδὴ γινομένης ἡμέραις, ἐπεὶ ἐν στενῷ κομιδῇ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐώρων, γνωσιμαχήσαντες βέλτιον προσεληλυθέναι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶναι ἐγνώκεσαν. Μετακαλοῦνται τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Βουτουμίτην, τόσα καὶ τόσα ἀγαθὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πείσεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων συχνῶν πολλάκις αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλλόμενον, εἰ τὴν Νίκαιαν αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν. Ὁ δὲ τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοφροσύνας καθαρώτερον ἀπαγγείλας καὶ τὰς ἐγγράφους ὑποσχέσεις ὑποδείξας, εἰ τὸ κάστρον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν, ἀσμένως δέχεται παρὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἀπειρηκότων ἤδη πρὸς τοσαῦτα πλήθη ἀντικαθίστασθαι καὶ βέλτιον λογιζομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἀθαιρέτως παραδοῦναι καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τιμῆς μετασχεῖν ἢ ξίφους παρανάλωμα γενέσθαι. 3. Οὕτω τρίτην ἡμέραν ὁ Βουτουμίτης ἐντὸς εἶχε καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης καταλαβὼν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ τείχους δι' ὧν ἠτοίμαζεν ἐλεπόλεων ἔσπευδεν. Ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ δὲ φήμη τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνει τὴν τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἔλευσιν μηνύουσα. Τοῦτο οἱ Τούρκοι μεμαθηκότες καὶ τεθαρρηκότες τὸν Βουτουμίτην παραχρῆμα ἐξέωσαν. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ

[269] 1. And now Bohemund and all the Counts joined Godfrey at the place from which they were to cross to Cibotus, and there awaited the arrival of Isangeles. But, as they were a countless multitude, they could not stay in one place because of the scarcity of provisions, although they expected the Emperor to come with Isangeles in order that they might undertake the march to Nicaea in company with him. Consequently they split into two parties, the one travelling to Nicaea through Bithynia and Nicomedia, and the other crossing the sea to Cibotus, and arriving at the same place. After approaching Nicaea by these routes they apportioned its towers and the intervening curtains among themselves, as they intended to carry on the assault on the walls by regular succession so that mutual competition should cause the siege to be conducted very vigorously. The portion that fell to Isangeles they left untouched whilst they waited for his coming. At the same time the Emperor occupied Pelecanus because of his plans about Nicaea which I have already explained.

2. The barbarians inside Nicaea had already frequently implored the Sultan to come to their aid. But, as he still delayed and the siege had by now been carried on for many days from dawn till sunset, and they saw that their affairs were in a very bad way, they decided after discussion that it would be better to surrender to the Emperor than be taken by the Franks. To this intent they approached Butumites who had often promised them in various letters that they would be liberally rewarded by the Emperor if they delivered up Nicaea to him. He now assured them more definitely of the Emperor's kind intentions and shewed them the written promises if they handed [270] over the city, and was gladly welcomed by the Turks who despaired of resisting those immense hordes any longer and considered it better to hand over the city of their own free will to the Emperor and receive money and honour than to fall a sacrifice to the sword.

3. Butumites had not been in Nicaea three days before Isangeles arrived and started to make an attempt on the walls with the siege-engines he had prepared. In the meantime a rumour reached them telling of the Sultan's approach. Directly the Turks heard it they regained courage and promptly expelled Butumites. And the Sultan detached and sent on a part of his army to spy out

ἀποδιελόμενος ἀπέστειλε σκευομένους τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἔφοδον παραγγείλας ὥς, εἴ τισι τῶν Κελτῶν ἐντύχοιεν, μὴ ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην. Θεασάμενοι δὲ πόρρωθεν τούτους οἱ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ξυμμίγνυνται. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κόμητες καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος, τὴν τουτωνὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐνωτισθέντες ἔφοδον, ἐξ ἐκάστης κομητοῦρας ἀνὰ διακοσίους διελόμενοι καὶ εἰς πολὺ πλῆθος ξυμποσώσαντες παραχρῆμα εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη πέμπουσιν· ἐφθακότες δὲ μέχρις ἐσπέρας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐδίωκον. **4.** Ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος οὐδαμῶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀναπεπτόκει, ἀλλ' ἀναζούσης ἡμέρας ὀπλιζεται καὶ πανσυδὶ τὴν ἔξω τειχῶν Νικαίας πεδιάδα κατειλήφει. Καὶ οἱ Κελτοί, αἰσθόμενοι τῆς τούτου παρουσίας, καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενοι καθαπερὶ λέοντες κατ' αὐτῶν ἵενται. Καὶ συρρήγνυται τῆνικαῦτα πόλεμος βαρῦς καὶ δεινός. Ἐν ἴσῃ δὲ μοίρα τῆς μάχης ἀμφοτέροις ἰσταμένης τοῖς μέρεσι δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ κνέφας ἦλθε, τρέπονται οἱ Τοῦρκοι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς διαιτησάσης τὴν μάχην. Πίπτουσι μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐκατέρων πολλοί, κτείνονται δὲ οὐχ ἦττονες, τιτρώσκονται δὲ οἱ πλείους. **5.** Καὶ λαμπρὰν τὴν νίκην ἀράμενοι οἱ Κελτοί, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κεφαλὰς τοῖς δόρασι περιπειράντες ἐπανέρχονται καθαπερὶ σημαίας ταύτας φέροντες, ἵν' οὕτω πόρρωθεν τὸ γεγονός διαγνόντες οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τὴν ἐκ πρώτης βαλβίδος ἦτταν δειλιάσαντες τῆς συντόνου μάχης ἀποστήσονται. Τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ Λατῖνοι πεπράχασί τε καὶ διελογίσαντο· ὁ δὲ σουλτάνος, τὰ ἄπειρα τούτων θεασάμενος πλήθη καὶ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον τόλμαν ἐξ αὐτῆς προσβολῆς ἐγνωκώς, τοῖς ἐντὸς Νικαίας Τοῦρκοις τὸ ἐνδόσιμον δίδωσι· “πράσσετε τοῦ λοιποῦ, λέγων, πᾶν ὅπερ βέλτιον κρίνετε”. Ἦδει γὰρ πρὸ καιροῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ μᾶλλον προαιρουμένους παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἢ παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλῶναι. **6.** Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης, τοῦ προκειμένου ἐχόμενος ἔργου, μόσυνα κυκλοτερῆ τεκτηνάμενος καὶ ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους βύρσας αὐτὸν περιστείλας, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον λύγους διαπλέξας καὶ πάντοθεν κατοχυρώσας τῇ πλευρᾷ προσεπέλασε τοῦ καλουμένου Γονάτου πύργου. Ὅς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐκληρώσατο πάλαι, ὀπηνίκα Μανουὴλ ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος Ἰσαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ πατὴρ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς ἐμοῦ πάππου, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς ἐφῶας ἀπάσης παρὰ τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος Βασιλείου προὑβέβλητο ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν μετὰ τοῦ Σκληροῦ ἔχθραν διαλύσαι ἢ χειρὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντικαταστὰς ἢ γνώμῃ εἰς εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς τοῦτον συνελάσας. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Σκληρὸς μαχίμωτατος ὢν καὶ αἵμασι χαίρων ἀεὶ τὴν μάχην τῆς εἰρήνης μᾶλλον ἠσπάσατο,

Isangeles' way of approach and bade them not refuse battle, if they met any Franks. Isangeles' soldiers saw them from a distance and joined battle with them. Directly the other Counts and Bohemund got ear of the barbarians' attack, they selected two hundred soldiers from each Count's army and thus dispatched an army of imposing size to aid Isangeles' men; they succeeded in routing the Turks and pursued them till the evening.

4. However the Sultan was not at all dispirited by this but armed himself at break of day and with his whole army occupied the plain outside Nicaea. When the Franks became aware of the Sultan's presence, they armed themselves fully and rushed upon the Turks like lions. And then a severe and terrible battle began. Throughout the whole day the fate of the balance swayed equally for both sides, but when the sun set the Turks were routed and night decided the battle. Many fell on either side and yet a greater number were wounded. **5.** After gaining this brilliant victory the Franks fixed many of the Turks' heads on their spears and marched back carrying these like standards, in order that the barbarians should see from a distance what had happened, and lose heart through being defeated at the start, and therefore refrain from a strenuous battle. These things then the Latins did and devised. But the Sultan, after seeing their countless multitude and having gained experience of their invincible boldness from the battle itself, sent a message to the Turks inside Nicaea, saying "Act for the future in whatever way you think best." For he had known for some time that they would prefer to surrender the city to the Emperor than be captured by the Franks.

6. Isangeles continuing the work he had begun, had a large circular wooden tower built, which he covered on either side with hides and with plaited wickerwork round the middle of it, and made very strong all round and then moved it up to the side of the tower called Gonates. This tower obtained its name long ago when the famous Manuel (father of the [271] previous Emperor Isaac Comnenus and his brother John, my paternal grandfather) was appointed General-in-Chief of the whole Eastern army by the reigning Emperor Basil in order to compose his differences with Sclerus, either by engaging him in battle, or by using persuasion and inducing him to make peace. But as Sclerus loved war and always delighted in bloodshed he chose war rather than peace; severe encounters took place

πολέμων μεγάλων καθ' ἐκάστην συρρηγνυμένων, ὡς τοῦ Σκληροῦ μὴ μόνον τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ θέλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐλεπόλεων γενναίως ἀγωνιζομένου τὴν Νίκαιαν ἐλεῖν καὶ καταρράξαντος τὰ τείχη, τοῦ πλείονος μέρους τοῦ πύργου ποδοκοπηθέντος κάτωθεν συνέβη σάξαι τὸν πύργον, ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ δοκεῖν ἐπικλιθῆναι κακ τούτου τῆς τοιαύτης μετελιχῆναι προσηγορίας.

7. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γονάτην παρηκολουθήκει· ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγγέλης τὸν ἤδη ῥηθέντα μόσυνα ἐμπείρως πάνυ κατασκευάσας, ὃν οἱ πλείονα ἐμπειρίαν τῶν μηχανικῶν κεκτημένοι χελώνην κατονομάζουσιν, ἐντὸς τούτου ἄνδρας ὀπλοφόρους τειχεσιπλήτας εἰσήξε καὶ ἑτέρους τοὺς τὸν πύργον κάτωθεν κατασεῖειν διὰ σιδήρων εἰδότας ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους μάχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεχειρίαν ἔχειν ἐντεῦθεν τὸν πύργον διορύττειν. Οἱ καὶ κορμούς ξύλων εἰσήγον ἀντὶ τῶν ἐξαγομένων λίθων· μέχρι δὲ τῆς ἐντὸς ἐπιφανείας ἐφθακότες, ὡς καὶ αὐγὴν τινα ἐκεῖθεν εἰσιούσαν θεάσασθαι, πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐνέπρησαν τοὺς κορμούς. Τούτων δὲ ἐκτεφρωθέντων συνέβη τὸν Γονάτην ἐπὶ πλεον κλιθῆναι, ὡς μὴ ἀπολωλέναι τὴν κλησιν. Ἐμβόλοις δὲ καὶ οἰκήμασι τὸ ἐπίλοιπον περιζώσαντες τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκτὸς τούτων διακειμένον τάφρον ὡς ἐν ῥιπῇ πληρώσαντες κόνεως, ὡς εἰς μίαν ἐπιφάνειαν συναφθῆναι ταῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα παρακειμέναις πεδιάσιν, ὡς ἐνὸν τῆς πολιορκίας εἶχοντο.

daily, partly because Sclerus did not wish for peace, but also because he was striving hard to take Nicaea with the help of siege-engines. He effected a breach in the walls and, as the greater part of the foot of the tower had been cut away, it began to settle down and look as if it had fallen on to its knees, and from this circumstance it obtained its name.

7. Such then is the history of this tower Gonates. When Isangeles had built this tower I have mentioned, very scientifically (it was called a 'tortoise' by experienced mechanics), he introduced armed men inside it to batter the walls and others who knew how to loosen the tower at its foundations with iron instruments. His idea was that while the one set fought with the defenders on the walls, the other set below would have leisure to undermine the tower. These men substituted logs for the stones they dug out, and, when they had worked their way through to the inner side of the wall and saw the light coming through from it, they set fire to the logs. These were burnt to ashes and caused Gonates to lean forward still more so that it did not lose its name. The remaining part of the walls they encompassed with battering-rams and 'tortoises'; the deep trench outside the walls they filled with loose earth in no time, until it was brought up to the level of the plains on either side; and they prosecuted the siege with all their might.

§2

1. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πολλὰ πολλάκις ἀκριβολογησάμενος καὶ διαγνοὺς ἀμήχανον εἶναι τὴν Νίκαιαν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλῶναι, κὰν πάντα ὑπερέβαλλον ἀριθμόν, ἐν μέρει μὲν παντοῖα εἶδη ἐλεπόλεων κατασκευάσας καὶ τὰ πλείω τούτων οὐ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν μηχανικῶν τρόπους, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑτέρους τινὰς λόγους αὐτῷ δοκοῦντας, ὃ καὶ θαῦμα πᾶσι παρεῖχε, τοῖς κόμησιν ἐκπέπομφεν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ μετὰ τῶν παρατυχόντων διαπεράσας, ὡς ἤδη φθάσας ὁ λόγος ἐδήλωσε, κατὰ τὸν Πελεκάνον διέτριβεν ἀγχοῦ τῶν Μεσαμπέλων, οὗ καὶ τέμενος ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Γεωργίου πάλι ᾠκοδόμηται.

2. Ἦθελε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων κατὰ τῶν ἀθέων συναπελθεῖν Τούρκων· ταλαντεύων δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν καὶ τὸ ἀπειροπληθὲς τοῦ φραγγικοῦ φοσσάτου ὡς πρὸς τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν στράτευμα κατανοῶν ἀνυπέμβλητον καὶ τὴν παλίμβουλον τῶν Λατίνων γνώμην ἐκ μακροῦ ἐπιστάμενος ἀπέστη τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Οὐ διὰ τοῦτο δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀβέβαιον ἐκείνων καὶ ἄπιστον

1. The Emperor, who had repeatedly and accurately thought out the matter, realized that it would be impossible for the Latins to take Nicaea, even if they had forces without number, so in the meanwhile he had various sorts of siege-engines built, and most of them not according to the usual designs of the mechanics but on other lines he had thought out himself – a thing which amazed people – and these he sent to the Counts. As already stated, the Emperor had crossed the straits with the soldiers he had at hand, and was staying not far from Pelecanus near Mesampela, where a chapel had been built in former years to the memory of the great martyr George.

2. The Emperor would really have liked to march [272] with the Latins against the impious Turks, but when he pondered over this idea and recognized that no comparison could be made between the countless hosts of the Frankish army and his own Roman army, and as from the experience he knew the Latins' fickleness, he desisted from the

προειδῶς Εὐρίπου δίκην μεταφερομένων ἐς τάναντία πολλάκις τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐτοίμως ἐχόντων ὀβλοῦ ἐνὸς ἀπεμπολεῖν διὰ φιλοχρήματον γνώμην, τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἑαυτὸν τῷ τότε ἀπεῖρξεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Δεῖν δὲ ἔγνω μὴ συμπαρεῖναι μὲν τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τσσαύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς διδόναι ῥοπήν ὀπόσῃ ἂν καὶ παρών.

3. Τὸ γοῦν ἐρυμνότατον τῶν τῆς Νικαίας τειχῶν γινώσκων ἀδύνατον τὴν ταύτης κατάσχεσιν παρὰ τῶν Λατίνων ἠπίστατο· μανθάνων δὲ ὅτι ῥαδίως διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης λίμνης δυνάμεις ἱκανὰς καὶ τὰ ζωαρκῆ πάντα ὁ σουλτάνος εἰς Νίκαιαν εἰσάγει, τὴν τῆς λίμνης ἐμελέτα κατάσχεσιν. Κατασκευάσας τοίνυν ἀκάτια ὅποια τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκεῖνο ἀνέχειν ἠδύνατο, διὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς Κίου ταῦτα ἐν ἀμάξιας ἐπισάξας εἰς τὴν λίμνην εἰσήλασε, στρατιώτας ἐμβαλὼν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀπλοφόρους, ἡγεμόνα τούτων Μανουὴλ τὸν Βουτουμίτην καταστησάμενος καὶ σημαίας τούτοις πλείους τῆς χρείας ἐπιδούς, ὡς ἐντεῦθεν πολλαπλασίους δοκεῖν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ βύκινά τε καὶ τύμπανα.

4. Ἄλλ' οὕτω μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην ὀκονόμηται τῷ αὐτοκράτορι· ἀπὸ δὲ γε τῆς ἠπειροῦ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Τατίκιον καὶ τὸν καλοῦμενον Τζίταν μετὰ πελταστῶν γενναίων εἰς δισχιλίους ποσομένων, κατὰ τῆς Νικαίας ἀπέστειλεν ἐπισκήψας ἅμα τῷ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβῆναι τὸ τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου καστέλλιον καταλαβόντας ἐν ἡμιόνοις μὲν ἐπισάξαι ὅπερ ἐπεφέροντο πλῆθος τῶν ὀιστῶν, πόρρω δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Νικαίας τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντας καὶ βάδην πορευομένους κατευθὺ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ καλουμένου Γονάτου τὸν χάρακα πῆξασθαι, εἶτα ἐξ ἐνὸς συνθήματος συνησπικότας προσβαλεῖν τοῖς τείχεσιν. Ἐφθακῶς οὖν ὁ Τατίκιος μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτὸν στρατεύματος, δίδωσιν εἶδησιν τοῖς Κελτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποθήκην. Καὶ τηλικαῦτα ἐσιδηροφόρησαν ἅπαντες καὶ σὺν ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ βοῇ πολλῇ προσέβαλον τοῖς τείχεσι. **5.** Τῶν μὲν τοῦ Τατικίου συχνοὺς τηλικαῦτα πεμπόντων ὀιστούς, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν ὅπου μὲν διατιτραίνοντων τὰ τείχη, ὅπου δὲ διὰ πετροβόλων ὀργάνων καταπυκνούντων τὰς τῶν λίθων βολὰς, ἀπὸ δὲ γε τῆς λίμνης διὰ τε τῶν βασιλικῶν σημαιῶν καὶ βυκίνων ἐκδειματούμενοι παρὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου ἐν ταῦτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑποσχέσεων πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπεμπομένου, ἐς τοῦτον συνηλάθησαν οἱ βάρβαροι ὡς μηδὲ τῶν

enterprise. Not only for this reason, but also because he realized the unstable and faithless nature of these men who were easily swayed in opposite directions like the Euripus, and were often ready because of their covetousness to sell their wives and children for a penny-piece; for these reasons the Emperor held back from the enterprise at that time. He felt that though he could not join the Franks, he ought to give them as much help as if he were with them. **3.** As he knew the great strength of the fortifications of Nicaea, he understood that the Latins could not possibly take it; then he heard that the Sultan was conveying sufficient troops and all the necessaries of life into the town quite easily by means of the adjacent lake, and so schemed to get possession of the lake. He had light boats built, such as that water would be able to carry, and then had them piled on wagons and carried to the lake on the side that looks Cius-wards. In them he placed heavy armed soldiers with Manuel Butumites as commander and gave them more standards than necessary to make them appear many times more than they were, as well as trumpets and kettle drums.

4. Such then were the measures the Emperor took about the lake. Then he summoned Taticius and the man called Tzitas from the continent and with two thousand brave peltasts sent them to Nicaea. His orders to them were that directly then disembarked they were to occupy the fort of St. George and pack the load of arrows they carried on mules; dismount from their horses at some distance from the walls of Nicaea, march forward slowly and fix their palisades opposite the tower Gonates, and then by agreement with the Franks attack the walls in close formation. Therefore when Taticius arrived with his army he sent word to the Franks as the Emperor had commanded; and after they had all put on full armour they attacked the walls with much shouting and noise.

5. And while Taticius' men discharged showers of darts, the Franks in one place pierced the walls, and in another hurled stones from catapults incessantly. From the side of the lake too the barbarians were terrified by the imperial standards and trumpets and at the same time they were convoked by Butumites to hear the Emperor's promises, consequently they became so distracted that they did not [273] even dare to

κρηδέμων Νικαίας προκῦναι θαρρεῖν. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σουλτάνου ἀπεγνωκότες ἔλευσιν, βέλτιον ἐλογίσαντο τῷ αὐτοκράτορι παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς ὁμίλιαν περὶ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου ἐλθεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τὰ εἰκότα προσομιλήσας αὐτοῖς ὑποδείκνυσι τὸν χρυσοβούλλον λόγον ὃν περὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ προενεχείρισεν. Ἀκροασάμενοι τοίνυν τοῦ χρυσοβούλλου δι' οὗ ὑπισχνεῖτο ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπάθειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δαψιλῆ δόσιν χρημάτων τε καὶ ἀξιομάτων τῆ τε ἀδελφῆ καὶ τῆ γυναικὶ τοῦ σουλτάνου, ἥτις θυγάτριον ἦν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τοῦ Τζαχᾶ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς τοῖς ἐν Νικαίᾳ βαρβάροις, καὶ ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τεθαρρηκότες ἐνεδίδουν τὴν εἰσέλευσιν τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ. Ὁ δὲ παραχρῆμα διὰ γραμμῶν ἐδήλου τῷ Τατικίῳ ὡς “τὴν ἄγραν ἐν χερσὶν ἤδη ἔχομεν· καὶ χρὴ πρὸς τειχομαχίαν ἐτοιμάσασθαι, ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Κελτοῖς παρασκευάσαι καὶ μηδὲν πλέον αὐτοῖς τεθαρρηκέναι ἢ τὴν κυκλοτερῆ τειχομαχίαν καὶ ὡς χρὴ περιζῶσαι τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἀποπειρᾶσθαι” 6. Τὸ δὲ ἄρα μηχανή τις ἦν ἵνα δόξη τοῖς Κελτοῖς πολέμῳ ταυτηνὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι παρὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου καὶ λάθῃ τὸ μελετηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος δρᾶμα τῆς προδοσίας. Ἀπόρητα γὰρ τοῖς Κελτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠθέλεν εἶναι τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου οἰκονομούμενα. Τῆ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν τὸ ἐνυάλιον ἀλαλάζαντες ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τῆς πόλεως, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐκθυμότερον οἱ Κελτοὶ τῆς πολιορκίας εἶχοντο, ἔνθεν δ' ὁ Βουτουμίτης, εἰς τὰς ἐπάλλξεις ἀνεληλυθὼς καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα καὶ τὰς σημαίας περὶ τὰ τεῖχη καταστήσας, μετὰ βυκίνων καὶ σαλπύγγων ἀνευφήμει τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ οὕτως τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν ἅπαν στράτευμα εἰσὼ Νικαίας εἰσεληλύθει. 7. Ὁ δὲ Βουτουμίτης, τὰ πλήθη τῶν Κελτῶν γινώσκων καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς γνώμης αὐτῶν ἀβέβαιοι καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀρμῆς ἀκάθεκτον ὑπόπτους ἔχων αὐτοὺς μὴ εἰσελθόντες αὐτοὶ τὸ κάστρον κατάσχουσιν, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς σατράπας ἱκανοὺς ὄντας πρὸς ἡν αὐτὸς εἶχε δύναμιν, εἰ μόνον θελήσαιεν, καὶ δεσμεῖν καὶ σφάττειν δυνατῶς ἔχοντας, τὰς κλεῖς εὐθὺς ἀναλαμβάνεται τῆς πύλης. Μία γὰρ τέως ἦν ἡ εἰσάγουσα καὶ ἐξάγουσα, τῶν ἄλλων προκεκλεισμένων διὰ τὸν φόβον τῶν παρακειμένων Κελτῶν. Τὰς κλεῖς τοίνυν ταυτησὶ τῆς πύλης αὐτὸς ἔχων δεῖν ἐλογίσατο τοὺς σατράπας διὰ μεθοδείας ἐλαττῶσαι, ἵν' ἔχη τούτους ῥαδίως καταγωνίζεσθαι, ὡς μὴ τι δεινὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ μελετήσαιεν. Μεταπεμπόμενος τοίνυν αὐτοὺς συνεβούλευε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέρχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο

look over from the battlements; and as by this time they had despaired of the Sultan's coming, they considered it wisest to surrender the city to the Emperor and to parley with Butumites about this. After making a suitable speech to them, he shewed them the document sealed with gold which the Emperor had entrusted to him; they listened to the reading of this document by which the Emperor promised not only immunity, but also rich awards of money and honours, to the Sultan's sister and wife (who was said to be Tzachas' daughter) and without exception to all the barbarians in Nicaea; consequently they felt encouraged by the Emperor's promises and granted Butumites admission. He immediately sent a letter to Taticius saying, “We already have the prey in our hands; and you must now get ready to assault the walls. Persuade the Franks to prepare for this too but do not give them any further encouragement than to make an attack on the walls from all sides and tell them to encircle the walls and start the siege at sunrise.”

6. This was really advice to make the Franks believe that the city had been taken by Butumites in war and to keep secret the drama of treachery the Emperor had arranged. For the Emperor did not want the Franks to know anything of what Butumites had done. On the following day the war-cry was raised on both sides of the city and on the land-side the Franks started the assault with great vigour, and on the other Butumites mounted to the battlements, fixed the imperial sceptres and standards along the walls and with bugles and trumpets acclaimed the Emperor. And in this way the whole Roman army entered Nicaea.

7. Now Butumites having in mind the number of the Franks, feared on account of their fickleness and impetuosity, that they might enter and take possession of the citadel; for he observed that the Turkish satraps inside were powerful enough in comparison with the small force he had himself, to imprison and slaughter them all, if they wished to, and accordingly he at once took charge of the keys of the gate. For only one had been used as entrance and exit for some time, the others were all closed through fear of the Franks outside. Now when he had the keys of this gate in his own possession, he decided that he ought to diminish the number of satraps by craft in order that he could easily overpower them and prevent their devising any treachery against him. So he summoned them and advised them to journey to

πολλά τε χρήματα ἐκεῖθεν λαβεῖν καὶ τιμῆς ἀξιοθῆναι μεγίστης καὶ ἐτησίους τυπωθῆναι φιλοτιμίας. Πείθει τοὺς Τούρκους, καὶ νυκτὸς διανοίγων ἀπέστειλε τούτους διὰ τῆς παρακειμένης λίμνης ὀλίγους καὶ συχνάκις πρὸς τε τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν μιζοβάρβαρον Μοναστρᾶν, ἀμφὶ τὸ πολίχνιον ἐνδιατρίβοντας τὸ οὕτως πῶς τοῦ κυροῦ Γεωργίου ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπισκήψας αὐτοῖς ὡς, ὀπηνίκα τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαῖεν, παραχρῆμα ἐκπέμπεσθαι τούτους πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς βραχύν τινα χρόνον παρακατέχειν αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ μετὰ τῶν ὀπισθεν πεμπομένων Τούρκων ἐνωθέντες σκαῖόν τι κατ' αὐτῶν μελετήσαιεν. **8.** Τὸ δὲ ἄρα προφητεία ἦν ἄντικρυς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκείνου ἐμπειρίας στοχασμὸς ἀναντίρρητος. Καὶ γὰρ ἔστ' ἂν ταχὺ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοὺς καταλαμβάνοντας ἐξέπεμπον, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε ἦσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ἐφειστήκει· ἐπὶ δὲ ἀναπεπτώκεσαν, ὁ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, οὗς ἄρα παρακατέσχον, κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξηρτύετο κίνδυνος. Καὶ γὰρ πλεονάσαντες ἐβουλεύοντο δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ δεσμώτας τῷ σουλτάνῳ προσενεγκεῖν. Συνδόξαντος δὲ πᾶσι τούτου βελτίονος, νυκτὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι δεσμώτας κατὰ τὰ προβεβουλευμένα περιάγοντες ἐκεῖθεν ἐξήσαν. Εἶτα δὴ τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν τοῦ Ἀζαλαῖ κατελιφότες (τόπος δὲ οὗτος σταδίους τῶν τειχῶν Νικαίας ἀπέχων), κεῖθι γοῦν, ὡς λόγος, παραγενόμενοι τῶν ἵππων ἀποβάντες τούτους ἀνέψυχον.

9. Ἐπει δ' ὁ μὲν Μοναστρᾶς μιζοβάρβαρος ἦν καὶ τῆς τουρκικῆς εἰδήμων διαλέκτου, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥοδομηρὸς, πάλαι πρὸς τῶν Τούρκων κατασχεθεὶς καὶ χρόνον συχνὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιατρίψας, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀδαῆς τῆς τοιαύτης ἦν διαλέκτου, πιθανοὺς πρὸς αὐτοὺς συχνῶς ἀνεκίνουν λόγους· “Ἴνα τί, λέγοντες, ἡμῖν μὲν θανάτου ποτήριον κερνᾶτε οὐδὲ μικράν τινα τὴν ὄνησιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐντεῦθεν πραγματευόμενοι ... Ὑμεῖς δέ, τῶν ἄλλων πάντων μεγάλων δωρημάτων παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπολαυσάντων καὶ ἐτησίων χρημάτων λῆψιν τυπωθέντων, ἑαυτοὺς τούτων ἀποστερεῖτε. Μὴ τοίνυν οὕτω περὶ ἑαυτῶν φρονεῖτε καὶ ἐξὸν ἀκινδύνως σφύζεσθαι καὶ πλοῦτῳ κομῶντας εἰς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπαναστρέφειν καὶ χωρῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ἴσως γενέσθαι εἰς προὔπτον ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιρρίπτετε κίνδυνον. Ἴσως γὰρ καὶ τοῖς λοχῶσιν αὐτοῦ που Ῥωμαίοις ἐντυχόντες”, ρύακας ταῖν χεροῖν ἐπιδείξαντες καὶ ἐλώδεις τόπους, “ἀναιρεθήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ κενοῖς τὴν σφῶν ἀπολέσετε ζωὴν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐνεδρεύουσιν ὑμᾶς μάλα γε πλεῖστοι οὐ Κελτοὶ καὶ βάρβαροι μόνον,

the Emperor if they wished to receive large sums of money from his hands and be rewarded with [274] high titles and granted annual pensions. He persuaded the Turks, and then opened the gate at night and sent away a few from time to time over the lake to Rhodomerus and the semi-barbarian Monastras, who were staying near the fort named after St. George. He ordered these two to send on the Turks to the Emperor directly they disembarked and not to detain them even for a short time so that they might not join with the Turks who were sent on later in plotting some mischief against them.

8. Now this was literally a kind of prophecy and an irrefutable proof of that man's great experience. For as long as the Turks who arrived were sent on to the Emperor quickly, they (Monastras and Rhodomerus) were quite safe and no danger threatened them, but when they had relaxed their diligence, then danger was prepared for them at the hands of the barbarians whom they had detained. For as these were now many in number they schemed to do one or other of two things, either to attack them by night and kill them, or to take them captive to the Sultan. As the majority voted for the latter, they attacked them at night, took them captive according to plan and left that place. And when they had reached the hill Azalas (this place is ... stades distant from the walls of Nicaea) there, report says, they dismounted from their horses and let them rest. **9.** Now Monastras, being a semi-barbarian, knew the Turkish language, and Rhodomerus who had once been captured by the Turks and dwelt some time among them, was likewise not ignorant of their language. So they repeatedly started speaking plausibly to them and saying, “Why are you mixing the cup of death for us, when you yourselves will not gain the slightest advantage thereby? All your other friends have been granted bountiful gifts by the Emperor and have been assigned yearly pensions, and you are depriving yourselves of all these advantages. Do not, we pray you, treat yourselves thus and run headlong into visible peril, when it lies within your power to live free from peril and return to your own country pluming yourselves on your riches and perhaps even becoming owners of lands. Very likely too we shall fall into some Roman ambush hereabouts.” and they pointed to the streams and marshy places around, “and then you will be killed and lose your lives to no purpose. For undoubtedly a great many are lying in wait

ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πλῆθος οὐ μετρητόν. Εἰ γοῦν ἡμῖν πείθεσθε, στρέψαντες τὰς ἡνίας ὁμοῦ φοιτήσωμεν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. Καὶ Θεὸν ὑμῖν ἐπομνύμεθα μυρίων ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δωρημάτων· κᾶπειτα, ὅπη βουλητὸν ὑμῖν, ἀπελεύσεσθε ἀνέτως ὡς ἐλεύθεροι”

10. Πείθονται τοῖς τούτων λόγοις οἱ Τούρκοι καὶ πίστεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους δόντες ἅμα καὶ λαβόντες τῆς πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα φερούσης εἶχοντο. Καταλαβόντων δὲ τὸν Πελεκάνον, ὡς τούτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ ἐθεάσατο, μεθ’ ἰλαροῦ πᾶσιν ἐνατενίσας βλέμματος, καίτοι πολλὰ τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν παρ’ ἐαυτῶ νεμεσῶν, τὸ μὲν παρὸν ἀναπαυθησομένους τούτους ἐξαπέστειλε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν, ὅποι μὲν τῶν Τούρκων αὐτῶ θητεῦσαι προτεθύμητο, μυρίων τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀπήλαυσαν· οἱ δὲ τὰ σφέτερα ἀναζητοῦντες καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων δωρημάτων τετυχηκότες παρεχωρήθησαν τῇ σφῶν γνώμῃ ξυγρησασθαι. Εἴθ’ ὕστερον πολλὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν κατεμέμφετο· μηδ’ ἀντωπῆσαι δὲ τούτους ὑπ’ αἰσχύνης ἰσχύοντας ὀρῶν, μεταβαλὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνακτᾶσθαι δι’ ἐτέρων λόγων ἔσπευδεν. Ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδομηρὸν καὶ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν· τοῦ δὲ Βουτουμίτου τηρικαῦτα δουκὸς Νικαίας παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος προχειρισθέντος, ἠτήσαντο τοῦτον οἱ Κελτοὶ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ ἱερὰ τεμένη θεᾶσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖν. Ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτῶν γνώμην σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος, καθὰ δήπου καὶ εἴρηται, οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμαδὸν τὴν εἰσέλευσιν συνεχώρει, ἀλλὰ κατὰ δεκάδας ὑπανοίγων τὰς πύλας παρεχῶρει τοῖς Κελτοῖς τῆς εἰσόδου.

for you, not only Gauls and barbarians but also an immense number of Romans. Therefore if you will follow our advice, let us turn out horses and journey all together to the Emperor. And we swear to [275] you by God that the Emperor will grant you ten thousand gift and afterwards, whenever you please, you will be at liberty to leave, like free men.” **10.** The Turks agreed to their proposition, and after giving and receiving pledges, they hastened along the road to the Emperor. When they reached Pelecanus and the Emperor saw them, he received them all with a cheerful countenance, though inwardly deeply indignant with Rhodomerus and Monastras, but for the moment he sent them away to rest. In the course of the following day all the Turks who expressed readiness to remain in his service, were granted innumerable benefits; and even those who asked to return to their homes received no inconsiderable presents and were allowed to follow their own will. Later on he censured Rhodomerus and Monastras severely for their thoughtlessness; but, when he noticed that they did not dare to look him in the face for shame, he changed his tone and tried to conciliate them again. So much then about Rhodomerus and Monastras. Butumites was appointed Duke of Nicaea by the Emperor, and the Franks asked him for permission to enter the city and visit and worship in its churches. However he, knowing their character, as I have said before, did not allow them all to come in a body, but opened the gates and only allowed ten Franks to enter at a time.

§3

1. Ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ ἔτι περὶ τὸν Πελεκάνον ἐνδιατρίβων καὶ θέλων ὅποι μὴ ἔφθασαν τῶν κομήτων ὁμομοκένοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὄρκια πρὸς αὐτὸν δοῦναι, ἐνετείλατο διὰ γραμμάτων τῶ Βουτουμίτη συμβουλευῆσαι ἅπασιν κοινῶς τοῖς κόμησι μὴ πρὸ τοῦ συντάξασθαι τῶ βασιλεῖ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν φερούσης ἄψεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτοις καὶ πλειόνων αὐθις δωρεῶν τυχεῖν. Ἀπάντων δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος, χρήματα καὶ δωρεὰς ἀκούσας, τοῖς τοῦ Βουτουμίτου λόγοις παραυτίκα πεισθεὶς ἅπασιν συνεβούλευε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπανελεύεσθαι, ὅποιος ἐκεῖνος περὶ τὰς λήψεις ἀκάθεκτον ἔχων τὸν ἔρωτα. Καταλαβόντας δὲ τούτους τὸν Πελεκάνον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ μεγαλοπρεπῶς δέχεται

1. The Emperor was still staying at Pelecanus and as he wished that those Counts who had not yet sworn fealty to him, should also take this oath, he commanded Butumites by letter to advise all the Counts together not to start on their way to Antioch before they took leave of the Emperor, for if they did so, it might be that they would receive still further gifts. Directly he heard the words ‘money’ and ‘gifts,’ Bohemund first of all gave his assent to Butumites’ advice and urged all the others to go with him to the Emperor, so insatiably greedy of money was he. When they reached Pelecanus, the Emperor received them with great ceremony, and treated them with much consideration; later he called them and said, “You

πολλῆς κηδεμονίας ἀξιώσας· εἶτα συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔφη· “Τὸν ὄρκον ἐπίστασθε, ὃν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἅπαντες ἐποιήσατε, καὶ εἰ μὴ παραβάται ἀπεντεῦθέν ἐστε, ὅπόσους ἴστε μὴ ὁμωμοκότας ζυμβουλευσάσθε τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον ἐπιτελέσαι”. Οἱ δὲ παραχρῆμα μετεπέμποντο τοὺς μὴ ὁμωμοκότας· καὶ δὴ συνελήλυθεσαν ἅπαντες καὶ ἐπλήρουν τὸν ὄρκον. **2.** Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Βαῖμούντου ἀνεπιτάδης Ταγγρῆς, ἐλευθέρας ὢν γνώμης, ἐνίστατο μόνῳ τῷ Βαῖμούντῳ πίστιν χρεωστεῖν καὶ ταύτην φυλάξαι μέχρις αὐτοῦ θανάτου βούλεσθαι. Ὀχλούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν παρεστώτων καὶ αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συγγενῶν, ἀκκιζόμενος οἶον, ἐνατενίσας πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ἧ ὁ βασιλεὺς προῦκάθητο (ἦν γὰρ κατὰ μέγεθος ὁποῖαν οὐπῶ τότε οὐδεὶς ἐθεάσατο)· “Ἐὰν ταύτην, ἔφη, πλήρη χρημάτων μοι δώσεις καὶ ἄλλο ὅποσα τοῖς ἅπασιν δέδωκας κόμησι, τελέσω τὸν ὄρκον κάγῳ”. Ὁ δὲ παλαιολόγος, δι’ ὃν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ζῆλον, μὴ ἐνεγκὼν τὸν τοῦ Ταγγρῆ λόγον ἐσχηματισμένον ὄντα ἐξουθενήσας αὐτὸν ἀπεπέμψατο. Ὁ δὲ ἰταμώτατος ὢν ὤρμησε κατ’ αὐτοῦ· τοῦτο ἰδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξαναστὰς τοῦ θρόνου μέσος ἔστη. Καὶ ὁ Βαῖμούντος δὲ κατέσχε τοῦτον τῆς ὀρμῆς φάμενος ὡς “οὐ πρόπον ἐστὶ τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναισχύντως προσφέρεσθαι συγγενέσιν”. Εἶτα αἰσχυνθεὶς οὕτω πρὸς τὸν παλαιολόγον παροινήσας ὁ Ταγγρῆς, τὸ δέ τι καὶ ταῖς τοῦ Βαῖμούντου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πεισθεὶς παραινέσεσι, δίδωσι καὶ αὐτὸς ὄρκια. **3.** Καὶ δὴ συνταξαμένων ἀπάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, παραδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν Τατίκιον μετὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτὸν δυνάμεων μέγαν τηρικαῦτα πριμικήριον χρηματίζοντα, πῆ μὲν συνεπαρήγοντα τοῦτοις ἐν πᾶσι καὶ προκινδυνεύοντα, πῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀλισκομένων πόλεων, εἴ γε καὶ τοῦτο δοίη Θεός, ἐπιδραττόμενον. Διαπεράσαντες οὖν αὐθις οἱ Κελτοὶ τῆ μετ’ αὐτὴν τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν εἶχοντο ἅπαντες. Εἶτα στοχασάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς οὐ πάντες ἐξ ἀνάγκης συναπῆλθον τοῖς κόμησι, δηλοῖ τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ ἴν’ ὅποι τῶν Κελτῶν τῆς ἰδίας στρατιᾶς ἀπελείφθησαν, εἰς φρουρὰν τῆς Νικαίας μισθώσῃται. **4.** Ὁ δὲ γε Τατίκιος μετὰ τοῦ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν στρατοῦ καὶ οἱ κόμητες ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ὑπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀναρίθμητα κελτικά πλήθη, ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις τὰς Λεύκας καταλαβόντες, τῷ μὲν Βαῖμούντῳ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπεμερίσαντο τόπον τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἐξαιτησαμένου· ἐκεῖνοι δ’ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ παραταξάμενοι βραδεῖ ποδὶ ἔστειχον. Ὁξυτέραν δὲ τὴν κίνησιν ποιούμενον ἐπεὶ περὶ τὰς τοῦ Δορυλαίου πεδιάδας Τοῦρκοι τοῦτον ἐθεάσαντο, οἰθθέντες τῷ παντὶ στρατεύματι τῶν

remember the oath you all took to me, and if you are not going to be transgressors of it, advise those who you know have not yet sworn fealty to me, to take the same oath.” And the Counts at once sent for those who had not yet sworn fealty; and they all came together and consummated the oath.

2. But Bohemund’s nephew, Tancred, a youth of independent spirit, maintained that he owed fidelity to Bohemund alone, and that he would keep it to his death. [276] His own friends standing by and even the Emperor’s kinsmen kept importuning him, and then he said, feigning indifference, as it were, and with a glance at the tent in the front of which the Emperor was sitting (it was larger than any had ever seen before), “If you will give me this tent full of money and as much more as you have given to the Counts, then I too will take the oath.” Now because of the respect he bore to the Emperor, Palaeologus could not stand Tancred’s conceited speech, and turned him away with contempt. Whereat Tancred, who was very hasty, rushed at him and the Emperor observing it rose from his throne and stood between them. Bohemund too held him back with the words, “It is not fitting for you to behave in such an impudent way to the Emperor’s kinsman.” Then Tancred, ashamed of having acted like a drunken man towards Palaeologus and also influenced to a certain degree by Bohemund’s and the others’ counsel, took the oath. **3.** When they had all taken leave of the Emperor, he assigned them Taticius, who was then Great Primicerius, and the troops under his command, partly to assist them on every occasion and to avert danger and partly to take over the towns from them if God allowed them to take any. So the Franks once again crossed the straits the next day, and all took the road leading to Antioch. The Emperor guessed that not all the men would necessarily depart with the Counts and accordingly signified to Butumites to hire all the Franks, who remained behind when their army left, for the garrison of Nicaea. **4.** And Taticius with his army and all the Counts and the innumerable Frankish hosts under their command, reached Leucæ in two days. The vanguard was apportioned to Bohemund at his own request whilst the rest drawn up in line followed him at a slow pace. As he proceeded fairly quickly the Turks in the plains of Dorylaeum thought, when they saw him, that the whole army of the Franks had come and despising its size at once

Κελτῶν ἐντετυχηκῆναι καὶ καταπεφρονηκότες αὐτοῦ παραρῆμα τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ συνῆψαν πόλεμον. Ὁ δὲ γε τετυφωμένος ἐκεῖνος Λατίνος, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ σκίμποδος καθεσθῆναι τολμήσας, τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπιλαθόμενος ζυμβουλῆς, τὸ ἄκρον εἶχε τῆς τοῦ Βαϊμούντου παρατάξεως καὶ μικροψυχῆσας τῶν λοιπῶν προεξέδραμε. Κτείνονται μὲν οὖν τηνικαῦτα τεσσαράκοντα τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἐκεῖνος δὲ καιρίως πληγείς, νῶτα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑποσχών, εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς παρατάξεως ἤλατο ἔργῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ὁποῖος ζύμβουλός ἐστι, διακηρυκεύων, κἂν μὴ λόγοις ἠβούλετο. 5. Ὁ δὲ Βαϊμούντος τοὺς Τούρκους ἐκθύμως μαχομένους ὀρῶν, ἀποστείλας τὰς κελτικὰς μετεπέμπετο δυνάμεις. Φθάνουσι δὲ τάχος· κάντεῦθεν συνίσταται πόλεμος βαρὺς καὶ δεινός. Καὶ τὴν νικῶσαν εἶχε τὸ ῥωμαϊκὸν καὶ κελτικὸν στρατεύμα. Πορευομένων δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἰλαδὸν τῶν ταγματῶν, συνέλαχον τούτοις κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραϊκὴν ὄτε Τανισμὰν ὁ σουλτὰν καὶ ὁ Ἀσάν, ὃς μόνος ἦρχε χιλιάδων ἀνδρῶν ὀπλιτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. Μάχης οὖν καρτερᾶς γενομένης, ἐκ πολλῶν χειρῶν καὶ δυνάμεων καὶ μηδὲ θατέρου μέρους τὰ νῶτα θατέρῳ διδόντος, ἐπεὶ θαρραλεώτερον οἱ Τούρκοι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμάχοντο, τοῦτο θεασάμενος ὁ Βαϊμούντος τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐξάρχων, τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος διαίρεθεις κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κλιτζιασθλὰν σουλτὰν ἰταμῶς ἐξώρμησε, λέων ὡς ἀλκί πεπορθῶς κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν. Τοῦτο τοὺς Τούρκους ἐκδειματῶσαν τὰ νῶτα τοῖς Κελτοῖς δοῦναι ἐποίησεν. 6. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τούτους ἐδίωκον, τῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μεμνημένοι παραγγελμάτων, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταφρείαν τῶν Τούρκων καταλαβόντες κάκεισε μικρὸν ἑαυτοὺς διαναπαύσαντες, τοὺς Τούρκους κατὰ τὴν Αὐγουστόπολιν αὐθις καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ προσβαλόντες τρέπουσι κατὰ κράτος. Κάντεῦθεν πίπτει τὸ βάρβαρον, οἱ δὲ γε σωθέντες ἄλλοσε ἀλλαγῇ διεσπάρησαν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καταλιπόντες, ὡς τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδ' ἀντωπῆσαι τοῖς Λατίνοις ἰσχύοντες, ἀλλὰ φυγῆ τὴν οἰκείαν πραγματευόμενοι σωτηρίαν.

commenced a battle with him. Then that swollen-headed Latin, who had dared to sit on the imperial throne, was forgetful of the Emperor's advice, and fought in the front of Bohemund's army and in his stupidity ran ahead of the others. About forty of his men were killed in consequence, and he himself, seriously wounded, turned his back to the foe and made his way back to the middle of the army, thus proclaiming in deed, though he would not in words, the wisdom of the Emperor's advice.

5. As Bohemund saw that the Turks were fighting very bravely, he sent to fetch the [277] Frankish troops. They came up with all speed, and after that a serious and terrible battle took place. And the Roman and Frankish armies carried off the victory. As they travelled onwards, drawn up in troops, the Sultan Tanisman and Asan, who alone commanded eighty thousand armed men, met them near Hebraica. A fierce contest ensued as there were such numbers of troops, and neither side would yield to the other; when Bohemund who commanded the right wing saw with what courage the Turks were fighting their opponents he withdrew from the rest of the army and made a headlong descent upon Clitziasthlan, the Sultan himself, 'like a lion rejoicing in his strength,' as the poet says. This so terrified the Turks that it made them turn their backs.

6. Remembering the Emperor's advice, they did not pursue them far, but reached the Turks' lines and, after resting there a little, overtook them again near Augustopolis, and attacked and routed them utterly. After that the barbarian power collapsed; the survivors dispersed, one here, one there, leaving their wives and children behind them, as for the future they did not dare meet the Latins face to face, but tried to find safety for themselves in flight.

§4

1. Τί τὸ ἐντεῦθεν... Καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Λατῖνοι μετὰ τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν διὰ τοῦ καλουμένου Ὁξέος Δρόμου, τῶν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μηδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι· ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τάφρον ποιήσαντες, τὰς σκευὰς ἐναπέθεντο καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν ταυτηνὶ τὴν πόλιν σεληνιακαῖς τρισὶ περιόδοις. Οἱ δὲ Τούρκοι, πτοηθέντες περὶ τῆς

1. What happened next? The Latins in company with the Roman army reached Antioch by the so-called Oxys Dromos and paid no attention to the country on either side but drew their lines close to the walls, deposited their baggage and proceeded to besiege this city during three revolutions of the moon. The Turks alarmed at the straits which had

καταλαβούσης αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκης, τῷ τοῦ Χοροσάν σουλτάνῳ μὴνύουσιν ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς βοήθειαν ἐξαιτούμενοι ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς τε Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπαρήξουν καὶ τοὺς ἐξώθεν πολιορκοῦντας Λατίνους ἀποδιῶξαι. **2.** Ἐτυχε δὲ τις ἄνωθεν τοῦ πύργου Ἀρμένιος τηρῶν τὸ κληρωθὲν τῷ Βαϊμούντῳ μέρος τοῦ τείχους. Τοῦτον ἄνωθεν πολλάκις προκύπτοντα ὁ Βαϊμούντος ἐκμειλισσόμενος καὶ ὑποσχέσεσι πολλάς ὑποσαίων ἀνέπεισε προδοῦναί οἱ τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος πρὸς αὐτὸν· “Ὅπηνίκα ἂν βούλει καὶ σημείον τι ἐξώθεν αὐτὸς ὑποδείξῃς μοι, παραχρῆμά σοι τουτοῖ παραδώσω τὸ πύργιον· μόνον ἔτοιμος ἔσο, σὺ τε καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ χειρᾶ σοι ἅπας λαός, ἠὲ τρεπισμένας ἔχων ἅμα καὶ κλίμακας. Οὐ σὲ δὲ μόνον ἔτοιμον εἶναι χρῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα θωρήξασθαι, ἵν' εὐθὺς ἀνελθόντας ὑμᾶς οἱ Τοῦρκοι θεασάμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐνύαλιον ἀλαλάζοντας ἐκδειματωθέντες εἰς φυγὴν ἀπονεύσειαν.”

3. Εἶχε μὲν οὖν ὁ Βαϊμούντος τὸ σκοπούμενον τέως ἀνέκφορον. Τούτων δὲ οὕτω διασκοπούμενων κατέλαβέ τις λέγων, λίαν πολὺ πλῆθος Ἀγαρηνῶν καταλαμβάνειν ὅσον ἤδη τοῦ Χοροσάν κατ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα συνεπαγόμενον τὸν καλούμενον Κουρπαγάν. Ὅπερ μεμαθηκῶς ὁ Βαϊμούντος καὶ μὴ θέλων τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὸν Τατίκιον κατὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὄρκους, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ μνηστευόμενος ταύτην, βουλὴν βουλεύεται πονηρὰν δι' ἧς αὐτὸν ἄκοντα μεταναστεύσαι παρασκευάσειε. Προσελθὼν τοίνυν αὐτῷ φησιν· “Ἀπόρρητόν τι ἀποκαλύψαι σοι βούλομαι, κηδόμενός σου τῆς σωτηρίας. Λόγος τις τοῖς ὡσὶ τῶν κομήτων ἐνηχηθεὶς συνετάραξεν αὐτῶν τὰς ψυχάς, ὅτι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσάν ἐρχομένους ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν σουλτάνον ἐπεισε καθ' ἡμῶν ἐκπέμψαι. Τοῦτο δὲ πιστὸν οἱ κόμητες ἠγήσαμενοι κατὰ τῆς σῆς μελετῶσι ζωῆς. Κἀγὼ μὲν τοῦμόν ἤδη πεπλήρωκα καὶ τὸν ἐπερχόμενό σοι προείρηκα κίνδυνον· τοῦ λοιποῦ σὸν ἔστιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σὲ ταγμάτων φροντίσαι σωτηρίας.” Ὁ δὲ Τατίκιος, ὄρων μὲν καὶ τὸν λιμὸν πολὺν (καὶ γὰρ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ βοῦς ἐπὶ τρισὶ χρυσίνοις στατήρσιν ἀπεμπολεῖτο), ἀπαγορεύων δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἄλωσιν, ἤδη ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάρας, εἰς τὸν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Σουδὶ ἰστάμενον ῥωμαϊκὸν στόλον εἰσελθὼν τὴν Κύπρον κατέλαβε. **4.** Τούτου δὲ ὑποχωρήσαντος, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Ἀρμενίου ὑποβρύχιον ἔτι ἔχων ὁ Βαϊμούντος καὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι τρεφόμενος περιποιούμενός τε ἑαυτῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐξου-

overtaken them, sent word to the Sultan of Chorosan begging him to send sufficient troops to their assistance, in order to succour the Antiochians themselves, and also to drive off the Latins who were besieging them from outside. **2.** Now there happened to be an Armenian on the tower above guarding the portion of the wall assigned to Bohemund. As he often bent over from above Bohemund plied him with honeyed words, tempted him with many promises and thus persuaded him to betray the city to him. The Armenian said to him, “Whenever you like and as soon as you give me a signal from outside, I will at once hand over this tower to you. Only be quite ready yourself and have all the people with you ready too and equipped with ladders. And not only you yourself must be ready but the whole army must be under arms so that directly the Turks see you after you have come up and hear your war-cry, they will be terrified and turn in flight.

3. And this arrangement Bohemund [278] kept secret. While these matters were in contemplation, a messenger came saying that an immense crowd of Hagarenes sent from Chorosan against them was close at hand, under the conduct of the man called Curpagan. When he heard this, as he did not wish to cede Antioch to Taticius according to the oath he had previously sworn to the Emperor, but rather longed for it for himself, Bohemund planned a wicked plan which would force Taticius to remove himself from the city against his will. Accordingly he went to him and said, “I want to reveal a secret to you, as I am concerned for your safety. A report which has reached the ears of the Counts has much disturbed their minds – it is, that the Emperor has persuaded the Sultan to send these men from Chorosan against us. As the Counts firmly believe this they are plotting against your life. And now, I have done my duty by warning you beforehand of the danger that threatens you. And the rest is your concern, to take measures for your own safety, and that of the troops under you.” Then considering the severe famine (for an ox-head was being sold for three gold staters) and also because he despaired of taking Antioch, Taticius departed, embarked on the Roman fleet which was in the harbour of Sudi, and made for Cyprus. **4.** After his departure Bohemund, who still kept the Armenian’s promise secret, and was buoyed up by the great hope of gaining possession of Antioch for himself, said to the

σίαν, πρὸς τοὺς κόμητας ἔφη· “Ὁρᾶτε ὅποσον ἤδη χρόνον ἐνταῦθα προσταλαιωρήσαντες οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν χρηστὸν μέχρι καὶ νῦν κατωρθώσαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμοῦ ὅσον ἤδη γενώμεθα παρανάλωμα, εἰ μὴ τι βέλτιον περὶ τῆς σφῶν σωτηρίας σκευόμεθα”. Τῶν δὲ τί ἂν εἶη τοῦτο πυνθανομένων αὐτὸς ἔφη· “Ὁὐ πάσας τὰς νίκας διὰ σιδήρου Θεὸς τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς δίδωσιν, οὐδὲ διὰ μάχης αἰεὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατορθοῦνται, ἀλλ’ ἄπερ ὁ μόθος οὐ δέδωκε, ταῦτα πολλάκις ὁ λόγος ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἢ μετὰ φιλίας καὶ ὑποποιήσεως περίοδος μείζονα τρόπαια ἔστησεν. Οὐ χρὴ τοιγαροῦν μάτην τὸν καιρὸν τρίβειν, σπεῦσαι δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Κουρπαγὰν καταλαβεῖν νουνεχῆς τι καὶ ἀνδρικὸν διαπράξασθαι τῆς ἡμῶν ἔνεκα σωτηρίας· καὶ σπουδαίως ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τὸν τὸ ἴδιον λάχος τηροῦντα βάρβαρον ὑποποιείσθω. Καὶ εἰ βούλεσθε, κείσθω καὶ ἄθλον τῷ πρώτῳ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον κατωρθώκοτι ἢ τῆς πόλεως ταυτησὶ φυλακῆ, μέχρις ἂν ὁ μέλλων ταύτην ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀναλαβέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐλεύσεται. Ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ οὕτω κατωρθώκεναι τι χρηστὸν δυνησόμεθα.” **5.** Ταῦτα ὁ δεινὸς Βαϊμούντος, φίλαρχος ὢν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦτον ὅσον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆς, καὶ σκοπήσας καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ἀπατήσας οὐ διήμαρτε τοῦ σκοποῦ, ὡς ὁ λόγος κατιῶν παραστήσει. Πρὸς τοῦτο τοῖνον ἅπαντες οἱ κόμητες κατανεύσαντες ἔργου ἦψαντο. Καὶ ἀυαζούσης ἡμέρας ὁ μὲν Βαϊμούντος αὐτίκα πρὸς τὸν πύργον ἀπήει· ὁ δὲ γε Ἀρμένιος κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πύλας ὑπανοίγνυσιν. Ὁ δὲ ἄλλεται τε εὐθὺς μετὰ τῶν συνεφεπομένων αὐτῷ ἄνωθεν θάττον ἢ λόγος, καὶ περὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τοῦ πύργου ὠρᾶτο τοῖς ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτός ἰστάμενος καὶ τὴν ἐνυάλιον ἠχεῖν ἐγκελεύων σάλπιγγα. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν τῆνικαῦτα καινόν τι γινόμενον, τοὺς μὲν Τούρκους ἐκδειμαθθέντας εὐθὺς διὰ τῆς ἀπέναντι πύλης φεύγοντας καὶ μόνους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐναπολειφθέντας ὀλίγους καὶ γενναίους ἄνδρας διὰ τὴν τοῦ κουλᾶ φρουρὰν· τοὺς δὲ Κελτοὺς ἐξωθεν κατὰ πόδας τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διὰ κλιμάκων ἀνελθόντας καὶ παραχρῆμα κατασχόντας τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ταγγρῆς εὐθὺς Κελτοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἀναλαβόμενος ὄπισθεν τῶν φευγόντων ἐδίωκε· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν κτείνονται, πολλοὶ δὲ τιτρώσκονται. **6.** Ὁ δὲ Κουρπαγὰν μετὰ ἀναριθμῆτων χιλιάδων καταλαβὼν εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῆς Ἀντιόχου πόλεως, προκατασχεθεῖσαν ταύτην εὐρηκῶς, χάρακά τε ἐπήξατο καὶ τάφρον πεποιηκῶς καὶ τὰς σκευὰς ἐν αὐτῇ καταθέμενος ἐβουλεύετο πολιορκεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Ἄλλ’ οὐπω ἔργου ἀψάμενον ἐπικαταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ἐξ-

Counts, “You see how long we have already persevered in this siege, and yet have accomplished nothing useful up to the present, and now we are within an ace of perishing by starvation unless we can devise something better for our salvation.” On their enquiring what that could be, he replied, “God does not always give victory to the leaders by means of the sword, nor are such things always accomplished by fighting. But what toil has not procured, words have often effected, and the greatest trophies have been erected by friendly and propitiatory intercourse. Let us therefore not spend our time here uselessly, but endeavour to accomplish something sensible and courageous for our own safety before Curpagan arrives. Let each one of us studiously try to win over the barbarian who guards our respective section. And if you like, let there be set as prize for the one who first succeeds in this work, the sovereignty of this city until such time as the man who is to take it over from us arrives from the Emperor. Even in this way perhaps we may not be able to accomplish anything [279] worth while.” **5.** All these things that artful and ambitious Bohemund did, not so much for the sake of the Latins, and the common weal, as for his own advancement, and by this planning and speaking and deceiving he did not fail to gain his object as my history will shew further on. All the Counts agreed to his proposition and set to work. And at dawn of day Bohemund at once made for the tower, and the Armenian according to agreement opened the gate to him; he immediately rushed up with his followers more quickly than can be told and was seen by the people within and without standing on the battlements of the tower and ordering the trumpeters to sound the call to battle. And then indeed a strange sight was to be seen, the Turks, panic-stricken fled without delay through the opposite gate, and the only ones of them who stayed behind were a few brave men who defended the Cula; and the Franks from outside ascended the ladders on the heels of Bohemund, and straightway took possession of the city of Antioch. Tancred with a small body of men pursued the fugitives, many of whom were killed and many wounded. **6.** When Curpagan arrived with his countless thousands for the succour of the city of Antioch and found it already taken, he planted his palisades, made a trench, deposited the baggage in it and decided to blockade the city. But before he could start on this work the Franks rushed out and attacked him.

ελθόντες οἱ Κελτοὶ· καὶ τήνικαῦτα μέγας ἀναμεταξὺ ἀναρρήγνυται πόλεμος. Εἶχον δὲ τὴν νικῶσαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι· καὶ οἱ Λατῖνοι εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν συνεκλείοντο, τὸν μόθον ἐκατέρωθεν ἔχοντες ἀπὸ τε τῶν τὸ κουλᾶ φρουρούντων (ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο κατεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι) ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἔξωθεν παρακαθημένων Τοῦρκων. Δεινὸς δὲ ἀνὴρ ὢν ὁ Βαϊμούντος καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρχὴν σφετερίσασθαι θέλων ἐν σχήματι συμβουλῆς αὐθις: “Ὁὐ χρή, φησι πρὸς τοὺς κόμητας, τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθ’ ἑκάτερον μέρος ἐν ταῦτῳ μετὰ τε τῶν ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διχῆ διαιρεθέντας ἐν ἀνίς τμήμασι πρὸς λόγον τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς μαχομένων ἐχθρῶν, οὕτω τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέχεσθαι μάχην. Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξέσται μετὰ τῶν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τηρούντων μάχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ ὑμῖν τοῦτο συνδόξειε· τοῖς δὲ γε λοιποῖς μετὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν μελήσει καρτερῶς συμπλέκεσθαι.”

7. Συντίθενται ἅπαντες τῇ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου γνώμη. Ὁ δ’ εὐθὺς ἔργου ἤψατο καὶ παραχρῆμα τειχίον ἀντίθετον ἐγκάρσιον ἀποδιαιροῦν τῆς ὅλης Ἀντιοχείας τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐδείματο, ἔρυμα καρτερώτατον πολέμου ἀποχρῶντος. Κᾶθ’ οὕτως ἀνύστακτος φύλαξ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τείχους καθίστατο διὰ παντὸς ἀπομαχόμενος, ὀπηνίκα καιρὸς ἐδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς γενναϊότατα. Οἱ δ’ ἄλλο κόμητες πολλὴν τοῦ λάχους αὐτῶν ἐπεποίητο τὴν φροντίδα, φρουροῦντες μὲν τὴν πόλιν διὰ παντὸς, κατασκοποῦντες δὲ τὰς ἐπάλλξεις καὶ τὰ κρήδεμνα τῶν τειχῶν, μὴ πως οἱ βάρβαροι ἔξωθεν νυκτὸς διὰ κλιμάκων ἀνελθόντες τὴν πόλιν κατάσχωσι, μὴ λάθοι τις τῶν ἐντὸς ἄνωθεν τοῦ τείχους γενέσθαι κᾶθ’ οὕτως ὁμίλησας τοῖς βαρβάροις προδοσίας πέρι προδῶ τὴν πόλιν.

A fierce battle then took place between them in which the Turks gained the victory. Now the Latins were shut up in the city and were hard pressed on both sides, on the one by the garrison of the Cula (for the barbarians were still in possession of this) and on the other, by the Turks encamped outside. That artful man Bohemund who hoped to win the sovereignty of Antioch for himself once again spoke to the Counts, pretending to give them advice, saying, “We ought not all to fight simultaneously both against the enemy outside and the one inside, but rather split up into two portions in proportion to the number of the enemy fighting us on one side or the other, and then carry on the war in that way. And if you all approve, let my duty be to fight with the defenders of the Acropolis; and your business will be to fight vigorously against the foes outside.” 7. They all assented to Bohemund’s suggestion. He at once set to work to cut off the Acropolis from the rest of Antioch by building a transverse wall opposite, which would be a very strong defence in case of a long war. [280] And then he constituted himself the watchful guardian of this wall fighting bravely on every possible occasion with the garrison within. And the other Counts bestowed the greatest attention to their respective sections, guarding the city continuously and keeping the parapets and battlements of the walls under observation, firstly to prevent the barbarians ascending by ladders at night and capturing the city, and secondly to prevent any of the men inside going up to the wall and from there talking about treachery to the barbarians and betraying the city.

§5

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν [ἔτι]· ὁ δὲ γε αὐτοκράτωρ πολλὴν μὲν εἶχε τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτὸς εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν Κελτῶν παραγενέσθαι, ἀπεῖργε δ’ αὐτὸν καίπερ σφαδάζοντα ἢ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν διακειμένων πόλεων τε καὶ χωρῶν λεηλασία καὶ παντελῆς ἐρείπωσις. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Τζαχᾶς τὴν Σμύρνην ὡσπερ ἴδιόν τι λάχος κατεῖχεν, ὁ δὲ γε Ταγγριπερμῆς καλούμενος πόλιν τινὰ Ἐφεσίων ἀγχοῦ τῆς θαλάττης διακειμένην, ἐν ἧ πάλαι τέμενος ἐπ’ ὀνόματι Ἰωάννου ἀποστόλου τοῦ θεολόγου ἱδρυτο. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλο φρούρια τῶν σατραπῶν κατέχοντες ὡς ἀργυρωνήτοις τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐκέχρητο ἅπαντα ληζόμενοι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς νήσους Χίον τε καὶ

1. That is how matters stood at Antioch up till then. But the Emperor, who was very anxious to go to the assistance of the Franks, was in spite of his logging deterred from so doing by the state of devastation and utter ruination of the maritime towns and districts. For Tzachas held Smyrna as if it were his own and a man, called Tangripermes, held the town of Ephesus situated on the coast in which a church was built long ago to the apostle and theologian John. Similarly other satraps held other towns, treated the Christian inhabitants as slaves and spread desolation around. Moreover, they held Chios, Rhodes and some other islands as well and built pirate-vessels

Ῥόδον καὶ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους πάσας κατέσχον ληστρικὰς ἐκεῖθεν κατασκευάσαντες ναῦς. Διὰ τοι ταῦτα δεῖν ἐλογίσατο πρότερον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ τὸν Τζαχᾶν πρόνοιαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ δυνάμεις διὰ ξηρᾶς ἀρκούσας καὶ στόλον ἱκανὸν καταλιπεῖν, εἶτα δι' αὐτῶν τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀναχατίζειν ὁρμὰς καὶ ἀντικαθίστασθαι αὐτοῖς, κἄθ' οὕτως μετὰ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατεύματος τῆς πρὸς Ἀντιόχειαν φερούσης ἄνασθαι μετὰ τῶν ἀναμεταξὺ βαρβάρων ὡς ἐνὸν μαχόμενος. **2.** Μεταπεμψάμενος τοίνυν Ἰωάννην τὸν Δούκαν καὶ γυναικάδελφον αὐτοῦ, παραδίδωσι δυνάμεις ἐκ διαφόρων συνειλεγμένας χωρῶν καὶ στόλον ἀποχρῶντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παραλίων πόλεων πολιορκίαν, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ Τζαχᾶ θυγατέρα κατασχεθεῖσαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποι ἐντὸς τῆς Νικαίας τότε ἔτυχον, ἐπισκήψας διακηρυκεῦει μὲν πανταχοῦ τὴν τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσιν, εἰ δὲ μὴ πιστεῦοιτο, αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ Τζαχᾶ θυγατέρα ὑποδεικνύει τοῖς σατράπαις τῶν Τούρκων καὶ τοῖς τὰ παρὰ θάλατταν νεμομένοις βαρβάρους, ὡς ἂν οἱ τὰς ἤδη ῥηθείσας πόλεις κατέχοντες, ὁρῶντες ταύτην καὶ βεβαιούμενοι τὴν τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσιν, ἀπογνόντες ἀμαχητὶ παραδοῖεν τὰς πόλεις. Ἐφοδιάσας οὖν ἱκανῶς διὰ παντοίων τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκπέμπει. Ὅποσα δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ τρόπαια οὗτος ἐστήσατο καὶ ὅπως τοῦτον ἐκεῖθεν ἀπήλασε, προϊῶν ὁ λόγος δηλώσειεν. **3.** Ὁ μὲν οὖν δοῦξ καὶ θεῖος οὐμὸς πρὸς μητρὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ συνταξάμενος, τῆς μεγαλοπόλεως ἔξεισι καί, διαπεράσας τὴν Ἄβυδον, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν καλούμενον Κάσπακα, τὴν τε τοῦ στόλου ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλοῦς ἅπασαν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῷ ἀνέθετο ὑποσχόμενος ὡς, εἰ καλῶς ἀγωνίτο, ὀπηνίκα τὴν Σμύρνην συμβαίη ἄλῶναι, ἡγεμόνα τοῦτον αὐτῆς τε τῆς Σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ὁμορῶντων πάντων αὐτῇ καταστήσει. Ἐκπέμπει τοίνυν αὐτὸν διαπόντιον θαλασσοκράτορα τοῦ στόλου, ὡς εἴρηται· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ταγματάρχην εἶχεν ἡ ἡπειρος. Ἄμα τοίνυν τὸν τε Κάσπακα διὰ τοῦ στόλου καὶ τὸν Δούκαν Ἰωάννην διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου οἱ ἐντὸς τῆς Σμύρνης ἄμφω προσπελάσαντας θεασάμενοι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Δούκαν ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκ διαστήματός τινος τὸν χάρακα πηξάμενον, τὸν δὲ γε Κάσπακα τῷ λιμένι προσοκείλанта, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τῆς Νικαίας ἄλωσις ἤδη ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς, οὐδ' ὄλως ἀντικαταστήναι τούτοις ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ' εἰς λόγους καὶ σπονδὰς εἰρηνικὰς ἐλθεῖν ἡηρετίσαντο ὑποσχόμενοι, εἶπερ ὁμωμοκέναι αὐτοῖς ὁ Δούκας Ἰωάννης θελήσει ὥστε παραχωρῆσαι ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν πρὸς τὰ οἴκοι τούτους ἐπαναζεῦξαι, ἀναιμωτὶ καὶ μάχης ἄτερ

in them. Consequently he deemed it wiser first to attend to maritime matters and Tzachas, and to leave strong garrisons on the mainland and a large enough fleet to restrain the Turks' sallies and repel them, and then afterwards with the rest of the army take the road to Antioch and fight with the barbarians on his way to the best of his ability.

2. Accordingly he sent for John Ducas his brother-in-law and handed over to him troops recruited from various countries and a fleet large enough for besieging the maritime towns. He also entrusted to him Tzachas' daughter, who had lately been taken captive at Nicaea with others, and ordered him to proclaim the capture of Nicaea everywhere, and, if it were not believed, to shew Tzachas' daughter to the Turkish straps and barbarians in the sea-coast towns, so that the men, who held the towns we have just mentioned, on seeing her and being assured of the capture of Nicaea would in despair give up the cities without striking a blow. After supplying John fully with all necessaries he sent him forth. And now I will proceed to set forth how many trophies he erected over Tzachas and how he drove him out of Smyrna.

3. This duke, my maternal uncle, took leave of the Emperor, then quitted the capital and crossed to Abydus; there he [281] summoned a man called Caspax and entrusted him with the command of the fleet and the whole conduct of the naval expedition. He promised him that if he fought well then, when they succeeded in taking Smyrna, he would appoint him Governor of Smyrna itself and of all the towns on its borders. So he sent him away by sea, as ruler of the fleet, and he remained on land in command of the troops. Soon the inhabitants of Smyrna saw both Caspax approaching with the fleet and Ducas over land, and then Ducas pitching his camp at a short distance from the walls, and Caspax anchoring in the harbour. Since they had already heard of the fall of Nicaea, they had not the slightest wish to resist Ducas, but preferred to confer about making peace. On condition that John Ducas was willing to swear that he would allow them all to depart to their own homes without suffering any harm, they promised to surrender Smyrna to him without shedding blood and without striking a blow. Ducas thereupon agreed to Tzachas' proposal, and promised to

τὴν Σμύρνην αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι. Συντίθεται τοῖνυν ὁ Δούκας τῆνικαῦτα τῆ τοῦ Τζαχᾶ γνώμη τὰ κατὰ σκοπὸν ἅπαντα πληρῶσαι ὑποσχόμενος. Μετ' εἰρήνης οὖν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελάσας, τῷ Κάσπακι τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Σμύρνης ἀνέθετο. Γίνεται δέ τι κατὰ συντυχίαν τοιοῦτον. 4. Τοῦ Κάσπακος ἀπὸ τοῦ Δούκα Ἰωάννου ὑποστρέφοντος, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ Συρναῖός τις διεγκαλῶν ἀφαιρεθῆναι παρά του Σαρακηνοῦ χρυσίνους πεντακοσίους στατηῆρας. Ὁ δὲ ἀχθῆναι τούτους κριθησομένους ἐπέταξεν· ὡς δ' ὁ Σύρος εἴλκετο, νομίσας ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀναιρεθῆναι ἄγεται, καὶ ἀπογνοὺς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, σπασάμενος μάχαιραν, κατὰ τῶν σπλάγγων τοῦ Κάσπακος ὠθεῖ· ἐπιστραφεὶς δὲ πλήττει καὶ τὸν τούτου ὁμαίμονα περὶ τὸν μηρόν. Συγχύσεως δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένης πολλῆς, ὁ μὲν Σαρακηνὸς ἀποδιδράσκει, οἱ δὲ τοῦ στόλου ἅπαντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐρέταις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀτάκτως εἰσήεσαν καὶ πάντας ἀνηλεῶς ἀπέκτανον. Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν θέαμα ἐλεεινὸν ὡσεὶ δέκα χιλιάδας ἀποκτανθέντας ἐν ὀξείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ. Ὁ δὲ Δούκας Ἰωάννης, περιαλήσας ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ Κάσπακος ἀναιρέσει, ἐφ' ἱκανὸν ὄλος αὐθις τῆς τοῦ κάστρου φροντίδος ἐγεγόνει. Ἐξελεθὼν τοῖνυν καὶ περιαθρήσας τὰ τεῖχη τὰς τε τῶν ἐποίκων γνώμας παρὰ τῶν εἰδότην ἀκριβωσάμενος, ἐπεὶ χρεία γενναίου ἦν ἀνδρός, τὸν Ἰαλέαν, φέριστον τῶν ἄλλων εἰδώς, δοῦκα τῆς Σμύρνης κατέστησεν· ἀνὴρ δὲ οὗτος ἀρειμάνιος. 5. Καταλιπὼν δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἅπαν εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς Σμύρνης, αὐτὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόμενος πρὸς τὴν Ἐφεσίῳν ἦλαννε παρὰ τοῦ Ταγγριπερμῆ καὶ τοῦ Μαράκη τῶν σατραπῶν κατεχομένην. Τοῦτον θεασάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι κατ' αὐτῶν ἰέμενον, ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ σχῆμα πολέμου περὶ τὴν ἔξω τοῦ κάστρου πεδιάδα διατυπώσαντες τὰς φάλαγγας ἔστησαν. Ὁ δὲ δούξ μὴδὲ μικρὸν τι μελλήσας σὺν εὐταξίᾳ στρατιωτικῇ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξώρμησε. Τῆς γοῦν συμβολῆς τοῦ πολέμου γεγυνοῦσας τὸ πλεῖον τῆς ἡμέρας παρωχῆκει· μαχομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ἀμφιρρεποῦς οἱ Τούρκοι τὰ νῶτα ὑποσχόντες τρέπονται κατὰ κράτος. Κτείνονται δὲ τῆνικαῦτα πολλοί, ἀλίσκονται δὲ οὐ τῶν τυχαίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν σατραπῶν οἱ πλείους, ὡς συμποσοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐαλωκότας εἰς χιλιάδας δύο. Περὶ ὧν μεμαθηκῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς διασπαρῆναι τούτους εἰς τὰς νήσους προσέταξεν. Οἱ δὲ καταλειφθέντες τῶν Τούρκων, διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Μαιάνδρου πρὸς τὸ πολυβοτὸν ἀπερχόμενοι, καταφρονητικῶς διετέθησαν τὸν Δούκαν τέλεον ἀπελπίσαντες. Τὸ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πετζέαν δοῦκα

carry out everything to the letter. After having driven them out thus peaceably he invested Caspax with absolute authority over Smyrna. The following incident occurred by chance. 4. As Caspax was coming away from John Ducas, a Smyrniote came up to him, accusing a Saracen of having stolen five hundred gold staters from him. Caspax ordered them to be brought up for trial, but the Syrian who was being hauled along thought he was being led to execution and in despair of his own safety drew his knife and plunged it into Caspax's bowels; and turned round and also wounded Caspax's brother in the thigh. Hereupon a terrible commotion arose, the Saracen escaped, and all the men of the fleet, and the crews as well, rushed into the city pell-mell and killed everybody mercilessly. It was a pitiful sight, ten thousand killed in a moment of time. John Ducas was extremely grieved at Caspax's death and for some time took the whole administration of the fortress upon himself. In this capacity he went round and inspected the walls and ascertained the opinions of the inhabitants from men who knew; and as he felt that a brave man was needed, he appointed Hyaleas, whom he thought best of all, Duke of Smyrna. This man was a devotee of the War-God. 5. Ducas left the whole navy to protect Smyrna, and then marched with his troops to the town of Ephesus which was held by the satraps, Tangripermes and Maraces. When these barbarians saw him advancing towards them, they got under arms, and arranged their [282] troops in order of battle on the plains outside the city. And the Duke without any delay and with his army skilfully disposed attacked them. The battle that then began lasted the greater part of the day; both sides fought well and the issue of the battle hung in the balance till at last the Turks turned their backs and were utterly routed. On this occasion many were killed and still larger numbers were captured, not only of the common soldiers, but of the satraps themselves, so that the total of the captives amounted to two thousand. When informed of this the Emperor ordered them to be dispersed among the islands. The Turks who escaped, crossed the river Maeander and went to Polybotum and were contemptuous of Ducas, thinking him of no account whatever. But this was not so. For leaving Petzeas as Duke of Ephesus, he himself took the whole army and at once started after them according to the Emperor's behest, not in disorderly confusion, but in

ταυτησι τῆς πόλεως καταλιπών, αὐτὸς τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἅπαν ἀναλαβόμενος παραυτίκα ὄπισθεν οὐ φύρδην, ἀλλ' εὐτάκτως καὶ ὡς ἐχρῆν ἐμπειρότατον στρατηγὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἰέναι, ἤλαυνε κατὰ τὰς ὑποθημοσύνας τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. **6.** Οἱ μέντοι Τούρκοι, καθὰ γε εἴρηται, διὰ τε Μαιάνδρου καὶ τῶν παρακειμένων αὐτῷ πόλεων ὀδεύσαντες, καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ πολυβοτόν. Ὁ δὲ δοῦξ οὐ κατὰ πόδας τούτους ἐδίωκεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτέραν ὀδεύσας τὰς τε Σάρδεις καὶ τὴν Φιλαδέλφειαν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κατέσχε, τὴν τούτων φρουρὰν Μιχαὴλ τῷ Κεκαυμένῳ πιστεύσας. Καταλαβὼν δὲ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, καὶ πάντων παραυτίκα προσεληλυθότων αὐτῷ, αὐτοῖς μὲν ὡς αὐτομόλοις χρησάμενος καὶ τεθαρρηκῶς ἀνετῶς τὰ σφέτερα κατοικεῖν εἶασε μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα ἐπιστήσας. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Χώματος διελθὼν τὴν Λάμπην κατέλαβε κὰν ταύτη καὶ τὸν Καμύτζην Εὐστάθιον στρατηγὸν ἐπέστησεν. Ἐφθακῶς δὲ εἰς τὸ πολυβοτόν καταλαμβάνει Τούρκων πλῆθος πολὺ, καὶ ἐπεισπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἄρτι τὰς σκευὰς κατατιθεμένοις ξυμβαλὼν παραυτίκα νικᾷ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ κτείνει μὲν πολλοὺς, ἀναλαμβάνει δὲ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀνάλογον.

good order and in the manner that it befits an experienced general to march on the foe.

6. Now the Turks, as already said, travelled to Polybotum by way of the Maeander and the towns along its banks. But the Duke did not follow in their steps, but journeying by the shorter road, took Sardis and Philadelphia off-hand and entrusted these to the guardianship of Michael Cecaumenos. When he reached Laodicea, all the inhabitants immediately came out to him, consequently he treated them kindly as they had joined him of their own accord, and allowed them to stay safely in their homes without even appointing a governor. From there he passed through Coma and reached Lampe and in this town he left Camytzes Eustathius governor. On arriving at Polybotum he fell in with a large crowd of Turks and falling upon them at once whilst they were depositing their baggage, he conquered them completely after a short encounter, and killed many, the amount of booty he took was in proportion to their numbers

§6

1. Τούτου γοῦν μήπω ἐπανεληλυθότος, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένου κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐτοιμασθεὶς εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν φθάσαι Κελτῶν, ἐπεὶ τὸ Φιλομήλιον κατέλαβε σὺν ὄλαις δυνάμεσι πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ κτείνας βαρβάρους, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ πόλεις δηωσάμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρὶν κατεχομένας, φθάνει τῆνικαῦτα τοῦτον ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας Γελίελμος ὁ Γραντεμανῆ καὶ Στέφανος κόμης Φραγγίας καὶ Πέτρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀλίφα, χαλασθέντες καλωδίσις διὰ τῶν κρηδέμων Ἀντιοχείας καὶ διὰ τῆς Ταρσοῦ ἀφικόμενοι διαβεβαιοῦντο εἰς στενὸν κομιδῆ συνελθῆναι τοὺς Κελτοὺς, καὶ ἐπομνύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν παντελῆ πτώσιν. **2.** Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μᾶλλον εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει ταχῆναι, κὰν ἅπαντες αὐτὸν τῆς τοιαύτης ὀρμῆς ἀνέκοπτον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βαρβάρων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἔφοδος ἀμυθήτων ἀπανταχῆ διεκηρυκεύετο ἐπικαταλαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἤδη (καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Χοροσάν σουλτάν, τὴν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑπὲρ τῶν Κελτῶν μεμαθηκῶς ἀπέλευσιν τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ἰσμαῆλ τὴν κλῆσιν ἀπείρους δυνάμεις ἀπὸ τε τοῦ Χοροσάν ἀπὸ τε τῶν πορρωτέρων μερῶν συναγαγὼν καὶ καρτερῶς ἐξοπλίσας ἅπαντας

1. Before Ducas had returned, whilst he was still fighting with the Turks, the Emperor prepared to go to the assistance of the Franks in Antioch, and reached Philomelium with all his forces after killing many barbarians on the way and destroying several towns hitherto held by them. Here he was found by men from Antioch, Gelielmus Grantemanes, Stephen, Count of France, and Peter, son of Aliphaz; these had been let down by ropes from the walls of Antioch, made their way through Tarsus and reported to him the terrible straits into which the Franks were driven and upon oath [p.283] they told him of their utter fall. **2.** This news made the Emperor still more anxious to hasten to their assistance although everybody sought to restrain him from this enterprise. And then a report was spread abroad everywhere that an incredible host of barbarians was on its way to overtake him. (For the Sultan of Chorosan, hearing of the Emperor's departure to go to the assistance of the Franks, had collected innumerable men from Chorosan and the further provinces, equipped them all thoroughly and putting them under the command of his own son,

κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεμψεν, ἐντειλάμενος τάχος τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐφθακέναι πρὸ τοῦ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καταλαβεῖν), τὴν μὲν δὴ ὄρμιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἣν εἶχεν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν σωτηρίας, διαχρήσασθαι τε σπεύδων τοὺς κατ' αὐτῶν λυττῶντας Τούρκους καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τούτων ἡγεμόνα Κουρπαγάν, ἐπέσχε τὰ διαμηνυθέντα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐλληλοθότων Φράγγων ὑπὸ τε τῶν τὴν τοῦ Ἰσμαῖλ κατ' αὐτοῦ μηνυσάντων ἔλευσιν. Λογισμὸν δὲ τὸν εἰκότα περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος λαμβάνων, ὡς ἀμήχανον εἶη πρῶγμα σῶσαι πόλιν ἄρτι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀλοῦσαν, ἀστατοῦσαν δ' ἔτι κακ τῶν ἐξῶθεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν αὐτίκα πολιορκουμένην, τῶν Κελτῶν τὰς σφζούσας ἀπεγνωκότων ἐλπίδας καὶ βουλευομένων τοῦ μὲν τείχους ἐρήμου παραχωρῆσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ μόνους περισῶσαι διὰ φυγῆς. **3.** Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Κελτῶν γένος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτόνομόν τε καὶ ἀξύμβουλον, στρατηγικῆ δὲ εὐταξία καὶ ἐπιστήμη μηδέποτε χρώμενον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν μάχη καὶ πόλεμος παρασταίη, περιυλακτοῦντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θυμοῦ ἀκάθεκτοί τε εἰσιν οὐ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμόνες, ὡς ἐς μέσας φάλαγγας τῶν πολεμίων εἰσπίπτοντες ἀφόρητοι, εἰ ὅλως τὸ ἀντικαθιστάμενον ὑποχαλάσειεν· εἰ δὲ στρατιωτικαῖς ἐμπειρίαῖς λόχους οἱ πολέμοι πολλακίς καταστήσαιεν καὶ τεχνικῶς αὐτοὺς μετελεύσονται, εἰς τούναντίον πᾶν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῖς περιίσταται. Τὸ γὰρ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, εἰς πρώτους ρυτῆρας ἀνύποιστοὶ εἰσιν οἱ Κελτοί, τὸ δὲ γε μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ λίαν εὐχείρωτοι διὰ τε τὸ τῶν ὄπλων βάρος καὶ τὸ τῆς γνώμης θυμοειδὲς καὶ ἀλόγιστον. **4.** Διὰ ταῦτα μήτε ἀποχρώσας πρὸς τοσαῦτα πλήθη δυνάμεις ἔχων μήτε τὰς τῶν Κελτῶν γνώμας μεταβαλεῖν μήτε ξυμβουλῆ τούτους βελτίονι εἰς τὸ ξυμφέρον μετενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, δέον ἐλογίζετο μὴ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἀρωγήν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου προσοπλέσειε. Πτοηθεὶς δὲ μὴ ἐπικαταλαμβανόντων αὐτὸν ἤδη Τουρκικῶν ἀμυθῆτων λαῶν οἱ ἔποικοι τῶν μερῶν Φιλομηλίου παρανάλωμα βαρβαρικῆς γένωνται μαχαίρας, εἰς νοὺν βάλλεται διακηρυκεῦσαι μὲν ἀπανταχῆ τὴν τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἔφοδον· καὶ παραυτίκα διεκηρυκεύετο καὶ ὅτι ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκάστη προεξελεθῆτω τῆς τούτων ἐλεύσεως, τὰ σώματα αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποσα φέρειν δύνανται διασώζοντες. **5.** Εἴλοντο μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἅπαντες συνέψεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἄνδρες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐταὶ γυναῖκες Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὠκονόμητο τῷ βασιλεῖ. Μῆρος δὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ ἀποτε-

Ishmael by name, had sent them forth with instructions to overtake the Emperor quickly before he reached Antioch.) And thus the Emperor's expedition, which he undertook for the sake of the Franks, and with the desire of wiping out the Turks who were fighting furiously with them, and above all their leader Curpagan – this expedition was stopped both by the report which the Franks had brought and by the news of Ishmael's advance against him. For he calculated what would probably happen in the future, namely, that it was an impossibility to save a city which had only just been taken by the Franks and while still in a state of disorder was immediately besieged from outside by the Hagarenes; and the Franks in despair of all help, were planning to leave only empty walls to the enemy and to save their own lives by flight. **3.** For the nation of the Franks in general is self-willed and independent and never employs military discipline or science, but when it is a question of war and fighting, anger barks in their hearts and they are not to be restrained; and this applies not only to the soldiers but to the leaders themselves for they dash into the middle of the enemies' ranks with irresistible force, especially if their opponents yield a little. But if the enemy with strategic skill often sets ambushes for them and pursues them methodically, then all this courage evaporates. In short, the ranks cannot be resisted in their first attack, but afterwards they are exceedingly easy to master both because of the weight of their arms and from their passionate and irrational character. **4.** For these reasons, as his forces were insufficient against such numbers, and he could not change the Franks' decision, nor by better advice convert them to their advantage, he considered he had better not proceed any further, lest by hastening to the assistance of Antioch he might cause the destruction of Constantinople. He was afraid, too, in case the countless Turkish tribes overtook him, that the inhabitants of the regions of Philomelium [p.284] would fall victims to the barbarians' swords, so he arranged to have the approach of the Hagarenes announced throughout the country. The announcement was immediately made and the order given that each man and woman should leave their homes before the Turks arrived, and thus save their persons and as much property as each could carry. **5.** They all elected at once to accompany the Emperor, not only the men but the women too.... This was the arrangement the Emperor made about the

μόμενος καὶ τοῦτο εἰς πολλὰ διελών, ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι κατὰ τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν ἐξαπέστειλεν, εἴ που προεκδρομάς τινας ποιουμένους τοὺς Τούρκους εὐροῖεν, ζυμμίγνυσθαι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ καρτερῶς μαχομένους ἀναστέλλειν τὴν κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἔφοδον. Αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν τε ἐαλωκότων βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων Χριστιανῶν ἐπαναζεύγνυσι πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν. 6. Ὁ δὲ γε ἀρχισατράπης Ἰσμαήλ, μεμαθηκὼς περὶ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὅτι τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἐξεληλυθῶς πολλὴν μὲν ἀνδροκτασίαν πεποικῶς, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ κωμολοίεις ἐν τῷ διέρχεσθαι παντελῶς ἐρειπώσας, πολλὴν τε λείαν καὶ δορυαλώτους ἀναλαβόμενος ἐπαναζεύγνυσι πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν μηδὲν ἔργον αὐτῷ καταλειπῶς, ὡς τῆς ἄγρας ἀπέγνω, ἐν ἀμηγάνοις καθίστατο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑτέραν τραπόμενος τὸ πῦρ πολιορκῆσαι ἐπέγνω, ὅπερ πρὸ μικροῦ κατασχὼν εἶχεν ὁ περὶ κλυτὸς ἐκεῖνος Γαβρᾶς Θεόδωρος, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν ἀγχοῦ τούτου ῥέοντα ποταμὸν ἅπαν ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν κατέθετο. Τοῦτο μεμαθηκὼς ὁ Γαβρᾶς διεσκοπεῖτο νυκτὸς ἐπεισπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. Ἄλλ' ὁποῖον μὲν πέρας τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γαβρᾶν ἔσχηκε καὶ ὅθεν οὗτος ὄρμητο καὶ ὁποῖος ἦν, ταμειυσάσθω ὁ λόγος ἐς τὸν προσήκοντα τόπον· τὰ νῦν δ' ἐχέσθω τοῦ προκειμένου. 7. Οἱ δὲ γε Λατῖνοι, ὑπὸ τε λιμοῦ καὶ συνεχοῦς πολιορκίας δεινῶς πιεζόμενοι, προσεληλυθότες τῷ εἰς Ἐλενούπολιν τότε ἡττηθέντι πέτρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ αὐτῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος φθάσας ἐδήλωσεν, ἠτοῦντο βουλήν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς· “Ἄγνούς, φησι, τηρῆσαι ἑαυτοὺς ὑποσχόμενοι, μέχρις ἂν τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ καταλάβητε, παρέβητε, οἶμαι, τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. Διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπαρήγει ὡς τὸ πρότερον ὁ Θεός. Δεῖ οὖν ἐπιστραφῆναι πρὸς τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὰς σφῶν ἀποκλαύσασθαι ἀμαρτίας ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ, καὶ δάκρυσιν θερμοῖς τὴν μετάνοιαν ἐνδειξαμένους καὶ παννύχοις δεήσεσι. Τότε δὴ σχολάσω καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὸ Θεῖον ἐξιλεούμενος.” πείθονται ταῖς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παραινέσεσι. Καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐκ θείας ὁμφῆς κινηθεῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας τῶν κομήτων παρηγγυᾶτο δεξιόθεν διορῆσαι τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κάκεισε τὸν ἅγιον εὐρηκέναι ἦλον. Τὸ ἐπιταχθὲν οὖν πεποικότες, ἐπεὶ μὴ εὕρισκον, ἐπαναστρέψαντες μετὰ ἀθυμίας τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου διαμαρτίαν ἀπήγγελλον. Ὁ δὲ ἐκτενέστερον τὴν δέησιν ποιησάμενος ἐπιμελέστερον τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου ἀναψηλάφησιν ποιήσασθαι ἐπέταττεν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἐπλήρουν τὸ κελευσθὲν καί, τὸν ζητούμενον εὐρηκότες, δρομαίως τῷ πέτρῳ

prisoners. Next he detached a part of the army, broke it up further into several sections and dispatched them against the Hagarenes, with orders that, if they met any Turks making advance movements, they were to engage them and fight fiercely, and thus retard their attack on the Emperor. He himself, with the whole crowd of barbarian prisoners and of the Christians who had joined him, returned to the capital. 6. When the arch-satrap Ishmael heard of the Emperor's doings, namely, that he had left Constantinople and effected great slaughter, laid many small towns he passed through the ruins, collected a large quantity of spoil and captives, and was now returning to the capital and had left him nothing to do, Ishmael was at a loss for he despaired of capturing his prey. Consequently he turned in another direction and resolved to besiege Paipert which had been taken shortly before by the illustrious Theodore Gabras, and on reaching the river flowing past the town, he encamped his whole army there. When informed of this, Gabras thought of attacking him at night. But the result of Gabras' enterprise and his origin and character shall be reserved for a fitting moment in my history; for the present we must keep to our subject. 7. Now the Latins being terribly pressed by famine and the blockade, went to Peter, the man who had been conquered at Helenopolis, their Bishop, as has been already explained, and asked him for counsel. He said to them, “You promised to keep yourselves pure until you reached Jerusalem, and this promise, I think, you have broken, and for this reason God has not been helping you now, as He did formerly. Therefore you must now turn to the Lord and bewail your sins in sack-cloth and ashes, and shew your repentance by many tears and vigils spent in prayer. I myself too will spend my time in propitiating the Deity towards you.” They obeyed the bishop's instructions. And after a few days the bishop inspired by a divine voice assembled the chief Counts and urged them to dig on the right side of the altar, and there [285] they would find the Holy Nail. They did as he bade and as they did not find it, they returned all discouraged and announced that they had failed in their quest. He accordingly prayed still more earnestly and bade them conduct their search for the object more carefully. They again did his bidding and when they had found what they sought, carried it headlong to Peter, overcome with joy and awe.

προσέφερον χαρᾶ καὶ φρίκη συνεχόμενοι. **8.** Κάκτοτε ὡς ἀγνοτέρῳ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Ἰσαγγέλι ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸν σεπτὸν καὶ θεῖον ἐνεχειρίζον ἦλον. Τῇ γοῦν μετ' αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνυπόπτου πύλης κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων ἐξώρμησαν. Τότε δὴ ὁ καλούμενος Φλάντρας ἠτήσατο τοὺς λοιποὺς μίαν ταύτην αἴτησιν παραχωρηθῆναι οἱ, μετὰ τριῶν μόνων κατὰ τῶν Τούρκων τῶν ἄλλων πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἐξυπάσασθαι. Δέδοται δὴ τούτῳ τὸ αἰτηθέν· καὶ ὀπνίκα αἱ φάλαγγες ἐκατέρωθεν ἰλαδὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου σύναψις ἠντρέπιστο, αὐτὸς τοῦ ἵππου ἀποβάς καὶ προσουδίσας ἑαυτὸν τρισσάκις τῷ Θεῷ ἐπηύξατο ἐκεῖθεν τὴν βοήθειαν ἐξαιτούμενος. Βοησάντων δὲ πάντων· “Ὁ Θεὸς μεθ' ἡμῶν”, ὅλους ῥυτῆρας κατ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κουρπαγᾶ ἐνέδωκεν ἐπὶ τινος λόφου ἰσταμένου. Εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν ὑπαντίασαντας τοῖς δόρασι βολόντες κατὰ γῆς ἔρριψαν. Ἐντεῦθεν οὖν ἐκδειματωθέντες οἱ Τούρκοι πρὸ τοῦ συρραγῆναι τὸν πόλεμον εἰς φυγὴν ἐτράπησαν, θείας πάντως δυνάμεως ἐπαρηγούσης τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς· κὰν τῷ φεύγειν παραπορήσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν βαρβάρων ταῖς δύναις τῶν ποταμίων συσχεθέντες ῥευμάτων ἀπεπνίγησαν, ὡς ἀντὶ γεφύρας χρηματίσαι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποπνιγέντων τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐρχομένοις. **9.** Ἐφ' ἰκανὸν οὖν καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας διώξαντες πρὸς τὴν Τουρκικὴν ταφρεῖαν ὑπέστρεψαν, κάκεισε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς σκευὰς εὐρηκότες καὶ ἦν συνεπεφέροντο λείαν ἅπασαν, ἀναλαβέσθαι μὲν ἠθελον παραχρῆμα, πολλὴν δὲ οὖσαν διὰ τριακονθημέρου μόγις ταύτην εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν ἐξίσχυσαν. Ἐπ' ὀλίγον οὖν αὐτοῦ που ἐγκαρτερήσαντες ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου κακοπαθείας ἑαυτοὺς διαναπαῦσαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀντιόχου φροντίδα ποιούμενοι ἀνεζήτησαν τὸν ταύτην φρουρήσοντα. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος, καθὰ γε πρὸ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι φθάσας ἠτήσατο. Παρακεχωρηκότες δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἀπάσης ἐξουσίας τῆς Ἀντιόχου αὐτοὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα φερούσης ἦσαντο. Ἐν δὲ τῷ διέρχεσθαι πολλὰ μὲν τῶν παραλίων κάστρων κατέσχον· ὅποσα δὲ ἐρυμνότατα ὄντα πλείονος ἐδεῖτο τῆς πολιορκίας παραδραμόντες τῷ τέως αὐτά, πρὸς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔσπευδον. Περιζώσαντες δὲ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ πυκναῖς προσβολαῖς πολιορκοῦντες, αὐτὴν διὰ μιᾶς σεληνιακῆς περιόδου κατέσχον πολλοὺς τῶν ἐντὸς Σαρακηνῶν καὶ Ἑβραίων ἀνηρηκότες. Πάντων δὲ ὑποταγέντων αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ ὁ ἀντιβαίνων οὐδεὶς, τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἅπασαν τῷ Γουτοφρῆ ἀναθέμενοι ῥῆγα τοῦτον ὠνόμασαν.

8. And then they entrusted that holy and venerable Nail to Isangeles to carry in battle as he was the holiest of them all. The following day, they sallied out upon the Turks from a secret door. On this occasion the man called Flanders begged the others to grant him just one request, namely, to allow him with three friends only to ride out first against the Turks. This request was granted him, and, when the armies stood drawn up in squadrons on either side and were preparing for the shock of battle, he dismounted and after prostrating himself on the ground three times he prayed to God and invoked His help. Then they all shouted. “God with us!” and at full gallop he rode straight at Curpagan himself who was standing on a hillock. Speedily they struck with their spears the Turks they encountered, and threw them to the ground. The Turks were so terrified by this, that, even before the battle had commenced, they turned to flight as God was evidently aiding the Christians. Most of the Turks in their flight were in their distraction caught in the eddies of the river and drowned, so that those who came after used the bodies of the drowned in place of a bridge.

9. After pursuing the fugitives for a considerable distance they returned to the Turkish lines where they found the barbarian baggage and all the booty they carried with them, this latter they wanted to remove at once, but it was so much that they scarcely managed to convey it all to Antioch in thirty days. They stayed on the spot for a little time to rest after the hardships of the war, and at the same time they took thought for Antioch and looked for a man to guard it. This man was Bohemund who had asked for this position even before the city was captured. So they conceded him full powers over Antioch and themselves set out on the road to Jerusalem. And on their way they took several of the maritime fortresses, but those, which were very strong and would have necessitated a lengthy siege, they passed by for the present as they were anxious to reach Jerusalem. They encircled its walls and made frequent attacks on them and besieged [286] the town and within one lunar month they took it and killed many of the Saracenic and Jewish inhabitants. When they had brought all into subjection and no one resisted them, they invested Godfrey with supreme authority by unanimous consent, and called him ‘king’.

§7

1. Διαμνηθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Κελτῶν ἐφόδου τῷ ἐξουσιαστῇ Βαβυλῶνος Ἀμεριμνῇ, καὶ ὅπως παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ τε Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐάλω καὶ αὐτὴ ἢ Ἀντιόχου καὶ ἄλλοι πόλεις αἱ ταύτη παρακείμεναι παρὰ τῶν Κελτῶν κατεσχέθησαν, τηνικαῦτα πολὺ πλῆθος συναγροχῶς ἔκ τε Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἀράβων Σαρακηνῶν τε καὶ Ἀγαρηνῶν κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξαπέστειλε. Τούτου διαμνηθέντος παρὰ τοῦ Γοντοφρέ τοῖς Κελτοῖς, τηνικαῦτα ὀπλίσαντο κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ κατελθόντες εἰς τὸ Ἰάφα τὴν ἐκείνων περιέμενον ἔφοδον· εἶτα ἐκεῖθεν κατέλαβον τὸ Ῥάμελ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ μεγαλόμαρτυς Γεώργιος μεμαρτύρηκε, καὶ ἐνωθέντες τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐρχομένῳ στρατεύματι τοῦ Ἀμεριμνῆ συνῆψαν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτῶν. Καὶ τὴν νικῶσαν εἶχον εὐθὺς οἱ Κελτοί. 2. Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν καταλαβόντος ἐξ ὀπισθίων τοῦ προμητώπου τῆς φάλαγγος ἠττήθησαν οἱ Λατίνοι μέχρι τοῦ Ῥάμελ περισωθέντες. Μόνος δὲ ὁ Βαλδουῖνος κόμης ἀπὴν φυγαδεῖα χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡς ἄνανδρος, ἀλλ' ὡς τι κρεῖττον προμηθευσόμενος περὶ τε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων στρατεύματος. Καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ κυκλοτερῆ τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ῥάμελ ποιοῦμενοι θάπτον τοῦτο κατέσχον. Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Λατίνων τηνικαῦτα κτείνονται, πλείους δὲ καὶ ζωγρία πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἐστάλησαν. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὑποστρέφον τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἅπαν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ Ἰάφα ἠπεύγετο· τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ βάρβαρον αἰεὶ. Ὁ δὲ γε ἀνωτέρω ῥηθεὶς Βαλδουῖνος, τὰς παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων ἐαλωκυίας κωμοπόλεις ἀπάσας περιῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους τε συναγροχῶς ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς, ἀξιόμαχον στράτευμα συνεστήσατο κἀντεῦθεν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ἐπελθὼν ἠττησε κατὰ κράτος. 3. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὴν κατὰ τὸ Ῥάμελ τῶν Λατίνων ἦτταν μεμαθηκῶς, περιαλγῆσας ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κομήτων αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, ἅτε γινώσκων αὐτοὺς κατὰ τε ὥραν καὶ ῥώμην σώματος καὶ περιφάνειαν γένους τῶν πάλαι ὑμνουμένων, οὐκ ἔφερεν ἐπὶ πλέον τούτους δορυαλώτους ἐπὶ ξένης εἶναι. Ἐνθεν τοι μεταπεμψάμενός τινα Βαρδαλῆν καλούμενον χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδούς πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀνάρρυσιν πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα ἐκπέπομφεν, ἐγχειρίσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀμεριμνῆν γράμματα περὶ τῶν κομήτων διαλαμβάνοντα. Ὁ δὲ, τὰς τοῦ αυτοκράτορος ἀνελίξας γραφάς, ἄτερ τιμῆς τοὺς κόμητας ἀπεδίδου μετὰ περιχαρείας πλὴν τοῦ Γοντοφρέ. Ἐκεῖνον γὰρ προφθάσας πρὸς τὸν ἀτάδελφον αὐτοῦ Βαλδουῖνον τιμῆς

1. The tidings of the Franks' expedition was brought to Amerimnes, Prince of Babylon, and he heard how they had taken Jerusalem and also occupied Antioch, and several other towns in its vicinity, so he collected a great multitude of Armenians, Arabs, Saracens and Hagarenes and dispatched them to oppose the Franks. Godfrey announced this to the Franks who accordingly prepared to meet them, and marched down to Jaffa and there awaited their coming; from there they went to Ramel where the great martyr George suffered, met the army of Amerimnes advancing towards them and at once joined battle with them. And the Franks soon overcame them.

2. But on the following day when the vanguard of the enemy caught them up from behind, the Latins were beaten and ran for their lives to Ramel. Count Balduinus alone was absent from the battle as he had fled, not from cowardice, but to take measures for his own safety and to prepare an army to fight the Babylonians. The Babylonians followed them and encompassed the town of Ramel and took it after a short siege. Many of the Latins fell there, but the greater number were sent as prisoners to Babylon. After that the Whole Babylonian army turned round and hurried to besiege Jaffa. For such is the barbarian custom. Meanwhile Balduinus, whom I mentioned above, visited all the small towns which the Franks had taken, and by collecting from them a considerable number of foot- and horse-soldiers, he organized a decent army and marched with it against the Babylonians and defeated them completely.

3. When the Emperor heard of the Latins' discomfiture at Ramel he was very grieved at the Counts being taken prisoners as he had known them in the bloom of physical strength and of such nobility of descent as the heroes of old, and could not bear to think of their being prisoners in a foreign country. So he sent for a man called Bardales, gave him a large sum of money for their redemption and sent him to Babylon with letters about the Counts for Amerimnes. After reading the Emperor's letter, Amerimnes willingly set all the Counts except Godfrey free without any ransom. For Godfrey had already been released for a ransom by his [287] own brother Balduinus. When the Counts reached the Capital

ἀπέδοτο. Καταλαβόντας δὲ τὴν μεγαλόπολιν τοὺς κόμητας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐντίμως ἐδέξατο χρήματά τε ἱκανὰ ἐπιδούς καὶ ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τούτους διαναπαύσας χαίροντας ἐξαπέστειλεν οἴκαδε. Ὁ δὲ Γοντοφρὲ ρήξ Ἱεροσολύμων αὐθις ἀποκαταστάς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Βαλδουῖνον εἰς Ἔδεσαν ἐκπέπομφε. **4.** Τότε δὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῷ Ἰσαγγέλῃ ἐπέσκηψε τὴν μὲν Λαοδίκειαν Ἀνδρονίκῳ τῷ Τζιντζιλούκῃ ἀναθέσθαι, τὸ δὲ γε Μαρακέως καὶ τὸ Βαλανέως τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸν Εὐμάθιον δοῦκα Κύπρου τῷ τότε ὑπάρχοντα, ἐκείνους δὲ προσωτέρω βαδίσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν κάστρων κατασχέσεως ὡς ἐνὸν διαγωνιεῖσθαι· ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκε τοῖς γράμμασι τοῦ βασιλέως πεισθεῖς. Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ παραδοῦναι τὰ κάστρα τοῖς ἀνωτέρω δηλωθεῖσιν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἀντάραδον καὶ αὐτὴν ἀμαχητὶ ἐχειρώσατο. Τοῦτο ἐνωτισθεῖς ὁ Ἀταπάκας τῆς Δαμασκοῦ δυνάμεις συναθροίσας ἱκανὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐστρατεύσατο. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις πρὸς τοῦτον πλῆθος οὐκ εἶχε, βουλὴν ἐβουλεύσατο οὐ τοῦτον ἀνδρείαν ὀπόσον συνετήν. Θαρρήσας γὰρ τοῖς ἐντοπίοις ἔφη ὡς: “Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦ κάστρου παμμεγέθους ὄντος ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ κρυβήσομαι· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὀπηνίκα ὁ Ἀταπάκας καταλάβῃ, τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς μὴ ὁμολογήσητε, πτοηθέντα δὲ με φυγάδα γενέσθαι διαβεβαιώσατε”. **5.** Καταλαβὼν οὖν ὁ Ἀταπάκας καὶ ἐρωτήσας περὶ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη, ἐπεὶ ἀποδεδρακέναι τοῦτον ἐπίστευσε, κεκμηκῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπήξατο. Τῶν δὲ ἐντοπίων πᾶσαν φιλοφροσύνην εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνδεικνυμένων, τεθαρρηκότες οἱ Τούρκοι καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ὑποτοπάσαντες τοὺς ἰδίους ἵππους πρὸς τὸ πεδίον ἔλυσαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἰσαγγέλης μέσης ἡμέρας τοῦ ἡλίου κατὰ κορυφὴν τὰς ἀκτῖνας βάλλοντος καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενος μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτόν (εἰς τετρακοσίους δὲ περιέστησαν) αἴφνης τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας διὰ μέσης τῆς αὐτῶν παρεμβολῆς ὄρμησεν. Ὅποι μὲν οὖν ἐκθύμως εἰώθασι μάχεσθαι, τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἀφειδήσαντες τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἰστάμενοι ἀνεδέξαντο πόλεμον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φυγαδεῖα τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπεπειρῶντο πραγματεῦσασθαι σωτηρίαν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πεδιάδος εὐρὺ καὶ τὸ μὴ τι ἔλος παρακεῖσθαι ἢ βουνὸν ἢ φάραγγα ταῖς τῶν Λατίνων χερσὶν ἅπαντας παραδέδωκεν. Ἐνθεν τοὶ καὶ παρανάλωμα ξιφῶν πάντες γεγόνασιν· ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ κατεσχέθησαν. Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν Τούρκων καταστρατηγήσας κατὰ τῆς Τριπόλεως χωρεῖ. **6.** Ἄνεισι γοῦν κατευθὺ καὶ προκαταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀκρολοφίαν τοῦ ἀντικρῦ Τριπόλεως διακειμένου βουνοῦ, μέρους ὄντος τοῦ Λιβάνου, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὡς ὀχύρωμα τοῦτον ἔχειν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ

the Emperor received them honourably, gave them much money and after they were sufficiently rested, sent them home full of gratitude. But Godfrey after being again elected king of Jerusalem sent his brother Balduinus to Edessa.

4. Then the Emperor ordered Isangeles to hand over Laodicea to Andronicus Tzintziluces and the forts of Maraceus and Balaneus to the soldiers of Eumathius, at that time Duke of Cyprus; and go on further and do his best to get possession of the other forts by fighting. And this he did in obedience to the Emperor's letter. After having handed over the forts to the men mentioned above he went to Antaradus, and made himself master of it without fighting. Directly this came to the ears of Atapacas of Damascus he gathered a large supply of troops and marched to meet him. As Isangeles had not sufficient forces to face such a number, he conceived a plan which was more clever than courageous. For he said boldly to the inhabitants, “As this fortress is very large, I will hide myself in some corner; and when Atapacas arrives, you must not tell him the truth, but assure him that I fled because I was frightened.”

5. So when Atapacas arrived and asked about Isangeles, he believed the story that he had run away, and being weary from his journey pitched his camp close to the walls. As the inhabitants showed him every kindness, the Turks felt safe and, not suspecting any hostile action, they turned their horses loose into the plain. One day at noon when the sun cast its rays vertically, Isangeles, strongly armed, and his men with him (these were about four hundred) suddenly threw open the gates and dashed right into the middle of their camp. Those of the Turks who were accustomed to fighting bravely did not spare their lives but stood up to him, and submitted to a battle; the rest tried to secure their own safety by flight. Owing to the width of the plain and its not being broken by any marsh or hill or ravine, the Latins were able to overpower them all. Thus all fell victims to the sword, only a few were captured. After overcoming the Turks by this stratagem, he marched to Tripolis.

6. Immediately on arrival he went up and seized the summit of the hill (which is a branch of Lebanon) opposite Tripolis, in order to have his fortified camp there and also to divert the water

Λιβάνου καταρρέον ὕδωρ εἰς Τρίπολιν διὰ τοῦ πρανοῦς τοῦ τοιοῦτου βουνοῦ ἐπισχεῖν. Τηνικαῦτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὰ συμβάντα δηλώσας ἤτεῖτο ἐρυμνότατόν τι ὀχύρωμα γενέσθαι πρὸ τοῦ καταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσάν δυνάμεις πλείονας καὶ καταγωνίσασθαι αὐτούς. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῷ δουκὶ Κύπρου τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου πολιχνίου κτίσιν ἀνέθετο, ἐπισκήψας ἵνα διὰ τοῦ στόλου πάντα τὰ συνοίσοντα ταχέως ἐξαποστέλλῃ καὶ τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτον πολίχνιον οἰκοδομήσοντας ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ὁ Ἰσαγγέλης ὑποδείξειε τόπον. Γέγονε τοῦτο τῷ τέως. 7. Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰσαγγέλης ἐξῴθεν τῆς Τριπόλεως στρατοπεδεύσάμενος πάντα κάλων κινῶν περὶ τὴν ταύτης ἄλωσιν οὐκ ἐνεδίδου. Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμουόντος τὴν τοῦ Τζιντζιλούκη εἰσέλευσιν εἰς Λαοδικεῖαν μεμαθηκῶς τὴν ἐχθραν, ἣν πάλαι κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐγκυμονήσας εἶχεν, εἰς τοῦμφανὲς ἐξαγαγὼν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀποχρώσης τὸν ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Ταγγρὲ κατὰ τῆς Λαοδικείας ἐκπέμπει ταύτην πολιορκήσοντα. Τῆς δὲ περὶ τούτου φήμης μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὰς τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη διαδραμούσης ἀκοάς, εὐθὺς μηδὲ μικρόν τι μελλήσας οὗτος καταλαμβάνει τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν καὶ λόγους συνείρει πρὸς τὸν Ταγγρὲ διὰ παντοίων λόγων συμβουλευὼν αὐτῷ τῆς τοῦ κάστρου πολιορκίας ἀποσχέσθαι. Ὡς δὲ πολλὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινολογούμενος καταπειθῆ τοῦτον οὐχ εὔρισκεν, ἀλλ' ἀντικρὺς ἄηδειν ἐδόκει παρὰ κωφῷ, ἐκεῖθεν παλινοστήσας καταλαμβάνει αὐθις τὴν Τρίπολιν. Ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδοπωσοῦν τῆς πολιορκίας ἀφίστατο. Ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Τζιντζιλούκης τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ Ταγγρὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν στενῷ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν συνελαύνεται, βοήθειαν ἐκεῖθεν ἠτεῖτο. Βραδυνόντων δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ, εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐλθὼν τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας, τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ πιεζόμενος, προδοῦναι τὸ κάστρον ἠρετίσατο

which flowed down the slopes of this hill to Tripolis. He then wrote a report to the Emperor of what he had accomplished, and begged him to have a well-fortified stronghold [p. 288] built there before more troops arrived from Chorosan and overwhelmed him. The Emperor entrusted the Duke of Cyprus with the erection of such a fort and ordered him to dispatch the fleet quickly with all the requisites and also the masons to build this fort on the spot Isangeles signified to them.

7. This was done while Isangeles was encamped outside Tripolis and never ceased straining every nerve to take it. On the other hand, when Boheimund was informed of Tzintziluces' entry into Laodicea, the enmity which he had so long fostered against the Emperor, burst out openly, and he sent his nephew Tancred with a considerable army to besiege Laodicea. A rumour of this had hardly come to Isangeles' hearing before, without the slightest delay, he rushed to Laodicea and opened negotiations with Tancred, and by various arguments tried to persuade him to desist from besieging the town. But when after a long colloquy he found he could not move him, and only seemed to be 'singing to a deaf man,' he departed and went back again to Tripolis. And the other did not relax the siege in the slightest; consequently when Tzintziluces saw Tancred's determination, and he and his were being reduced to straits, he asked for help from there (or from Cyprus). But the authorities in Cyprus were dilatory, and, as he was now very hard beset both by the siege and the pressure of famine, he elected to surrender the town.

§8

1. Τούτων οὕτω τελουμένων, ἐπεὶ τετελετηκότος τοῦ Γοντοφρὲ ἕτερον ἔδει πάλιν ῥῆγα γενέσθαι τὸν ἐκείνου ἀναπληροῦντα τόπον, εὐθὺς οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Λατῖνοι μετεκαλοῦντο τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην ἀπὸ Τριπόλεως ῥῆγα τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ποιῆσαι ἐθέλοντες. Ὁ δὲ ἀνεβάλλετο τέως τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἀπέλευσιν. Εἰσελθόντος οὖν εἰς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, ἐπεὶ ἀναβαλλόμενον αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐγνώκεσαν, μεταπεμψάμενοι τὸν Βαλδουῖνον περὶ τὴν Ἐδεσαν τότε ἐνδιατρίβοντα ῥῆγα Ἱεροσολύμων κατέστησαν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην ἀσμένως ἀποδεξάμενος, ἐπεὶ

1. During the course of these events Godfrey died and, as it was necessary to elect another King to take his place, the Latins in Jerusalem at once sent to Tripolis for Isangeles, intending to make him King of Jerusalem. But he kept on postponing his departure for Jerusalem. Consequently when the Latins in Jerusalem heard he had gone to the metropolis and was lingering there, they sent for Balduinus, who was then at Edessa, and appointed him King of Jerusalem. The Emperor received Isangeles with great pleasure and when he heard that Balduinus had accepted the

τὸν Βαλδουῖνον μεμαθήκοι τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀρχὴν ἀναδέξασθαι, παρακατεῖχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὀπηνίκα καὶ τὸ τῶν Νορμάνων φοσσάτον κατέλαβεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχον ἀδελφοὺς δύο Φλάντρας καλουμένους. 2. Οἷς πολλὰ πολλακίς ὁ βασιλεὺς συμβουλευόμενος τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι φοσσάτοις ὁδεῦσαι καὶ διὰ τῶν παραλίων τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα καταλαβεῖν καὶ οὕτως τῷ λοιπῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Λατίνων ἐνωθῆναι, πειθομένους τούτους οὐχ εὔρισκεν ἄτε τοῖς Φράγγοις ἐνωθῆναι μὴ βουλομένους, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ὁδεῦσαι ὁδὸν διὰ τοῦ ἀνατολικοῦ καὶ κατευθὺ χωρῆσαι τοῦ Χοροσάν οἰομένους κατασχεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, πάντη ἀσύμφορον τοῦτο γινώσκων καὶ τὴν ἀπώλειαν μὴ θέλων τοῦ τούτου λαοῦ (πεντήκοντα γὰρ ἦσαν χιλιάδες ἰπέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἑκατὸν πεζῶν), ἐπεὶ μὴ πειθομένους τούτους ἑώρα, τὸν δευτέρον, ὃ φασὶ, πλοῦν ἐρχόμενος, μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἰσαγγέλην καὶ τὸν Τζίταν συνεκπέμπει τούτοις ἐφ' ᾧ συμβουλευεῖν τε τὰ συνοίσοντα καὶ τῶν παραλόγων ὁρμῶν ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνασειράζειν αὐτούς. Διαπεραιωθέντες οὖν τὸν τῆς Κιβωτοῦ πορθμὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμενιακὸν ἐπειγόμενοι τὴν Ἄγκυραν καταλαβόντες ἐξ ἐφόδου ταύτην κατέσχον. Καὶ οὕτω τὸν Ἄλυν διαβάντες πολίχνιον τι κατέλαβον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον, θαρρήσαντες καὶ τὰς ἱεράς ἐπενδυθέντες οἱ ἱερεῖς στολὰς εὐαγγέλιόν τε καὶ σταυροὺς κομιζόμενοι ὡς Χριστιανοῖς τούτοις προσήσαν. Οἱ δὲ ἀπανθρώπως καὶ ἀπηνῶς οὐ τοὺς ἱερεῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀναιροῦσι καὶ ἀφροντίστως τοῦ λοιποῦ ὡς πρὸς Ἀμάσειαν ἀπονέυσαντες τὴν ὁδοπορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. 3. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι, ἐμπειροπόλεμοι ὄντες, προκαταλαβόντες τὰς κώμας πάσας καὶ τὰ χορτάσματα πάντα ἐνέπρησαν, ἐφθακότες δὲ τούτους ὀξέως προσέβαλον. Δευτέρα δὲ ἦν καθ' ἣν ὑπερίσχυσαν τούτων οἱ Τοῦρκοι. Καὶ τηρικαῦτα αὐτοῦ που κατασκηνώσαντες χάρακά τε πηξάμενοι τὰς σκευὰς ἐναπέθεντο. Τῇ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν αὐθις ἄμφω ἐμάχοντο τὰ στρατεύματα. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι κυκλοτερῶς κατασκηνώσαντες οὐ χορταγωγίας χώραν τούτοις ἐδίδουν οὔτε μὴν τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐς ποτὸν ἐξάγειν συνεχώρουν. Τὴν ἑαυτῶν οὖν πανωλεθρίαν ἐπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἤδη ὀρώντες οἱ Κελτοὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ζωῆς ἀφειδήσαντες τῇ μετ' αὐτὴν, τετράς δὲ ἦν, καρτερῶς ὀπλισάμενοι τὸν μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνεδέξαντο πόλεμον. Οἱ δὲ Τοῦρκοι, εἰς χεῖρας τούτους ἔχοντες, οὐκέτι μετὰ τῶν δοράτων οὐδὲ διὰ τόξων πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι καὶ τῶν κουλεῶν ἐξεγκύσαντες ἀγχέμαχον τὴν μάχην

sovereignty of Jerusalem, he kept him with him. At this time a Norman army arrived whose leaders were two brothers called Flanders.

2. The Emperor repeatedly advised them to travel by the same road as the armies that had gone on before, and to reach Jerusalem by the coast and thus join the rest of the Latin army. But he found that they would not listen as they did not wish to join the Franks, but wanted to travel by another route more to the east and march straight to Chorosan in the hope of taking it. The [p.289] Emperor knew that this plan was quite inexpedient and as he did not wish such a large crowd to perish (for they were fifty thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot) he tried 'the next best thing,' a the saying is, when he found they would not listen to him. He sent for Isangeles and Tzitas and asked them to accompany the Normans, to advise them to their advantage and to restrain them as far as possible in their mad enterprises. After crossing the straits of Gibotus they hastened on to Armenia and on reaching Ancyra took it by assault; next they went over the Halys and reached a small town. This was inhabited by Romans and consequently the citizens feared nothing; the priests clad in their sacred vestments, and carrying the gospel and crosses went out to meet their fellow-Christians. But the Normans in an inhuman and merciless fashion slaughtered not only the priests but the rest of the Christians also, and then quite heedlessly continued their journey, moving in the direction of Amaseia. 3. But the Turks, long practised in war, seized all the villages and food supplies, and burnt them, and when they caught up with the Normans they attacked them at once. It was on Monday the Turks got the better of them. The Latins fixed their camp on the spot where they were, and deposited their baggage, and the next day both armies met in battle again. The Turks next encamped in a circle round the Latins, and did not allow them to move out either for foraging or even to lead the beasts of burden or horses to water. The Franks now saw destruction staring them in the face, and with utter disregard of their lives, armed themselves strongly the following day (this was Wednesday) and engaged the enemy in battle. The Turks had them in their power, and therefore no longer fought with spears or arrows, but drew their swords and made the battle a hand-to-hand fight and soon routed the Normans, who retreated to

ἐποιοῦντο καὶ παρευθὺ τρέπουσι τοὺς Νορμάνους. Οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες τὸν ἴδιον χάρακα σύμβουλον ἀνεζήτουν. 4. Ὁ δ' ἄριστος αὐτοκράτωρ ὁ τὰ λῶνα τούτοις ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ μὴ εἰσακουσθεὶς οὐ παρήν. Λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη καὶ τοῦ Τζίτα γνώμην καταφεύγουσιν, ἅμα δὲ καί, εἰ χώρα τις τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πλησίον παράκειται, ἐπυρθάνοντο ἀναζητοῦντες αὐτήν. Καὶ δὴ τὰς τε σκευὰς καὶ τὰς σκιηὰς καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν αὐτοῦ που καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἰδίοις ἵπποις ἐποηθέντες ὡς εἶχον τάχους πρὸς τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν τοῦ Ἀρμενιοκοῦ καὶ τῆς παυράης ἔθειον. Ἐπεισπεσόντες δ' ἀθρόον οἱ Τοῦρκοι τούτων τῷ χάρακι πάντα ἀφείλοντο. Εἶτα κατόπιν τούτων διώξαντες τὸ πεζὸν ἅπαν ἐφθακότες ἀνεῖλον· τινὰς δὲ καὶ κατασχόντες πρὸς τὸν Χοροσάν δείγμα ἀπήγαγον. 5. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τῶν Τοῦρκων κατὰ τῶν Νορμάνων ἀνδραγαθήματα· ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης καὶ ὁ Τζίτας μετὰ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὀλίγων ἱππέων τὴν βασιλεύουσαν καταλαμβάνουσι. Δεξάμενος δὲ τούτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ χρήματα δούς ἰκανὰ καὶ διαναπαύσας ἤρετο ὅπου τοῦ λοιποῦ αἰρετὸν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι. Οἱ δὲ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ἐπεζήτησαν. Φιλοτιμησάμενος οὖν αὐτοὺς δαψιλῶς διαποντίους ἐκπέμπει τῇ αὐτῶν γνώμῃ τὸ πᾶν ἀναθέμενος. Ὁ δὲ γε Ἰσαγγέλης μεγαλοπόλεως ἐξεληθὼν τὴν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον στράτευμα ἀνεζήτηί ἀπέλευσιν· καὶ δὴ καταλαμβάνει αὐθις τὴν Τρίπολιν χειρώσασθαι ταύτην γλιχόμενος. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νόσῳ θανασίμῳ περιπεσὼν καὶ πνέων τὰ ἔσχατα, μεταπεμπάμενος τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιὸν Γελιέλμον ὥσπερ τινὰ κληρὸν ἅπαντα τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασχθέντα κάστρα τούτῳ ἀπεχαρίσατο, ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τῶν αὐτοῦ ταγμάτων καταστήσας. Τούτου τοίνυν τὴν τελευτὴν μεμαθηκώς, ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Κύπρου διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσεν, ἵνα Νικήταν τὸν Χαλίντζην μετὰ χρημάτων ἰκανῶν πρὸς τὸν Γελιέλμον ἐκπέμψῃ ἐφ' ᾧ ὑποποιήσασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρασκευάσαι ὁμωμοκέναί πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστιν βεβαίαν φυλάξαι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ὅποιαν ὁ ἀποβεβιωκὼς θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ἰσαγγέλης μέχρι τέλους ἐτήρησεν

their camp, and sought a counsellor.

4. But the excellent Emperor to whom they would not listen when he gave them sensible advice, was not at hand, so they appealed to Isangeles and Tzitas for advice, and at the same time enquired whether there was any place under the Emperor's jurisdiction near by to which they could repair. They actually left their baggage, tents and all the infantry where they were, and rode off as speedily as they could on their horses to the sea-coast of the Armenian theme and Paurae. Then the Turks made a sudden descent upon the camp and carried off everything and afterwards pursued and overtook the infantry and [p. 290] annihilated them completely, except for a few whom they captured and carried back to Chorosan as specimens. 5. Such were the exploits of the Turks against the Normans; and Isangeles and Tzitas with the few surviving knights reached the capital. The Emperor received them, and gave them plenty of money, and after they were rested asked them whither they wanted to go; and they chose Jerusalem. Accordingly he lavished more presents upon them and sent them by sea, leaving everything to their discretion. But Isangeles on leaving the capital desired to return to his own army and therefore went back to Tripolis, which he longed to subdue. Afterwards he fell a victim to a mortal disease and, when breathing his last, sent for his nephew Gelielmus and bequeathed to him as a species of inheritance all the towns he had conquered and appointed him leader and master of all his troops. When the news of his death was brought to the Emperor, he immediately wrote to the Duke of Cyprus, and ordered him to send Nicetas Chalintzes with plenty of money to Gelielmus in order to propitiate him and influence him to swear on oath that he would maintain unbroken fidelity to the Emperor just as his deceased uncle Isangeles had preserved his to the end.

§9

1. Εἶτα μεμαθηκώς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὴν τῆς Λαοδικείας παρὰ τοῦ Ταγγρῆ κατάσχεσιν πρὸς τὸν Βαῖμοῦντον γράμματα ἐκτίθεται οὕτως

1. Soon the Emperor learnt of the seizure of Laodicea by Tancred, and therefore sent a letter to Bohemund which ran as follows: "You know

περιέχοντα· “Τὰ ὄρκια οἶδας καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἅς οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσαντο. Νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς πρῶτος παρασπονδήσας τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέσχευε καὶ ἄλλα τα φρούρια ὑποποισάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν. Ἀπόστηθι τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, δίκαιόν τι πρᾶγμα ποιῶν, καὶ μὴ θέλε πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ μάχας κατὰ σαυτοῦ ἐρεθίζειν.” Ὁ δὲ γε Βαϊμούντος τὰς βασιλικὰς ὑπαναγνοὺς γραφάς, ἐπειδὴ μὴ τῷ συνήθει ψεύδει χρήσασθαι οἷός τε ἦν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀριδῆλως τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐλεγχόντων, πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα τῷ φαινομένῳ κατένευσεν, αἰτίαν μέντοι τῶν κακῶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων εἶναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἔλεγε, γράψας ὡς· “Οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτων αἴτιος, ἀλλὰ σύ. Ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ κατόπιν ἡμῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἔρχεσθαι πολλῆς, οὐκ ἠθέλησας τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἔργοις πιστώσασθαι. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τρισὶ μῆσι πολλὰ μογήσαντες πρὸς πολεμίους ἀπεμαχόμεθα καὶ λιμόν, οἷον οὐδεὶς πως τῶν ἀνθρώπων τεθέαται, ὡς τοὺς πλείστους ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀπηγορευμένων κρεῶν βεβρωκέναί. Ἐφ’ ἱκανὸν δὲ ἐγκαρτεροῦντων ἡμῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δοθεὶς ἡμῖν εἰς ἀρωγὴν πιστότατος οἰκέτης τοῦ σοῦ κράτους Τατίκιος οὕτω κινδυνεύοντας καταλιπὼν ἡμᾶς ὤηχετο. Εἴλομεν δὲ τὴν πόλιν παραδόξως καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοροσάν εἰς ἀρωγὴν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων καταλαβούσας δυνάμεις κατετροπώσαμεθα. Καὶ πῶς δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ἄπερ οἰκείοις ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις ἐκτησάμεθα, ῥαδίως οὕτως ἀποποιήσασθαι...” 2. Ὑποστρεψάντων δ’ ἐκεῖθεν τῶν πρέσβεων, ὡς τὰς τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ὑпанέγνω γραφάς, διαγνοὺς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον αὐθις εἶναι τὸν Βαϊμούντον μὴδὲ ὅπως οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβληθέντα, δεῖν ἔγνω τῶν ὀρίων τῆς βασιλείας Ῥωμαίων ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀκάθεκτον αὐτοῦ ὀρμὴν ὡς ἐνὸν ἀνακόπτειν. Δυνάμεις τοίνυν πολλὰς μετὰ τοῦ Βουτουμίτου κατὰ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὸ ἐλλογιμώτατον τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ καταλόγου, ἄνδρας μαχιμωτάτους καὶ ἄρεως ὑπασπιστὰς ἅπαντας καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν Βάρδαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Μιχαήλ, ἀκμάζοντας καὶ ἀρτιφυεῖς τὸ γένειον. Οὗς νηπιόθεν προσλαβόμενος ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἐκπαιδεύσας ὡς εὐνουστέρους τῶν ἄλλων τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ παραδίδωσι μεθ’ ἐτέρων χιλίων ἀνδρῶν γενναίων Κελτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐφ’ ᾧ συμπαρομαρτεῖν τε αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπέκειν ἐν ἅπασιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ τυχὸν τῶν καθ’ ὥραν ξυμπιπτόντων δι’ ἀπορρήτων γραμμάτων δηλοῦν αὐτῷ. Ἐσπευδε δὲ τὴν ἅπασαν χώραν τῆς Κιλικίας

the oaths and promises which not only you but all the Counts took to the Roman Empire. Now you were the first to break them, by retaining possession of Antioch, and then taking more fortresses and even Laodicea itself. Therefore withdraw from Antioch and all the other cities and do what is just and right, and do not provoke more wars and troubles for yourself.” Now Bohemund after reading the Emperor’s letter could not reply by a falsehood, as he usually did, for the facts openly declared the truth, outwardly he assented to it, but put the blame for all the wrong he had done upon the Emperor and wrote to him thus, “It is not I, but you, who are the cause of all this. For you promised you would follow us with a large army, but you never thought of making good your promise by deeds. When we reached Antioch we fought for three months under great difficulty both against the enemy and against famine, which was more severe than had ever been experienced before, with the result that most of us ate of the very foods which are forbidden by law. We endured for a long time and while [291] we were in this danger even Taticius, your Majesty’s most loyal servant, whom you had appointed to help us, went away and left us to our danger. Yet we captured Antioch unexpectedly and utterly routed the troops which had come from Chorosan to succour Antioch. In what way would it be just for us to deprive ourselves willingly of what we gained by our own sweat and toil?”

2. When the envoys returned from him the Emperor recognized from the reading of his letter that he was still the same Bohemund and in no wise changed for the better, and therefore decided that he must protect the boundaries of the Roman Empire, and as far as possible, check his impetuous advance. Accordingly he sent Butumites into Cilicia with numerous forces and the pick of the military roll, all very warlike men and devotees of Ares, amongst them too Bardas and the chief cup-bearer Michael, both in the flower of youth with beards newly-grown. These two the Emperor had taken to himself from childhood and trained thoroughly in military science; he now gave them to Butumites as being more loyal than the rest besides another thousand men of noble birth, Franks and Romans, mixed, who were to accompany him and obey him in everything and also acquaint him himself by secret letters of the hourly happenings. His desire was to subdue the whole province of Cilicia and thus more easily

κατασχεῖν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ῥᾶον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐξαρτῆ. **3.** Ἀπάρας οὖν ὁ Βουτουμίτης σὺν ὅλαις δυνάμεσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἀττάλου ἐφθακῶς, ἐπεὶ τὸν Βάρδαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιοινοχόον Μιχαὴλ μὴ ὑπέκοντας ἑώρα τῷ τούτου θελήματι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν συμβαίῃ στασιάζειν κακ τούτου κενόσπουδος ἢ σπουδῇ τῷ Βουτουμίτῃ γένηται καὶ ἄπρακτος τῆς Κιλικίας ἀποπεμφθεὶ, παραχρῆμα τὰ περὶ τούτων δηλοῖ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν συνδιατριβὴν παραιτούμενος. Ὁ δέ, τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἰωθυίας γίνεσθαι βλάβας γινώσκων, γοργῶς ἐφ' ἑτέραν ὑπόθεσιν τούτους τε καὶ ὀπόσους ὑπόπτους εἶχε διὰ γραμμάτων προὔτρέπετο, ἵνα τὴν Κύπρον τάχιον καταλαβόντες τῷ Εὐφορβηνῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ, τὴν δουκικὴν ἀρχὴν τηρικαῦτα τῆς νήσου Κύπρου ἀναδεξαμένῳ, συνόντες ἐν πάσιν ὑπέκωσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἀσμένως τὰ γράμματα δεξάμενοι ἠάττον πρὸς τὴν Κύπρον διαπλώζονται· μικρὸν οὖν χρόνον μετὰ τοῦ δουκὸς Κύπρου ἐνδιατρίψαντες τῇ συνήθει ἀναισχυντία καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέχρητο. Ἐνθεν τοι καὶ λοξὸν αὐτοὺς ὑπεβλέπετο. Οἱ δὲ νεανῖαι, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ αὐτοὺς κηδεμονίας μεμνημένοι, διὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γραμμάτων τοῦ δουκὸς πολλὰ κατέτρεχον τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀνακαλούμενοι. Ἀναπτύξας δὲ τὰς αὐτῶν γραφὰς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τινες τῶν τῆς μείζονος τύχης, ὅσους ὑπόπτους ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εἶχε, σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε, πτοηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ λύπης ἴσως συναπαθῶσιν ἐκείνοις, εὐθὺς τῷ Καντακουζηνῷ ἐπέσκηψεν ἀναλαβέσθαι τούτους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. Ὅς φθάσας εἰς Κυρήναιαν καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος τούτους μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀνελάβετο. **4.** Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ τούτων, τοῦ Βάρδα φημὶ καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιοινοχόου Μιχαήλ· ὁ δὲ γε Βουτουμίτης μετὰ τοῦ Μοναστρᾶ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καταλειφθέντων λογάδων ἡγεμόνων τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐφθακῶς, ὡς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους εὔρε σπεισαμένους μετὰ τοῦ Ταγγρέ, παραδραμῶν τούτους καὶ τὸ Μαράσιν καταλαβὼν κατέσχευεν αὐτό, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας ἀπάσας κωμοπόλεις καὶ τὰ πολίχνια. Καὶ ἀποχρώσας δυνάμεις εἰς φρουρὰν τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὸν μισοβάρβαρον καταλιπὼν Μοναστρᾶν, περὶ οὗ ἐν πολλοῖς ὁ λόγος ἐμέμνητο, πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐπανέστρεψεν.

carry out his designs upon Antioch. **3.** Butumites started with all his forces and reached the city of Attalus; there he noticed that Bardas and the chief cup-bearer, Michael, would not comply with his wishes and to prevent the whole army perhaps mutinying, and all his labour being in vain, and his being obliged to return from Cilicia without accomplishing anything, he at once wrote to the Emperor full details about these men, and asked to be relieved of their company. The Emperor vividly aware of the harm that is wont to result from such beginnings, turned them and the others he suspected into another direction by writing to them to go to Cyprus with all speed and join Constantine Euphorbenus, who held the position of Duke of Cyprus at the time, and obey him in everything. On receiving the letters they gladly embarked for Cyprus. But after they had been a short time with the Duke of Cyprus, they began their usual impudence with him, in consequence of which he looked upon them askance. But the young men mindful of the Emperor's affection for them wrote to the Emperor and ran down Euphorbenus, and asked to be recalled to Constantinople. After perusing their letters the Emperor, [292] who had sent several of the richer men (of whom he was suspicious) with these two to Cyprus, was afraid lest these might from annoyance join the two in rebellion, and straightway enjoined Cantacuzenus to go and bring them back with him. Directly Cantacuzenus arrived in Cyrenea he sent for them and took them back.

4. This is what happened to those two, I mean Bardas and the chief cup-bearer Michael. Butumites meanwhile with Monastras and the picked officers who remained with him, reached Cilicia and found that the Armenians had already concluded a truce with Tancred. So he passed them by and seized Marasin and all the neighbouring villages and forts; then he left the semi-barbarian Monastras (who has often been mentioned in this history) as governor with sufficient troops to protect the whole country, and himself returned to the capital.

§10

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξερχόμενοι οἱ Φράγγοι πρὸς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα πρὸς κατάσχεσιν τῶν πόλεων Συρίας ὑπέσχοντο τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πίσεως ἰκανά, εἰ τούτοις

1. When the Franks moved out of Jerusalem to take the cities of Syria, they promised the Bishop of Pisa large rewards, if he would assist them in

συνάρηται πρὸς τὸν προκειμένον αὐτοῖς σκοπόν, ὁ δὲ καταπειθῆς τοῖς λόγοις τούτων γεγονῶς καὶ ἑτέρους δύο τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκούντων ἐς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρεθίσας οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλίσας διήρεις τε καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δρόμοντας καὶ ἕτερα τῶν ταχυδρόμων πλοίων εἰς ἑνακόσια περιστάμενα ἔξεισιν ὡς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπερχόμενος. Ἰκανὰ δὲ τούτων ἀποτεμόμενος εἰς προνομὴν τῆς Κορυφοῦς, τῆς Λευκάδος, τῆς Κεφαληνίας καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου ἀπέστειλε.

2. Ταῦτα μανθάνων ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν χωρῶν προσέταξε γενέσθαι πλοῖα. Καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἰκανὰ κατασκευάζων, ἐκ διαλειμμάτων εἰς μονῆρες εἰσερχόμενος ἐπέσκηπτε τοῖς κατασκευάζουσιν ὅπως χρῆ ταῦτα ποιεῖν. Γινώσκων δὲ τοὺς πισσαίους τοῦ περὶ τὴν θάλατταν πολέμου ἐπιστήμονας καὶ δεδιῶς τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην, ἐν ἐκάστη πρῶρα τῶν πλοίων διὰ χαλκῶν καὶ σιδήρων λεόντων καὶ ἀλλοίων χερσαίων ζῶων κεφαλὰς μετὰ στομάτων ἀνεωγμένων κατασκευάσας, χρυσοῦ τε περιστείλας αὐτὰ ὡς ἐκ μόνης θέας φοβερὸν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ διὰ τῶν στρεπτῶν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων μέλλον ἀφίεσθαι πῦρ διὰ τῶν στομάτων αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε διέναι, ὥστε δοκεῖν τοὺς λέοντας καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν τοιούτων ζῶων τοῦτο ἐξερεῦγεσθαι. Οὕτω γοῦν ταῦτα κατασκευάσας, μετακαλεσάμενος τὸν Τατίκιον ἐξ Ἀντιοχείας νεωστὶ παραγενόμενον, αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα πλοῖα παραδεδωκῶς περιφανεστάτην κεφαλὴν ὠνόμασε· τῷ δὲ γε Λαντούλφῳ τὸν ἅπαντα στόλον ἀναθέμενος, μέγαν δοῦκα προῦβάλετο ὡς τῆς ναυμαχίας εἰδήμονα ἄριστον. **3.** Ἐξεληθόντες οὖν τῆς μεγαλόπολεως μηνὸς παριππεύοντος Ἀπριλλίου μετὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου τὴν Σάμον κατέλαβον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τῇ χέρσῳ προσορμίσαντες ἐξῆλθον πρὸς τὴν ἠπειρον ἐπὶ τῷ διὰ τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἐπὶ πλεον ἀσφαλισμένους κατοχυρῶσαι αὐτά. Μεμαθηκότες δὲ τὴν τοῦ πισσαϊκοῦ στόλου διέλευσιν τὰ πρυμνήσια λύσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἔθειον ὡς πρὸς τὴν Κῶ. Πρῶας δὲ τῶν πισσαίων ἐκεῖσε καταλαβόντων ἐσπέρας οὗτοι ταύτην κατέλαβον. Μὴ ἐντετυχηκότες δὲ τοῖς πισσαίοις ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν Κνίδον περὶ τὴν ἠπειρον τῆς ἀνατολῆς διακειμένην. Κεῖθι δὲ παραγενόμενοι, ὡς τῆς ἄγρας ἠστόχουν, ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐφευρηκότες τῶν πισσαίων αὐτοῦ που καταλειφθέντας ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅπου ὁ πισσαϊκὸς ἐξώρμησε στόλος· οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν Ῥόδον ἔφασαν. Καὶ παραχρῆμα λύσαντες τὰ πρυμνήσια θᾶττον τούτους κατέλαβον μετὰ πατάρων καὶ Ῥόδου. Τούτους δ' οἱ πισσαῖοι θεασάμενοι μόθου παραυτικά

their proposed object. He agreed to their request and stirred up two others who dwelt on the coast to do the same; and then without any delay equipped biremes and triremes and 'dromones' and other fast-sailing ships amounting to nine hundred and sailed forth to meet them. He detached a number of the ships and sent them to pillage Corfu, Leucas, Cephalenia and Zacynthus.

2. On hearing this the Emperor ordered ships to be furnished by all the countries under the Roman sway. He had a number built in the capital itself and would at intervals go round in a monoreme and instruct the shipwrights how to make them. As he knew that the Pisans were skilled in sea-warfare and dreaded a battle with them, on the prow of each ship he had a head fixed of a lion or other land-animal, made in brass or iron with the mouth open and then gilded over, so that their mere aspect was terrifying. And the fire which was to be directed against the enemy through tubes he made to pass through the mouths of the beasts, so that it seemed as if the lions and the other similar monsters were vomiting the fire. In this manner then these ships were prepared; he next sent for Taticius, newly returned from Antioch, and gave him these ships and named him their supreme head. But the whole fleet he put under the command of Landulph and raised him to the dignity of Great Duke, as he was the most experienced in naval warfare.

3. They left the capital in the course of the month of April and sailed to [293] Samos with the Roman fleet. There they disembarked and hauled the ships up on land in order to make them stronger and more durable by tarring them over. But when they heard that the Pisan fleet had sailed past, they heaved up their anchors and hurried after them towards Cos; and reached that island in the evening while the Pisans had reached it in the morning. As they did not meet the Pisans they sailed to Cnidus which lies on the Eastern Continent. On arriving there, although they missed their prey, yet they found a few Pisans who had been left behind and enquired of them whither the Pisan fleet had gone, and they answered 'to Rhodes.' So they immediately loosed their cables and soon overtook them between Patara and Rhodes. When the Pisans caught sight of them they speedily arranged their fleet in battle-order and whetted their minds, as

σχῆμα διατυπώσαντες πρὸς μάχην οὐ τὰ ξίφη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς καρδίας ἔθηγον. Ἐπικαταλαβόντος δὲ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου κόμης τις πελοποννήσιος περιχύτης καλούμενος ναυλοχεῖν ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενος, ὡς τούτους ἐθεάσατο, ταῖς κώπαις τὸ ἴδιον πτερώσας μονῆρες ὡς εἶχε κατ' αὐτῶν ἵεται. Καὶ διὰ μέσου τούτων ὡς πῦρ διελθὼν εἰς τὸν ῥωμαϊκὸν αὐθις ἐπανεστρεφε στόλον. 4. Ὁ μέντοι ῥωμαϊκὸς στόλος οὐκ εὐτάκτως τῆς μετὰ τῶν πισσαίων μάχης ἀπεπειρᾶτο, ἀλλ' ὀξέως καὶ ἀσυντάκτως τούτοις προσέβαλε. Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λαντοῦλφος, πρῶτος προσπελάσας ταῖς πισσαϊκαῖς ναυσίν, τὸ πῦρ ἔβαλε καὶ οὐδὲν τι πλέον εἰργάσατο τοῦ πυρὸς σκεδασθέντος. Ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος Ἐλεῆμων κόμης, ἀναισχύντως μεγίστῳ πλοίῳ κατὰ πρύμναν προσβαλὼν, τοῖς πηδαλίοις τούτου περιπεσὼν καὶ μὴ εὐχερῶς ἔχων ἐκεῖθεν διαπλώσασθαι, κατεσχέθη ἄν εἰ μὴ γοργῶς πρὸς τὴν σκευὴν ἀπέειδε καὶ πῦρ κατ' αὐτῶν ἀφείδεν οὐκ ἄστοχα ἔβαλεν. Εἶτα τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ θάτερα γοργῶς μεταφέρων καὶ ἐτέρας παραχρῆμα τρεῖς μεγίστας ἐπυρπόλει τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα καὶ συστροφὴ ἀνέμου τὴν θάλατταν ἀθρόον ἐπισπεσοῦσα διετάραττε τὰς τε ναῦς συνέτριβε καὶ μονοῦ βυθίζειν ἠπειλεῖ (ἐρρόχθει γὰρ τὸ κύμα, ἐτετρίγεσαν αἱ κεραῖαι τὰ θ' ἰστία διερρήγνυντο), ἐκδειματωθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸ πεμπόμενον πῦρ (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐθάδες ἦσαν τοιούτων σκευῶν ἢ πυρὸς ἄνω μὲν φύσει τὴν φορὰν ἔχοντος, πεμπομένου δ' ἐφ' ἃ βούλεται ὁ πέμπων κατὰ τε τὸ πρᾶν ἐπολλάκις καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα), τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θαλαττίου κλύδωνος συγχυθέντες τὸν νοῦν φυγαδείας ἦσαντο. 5. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων· ὁ δὲ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου νησιδίῳ τινὶ προσώκειλεν οὕτως ὡς καλουμένῳ Σεύτλῳ. Αὐγαζούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες τῆ Ῥόδῳ προσώρμισαν. Τῶν πλοίων οὖν ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ὅσους ἔφθασαν κατασχεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν τοῦ Βαῖμούντου ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἐξεδειμάτουν αὐτοὺς ὡς μέλλοντες τιμῆς πάντας ἀπεμπολεῖν ἢ κατασφάττειν. Ὡς δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτους πρὸς τοῦτο ἑώρων αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀπεμπόλησιν ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθεμένους, εὐθύς ξίφους παρανάλωμα πεποιήκασιν. 6. Οἱ δὲ γε περιλειφθέντες τοῦ πισσαϊκοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὸ τὰς παρατυχοῦσας νήσους καὶ τὴν Κύπρον λήξασθαι ἀπέβλεψαν· ἐνθα τυχὼν ὁ Φιλοκάλης Εὐμάθιος κατ' αὐτῶν ἵεται. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς ναῦς δειλίᾳ συσχεθέντες μὴδὲ τοῦ ἐξιόντος προνομῆς χάριν ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αὐτῶν λαοῦ πεφροντικότες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλείονας περὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐάσαντες, ἀσυντάκτως οὕτω λύσαντες τὰ πρυμνήσια πρὸς τὴν

well as their swords, for the fray. As the Roman fleet was drawing near, a certain Peloponnesian count, Perichytes by name, and a very expert navigator, had his ship of a single bank of oars rowed very quickly against the Pisans directly he saw them; and he passed right through the midst of them like fire, and then returned to the Roman fleet. 4. The Roman fleet however did not venture upon a regular sea-battle with the Pisans, but made a series of swift, irregular attacks upon them. Landulph himself, first of all, drew close to the Pisan ships and threw fire at them, but aimed badly and thus accomplished nothing but wasting his fire. Then the man called Count Eleemon very boldly attacked the largest vessel at the stern, but got entangled in its rudders, and as he could not free himself easily he would have been taken, had he not with great presence of mind had recourse to his machine and poured fire upon the enemy very successfully. Then he quickly turned his ship round and set fire on the spot to three more of the largest barbarian ships. At the same moment a squall of wind suddenly struck the sea and churned it up and dashed the ships together and almost threatened to sink them (for the waves roared, the yard arms creaked and the sails were split). The barbarians now became thoroughly alarmed, firstly because of the fire directed upon them (for they were not accustomed to that kind of machine, nor to a fire, which naturally flames upwards, but in this case was directed in whatever direction the sender desired, often downwards or laterally) and secondly they were much upset by the storm, and consequently they fled. 5. That is what the barbarians did. The Roman fleet for its part ran to a little island, [294] locally called Seutlus, and when day dawned sailed away from there and entered the harbour of Rhodes. There they disembarked and led out all the prisoners they had succeeded in taking, amongst them Bohemund's nephew, and tried to frighten them by saying they would either sell them as slaves or kill them. As they noticed the prisoners were quite unmoved by these threats and thought nothing of slavery, they slaughtered them all on the spot. 6. The survivors of the Pisan fleet turned their attention to pillaging whatever islands they touched and especially Cyprus; Philocales Eumathius happened to be there and advanced against them. At this the sailors were so distraught by fear that they did not even give a thought to the men who had gone away from the ships for foraging, but left the greater number on the

Λαοδίκειαν ἀπέπλεον τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες. Καὶ δὴ καὶ καταλαβόντες προσελήλυθεσάν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀγάπην ἀσπάζεσθαι ἔλεγον· ὁ δέ, ὅποῖος ἐκεῖνος, ἀσμένως αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχεται. Ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ περὶ τὴν ἤθονα καταλειφθέντες λαφυραγωγίας ἔνεκα ὑποστρέψαντες τὸν ἴδιον στόλον οὐχ ἐώρων, ἔρριπτον ἀφειδῶς ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἀπεπνίγοντο. **7.** Οἱ δὲ τοῦ ῥωμαϊκοῦ στόλου θαλασσοκράτορες καὶ αὐτὸς δὴ ὁ Λαντοῦλφος καταλαβόντες τὴν Κύπρον συνεληλυθότες περὶ εἰρήνης ἐπερωτᾶν ἐβουλεύοντο. Πάντων οὖν ὁμογνωμονησάντων πρὸς τοῦτο, στέλλεται ὁ Βουτουμίτης πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον. Τοῦτον οὖν θεασάμενος καὶ παρακατασχὼν ἐπὶ ὄλαις πέντε καὶ δέκα ἡμέραις, ἐπεὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν καὶ λιμὸς κατελήφει καὶ ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος αὔθις Βαϊμοῦντος ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἠλλοίωτο οὔτε μὴν εἰρηνεῦν ἐμεμαθήκει, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν φησιν· “Οὐ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ εἰρήνην αὐτὸς ἐνταυθοῖ παραγέγονας, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς ἐμὰς ἐμπρῆσαι ναῦς. Ἄπιθι τοίνυν· ἀρκεῖ γάρ σοι αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ ἀνακρωτηρίαστον τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀπολυθῆναι.”

8. Ἀπάρας οὖν ἐκεῖθεν καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αὐτὸν ἀποστείλαντας περὶ τὸν λιμένα τῆς Κύπρου. Καὶ τὴν Βαϊμοῦντου πονηρὰν γνώμην ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν μηνυμάτων διαγνόντες καὶ ὡς ἀδύνατον σπεύσασθαι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἐκεῖθεν ἀπάραντες, ὅλοις ιστίοις τὴν πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν ὑγρὰν ὑπέπλεον κέλευθον. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Συκίην τρικυμίας μεγάλης καὶ κλύδωνος διεγερθέντος σφοδροῦ τὰ πλοῖα τῇ χέρσῳ προσραγέντα ἡμίθραυστα πάντα γεγόνασι πλὴν τῶν νηῶν ὧν ἐξῆρχεν ὁ Τατίκιος. **9.** Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν πισσαϊκὸν στόλον ὠδὲ πη προκεχωρήκει· ὁ δὲ Βαϊμοῦντος φύσει πονηρότατος ὧν ἐδεδίει, μὴ τὸ Κούρικον ὁ βασιλεὺς προκατάσχη καὶ στόλον ῥωμαϊκὸν τῷ λιμένι προσορμίσας φυλάττη μὲν τὴν Κύπρον, ἀπειρήγη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας διὰ τῆς παραλίας τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέλλοντας ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμάχους. Ταῦτα οὖν λογίζόμενος αὐτὸς τοῦτο ἀνοικοδομῆσαι καὶ τὸν λιμένα κατασχεῖν ἐβουλεύετο. Πόλις γὰρ πρότερον οὔσα ἐρυμνοτάτη τὸ Κούρικον ἐν ὑστέροις ἔφθασεν ἐριπωθῆναι χρόνοις. Ὁ δὲ γε αὐτοκράτωρ, ταῦτα προμηθευσάμενος καὶ τὰς ἐπινοίας αὐτοῦ προκαταλαβὼν, πέμπει τὸν ἐκτομίαν Εὐστάθιον, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ κανικλείου ἀξίας μέγαν δρουγγάριον τοῦ στόλου προχειρισάμενος, ἐπισκήσας αὐτῷ σπεῦσαι καταλαβεῖν τὸ Κούρικον καὶ διὰ τάχους ἀνοικοδομῆσαι τε αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ κάστρον Σελεύκειαν στάδια ἕξ τούτου ἀφισταμένην καὶ δύναμιν ἀποχρῶσαν καταλιπεῖν ἐν

island, hurriedly loosed their cables and sailed away to Laodicea to Bohemund. When the sailors who had been left on the island to collect plunder returned and did not see their own fleet, they threw themselves into the sea in desperation, and were drowned.

7. The commanders of the Roman fleet including Landulph himself met in Cyprus and decided to make overtures for peace. As all agreed to this, Butumites was sent to Bohemund. The latter saw him and detained him quite fifteen days, then famine oppressed Laodicea, and as Bohemund was still Bohemund and not changed at all, and had not learnt to speak words of peace, he sent for Butumites and said, “You did not come here for the sake of peace or of friendship, but in order to set fire to my ships. Be gone now; and you have reason to be thankful that you get away from here unharmed.”

8. So he sailed away and found the men who had sent him in the harbour of Cyprus. From his report they recognized more fully Bohemund's wicked disposition, and the impossibility of peace being made between him and the Emperor, so they left Cyprus and with all sails set they sailed over the watery ways to the capital. But opposite Syce a great tempest and violent sea arose and the ships were dashed on shore and half-broken, all except those Taticius commanded. **9.** Such were the events connected with the Pisan fleet. Bohemund with his extreme natural astuteness was afraid that the Emperor might proceed to seize Curicum, keep the Roman fleet in its harbour and thus protect Cyprus and at the same time prevent his allies from Lombardy coming to him along the eastern coast. Because of these considerations he decided to rebuild the town himself and occupy the harbour. For [295] Curicum had formerly been a very strongly fortified town, but allowed in later times to fall into ruin. The Emperor had already thought of this and anticipated Bohemund's plan by sending the eunuch Eustathius (whom he promoted from the rank of Canicleius to Great Drungaire of the fleet) with orders to occupy Curicum with all speed. Further he was to rebuild it quickly, and the fort Seleucia as well, which was six stades distant, then leave an adequate garrison in each and appoint Strategius Strabus Duke over them, a

αὐτοῖς δοῦκα δὲ προχειρίσασθαι Στρατήγιον τὸν Στραβόν, ἄνδρα μικρὸν μὲν τῷ σώματι, ταῖς δὲ πολεμικαῖς ἐμπειρίαις πολὺν τε καὶ μέγιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν λιμένα στόλον ἱκανὸν προσορμίσαι καὶ παραγγεῖλαι ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ ἐνεδρεῦναι τοὺς ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας εἰς ἄρωγὴν τοῦ Βαῖμούντου ἐρχομένους, ἐπαρήγειν δὲ καὶ τῇ Κύπρῳ. **10.** Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ὁ ῥηθεις δρουγγάριος τοῦ στόλου καὶ προκαταλαβὼν τὰ τοῦ Βαῖμούντου διανοήματα ἀνεγείρει μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἀποκαθιστᾶ κατάστασιν. Παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ τὴν Σελεύκειαν ἀνοικοδομήσας καὶ κατοχυρώσας διὰ τάφρων γυρόθεν δυνάμεις τε ἱκανὰς ἐν ἀμφοτέροις καταλιπὼν μετὰ τοῦ δουκὸς Στρατηγίου κατελθὼν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ στόλον ἀποχρῶντα ἐν αὐτῷ καταλιπὼν κατὰ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος εἰσηγήσεις ἐπαναζεύγνυσι πρὸς τὴν μεγαλόπολιν, καὶ μεγάλως παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἐπαινεθεὶς δαυιλῶς περιφιλῆται.

man of small body, but of long and varied military experience. He was moreover to have a large fleet at anchor in the harbour and order them to keep a careful look-out for the men coming from Lombardy to Bohemund's aid, and also to help to guard Cyprus.

10. So this Drungaire of the fleet I have mentioned went forth, and anticipating Bohemund's intentions, repaired the town and restored it to its former condition. He also rebuilt Seleucia and made it surer by digging trenches all round, and left a good number of troops in each town under the Duke Strategius. Finally he went down to the harbour and left a considerable fleet in it according to the Emperor's instructions and then travelled back to the capital, where he received great commendation from the Emperor and lavish rewards.

§11

1. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸ Κούρικον· μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἑνιαυτοῦ, ἀναμαθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι καὶ γενούσιος στόλος εἰς συμμαχίαν τῶν Φράγγων ἐξελεθεῖν ἐτοιμάζεται, στοχασάμενος ὅτι οὐ μικρᾶς βλάβης παραίτιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἔσονται, τὸν μὲν Καντακουζηνὸν διὰ τῆς ἠπειροῦ μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ Λαντοῦλφον γοργῶς ἐξοπλίσας μετὰ στόλου διὰ θαλάσσης ἀπέστειλε παρακελευσάμενος αὐτῷ τὸ τάχος καταλαβεῖν τὰ κατωτικὰ ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν μετὰ τῶν Γενουσίων ἐκέῖσε διερχομένων ἀναδέξασθαι πόλεμον. Τούτων οὖν ἀπελθόντων ἔνθα καὶ προσετάχθησαν, χειμῶν βαρὺς ἐπιέγρονε καὶ ἀφόρητος, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ πολλὰς τῶν νηῶν συνέβη διαθραυσθῆναι. Ἄσπερ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν χέρσον ἐξεγκύσαντες ἐπιμελῶς τὴν διὰ τῆς ὑγρᾶς πίσεως ἐπίχρισιν ταύταις ἐπέφερον. **2.** Τηνικαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Καντακουζηνός, τὸν τῶν Γενουσίων στόλον περὶ τὰ κατωτικὰ διαπλέοντα ἐγγύς που εἶναι μεμαθηκῶς, ὑποτίθεται τῷ Λαντοῦλφῳ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀναλαβέσθαι (τοσαύτας γὰρ μόνας συνέβη τῷ τότε ἀποπλέειν τῶν ἄλλων ἐξεγκυσθεισῶν τῆς θαλάσσης) καὶ ἀπελθόντα κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Μαλέου προσοκεῖλαι αὐτάς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὑποθήκας, καὶ διερχομένων τῶν Γενουσίων, εἰ μὲν τὸν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀποθαρροῖ πόλεμον, εὐθὺς τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀναδέξασθαι μάχην, εἰ δ' οὐ, τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ταῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν νηυσὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς πλωτήρσιν εἰς Κορώνην προσοκείλαντι περιποιή-

1. Such then were the doings at Curicum. After the lapse of a year Alexius was informed that the Genoese Fleet was also preparing to enter into alliance with the Franks and foresaw that they would be likely to cause great injury to the Roman Empire. Hence he dispatched Cantacuzenus by land with a considerable force, and Landulph by sea with the fleet which had been hurriedly prepared and ordered him to get to the most southern parts of the coasts as quickly as possible in order to open battle with the Genoese who had to pass there. After these two had departed on the routes indicated, a severe and intolerable storm caught them, by which many of the ships were badly battered. They hauled them up on the dry land again and carefully applied a coating of wet pitch. **2.** Then when Cantacuzenus was informed that the Genoese fleet was close at hand sailing southward, he proposed to Landulph to take the eighteen ships (the only ones he then had at sea as the others were drawn up on land) and sail to the promontory of Malea; there to wait, according to the Emperor's advice, and when the Genoese fleet passed to engage them in battle at once if he had the courage [296] to fight with them; but if not, then to secure safety for himself and ships and their crews by landing at Corone. He sailed away and when he saw the large Genoese fleet he abandoned the idea of fighting with them and hastened to Corone.

σασθαι. Ὁ δ' ἀπελθὼν καὶ τὸν πολὺν στόλον τῶν Γενουσίων θεασάμενος καὶ ἀπαγορεύσας τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν μάχην θάπτον τὴν Κορώνην κατέλαβεν. **3.** Ὁ δὲ Καντακουζηνός, τὸν ὅλον ῥωμαϊκὸν στόλον ὡς ἔδει περιποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ ἐκεῖσε συναγαγὼν, ὡς εἶχε τάχους κατόπιν τῶν Γενουσίων ἐδίωκε. Μὴ ἐφθακῶς δέ, τὴν Λαοδίκειαν κατέλαβε, σπεύδων πρὸς τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου πολέμους ὅλη γνώμη καὶ χειρὶ ἀποδύεσθαι. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἔργου ἀψάμενος, τὸν λιμένα κατέλαβε καὶ διὰ πάσης νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας τῆς τειχομαχίας οὐκ ἀφίστατο. **4.** Ὡς δ' ἀπρακτος τοῦ λοιποῦ ἔμενε μυριάκις μὲν προσβαλὼν, τοσαυτάκις δ' ἀποτυχὼν καὶ πῆ μὲν ὑποποιοῦμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς οὐκ ἔπειθε, πῆ δὲ μαχόμενος ἀπετύγχανε, τειχίον τι διὰ ξηρῶν λίθων κυκλοτερὲς δειμάμενος ἀναμεταξὺ τῆς ψάμμου καὶ τῶν τειχῶν Λαοδικείας ἐν τρισὶ νυχθημέροις, κᾶκτοτε ὡς ἔρεισμα τοῦτο κτησάμενος, ἕτερον πολίχινον δι' ἐγχορήγου ὕλης ἐντὸς τούτου θάπτον ἀνήγειρεν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ὡς ἐξ ὀρμητηρίου τινὸς γενναιότερον τῆς τειχομαχίας ἀντέχοιτο. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργους δύο διὰ τοῦ στομίου τοῦ λιμένος ἐφ' ἐκάτερα οἰκοδομήσας, ἄλυσιν σιδηρᾶν διαμπερὲς τούτων εἰσελάσας, δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπετάφρευε τὰς ἴσως ἐλπιζόμενας εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν Κελτῶν ἐκ θαλάττης ναῦς. Ἐν ταῦτῳ δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν περὶ θάλατταν πολιχνίων κατέσχε, τὸ τε Ἀργυρόκαστρον καλούμενον, τὸ Μαρχάπιν, τὰ Γάβαλα καὶ ἄλλα τα μέχρῃς αὐτῶν συνόρων Τριπόλεως ἐφθακῶς, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν φόρους τοῖς Σαρακηνοῖς ἐδίδου, ἐν ὑστέροις δὲ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πολλοῖς ἰδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπανεσώθησαν. **5.** Ὁ μὲντοι βασιλεὺς δέον λογισάμενος καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ξηρᾶς πολιορκεῖσθαι τὴν Λαοδίκειαν, γινώσκων ἐκ μακροῦ τὸν δεινὸν Βαϊμούντον καὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ μηχανάς, ὁποῖος ἐκεῖνος δεξιὸς ἦθος ἀνθρώπου ἐν βραχεῖ καταμαθεῖν, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ δολερᾶς καὶ ἀποστατικῆς γνώμης κατάληψιν ἀκριβῆ ἔχων, τὸν Μοναστρᾶν μετακαλεσάμενος μετὰ ἀποχρώσεως δυνάμεως διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου ἀπέστειλεν, ὥστε ἐν ταῦτῳ τὸν μὲν Καντακουζηνὸν ἐκ θαλάττης, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τῆς ἠπείρου πολιορκεῖν τὴν Λαοδίκειαν. Ἀλλ' ὁ Καντακουζηνὸς πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Μοναστρᾶν ἐφθακῆναι τὸν λιμένα καὶ τὸ κάστρον αὐτὸ κατέσχε· τὴν μὲντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλᾶ νῦν ἢ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον πεζοὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ ἵππεις ἑκατόν. **6.** Τούτων οὖν τῶν πολιχνίων τὴν κατάσχεσιν ὁ Βαϊμούντος ἀκηκόως, μεμαθηκῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φυλάσσοντος κόμητος τὴν τῆς Λαοδικείας ἀκρόπολιν, ὅτι

3. But Cantacuzenus gathered the whole Roman fleet, as was right, and called up all the men who were there with him and then sailed in pursuit of the Genoese as fast as he could. He did not catch them and therefore went to Laodicea as he wished to prosecute the war with Bohemund with all his might and main. And indeed he began his task at once by taking possession of the harbour, and then by day and night he carried on the siege of the town. **4.** However he accomplished nothing, for his countless attacks were as regularly repulsed, and he could neither win over the Franks by persuasive arguments nor gain anything by fighting. Then in three days and nights he built a circular wall of stones without mortar between the sea-shore and the walls of Laodicea, and after that by using this wall as a fortification, he quickly erected a second citadel inside it of such material as came to hand, in order that from this as a base he might carry on the siege more rigorously. He also built two towers on either side of the harbour's mouth and threw an iron chain across from them and by this means erected a bar against the ships which were perhaps expected to come by sea to the succour of the Franks. During this period he took a number of the forts on the coast, the one called Argyrocastron, Marchapin, Gabala and others right up to the confines of Tripolis; these places formerly paid tribute to the Saracens, but in this last year had been regained by the Emperor for the Roman Empire at the cost of much toil and labour. **5.** Now the Emperor considered that Laodicea ought to be besieged from the land-side as well; as he had lengthy experience of Bohemund's wiliness and machineations, and was clever at grasping a man's character in a short time, and had accurate knowledge of the man's treacherous and rebellious nature, he sent for Monastras. Him he dispatched overland with the requisite forces, so that while Cantacuzenus besieged Laodicea by sea, he should do the same on land. Before Monastras arrived, Cantacuzenus had taken possession of the harbour and the town; but the citadel, which it is now the usual custom to call Cula, was still held by five hundred foot-soldiers and one hundred horse of the Franks. **6.** When he learnt of the seizure of these towns, and was also informed by the Count in command of the citadel of Laodicea, [297] that he was in need of food, Bohemund united all his forces to

ἐπιδεής ἐστι χορτασμάτων, μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμεων πασῶν <ταῖς> τοῦ τε ἀνεμιοῦ αὐτοῦ Ταγγρῆ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη ἐνωθεὶς καὶ βρώσιμα παντοῖα ἐπισάξας ἐν ἡμίονοις καὶ τὴν Λαοδικεῖαν καταλαβὼν τὰ μὲν χορτάσματα θάπτον εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ κουλά, μετὰ δέ γε τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθὼν τοιαῦτα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφη· “Τίνα σκοπὸν ἔχων πρὸς οἰκοδομὰς καὶ κτίσεις ἀπέβλεψας ...” Ὁ δὲ· “Οἶδας ὅτι δουλείαν ὁμολογήσαντες τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν αἰρουμένας πόλεις ἐνωμότως παραδοῦναι κατέθεσθε. Εἶτα αὐτὸς καταψευσάμενος τῶν ὀρκίων, ἀθετήσας δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ταυτηνὴ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν καὶ παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, μεταγνοὺς αὐθις κατέσχευε, ὥστε μάτην αὐτὸς ἐνταυθοῖ παρεγενόμεν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς παρ' ὑμῶν αἰρουμένας πόλεις ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι.” Ὁ δὲ Βαϊμοῦντος· “Διὰ χρημάτων ἢ διὰ σιδήρου ταύτας ἐλπίζων ἐξ ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν ἤκεις...” Ὁ δὲ· “Τὰ χρήματα οἱ συννεφεπόμενοι ἡμῖν ἔλαβον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκθύμῳ ἀγωνίζεσθαι”. Ὁ δὲ Βαϊμοῦντος θυμοῦ πλησθεὶς ἔφη· “Ἄτερ χρημάτων ἴσθι ὡς οὐδὲ φρούριον κατασχεῖν δυναθῆς”. Καὶ τηλικαῦτα τὰς ὑπ' αὐτὸν φάλαγγας παρέθηξε μέχρις αὐτῶν πυλῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐξιπάσασθαι. 7. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Καντακουζηνοῦ τὰ τεῖχη τηροῦντες δίκην νιφάδος τοὺς ὀστοὺς κατὰ τῶν τοῖς τείχεσι προσπελαζόντων Φράγγων ἐπαφιέντες μικρὸν τι τοῦτους ἀπώσαντο. Καὶ παραχρῆμα ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος συναγαγὼν ἅπαντας εἰσήλθεν ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. Ὑποπτέυσας δὲ τὸν φυλάσσοντα κόμητα μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν Κελτῶν, ἕτερον εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστησεν ἐκεῖνους ἐκεῖθεν ἀπελάσας. Ἄμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγχοῦ τῶν τειχῶν ὄντας ἀμπελῶνας ἠρίπωσεν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμποδῶν τοῖς ἰππάζεσθαι μέλλουσι καθεστάναι Λατίνοις. Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω καταστήσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελθὼν τὴν Ἀντιόχου κατέλαβεν· ὁ δὲ γε Καντακουζηνὸς οὐκ ἡμέλει παντοίως πολιορκῶν τε καὶ διὰ μυρίων μηχανῶν τε καὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ ἐλεπόλεων, συνταράσσων τοὺς ἐντὸς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως Λατίνους. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Μοναστρᾶς, διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου ἐρχόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ἰππικοῦ φοσσάτου, παραλαμβάνει τὴν τε Λογγινιάδα, τὴν Ταρσόν, τὴν Ἄδαναν καὶ τὴν Μάμισταν καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἅπασαν.

those of his nephew Tancred and Isangeles, loaded mules with all kinds of provisions, reached Laodicea and introduced them into the Cula very expeditiously. Then in an interview with Cantacuzenus, he asked him, “What object had you in view in the erection of these walls and buildings?” He replied, “You know that you all promised service to the Emperor and agreed in accordance with your oath to hand over to him the cities you took. Then you transgressed your oath, disregarded also the terms of peace and after taking this town and handing it over to us, you changed your mind again and kept possession of it, so that my journey hither to take over the towns you had captured, is bootless.” Then Bohemund asked, “Did you come in the expectation of taking these towns from us by money or by the sword?” and the other replied, “The money has been given to our brave followers to make them fight bravely.” Then Bohemund said in a rage, “Let me tell you that you will never be able to take even a tiny fort from us without money.” After that he incited the troops under him to ride right up to the gates of the town. 7. Cantacuzenus' men kept the wall and discharged arrows thick as a snowstorm against the Franks when they approached the walls, and forced them to retreat a little, so Bohemund immediately recalled them all and entered into the Acropolis. And because he suspected the Count in charge of the town and also the Franks under him he appointed another in his place and sent the former away. At this time he also had the vineyards near the walls uprooted, so that they might not be an obstacle in future to the Latins when on horseback. After making these arrangements he left and returned to Antioch. Cantacuzenus on his side did not neglect carrying on the siege in various ways and by numberless machines and devices and siege-engines he greatly disturbed the Latins in the Acropolis. And now Monastras who was coming overland with the cavalry seized Longinias, Tarsus, Adana, Mamista, in fact, the whole of Cilicia

§12

1. Πρὸς δὲ τὰς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἀπειλὰς ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ὀρρωδῆσας καὶ μὴ ἔχων ὅ τι καὶ χρήσαιτο πρὸς ἄμυναν (οὔτε γὰρ κατ' ἡπείρου

1. Bohemund was now getting alarmed by the Emperor's threats and had no means of protecting himself (for he had neither an army on land nor a

εἶχε στράτευμα οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν στόλον· ἐκατέρωθεν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ κίνδυνος ἐπεκρέματο) μηχανᾷται τι τοιοῦτον σφόδρα μὲν ἀγεννές, σφόδρα δὲ πανουργότατον. Πρῶτον γὰρ τὴν Αντιόχου πόλιν καταλείψας τῷ τοῦ Μαρκέση Ταγγρὲ καὶ τούτου ἀδελφιδῷ, αὐτὸς ἀπανταχόθεν φήμας πέμπει περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἄρα ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος ἀποτεθνήκει, καὶ ζῶν ἔτι ὡς περὶ κατοικομένου αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκουμένην διέθετο. **2.** Καὶ ἡ φήμη διέτρεχεν ἀπανταχῇ πτερῶν ταχύτερα καὶ τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον νεκρὸν ἐκήρυττε. Καὶ δῆτα ὡς ἑώρα τὰ τῆς φήμης ἀποχρώντως ἔχειν, λάρναξ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ξυλίνη καὶ ναῦς διήρης, ἐν κατατιθεμένη ἡ λάρναξ, καὶ ὁ ἔμπνους οὗτος νεκρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σουδεῖ, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίνειον, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀπέπλει. Καὶ διαπόντιος ὡς νεκρὸς ἐκομίζετο, τὰ μὲν ἔξωθεν νεκρὸς καὶ τῇ σορῷ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν σχήμασιν (καὶ γὰρ ἕκασταχοῦ γινόμενοι ἀπέτιλλον τε τὰς τρίγας οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ σαφῶς ἀνωλόλυζον), τὰ δ’ ἔνδον ἐκεῖνος ἐκτάδην κείμενος μέχρι τούτων νεκρὸς ἦν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλο εἰσέπνει τε τὸν ἀέρα καὶ ἀπέπνει διὰ τινων κρυφίων ὀπῶν. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις· ἐπειδὴν δὲ κατὰ πελάγους τὸ σκάφος γένοιτο, τροφῆς τε αὐτῷ μετεδίδοσαν καὶ ἐπεμελοῦντο· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ θρήνοι καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ μαγγανεύματα. **3.** Ἴνα δὲ καὶ δοκοίη ὁ νεκρὸς ἕωλος εἶναι καὶ ὀδωδῶς, ἀλεκτρούνα ἀποπνίζαντες ἢ ἀποσφάζαντες ἐνέθηκον τῷ νεκρῷ. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνος εἰς τετάρτην ἢ καὶ πέμπτην ἡμέραν βαρυστόματος ἦν τοῖς ὄσφρησιν ἔχουσιν. Καὶ ἐδόκει μὲν τοῦ χρωτὸς εἶναι τοῦ Βαϊμοῦντος τὸ βαρὺ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς τοῖς ἔξωθεν ἠπατημένοις· πλέον δ’ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Βαϊμοῦντος τοῦ ἐπιπλάστου κακοῦ συναπέλαυνεν, ὥστε ἔγωγε θαυμάζω πῶς τοσαύτην ὑπήνεγκε τῆς ῥίνος πολιορκίαν ζῶν ἔτι μετὰ νεκροῦ συμφερόμενος σώματος. Ἄλλ’ ἐντεῦθεν μεμάθηκα ὡς ἄρα πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος δυσανάκλητον ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἂν ἐφορμήσειε, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ φορτικώτατον ὃ μὴ ἐνέγκοι καθάπαξ ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸ πρὸς αὐθαιρέτους κακώσεις. Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος μηδέπω ἀποθανὼν, ἀλλὰ σχήματι μόνω ἀποθανῶν οὐκ ἀπώκνησε ζῆν μετὰ ἀποθανόντων σωμάτων. Τέχνη μὲν οὖν τοῦ βαρβάρου αὕτη πρώτη καὶ μόνη κατὰ τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην πέφηνεν εἰς καταστροφὴν ἀποβλέπουσα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. Οὐδὲ πρὸ ταύτης βάρβαρος ἢ Ἕλλην τοιαῦτα κατὰ πολεμίων ἐμηχανήσατο οὐτ’ ἂν, οἶμαι, μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς θεάσασθαι βίος. **4.** Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Κορυφῶν καταλάβοι, ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρώρειάν τινα γενόμενος καὶ κορυφὴν καὶ κρησφύγετον τὴν Κορυφῶν

fleet at sea; and danger menaced him from both sides), so he devised a plan which was exceedingly sordid, and yet exceedingly ingenious. First of all he left the town of Antioch to his nephew Tancred, the son of Marceses (i.e. a Marquis), and had a report spread about himself, [298] which said that Bohemund had died, and while still alive he arranged that the world should think of him as dead. **2.** And the report spread more quickly than a bird can fly and proclaimed that Bohemund was a corpse! And when he found that the report had taken good hold, a wooden coffin was soon prepared and a bireme, in which the coffin was laced, and also he, the living corpse, sailed away from Sudei, which is the harbour of Antioch, to Rome. Thus Bohemund was carried across the sea as a corpse, for to all appearance he was a corpse to judge by the coffin and the demeanour of his companions (for wherever they stopped the barbarians plucked out their hair and mourned him ostentatiously), and inside he was lying stretched out dead for the time being, but for the rest inhaling and exhaling air through unseen holes. This took place at the sea-ports; but when the boat was out to sea, they gave him food and attention; and then afterwards the same lamentations and trickeries were repeated. **3.** And to make the corpse appear stale and odoriferous, they strangled or killed a cock and placed it with the corpse. And when a cock has been dead for four or five days its smell is most disagreeable for those who have a sense of smell. And this smell seemed to those who are deceived by outward appearance to be that of Bohemund's body; and that villain Bohemund enjoyed this fictitious evil all the more; I for myself am astonished that he being alive could bear such a siege of his nostrils, and be carried about with a dead body. And from this I have learnt that the whole barbarian nation is hard to turn back from any undertaking upon which they have started, and there is nothing too burdensome for them to bear when they have once embarked upon difficult tasks of their own choice. For this man, who was not dead except in pretence, did not shrink from living with dead bodies. The device of the barbarian was unique in the world of our time, and was directed towards the downfall of the Roman hegemony. Never before this time did any barbarian or Greek devise such a plan against his enemies nor, do I fancy, will another such ever be seen in our lifetime. **4.** When he reached Corfu, it was as if he had reached

τατηνὴ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀκινδύνῳ τυγχάνων, ἀνήγερτό τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δόξῃ νεκρῶν, καὶ τὴν νεκροφόρον ἐκεῖσε λάρνακα καταλείψας, ἡλίου τε ἐνεφορεῖτο πλείονος καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀνέπνει καθαρωτέρου καὶ περιενόστει τὴν πόλιν τὴν Κορυφῶ· ὄν ἐωρακότες ἐν ξένη καὶ βαρβαρικῇ στολῇ ἀνεπυθάνοντο τό τε γένος καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τίς τε εἶη καὶ πόθεν ἦκει καὶ εἰς οὓς παραγίνεται. **5.** Ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὑπερέωρα πάντων, ἀνεζήτει δὲ τὸν δοῦκα τῆς πόλεως. Ἦν δὲ ἄρα οὗτος Ἀλέξιός τις θέματος Ἀρμενιακοῦ γενόμενος· ὄν θεασάμενος, μετὰ σοβαροῦ τοῦ βλέμματός τε καὶ σχήματος καὶ σοβαρᾶ τῆ φωνῆ χρώμενος καὶ ὄλως βαρβαρικῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι προσέταπτεν Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὅτι “Σοὶ ἐγὼ Βαϊμοῦντος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῦ Ῥομπέρτου, ὄν ὁ ἀνεκαθεν χρόνος καὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ βασιλείαν ἐδίδαξεν, ὅπόσος τίς εἰμι τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἔνστασιν. Ἐφ’ ὅπερ ἄν καὶ τὴν ῥοπήν λάβοιμι, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἀνασχοίμην, ἴστω Θεός, τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ γεγενημένων κακῶν. Ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ διὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τὴν Ἀντιόχου κατέλαβον καὶ Συρίαν ὅλην ἠνδραποδιασάμην τῷ ἐμῷ δόρατι, πολλῆς παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς στρατιᾶς πικρίας ἐνεφορήθην, ἐλπίσιν ἐξ ἐλπίδων παραπεμπόμενος, καὶ εἰς μυρίας συμφορὰς καὶ πολέμους βαρβαρικοὺς ἐμβαλλόμενος. **6.** Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε ἴσθι με, κὰν ἀπέθανον, πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναβιβιωκότα καὶ τὰς σὰς διαδεδρακότα χεῖρας. Πάντα γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ πᾶσαν χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην διαλαθὼν ἐν σχήματι ἀποτεθνηκότος, νῦν καὶ ζῶν καὶ κινούμενος καὶ τὸν ἀέρα πνέων ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς Κορυφοῦς διαπέμπω πάνυ μεμισσημένας ἀγγελίας τῆ σῆ βασιλεία, ἅς καὶ ἀναμαθὼν οὐκ ἄν περιχαρῶς ἀποδέξαιο, ὡς τῷ μὲν Ταγγρὲ καὶ ἐμῷ ἀνεπιῶ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν παρακατεθέμην, πρὸς τοὺς σοὺς στρατηγούς ἀντίμαχον ἀξιόμαχον καταλείψας αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἄπειμι χώραν, σοὶ μὲν νεκρὸς φημιζόμενος καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμαντοῦ καὶ ζῶν καὶ κατὰ σοῦ δεινὰ βουλευόμενος. Ἐφ’ ὃ γὰρ τὴν ὑπὸ σὲ Ῥωμανίαν κλονήσαιν, καὶ ζῶν ἀποτέθνηκα καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἔζησα. Εἰ γὰρ τὴν ἀντιπέραν ἤπειρον καταλάβοιμι καὶ Λογγιβάρδους καὶ πάντας Λατίνους καὶ Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς Φράγγους ὀψαίμην, ἄνδρας Ἄρεως μνήμονας, πολλῶν φόνων καὶ πολλῶν αἱμάτων τὰς σὰς ἐμπλήσω πόλεις καὶ χώρας, ἕως ἄν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ δόρυ πηξαίμην.” Εἰς τοῦτον ἄρα ὁ βάρβαρος ἀλαζονείας ἐπῆρτο.

some mountain-ridge and peak of refuge in this Corfu, and was now safe, so he arose from the dead and left the corpse-bearing coffin there and basked in more sunlight and breathed purer air and wandered about the town of Corfu. And the inhabitants seeing him in his foreign and barbaric garb asked his lineage and his fortune, and who he was, whence he came and to [299] whom he was going. **5.** However, he treated them all with contempt and asked for the Duke of the town. The Duke happened to be a certain Alexius of the Armenian theme. When Bohemund saw him he looked at him haughtily and with haughty bearing and speaking haughtily in his barbarian language ordered him to give Alexius the Emperor the following message. “The message I send to thee, I, that Bohemund the son of Robert, who has in these past years taught thee and thy Empire how strong I am in courage and perseverance. God knows that, wheresoever I may go and whatever crisis of fortune I experience, I shall never bear patiently the wrongs that have been done me. For ever since I passed through the Roman Empire, and took Antioch and enslaved the whole of Syria by my sword, I have had my fill of bitter treatment from thee and thy army, disappointed in one hope after another and involved in countless misfortunes and barbaric wars. **6.** But now let me tell thee that, though I died, I have come to life again, and have slipped through thy hands. For in the guise of a dead man I eluded every eye and hand and mind, and now, alive and moving about and breathing the air, I send thee from this town of Corfu news which will be very distasteful to thy Majesty, and which thou wilt certainly not receive with overmuch joy. To my nephew Tancred I have entrusted the city of Antioch and have left him as a worthy opponent to thy generals. But I myself, who was reported to thee and thine as dead, am going to my own country as a living man to myself and mine and full of dire intentions against thee. For to shatter the Roman Empire under thy sway, I died when alive, and came to life when dead. For as soon as I reach the continent opposite and see the men of Lombardy, and all the Latins and Germans and the Franks, our subjects and most warlike men, I shall fill thy towns and countries with many murders and much bloodshed until I plant my spear on Byzantium itself.” To such a pitch of arrogance was the barbarian carried.

Byzantine sources on Lands and Peoples

DEMETRIUS CYDONES



Oration on not surrendering Gallipoli to the Turks

HISTORICAL BCKGROUND

In the Byzantine period, Kallipolis, better known as Kallioupolis (Καλλιουπόλις), became important as a naval station from the period of the Crusades onwards because of its strategic situation in being able to keep watch on a vital section of the Hellespont and at the same time allowing Byzantine naval vessels to reach the Aegean without starting their voyage from Constantinople across the Sea of Marmara. Its value as a toll station – a role formerly enjoyed by Abydos – was realized by the Venetians who took control it after the Fourth Crusade (1204) as the management of the revenues of the port-city was handed over to two Italian merchants. It was undoubtedly during the half century of Italian occupation that name Callipolis came to be pronounced by Franco-Italians as ‘Gallipoli’ – an onomastic transformation shared by Gallipoli in Apulia in S. Italy which, like its namesake in the Chersonese, was a Greek foundation with the name of Kallipolis. Kallipolis also became the first port of call for foreign diplomats and official visitors to the Byzantine court at Constantinople – a role she would play well into the Nineteenth Century.

The Byzantine Emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes ruling from Nicaea expelled the Franks from Kallipolis in 1234 before the capital city on the Bosphorus was liberated in 1261. The following decades witnessed the rise of the Ottomans as a major military force in Western Anatolia culminating in the Battle of Baphesus near Nicomedia in 1302. The need for the Byzantine Emperor now to take the war to the Turks became urgent and the fortuitous availability in 1303 of a band of Italian and Catalan mercenaries, the self-styled Grand Catalan Company, to do the fighting for her for suitable remuneration appeared at first to be a godsend. However, the Company led by Roger de Flor did no more than liberate Cyzicus and a number of cities along the Aegean coast. Disgruntled with the lack of pay and provision, the Company headed back to the Hellespont and was quartered at Gallipoli 1304-07. In early 1305, Roger de Flor was assassinated by a jealous Michael Andronikos who lured the mercenary captain to his capital at Hadrianople. The Company, realizing that the Byzantines would now do their utmost to evict them from Greek soil, turned Gallipoli into a veritable redoubt and beat back a number of attempts to capture it by the Byzantines. The latter were saved from further embarrassing defeats by the Company’s decision to leave Gallipoli for Greece via Thrace and Macedonia in the winte of 1307.¹⁶

In the last two centuries of Greek rule over what was left of the former Eastern Roman Empire, the port-city of Gallipoli became one of Byzantium’s last key possessions. By holding on to Gallipoli, the Greeks could prevent the Ottomans from utilizing the most convenient ferry crossing to link up their growing territorial possessions in Asia with those in Europe. Without Gallipoli, the Ottomans could only gain access to Eastern Europe, especially

¹⁶ On Kalli(ou)polis in the tumultuous years after the Fourth Crusade see A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins* (Camb. MA, 1972) 133-46, A. Lowe, *The Catalan Vengeance* (London, 1972) 58-93 and A. Külzer, *Ostthrakien (Eurōpē)*, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini* 12 (Vienna, 2008) 426-29. On earlier history see S.N.C. Lieu, . “From Kallipolis to Gallipoli - What is in a Name” in *Text and the Material World, Essays in Honour of Graeme Clarke*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, PB 185, edited by Elizabeth Minchin and Heather Jackson (2017, ISBN 978-91-7081-219-4) 243-54. {Turkish translation of article by Prof. Betül Öztby, ‘Kallipolis’ten Gelibolu’ya – bir isim nedir ki?’, *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi*, XXXIII/2, 2018, 625-638.}

the Balkans, via opportunist crossings on the Bosphorus. The strong Byzantine defences of Gallipoli, however, were demolished in a severe earthquake in early March 1354 and the Ottomans who were participants in one of Byzantium's many civil wars simply marched into the ruined city from the nearby fortress of Tzymbi that had been their base. The loss of Gallipoli was a disaster for not just Byzantium but the fortunes of the fledgling Christian kingdoms in the Balkans as the Ottomans were now able to send a steady stream of soldiers and colonists into Eastern Europe. The Ottomans won a crushing victory over the Serbs at Martiza in 1371 and Hadrianople (Turk. Edirne) would become the new European capital of the Ottoman Dynasty. However, the Ottomans probably did not refortify Gallipoli to the same standards as the Byzantines and the city was easily captured by a Crusader army under the command of Count Amadeo of Savoy in 1366 and returned it to the Byzantine Emperor.¹⁷

THE *ORATIO DE NON REDDENDA CALLIPOLI* OF DEMETRIUS CYDONES

By now Byzantium was in a parlous state and she had virtually only two bargaining chips left, the small but strategically situated island of Tenedos near the mouth of the Hellespont and the even more strategically important port-city of Kallioupolis/Gallipoli on the Hellespont in all her negotiations with foreign powers. Kallioupolis was eventually handed back to the Ottomans without a fight as a result of a domestic dispute, this time involving both the Byzantine and Ottoman courts but with fateful consequences for the Byzantines.

John V Palaiologos had spent much of his reign (1341-91) seeking help from Western powers but without full scale re-unification with the Church of Rome and with the major European powers deeply divided, genuine help from the West was simply not forthcoming and, with hopes of Serbian help crushed at the Battle of Maritsa, John V had effectively become a vassal to the Ottoman Sultan. By the spring of 1373 he was accompanying Sultan Murad on a campaign in Anatolia. His son Andronikos used his father's absence to rebel against him and found an unlikely ally in Saudži Čelebi, the disaffected eldest son of Murad who was then governor of Rumelia, i.e. the European territories now under Ottoman control. The result was a curious double rebellion within both empires by princes against their ruling fathers. Murad and John V hastened back and suppressed the rebellion. Murad had Saudži blinded at the fortress city of Didymoteichion in Thrace in September 1373, and demanded that John V should do the same to his son. While Saudži appeared to have died from the severity of his wounds, Andronikos was only partially blinded and a skilled physician would later restore his eyesight with considerable success.

Andronikos escaped with his son John in 1376 to the Genoese quartered at Galata on the other side of the Golden Horn from Constantinople. They had long been grateful to Andronikos for not acceding to his father's demands to surrender the island of Tenedos to their rival the Venetians in 1370. Andronikos knew, however, that support from the Genoese alone was not enough and he had to somehow wean Murad from supporting his father. He contacted the Sultan and offered obedience and tribute and very probably the cession of Gallipoli.

Murad was all too happy to help foster strife within the Byzantine royal family. With his help, Andronikos became master of Constantinople after a thirty-two day siege (October 1376), and after his surrender John V was incarcerated in the Anemas tower in Constantinople

¹⁷ On the last years of Byzantine Kalli(ou)polis see D. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261-1453*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1995) 139-280, idem, *The Reluctant Emperor - A biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and monk* (Cambridge, 1996) 125-26 and 177-78, and E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy - Amadaeus VI and the Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (New Jersey, 1967) 223-30.

along with his two younger sons. He, too, succeeded to escape and, with the help of Murad and the belated assistance of the Venetians against their Genoese rivals, John V was restored. A new civil war now broke out between John V supported by his younger son Manuel and Andronikos and his son John who had fled once more to Galata. Peace was finally restored through Genoese mediation and pressure from Murad in April 1381. John V had to agree to divide the Empire into semi-independent principalities, with him supposedly ruling from the capital and his son Manuel II ruling in Thessalonica (*r.* 1382-1387), while Andronikos received as his appenage Selymbria on the Sea of Marmara. The same treaty also reaffirmed the tributary status of the Byzantine Empire – the Ottomans had imposed a tribute on the Byzantine empire within a year of her capture of Gallipoli - as both factions were obliged by its terms to assist each other against any aggressor except for ‘Murad and his Turks’. The civil war was finally ended when Andronikos IV Palaiologos (*r.* 1376-79) tried to extend the boundary of his appenage and was defeated by his father John V. He was stripped of his imperial titles and died on 28 June 1385.¹⁸

Soon after helping Andronikos IV to return to his capital in late 1376, Murad officially demanded the return of Gallipoli as promised by Andronikos for his support in the coup. No one felt the shock of such a request more deeply than the Byzantine statesman and man of letters, Demetrius Cydones (*c.* 1324 - *c.* 1398), who was also the former tutor to the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (*r.* 1391-1425). He wrote an impassioned oration against its return to the Ottomans (*Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*) in a style reminiscent of the oration ‘On (not surrendering) the Chersonese’ (*De Chersoneso*) of the Athenian orator Demosthenes.¹⁹ Demetrius was an avowed enemy of Gregory of Palamas and a strong advocate of reunification with Rome. He had accompanied the Emperor John V and with his enthusiasm for Latin theology – he had earlier translated Aquinas’s *Summa Theologiae* into Greek – coupled with his strong suspicion that the Orthodox states of the Balkans like Serbia could not render real assistance to Byzantium against the Ottomans, he urged and succeeded to persuade the Byzantine Emperor to convert to Catholicism on 18th October, 1369.²⁰

In his address, Cydones sees Gallipoli as a bulwark for ‘the remaining Greeks in Europe’ against both pirates and Barbarians (i.e. foreigners) - making it interestingly one of the very earliest comments on the conflict between Byzantium and the Ottomans as not just one between Christendom and Islam but also one between the continents of Europe and Asia.²¹ He also says that rumours of the imminent arrival of the Turks caused panic among the citizens of Constantinople who felt ‘as if they were caught in a net of the barbarians’.²² Also of great concern was the possible interference by the Turks with the corn-supply from the Mediterranean on which the city of Constantinople now so heavily depended.²³ Andronikos finally agreed in 1376 to surrender Gallipoli to Murad and the fortress was handed over before the

¹⁸ The most important modern studies on the complex political history surrounding the civil war are P. Charanis, ‘The strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402’, *Byzantion*, 26 (1942-43) 292-94, G.T. Dennis, *The reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382-1387* (Rome, 1960) 26-112, J.W. Barker, *Manuel Palaeologus (1391-1425) - A study in Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick 1967) 19-52 and C. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481* (Istanbul, 1990) 32-33.

¹⁹ Demetrius Cydones, *Oratio de non reddenda Callipoli*, PG 154.1009-36. On the career of Demetrius see now the important study of J.R. Ryder, *The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones: A Study of Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Politics, Religion and Society*, *The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, Vol. 85 (Leiden, Brill, 2010) passim and esp. 43-44, 59-61, 79-81.

²⁰ O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972) 164-288.

²¹ Id. 1012C.

²² Id. 1013A, see also 1034C/D.

²³ Id. 029B.

end of the winter of 1377.²⁴ A greatly disappointed Demetrius Cydones wrote to one of his friends, Calopheros, on the political crisis in an often-cited letter as it captures the contemporary mood of total helplessness:²⁵

Know then that personally I feel well, but I suffer in common with the city (i.e. Constantinople) about which one reports nothing good. For the old scourge, the Turks, pushed to arrogance by the alliance which they concluded with the new emperor against his father, have become more terrible for us. Although they received Gallipoli as compensation and seized many other things belonging to us, and in addition exacted such an amount of money that no one can count easily, they still claim that they are not sufficiently paid for their aid. They command everything and we must obey or else be imprisoned. To such a point they have risen in power, and we are reduced to slavery.

Fortunately, the dreaded blockade of the Straits did not materialize as the Ottoman fleet stationed at Gallipoli seldom numbered more than 20 galleys. In the event, Italian merchantmen, sometimes protected by Venetian galleys, usually managed to get through except when Constantinople was under siege at which time the size of the sentinel was significantly increased. Unlike the failure of the Allied fleet to shoot its way past the Turkish guns in 1915, artillery had not yet become sufficiently advanced in the fourteenth century for merchant ships to be seriously affected by shore-based Ottoman batteries.

With Gallipoli once more in Ottoman control, Khairaddin, the Ottoman governor of Rumelia, built one of the city's first mosques in order to consolidate Islamic rule.²⁶ Now that he had total control of one of the best sea-crossings between Asia and Europe, Murad could wait for an opportune moment to slip a large Turkish army past the Venetian naval patrol in the Dardanelles. This he achieved in 1389, and the effect of the arrival in Europe of this major reinforcement was both immediate and decisive on Murad's expansionist policy in the Balkans. The hastily combined forces of the Serbians, Bosnians, Albanians and Bulgarians met the Ottomans in the same year on the field of Kosovo Poyle ('the field of blackbirds') (15 June 1389).²⁷ In the ensuing battle, the Serbian king (or *kral*) was killed but Murad himself fell victim to the dagger of a Serbian assassin in the course of the battle. His successor Beyazid I (r. 1389-1402), however, rallied his father's forces, allowing both sides to claim victory. It was in the waters off Gallipoli that one of the greatest Venetian admirals of his time, Piedro Loredan, won a spectacular victory over the Ottoman fleet on 29 May 1416²⁸ but his decision not to land forces to capture the city left the vital port facilities in Turkish hands. Gallipoli would further prove its worth to the Ottomans as the base from which Mehmed II the Conqueror would launch his fleet for the final onslaught on Constantinople in 1453.

²⁴ On the problem of dating the surrender of Gallipoli see Barker, *op. cit.*, 458-61. Most scholars now accept a hand-over date of 1377.

²⁵ Idem, *Ep.* 25.11-23, ed. G. Cammelli, *Démétrius Cydonès Correspondance*, i, Collection Byzantine (Paris, 1939) 58-59: "Ἴσθι τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὑγιαίνοντας, νοσοῦντας δὲ μετὰ τῆς πολιτείας κοινῆ, περὶ ἧς οὐδὲν φασιν ἰερόν· τό τε γὰρ ἀρχαῖον κακόν, οἱ Τοῦρκοι, βαρύτεροι γεγόνασιν ἡμῖν, ἐπαρθέντες τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἣν τῷ νέῳ βασιλεὶ κατὰ τοῦ πατρὸς συνεμάχησαν, ὥστε καὶ τὴν Καλλίπολιν μισθὸν ταύτης λαβόντες καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ προπαρалаβότες τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ προσέτ' ἀργύριον ὅσον οὐδ' ἂν τις ῥαδίως ἀριθμῆσαι πραξάμενοι, οὐπω φασὶν ἄξιόν τι τῆς βοήθειας κομίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιτάττουσι πάντα καὶ δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς πάνθ' ὑπαοῦειν, ἢ τι τῶν προστεταγμένων μεμφομένους δεδέσθαι· εἰς τοσοῦθ' ἤκουσιν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐξουσίας, ἡμεῖς δὲ δουλείας. . . . Trans. Charanis, *Strife*, 297-98.

²⁶ Dennis, *op. cit.*, 127.

²⁷ Cf. N. Radojčić. 'Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kosovo Polje', *Byzantion*, 6 (1931) 241-46.

²⁸ S. Antoniadis, 'Le récit du combat naval de Gallipoli chez Zancaruolo en comparaison avec le texte d'Antoine Morosini et les historiens grecs du XV^e siècle' in A. Petrusi (ed.) *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento* (Venice, 1966) 268-69.

DEMETRIUS CYDONES

Oratio alia deliberativa de non reddenda Callipoli petente Amurate

A Speech asserting that Kallipolis must not be surrendered despite Murad's request

PG 154, 1009-36

Translated by Dr Gregory Fox

[1009A] Ἔδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ περὶ τοιούτων ἡμᾶς ἦκειν βουλευσομένους, ἐξ ὧν ὁποτέρου συμβάντος, αἰσχύνην καὶ κίνδυνον ἀνάγκη τῇ πόλει προσγίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων τε καὶ βελτιόνων ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον· ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πράξεσιν, οὐδὲν πώποτε μὴ φιλοτιμίας καὶ δόξης ἐχόμενον, ἀνασχομένης ἐνδείκνυσθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν καὶ μεγάλα πράττειν ἡμᾶς ὑπολέλοιπεν ἤδη, πεπράγαμεν δὲ οὐτῶ κακῶς, ὥστε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ῥήτορσιν ἔργον εἶναι τῶν προτιθεμένων ἀεὶ κακῶν τὸ κουφότερον ἐξευρίσκειν· τί λοιπὸν ἢ Θεῷ μὲν εὐχεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν μετριώτερόν τι βουλεύεσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ λελογισμένως τῇ παρουσίᾳ τύχῃ χρωμένους, πειρᾶσθαι [1009B] σώζειν αὐτοὺς ἕως ἔξεστι, καὶ μὴ ὡς περ ἀπογνόντας, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὴν τε καὶ δόξαν προδοῦναι παντάπασι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνα φαίνεσθαι τὰ παραδείγματα καὶ νῦν ἀποβλέποντας· Ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλή καὶ ἡ καθημέραν γινομένη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀντιλογία περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως ἣν ὁ Μουράτης παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτεῖ. Καὶ τό γε πλεῖστον τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευεῖν εἰωθότων, φασὶ δεῖν ἤδη διδόναι, καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς φανερόν κίνδυνον ἐχούσης τῇ πόλει. Ἐγὼ δ' ἐσχάτης ἀτυχίας νομίζων οὐχ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων προσληγόμεθα, ἀλλ' ὅτι τούτοις προησόμεθα τῶν ἡμετέρων βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἂν φαίην ἀγανακτεῖν, ὅτι τοὺς πλείστους [1009C] τῶν ἐναντίων λόγων οὐδ' ἀνεχομένους ὁρῶ· ἀλλ' οὕτως ὅλους τῆς δουλείας καὶ τοῦ τῷ βαρβάρῳ χαρίζεσθαι γεγονότας. ὥστ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν τούτους ἐτοιμοτέρους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διδόναι. Τί γὰρ ἂν τις εἴποι πρὸς τὴν ἄλογον αὐτῶν ὀρμὴν ἀποβλέπων, καὶ τὸ πολεμίους καὶ προδότας τῶν κοινῶν σαφῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπισχεῖν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι τι περὶ τοῦτοῦ βέλτιον ἀξιοῦντας;

[1009A] Gentlemen, it is not necessary for us to come and enter upon deliberations about these matters, as a result of which whatever happens, shame and danger will of necessity be inflicted upon the city, but our discourse should deal with more noble and glorious themes, especially since our city has never tolerated the manifestation of anything not connected with ambition and glory in the common events. Since prosperity and great deeds have already eluded us, we have fared so badly that it is the task of our public orators to find what is less burdensome than the events which constantly assail us. What else can we do but pray to God to ordain some less severe providences in our regard, that we ourselves may prudently make use of our present fortune, and try [1009B] to save ourselves while we may, not giving way to desperation, as it were, and utterly betraying the valour and glory of our forefathers, but being seen to look to those examples at the present time to the best of our ability. So this issue that is being debated, and about which there is daily disputation back and forth in our assemblies, is about matters in the Chersonese and the city of Kallipolis which Murad (Gr. Muratēs) claims from us in order to maintain peace(able relations). And indeed most of the city and of those who are accustomed to take part in deliberations, affirm that it is necessary to hand it over and not to hesitate, as a delay may cause open danger to the city. But I think that it is an appalling situation, not that we should claim what belongs to the enemy, but that we should deliberate to hand over what is ours to them. In addition to this, I would state that I am particularly annoyed, for I see that most of [1009C] the contrary arguments are not to be tolerated. But I see that they are all so given over to servitude and gratifying the foreigner that they are more ready to give up things than he (Murad) is to receive them. For what should anyone say, as he looked at their mindless impetuosity, both that they are clearly shown to be enemies and

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ [1012A] τοσοῦτον ἐχούσης τοῖς λέγουσι κίνδυνον τῆς περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων δημηγορίας, οὐκ εὐλογον δὲ ἢ τινῶν ἄρξαντα τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος συμβουλῆς ἀποσχέσθαι. Δίκαιοι δ' ἂν εἴητε καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ χαλεπαίνειν, ἂν τινων λογισμοὺς τοῖς ἡμετέροις μὴ συμβαίνοντας αἰσθησθε. Οὐ γὰρ περὶ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, περὶ τούτων αἱ πόλεις εἰώθασιν σκοπεῖν καὶ βουλευέσθαι· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ περὶ ὧν τις τάναντία λέγων, οὐ δόξει ληρεῖν. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν εὖ ποιοῦντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδεδώκατε καὶ βουλήν, ἄλογον δυσχεραίνειν, εἴ τις καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας ἄπτοιο δόξης· ἄλλως τε καὶ μετὰ τοὺς λόγους ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὄντος ἢ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινέσαντας χρήσασθαι ταύτη, ἢ, τῶν ἐναντίων κρατούντων, [1012B] τοῖς δόξασιν ἐπεσθαι. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο ἐνθυμητέον, ὡς αὕτη γ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καλλιπόλις, ἧς οἱ χρηστοὶ καὶ τῆς πόλεως φροντίζειν φάσκοντες οὗτοι τοῖς πολεμίοις παραινοῦσιν ἐκστῆναι, ἦν αἰεὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμετέρων κτημάτων ἡγούμεθα τιμιώτερον, καὶ μεγίστην ἡμῖν συντέλειαν πρὸς τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων πόλεμον παρασχέσθαι δυνάμενον.

Ἀλλὰ κὰν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, κὰν ταῖς βουλαῖς, ὅτε πᾶσι μετὰ παρρησίας τὸ δοκοῦν ἐξεστί λέγειν, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἤκουεν ἂν τις ἀλλήλοις πολλοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· καὶ τάδε μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλων τιθέμενα, ὑπ' ἄλλων δὲ ἀναιρούμενα· φιλόνεικος δὲ οὕτως οὐδεὶς, ὥστ' ἀξιοῦν ἄλλο τι τῆς Καλλιπόλεως προτιμῶν· ἀλλὰ αὕτη δὴ μία γνώμη διὰ πάντων ἐκράτει, ἀντέχεσθαι τοῦ φρουρίου, καὶ πάνθ' ὑπομένειν καὶ [1012C] πονοῦντας καὶ ἀναλίσκοντας ὥστε σῶν αἰεὶ τῇ πόλει τηρεῖσθαι. Τοῦ δ' οὕτω πάντας περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου φρονεῖν αἴτιον ἢ πείρα, καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς διδαχθῆναι, ὅσον αἰεὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις συνήνεγκε πράγμασι. Τοῦ γὰρ μὴ παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τινος κύματος κατακλυσθέντας μηκέτ' εἶναι πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς Ἕλληνας ὅσοι τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀσίαν ἤγον καὶ ἔφερον οἱ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐπικείμενοι, τοῦτ' αἴτιον ἦν. Ὅτι δὴ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ τειχῶν πάντων ἐπικαιρότατον ὄν, καὶ πρὸς τῷ πόρῳ καὶ τῷ στενῷ κείμενον, ὅθεν αἱ τῶν βαρ-

traitors to the common cause, and that they are claiming to strive and make better deliberations about this matter?

No, but the [1012A] public speech about contrary matters has entailed so much danger to the speakers, that it would not be sensible (for me), once having commenced some matters, to abstain from consultation on behalf of the public benefit. Indeed it would have been right that you should not take it badly if you perceived that the thoughts of some people did not harmonize with our own. For the cities are not accustomed to consider and deliberate about matters about which there is no dispute. But (they will be more likely to talk) about matters that are uncertain and of the kind that someone speaking the opposite about them will not seem to be stupid. Therefore since at the present time you have done well and have offered an assembly and a council, it would be illogical to feel bitter, if anyone might embrace the opposite opinion. Since it especially follows your utterances and judgment either to approve a decision and use it, or, if your adversaries prevail, to follow the course which seems best to you; now therefore this point [1012B] must be kept in mind, that in fact this is Kallipolis which those worthies, those declaring that they care for the city, are urging to give up to the enemy - this city which we always consider to be more valuable than all our possessions and able to provide us with the greatest contribution towards war with the foreigners (lit. barbarians).

But even in the assemblies and in the councils, when men are at liberty to say what they like with freedom, one might hear many men in opposition to one another on many topics - some offering these points and others rejecting them. But there has been nobody so contentious as to consider that anything should be valued more highly than Kallipolis. On the contrary this one opinion prevailed constantly, that we should hold fast to the garrison and put up with all manner of [1012C] trials and tribulations and expenses so that it should be kept safe forever for the city. Experience and being instructed by it have been the cause of all people feeling this way about the garrison, inasmuch as it (Kallipolis) always brought succour to our circumstances. For when all of us and the rest of the Greeks who inhabit Europe were not completely overwhelmed by some wave, when those who are now pressing upon us were harrying and carrying off Asia, this (garrison) was the reason. For indeed it is the

βάρων ἀναγόμεναι νῆες οὐκ ἔμελλον λήσειν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις τριήρεσιν ἐφορμούσαις αὐτόθι παρῆχεν ἄδειαν τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνείργειν ληστὰς, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀσφαλῶς τὰς πόλεις οἰκεῖν. Ἐπειτ' οὐ [1012D] μόνον ἐκ τῶν δυσχερῶν ὧν πεπειράμεθα καὶ πειρώμεθ' αὐτὸ ἀπολέσαντες ῥάδιον συνιδεῖν, ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν ἀποστατέον ἢ τούτου. Τοῦ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντιίδα συμβάντος σεισμοῦ ὃς πάντα ἀνέτρεψε, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τοῖς βαρβάροις προδεδωκότος, ἢ τε Χερρόνησος πᾶσα τούτοις ἐδουλεύσε, καὶ τὰς ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις δι' ἑαυτῶν ἐποίησαντο, καὶ πρὶν ἔτος ἐξήκειν, φόρους τε ἡμᾶς ἐπράξαντο, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἔτεμον γῆν. Κἂν τις τῆς παρουσίας αἰσχύνῃς, καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῶν οὕτως ἀδόξων καὶ ταπεινῶν τὴν πόλιν βουλευέσθαι, αἰτίαν τὴν Καλλίπολιν καὶ τὴν ἐκείνης ἀπόλειαν εἶναι φῆ, οὐδένα ἂν ἔχοι τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα. Πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον, ἂ παρόντα μὲν τοσαύτην ἠνεγκε τὴν ὠφέλειαν, [1013A] ἀπόντα δὲ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἐπήνεγκε, τούτων ἐκστῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ οἷς ταῦτα προλαβοῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔτι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀτόλμητον ἔσται; Καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος, ὡσπερ δέον τοῖς βαρβάροις πάνθ' ὑπακούειν, ἢ τῶν ἡμετέρων πλεονεκτημάτων ἐκείνους κυρίους ποιεῖν.

Κάκεινο δὲ χρῆ προσενθυμεῖσθαι, ὅτε πρῶτον ἠγγέλθη τὴν Καλλίπολιν σεισθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ληφθῆναι, τίνας φωνὰς ἠφίεμεν. καὶ τίς ἦν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως θρήνος; καὶ τίς ἦν ἢ τότε παρὰ τῇ πόλει κρατοῦσα φήμη; Οὐχ ὡς ἀπολώλαμεν; Οὐχ ὡς ἐν σαγήνῃ πάντες ἤδη τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐχόμεθα; Οὐχ ὡς καὶ τοῦδαφος αὐτὸ λοιπὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπόκειται τοῖς κινδύνοις; Οὐκ [1013B] εὐδαίμων ὁ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων τὴν πόλιν καταλιμπάνων τότε ἐδόκει; Πάντως μέμησε, ὡς τῆς πολεμίας μᾶλλον ὑπωπτεύομεν τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν, καὶ Γάδειρα, καὶ τὴν ἐξω Στηλῶν πάντες ἠπεύγοντο θάλασσαν, ὡς οὕτω μόνως τῆς δουλείας ἀπαλλαγόμενοι. Ἦν τοίνυν τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν ἀπολωλυῖαν, καὶ ἧς δουλευούσης, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἦν ἀνέλπιστον τῶν κακῶν, ταύτην οὕτως ἀπλῶς προησόμεθα, ἐπειδήπερ ἢ πρόνοια πάλιν εὖ ποιοῦσα τὰ πράγμαθ' ἡμῖν ἐπανήγαγεν· ὡσπερ ἢ τῆς ζημίας ἐπιλαθόμενοι, ἢ δυστυχοῦντες μὲν

most strategic of all the fortifications in the Hellespont, being situated at the mouth and at the straits. As a consequence, if the ships of the foreigners set sail there, they could never escape notice. Also it provided security to our triremes lying at anchor, in order to force back the thieving foreigners and enable our citizens to dwell safely in the cities. In addition not only [1012D] from the miseries which (we fear but also from those which) we have experienced and are experiencing, once having lost it, it is easy to perceive that we should part with every one of our possessions rather than this. For when the earthquake that took place around the Hellespont and the Propontis overthrew everything and delivered up this territory to the foreigners, all the Chersonese was under their domination and they also annexed the cities in Thrace. Before the year was out, they exacted tribute from us and ploughed the land in front of the walls. Now if anyone were to say that Kallipolis and its loss was the reason for the present shame and the city's debating about such unworthy and humiliating occurrences, - he would meet with no contradiction. How can it be anything but the height of absurdity to surrender to the enemy that which, when we had it, brought such benefit and, when we didn't have it, brought extreme danger? [1013A] When they have taken this, there will be no indignity left for them to perpetrate against the city. And to think that it comes as a result of a treaty, as if it were necessary to obey the foreigners in everything or make them lords of our possessions!

But we must give careful consideration to this; - when the announcement was first made that Kallipolis had been shattered and captured by foreigners, what cries did we utter and what mourning was (manifested) throughout the whole City? What was the predominant utterance? Wasn't it that we are lost? Wasn't it that we are all now shut up within our walls by the foreigners as if in a fishing-net? Wasn't it that the very soil of the City is exposed to danger? At that time wasn't the man who left the city before the danger came considered to be fortunate? [1013B] You have a clear memory of how we viewed our native land with more suspicion than the enemy's and that all hurried to Italy and Cadiz and the sea past the Pillars (of Hercules), as if this was the only way that we were going to get free of slavery. At that time when we had lost it, we indeed grieved for it, and when it was under servitude, there was not a misfortune that we did

ειδότες λογίζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ βελτίονι τύχῃ μὴ δυνάμενοι χρῆσθαι. Καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀπέραντον τὸ κακὸν, εἰ κύριοι μὲν τινῶν ὄντες, οὐκ αἰσθησόμεθα τὴν ἀπὸ τούτων ὠφέλειαν, ἀπολωλότων δὲ, ἀθυμήσομεν; καὶ ποθήσομεν μὲν μὴ [1013C] παρόντα, ἐπανελθόντα δὲ αὐθις ρίψομεν· καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδότες, ὡς οὐ καταλύσομεν τὸν ἔρωτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσθήσομεν, ὅταν οὐκ ἦ. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἄντικρυς οὐ Πενελόπης ἰστὸν, ἑαυτοὺς δ' ἔστιν ἀναλύντων, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν μισούντων εὐχάς.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μὲν οἰκείοις τέλεσι καὶ στρατείαις καὶ πόνοις ταύτην ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένην ἀνεκτησάμεθα, χρῆν μὲν οὐδ' οὕτως ὧν ἀνηλώκαμεν καὶ πεπονήκαμεν ἐπιλαθομένους, ταύτην ἐκείνοις πάλιν προέσθαι· ὅμως εἶχε τινα λόγον τὸ πάλιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι ταύτην ἀναλαβεῖν ὅταν βουλώμεθα, πείσαι ταύτης νῦν ἡμᾶς ἀμελήσαι· εἰ καὶ ἄλλως, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀνόητον, ἐκόντας ἐκδιδόντας, αὐθις ἀνασώζειν πειρᾶσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἑκατέραν πράγματα ἔχειν. [1013D] Εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς τόθ' ἀλούση τῶσαυτ' ἀπέσχομεν αὐτῇ βοηθήσαι, ὅσον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ τοῦ πτήσεσθαι· ἴστε γὰρ ὡς ἔτους ἐκάστου περὶ τούτων ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζοντες, πεζῆς μὲν δυνάμεως οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἢ Ξέρξης ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἦγε, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐλέγομεν δεῖν· νεῶν δὲ πλείονων, ἢ δι' ὅσων τὴν Τροίαν Ἕλληνες εἶλον· χρημάτων δ' ὅσων οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἐκάστων οὐσίαν ἐξαργυρισθεῖσαν ἀρκέσαι· ἄλλοι δὲ τινες πόρρωθεν ἦκοντες, καὶ ἡμῖν ὧν ἀπεστερήμεθα συναλγήσαντες, τοῖς ἑαυτῶν κινδύνοις καὶ ἀναλώμασιν αὐθις ἡμῖν ἀπέδοσαν, ὧν πρότερον ἐκπετώκαμεν· τί δεῖ πάλιν εἰς τὰς πρότερον καθίστασθαι συμφορὰς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀφανίζειν φιλοτιμίαν, οἷς παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ στήλην ἔδει σταθῆναι μνημεῖον ὧν ἡμᾶς εὐηρέτησαν· αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ τῶν [1016A] μαινομένων ποιεῖν, οἱ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιρρηγνύντες· ἀσημονοῦσι· κἄν τις αὐτοὺς περιστέλλῃ, οἱ δὲ πάλιν γυμνοῦνται, καὶ δάκνουσι τοὺς δι' οἶκτον ἐπιμελουμένους αὐτῶν.

not expect. So shall we simply abandon it (Kallipolis), since again a benign providence has brought back prosperity (?) to us, like people who forget about the cost or who know how to reason in miserable circumstances, but do not know how to cope with better fortune? Indeed how will misfortune ever have an end, if when we have some control of some matters we do not realize the profit to be gained from them? But when these things are lost, we shall be despondent, and we shall long for the things that we do not [1013C] have, but when these return to us, we shall fling them out again. And we know this that we will not abolish love, but that we will increase it, whenever it is absent. For this clearly a case not of those unravelling the loom of Penelope but of those unravelling themselves and hating their own prayers.

Now indeed, if we have gained this city at the time that it was subject to the foreigners (lit. barbarians), through our own taxes and expeditions and toils, we ought not to forget in this way our expenditure and suffering and surrender this city to them. Nevertheless there might be some rational justification for our surrendering it now when it is in our power to take it back when we wish. Although otherwise, as I said, it would be stupid to give it up willingly and then again try to recover it and have problems on a daily basis. [1013D] When it was under occupation, we were so far from giving it assistance as being able to fly, in my opinion. For you know that we used to say when we convened the assembly each year to deal with these matters that we needed an infantry force to cope with the problems no smaller than what Xerxes led against the Greeks, and more ships than those used by the Greeks to capture Troy, and we said that all the money that would be raised by everyone cashing in their estates would not be sufficient. Indeed some people who came from a long distance expressed their deep sympathy at the privations that we had suffered, and despite their own dangers and expenses, restored to us what we had previously lost. So what need is there now to plunge ourselves into those previous misfortunes and to nullify the magnanimity of those who deserved to have a column erected by us in their honour for all the benefits that they bestowed on us? [1016A] They rip off their garments and disgrace themselves, perform the rôle of maniacs. And if anyone tries to put clothes on them, they remove their clothes again and bite those who through pity are

Αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δῆλον εἶναι τινα ἑαυτῇ μὴ ἀρκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τινῶν παιδαγωγῶν ἐτέρων δεῖσθαι, οἱ τούτω τὰ ὄντα τηρήσουσι· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων βοηθούτων, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικεῖν βουλομένους εἰργόντων, καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὅπως εὖ πράξειε προνοούντων, αὐτὸν κρημνίζειν ἑαυτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες, καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πληροῦν τὰς εὐχὰς, τοῦτ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν μαινομένων παραδείγματα σαφῶς ὑπεραίρει. Πρὸς Θεοῦ· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλθόντες, ἢ καὶ πρέσβεις [1016B] πέμψαντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οἱ καὶ Καλλίπολιν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀφελόμενοι, καὶ ἡμῖν παραδόντες, λέγοιεν· «Ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ προξενία γέ τις ἦν ἡμῖν παρὰ Βυζαντίοις, οὐδὲ χάριτός τινος ἢ βοηθείας ἡμῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ὑπαρξάσης, ἔδει τὴν δωρεὰν ἀνατανάπληροῦν· τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ οὐδ' ἄνευ ἐρμηνέων ὅ τι βούλεσθε συνιέντες, ἐπειδὴ μόνον τὸν Χριστὸν μεθ' ἡμῶν προσκυνούοντας, ἠκούομεν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καταπατεῖσθαι· καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑμετέραν γῆν ἐκεῖνοις φέρειν τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ κέρδη, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀνασταθῆναι· καὶ τῶν μὲν σωματῶν ὅσα τὸ ξίφος διέφυγε, πανταχόσε διασπαρέντα δουλεῦειν· τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἅμα τούτοις τὰ μὲν βία, τὰ δὲ πειθοῖ καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τούτους ὀμίλια μαινεσθαι· τοσοῦτο [1016C] δ' ὑμῖν τῆς χώρας λειφθῆναι, ὅσον μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς φόρους οὐς οἴσετε τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀρκεῖν· πάντα δὲ τὸν ὑμέτερον κόσμον πρὸς ἐκείνους μετατεθεῖσθαι, καὶ λοιπὸν εὐχὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι τὸ γοῦν δουλεῦειν συγχωρηθῆναι· ταῦτα τῆς φήμης ἀκούσαντες, καὶ συμφορὰν ἰδίαν τὰ οἰκεῖα λογισάμενοι πάθη, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ταῦτ' ἐροῦσαν πρεσβείαν παρ' ὑμῶν ἀναμείναντες, ἐξήλθομεν μὲν τῶν πατρίδων, κατελίπομεν δὲ γονέας καὶ φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτηδείους, δεομένους καθῆσθαι, καὶ τῶν οἴκοι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολαύειν ἡδέων, καὶ μὴ περιεργάζεσθαι, μηδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου κακῶν καὶ τῆς ἐτέρων τύχης κληρονομεῖν. Ἦσαν δὲ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἡμῶν καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα, αἱ μὲν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ δὲ πατέρων δεόμενα. Καὶ ἴστε τοὺς τῆς οἰκίας ἔρωτας, [1016D] καὶ ὡς τὴν ἐξ ἀδάμαντος καρδίαν γυνὴ δακρύσασα μαλάξειν ἄν, καὶ τέκνων ἀσθένεια πατρικῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δεομένη. Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲν τούτων ἡμῖν πρὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας γέγονε σωτηρίας·

concerned for them.

Now this is a shocking thing that it is obvious that a person is not self-sufficient (*compos mentis*), but needs certain other tutors as it were, to mind his things for him. So that even when he has others helping him and restraining those who wish to harm him and taking precautions in every way so that he may prosper, he hurls himself down headlong on purpose and fulfils the prayers of his enemies – this clearly goes beyond the (bad) examples of those who are insane. In the name of God – if only those who snatched Kallipolis from the [1016B] foreigners and handed it over to us could come or send ambassadors and say, “Gentlemen, we are bound to you by no ties of blood, for we had no friendship-treaty with the people of Byzantium, nor did we receive any benefit or assistance from you, which might have necessitated some repayment of the gift. No, but from the beginning we did not know what you wanted without resorting to interpreters, when we heard only that those who with us worshipped Christ were being trampled under foot by foreigners. And further that your land was providing them with produce and profit, and that your cities were being overthrown by them and that whatever persons had escaped the sword were scattered to every place and in slavery. In addition to these things their souls were polluted by force, by persuasion and by daily relationships with them (i.e. the foreigners). [1016C] And such a small portion of your land was left for you that it wasn't even enough to provide the tribute that you had to pay to the foreigners. Also all of your resources was transferred to their ownership and subsequently it was your prayer that you might be permitted to exist at least in a state of servitude. Having heard the report of these things and considering your misfortunes to be our calamity and not waiting for envoys from you by which you might tell us these things. We left behind our fatherlands and left behind our parents and friends and the other close acquaintances, although they asked us to stay and enjoy the pleasant benefits at home with our relatives and not be anxious or incur the miseries that come from war and the misfortunes of others. Most of us had wives and children – the former needed their husbands, the latter their fathers. And you know the love of the household, [1016D] how a weeping wife would soften a heart made of adamant, as would the weakness of children, which had need of the protective gaze of a father.

ἀλλὰ πάντων ὑπεριδόντες, καὶ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ μέγα πέλαγος διαβάντες, καὶ ταῖς τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῶν χειμῶνων τύχαις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποθέντες, οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν προειρημένου, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐλπίζομένου, πλὴν τῆς ὑμῶν ὠφελείας, μισθοῦ, ἤκομεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν γονέων, τὰ ὅπλα θέμενοι· καὶ πρὶν τῶν νεῶν ἀποβῆναι, πολλὰ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους κινδυνεύσαντες, μεγάλη δυνάμει τὴν ἀπόβασιν εἰργοντες, οὐκ ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ πόνου πολλοῦ τοὺς πρώτους αὐτῶν βιασάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤκομεν· τὸ τότε μὲν ὑμῖν πάντων ἀνάξιον, νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ [1017A] τοῦτ' ἔχετε, μηδ' ἐν προσθήκης μέρει δοκοῦν· καὶ Θεοῦ τυχόντες εὐμενοῦς, εἴλομεν μὲν ἐκεῖνο, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αἰσχυρῶς φυγεῖν ἠναγκάσαμεν. Ἀνελαμβάνομεν δὲ τοὺς ὑμετέρων αὐτόθι δουλεύοντας· ὅπλοις δὲ, καὶ σίτῳ, καὶ σώμασι, καὶ πᾶσιν ὧν ἔδει τὸ τεῖχος ἐπισκεύασαντες, παρεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν ὡς οἰκεία κεκρησθαι·

καὶ τὸ τέως ὑπὸ πάντων θρυλλούμενον ἀμῆχανον, ὡς τῆς Καλλιπόλεως ἀφεστῶσης ἀμῆχανον μὴ δουλεῦσαι, καὶ ὃ πάντες ἔν τι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ᾤοντο, ταύτην ἐπανασῶσαι, τοῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ δόξαν ἐκπέπρακται· καὶ κύριοι μὲν ὑμεῖς τοῦ πορθυμοῦ· ἔξεστι δὲ τοῖς αὐτόθι λιμέσι χρωμένους, τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ληστείας καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλους ἀνείργειν·» εἰ δὴ ταῦτα λέγοιεν, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθάνοιντο· «Τί δήποτ', ὃ χρηστοὶ καὶ [1017B] πρὸς μηδὲν τέλος ὀρῶντες ἐν οἷς πράττετε, ὧν πρὶν ἐπεθυμεῖτε τυχόντες, πάλιν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας φθονεῖτε, καὶ δουλεῦειν αἰρεῖσθε; Τοῦτο γὰρ ὑμῖν βούλεται τὸ τοῖς βαρβάρους πάλιν ἐγχειρίζειν τὴν πόλιν·» τί ἐροῦμεν, ἢ τί ἀποκρινόμεθα πρὸς Θεοῦ; Πάντως ἀνάγκη κύπτειν εἰς γῆν, καὶ συγχωρεῖν μετ' αἰσχύνῃς οἷς λέγουσι, τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν δίκαιον ἀντειπεῖν. Καὶ μὴν οὐ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦντας Χριστιανοὺς, οἷσθαι χρὴ τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν εἶναι λόγον. Ἄ τε γὰρ ἔπραξαν οἱ δεῦρ' ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκείνων, ἅπαντες ἴσασι· καὶ νῦν ἂν τὰ μετὰ τοσοῦτων κινδύνων κτηθέντα προώμεθα, πάντως οὐκ ἀγνοήσουσι. Τίνας τοίνυν οὕτω δεινοὺς λέγειν πέμψετε [1017C] Ἰταλοῖς, Γαλάταις, Γερμανοῖς, Κέλταις, Ἰσπανοῖς, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἠπείροις, τοῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις, τοῖς ἔξω Γαδείρων, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς ταύτης καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας πρὸς πάντας ἀπολογήσονται; Καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἐγκλημάτων οὐδένα λόγον ἐνδεχομένων,

But nevertheless we valued none of these things more than your safety, but disregarding everything and crossing the great sea with a large fleet and subjecting ourselves to the fortunes of sea and storms, with no terms appointed and nothing promised, except your welfare, we came bearing arms on your behalf no less than for ourselves and our children. And before we disembarked from our ships, we experienced many dangers at the hands of foreigners, who were trying to prevent our landing with great might. We overcame their first combatants with considerable danger and toil and made our way to the garrison. Then indeed it was beyond all price to you, but now since you have this, it does not even seem to be an acquisition. [1017A] Now under the gracious hand of God, we have captured it and compelled the enemy to flee ingloriously. And we have recovered those of your people who were in captivity. We equipped the garrison with weapons and food, with soldiers and everything that was necessary and we restored the city to you for you to use as your own possession.

What everyone in general conversation declared was that with Kallipolis not under our own control it was impossible to avoid servitude, and what everyone thought was in the realm of the impossible - to secure this city - this has been accomplished contrary to expectation. Indeed you are masters of the Strait. It is possible for you to use the harbours there and to restrain the brigandage and naval expeditions of the foreigners. If they were in fact to say these things, they might find out the reason. Why on earth, my noble hearers [1017B] do you begrudge yourselves liberty and choose bondage, not seeing any purpose in the matters that you are transacting after having obtained the benefits which you previously desired? For this means that you are handing the city over to the foreigners again. What are we to say or what response are we to make before God? It is quite necessary that we bow down to the ground and admit with shame the things that they are saying because we have nothing just to say to them in defence. Indeed we must not think that that same opinion will be held about you by them (the foreigners) alone, but by all the Christians who dwell in Europe. For everyone knows what those of the foreigners who have sailed out to this place have done. Now if we let go what has been acquired at such great danger, they will absolutely know what it is all about. Indeed, what clever

ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν μὲν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις συναχθομένων, τῶν δ' ὀργιζομένων, ἐφ' οἷς ματαίους αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πεποιήκαμεν πόνους. Τίνας δ' ἡμῖν οἶεσθε καὶ παρὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀράς ἐπαχθήσεσθαι, ὀρώσης οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον δι' ὧν ποιοῦμεν προδιδόντας τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι Χριστιανοῖς τοῦ κακοῦ τούτου γινομένους αἰτίους, οὗ τῶν πάποτε τολμηθέντων ἐναγέστερον οὔτ' ἀπανθρωπότερον εἴποι τις ἄν;

Τίνας δ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ἢ καὶ θυσίας προσοίσει, ὀρῶσα πάντας ἐκόντας οὕτως τὰ χεῖριστα αἰρουμένων; [1017D] Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν πῶς οὐ καὶ καταράτους τοιούτοις ἐπιχειροῦντας ἠγήσεται; Ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθὰ σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλομένων, καὶ ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν τοῦ Θεοῦ δεομένων, οὐ τῶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπολλύντων, καὶ θύειν καὶ εὐχεσθαι καὶ πάντα ποιεῖν ἀξιοῦμεν. Κατηγορίαὶ δὲ καὶ ἀραὶ παρὰ πάντων. εἴ τις ἑαυτὸν προδιδούς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσαναγκάζοι. Τίνας δ' ἡμῖν καὶ συγκαλέσει συμμάχους, ἢ μετὰ ποίας γνώμης ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διαλέξεται βοήθειας; τίνας δὲ καὶ πείσει ποιεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν εἰς τὸναντίον αὐτῇ τὴν σπουδὴν ὀρᾷ τελευτῶσαν; Ἄ γὰρ ὁ Κόμης ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπόνθησεν ἐκείνη πεισθεὶς, τούτων ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους μετενεγκεῖν τὴν ὠφέλειαν βούλεσθε. Ὅλως δὲ τίνας χρὴ προσδοκῶν ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους ἡμῖν, εἰδόμενος ὡς οὐδὲν οὔτ' αὐτοῖς οὔθ' [1020A] ἡμῖν ἔστ' ὄφελος ὧν πονήσουσιν, ἡμῶν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλα πάλιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ῥιπτόντων μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ μηδενὸς ἡμῖν λειπομένου ὑπὲρ οὗ χάριν αὐτοῖς εἰσόμεθα τῶν κινδύνων, ὃ μόνον τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἠγωνισμένοις λείπεται πρὸς παραμυθίαν; Οἱ γὰρ εὖ παθόντες, ῥίψαντες τὰ δοθέντα, οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὧν ἔδοσαν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, εἰ μήτ' αὐτοὶ οἰκεία δυνάμει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμυνόμεθα, καὶ τοῖς συμμαχεῖν δυναμένοις ἄντικρυς προερούμεν δι' ὧν ποιοῦμεν φεύγειν ἡμᾶς, τί λοιπὸν, ἢ τῷ χεῖρε δήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἰκετεύειν, καὶ μόνον ἂν συγχωρῶσι ζῆν, κέρδος ἠγεῖσθαι;

orators will you send to the Italians, Gauls, Germans, Celts and Spaniards, [1017C] to those who live on the continents, on the islands and those who live beyond Cadiz, who will (be able to) make a defence to everyone in the light of this shame and madness? And moreover since the changes have no rationale, some of them will be grieved at the things being destroyed and others will be enraged as they perceive that we have rendered their labours on our behalf futile. And what kind of anathemas do you think will be flung at us by the Church, when it sees that we are betraying to the ungodly not only ourselves through the things which we do, but that we are becoming the instigators of this evil against all Christians? Of all the evils perpetrated at any time, it would be impossible for anyone to name a more accursed and inhuman one.

What kind of prayers and sacrifices will it (the Church) offer on our behalf, when she sees everyone choosing the worst possible policies? Quite the contrary, how will she not regard [1017D] as accursed those who attempt such things? For we think it right to sacrifice and pray and do all manner of things on behalf of those who desire good things for themselves and others and who pray to God that they may obtain these things, not for those who destroy themselves deliberately. But accusations and curses from everyone, if anyone was betraying himself, would compel other people (to the same judgement). And what allies will it (the church?) summon for us, or with what mentality will it talk about assistance for us? What people will it persuade to act and take risks for us, when its zeal ending up in a state contrary to it? For you are thinking about transferring the benefit of the things for which the Count at its (the church's?) persuasion, has worked for us to the hands of the foreigners. [1020A] Indeed what allies must we expect to secure, once they knew that there will be no benefit either to them or to us from all their toils, as we throw back to the conquered enemy the rewards we have gained at the conclusion of the war and as there will be nobody left for us to thank for the largess that they have incurred - the only thing which remains as a consolation for those who have striven on behalf of others? For those who have been treated well but fling away what they have been given do not demonstrate gratitude to their benefactors for the things which they have given. But indeed if we do not defend ourselves against our enemies by our own power

[1020B] Ὡσθ' ὅταν εἰ δέοι τὴν Καλλίπολιν διδόναι βουλευήσθε, οὐδὲν ἕτερόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, ἢ ζητεῖν πότερον ἐνδοξότερον, καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις λυσιτελέστερον, ζῆν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀπολαύοντας τῶν ὄντων, καὶ τούτων ἀντεχομένων, ἢ ταῦτα ῥίψαντας, τὴν δουλείαν ἀσπάσασθαι, καὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ὑβρίν τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων δόξης προτιμότερον θέσθαι. Ἀλλὰ τούτων γε ἕνεκα καὶ οἱ παντάπασιν ἐξεστηκότες δύνανται σωφρονεῖν. Οὐδεὶς δὲ οὕτω δυστυχῆς, ὅστις, ἐξὸν ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττειν, ἄλλοις ὑπακούειν αἰρήσεται· καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς χειρίστοις καὶ πολεμιοτάτοις, καὶ μηδένα μὲν ἔχων μισθὸν τῆς δουλείας, προστιθεὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ οἴκοθεν. Εἰ δέ τινες τούτοις μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἀντιλέγειν τολμῶσι, τῷ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ φύσει πραγμάτων οὕτω ταυτί διωρίσθαι, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν Ἑλλησι [1020C] καὶ Βαρβάροις οὕτω νομίζεσθαι, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔμφυτον εἶναι μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ οἰκεῖα προῖεσθαι· δεδοίκασι δὲ τὸν μὲν λιμὸν ἐπικείμενον βλέποντες, ἐν ἀκμῇ μὲν τὸν σῆτον, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους, ἂν μὴ τῆς πόλεως ἀφεστώμεν αὐτοῖς. κερεῖν μὲν τὴν γῆν, καταλήψεσθαι δὲ τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως φρούρια, πάντα δὲ ἀνασπάσειν ἐφεξῆς ἀπειλοῦντας, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιοῦσι συγχωρεῖν οἷς αἰτοῦσι, κουφότερον τὴν εἰς τᾶλλα ζημίαν κρίνοντας τοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὀλέθρου· πρῶτον μὲν ἴστωσαν οἱ ταῦτα δημηγοροῦντες, ὡς οὐ δι' ὧν ἐλάττω τὰ κακὰ ποιήσομεν λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν καὶ προσθήσομεν. Οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς, οὔτ' ἄλλους εἰπεῖν ἂν νομίζω τὸ μὴ τὰς ἡμετέρας πόλεις τοῖς βαρβάροις προῖεσθαι αἴτιον ἡμῖν γενόμενον τῶν [1020D] παρόντων κακῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ προδιδόναι ταύτας ἀφαιρήσειν τῆς δυστυχίας· ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦναντίον ἡμῶν ἀμελούντων ἐάλωσαν, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐνεγκεῖν τὰς παρούσας ἀνάγκας, Οὐ δὴ δι' ὧν ἐκ μεγάλων φαῦλα τὰ πράγματα γέγονε, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῦτα πειρατέον ἐπανορθοῦσθαι· ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτ' ἀφεκτέον τοῦ καὶ νῦν τὰ ὄντα προῖεσθαι, ὅσον καὶ πάντα, τῷ προσκτᾶσθαι καὶ τῷ προσλαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ τὰ ὄντα ῥίπτειν, πλουσιωτέρους γινομένους ὀρῶμεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ ποιεῖτε παραπλήσιον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τῶν μελῶν ἀφαιρῶν, οἷοιτο τὴν ἀκμὴν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ῥώμην τηρεῖν· ἢ τοῖς διαρπάζειν βουλομένοις ἐκδιδοῦς τὴν οὐσίαν, προστιθέναι τοῖς οὐσίαι. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο τᾶναντία τοῖς

and definitely send a message to those who are able to be our allies, as a result of the things which we do, so that they run away from us, what else is there left for us but to tie both our hands and beseech our enemies in supplication and count it a benefit, if only they grant us our lives?

[1020B] As a consequence, whenever you deliberate about whether you should hand over Kallipolis, you seem to me to be doing nothing other than inquiring whether it is more glorious and universally advantageous to live in liberty benefiting from one's possessions and holding on to them or to hurl these things away and embrace slavery and value the brutality of the foreigners more highly than glory from other people. But indeed because of these things men who have been absolutely beside themselves can behave in a sober fashion and no one is so unfortunate, when he is permitted to give instructions to others, that he will choose to obey orders from others, especially when they are the worst and most warlike of people and when he has no reward for his servitude, but actually contributes from his own resources. Whereas some people do not dare to contradict these things at all, because these things are so defined by the order and nature of things and are taken for granted among all the Greeks [1020C] and foreigners and it is an innate feature of all people not to give up their personal possessions to the enemy. Indeed they fear the onset of famine as they see the corn at its height, the foreigners (unless we can banish them from the city) threatening to ravage the land, capture the garrisons of the city and rip up everything one after the other. They think for this reason that they should agree to what they demand, judging that damage to other things is a lighter affliction than the destruction of the native land. First let those who utter such sentiments know that they are not saying things through which we will make the misfortunes less, but through which we will increase them. For I do not think that any other people will say that the fact that we are not giving up our cities to the foreigners is the cause of the present [1020D] misfortunes and that because of this – giving them up – we will remove the misfortune. But quite the contrary, because we were neglectful they were captured – this brought upon us the present calamities. Indeed we must not use the means whereby our greatness has become paltry to try to restore it to its former glory. But we must desist from now giving up our possessions just as

φανεροῖς ἐστὶ καὶ φρονεῖν, καὶ ποιεῖν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἶ
τινα Θεὸς πέμψας προσέτατε δωρεὰς παρ' αὐτοῦ
ζητεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀτυχήσοντας, οὐδὲν ἄν [1021A]
ὑμᾶς ἕτερον αἰτῆσαι νομίζω πρὸ τῶν πόλεων ὡς
ἀπωλέσαμεν, ὡς οὐτῶ μόνως ἐξὸν εἰς τε τὴν
προτέραν τύχην ἀναδραμεῖν, καὶ δίκας ἀπαιτῆσαι
τοὺς νῦν πλεονάζοντας. Εἰθ' ὧν τυχόντες οὐκ ἄν
εὐξαίμεθα μείζω, ταῦτ' ἐξεπίτηδες ἀπολλύντες,
τὸ συνοῖσον περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν νομίζομεν
βεβουλεῦσθαι; Καὶ πῶς οὐ μαίνεσθαι δόξομεν;

Ἐπειτα οὐδ' ὅμοιον, προπολεμοῦντας τῶν
οἰκείων, καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, εἶτα παίσαντας
ταῦτα ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αἰτούντων ἢ
καὶ ἐπιταπτόντων, ταύτην ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ζημίαν.
Ἐκείνως μὲν γὰρ τὸ γοῦν αἰσχρὸν ἄπεστι, καὶ
μόνης τῆς τύχης γίνεται τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἧς
ἀνθρώπους γε ὄντας οὐκ ἔστιν αἰεὶ [1021B] περι-
γίνεσθαι· τὸ δ' ἐκόντας καθ' ἑαυτῶν τοῖς ἐχθίσι-
τοις ὑπηρετεῖν, τοῦτο δὴ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ τῆς
ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως πόρρω πίπτει, καὶ μόνης
ἀναισθησίας ἀπόδειξιν ἔχει· ὁ νῦν ἡμῖν συμ-
βήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ μεταθώμεθα περὶ ὧν βουλευό-
μεθα.

Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων, εἰ μὲν ἦν τις ἡμῖν ἀξιόχρεως
τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων γνώμης ἐγγυητῆς (Θεὸς δ' ἄν
ἦν οὗτος· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γε οὐδενὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
δοτέον ἐπίστασθαι), ὡς ἐὰν ἂ νῦν οἱ βάρβαροι
παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπαγγέλλουσι λάβωσιν, ἡσυχάσουσι
τοῦ λοιποῦ, καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν στήσουσιν ἐν τοῖς
δεδομένοις, αἰσχρὸν μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὕτως, καὶ
τῶν μέχρι νῦν τοῖς προγόνους κατωρθωμένων
ἀνάξιον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ γῆν [1021C] καὶ κατὰ
θάλατταν αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένοις ἐναντιώτατον, καὶ
πᾶσαν ἄρδην ἀνατρέπον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν,
δοκεῖν εἶκειν τοῖς βαρβάροις καὶ ὀπωσοῦν, καὶ
ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς λυμαίνονται τοῖς ἡμετέροις καλοῖς,
καὶ κατορύττειν γε προσῆκε τὸν ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συμ-

much as we see everybody becoming richer, not
by throwing away their possessions, but by
gaining and obtaining more. And you do virtually
the same thing as if someone were to amputate
some of his limbs and think that he was
maintaining the vigour and strength of his body.
Or, by handing over his substance to those who
wanted to grab it, he might think that he would
add to his possessions! But this is contrary to
what is obvious both in thought and action.
Indeed I think that, if God sent someone and
instructed you to receive gifts from him, so that
you [1021A] would not get discouraged, you
would not ask anything else, the consideration of
the cities that we have lost, than that you be
permitted to do this one thing and rush back to
your former fortunate situation and seek repara-
tion from those who are now behaving in an
excessive manner. So are we to think that by
deliberately destroying those things which are
greater than our most hopeful prayers, we have
taken beneficial counsel on our own behalf?
Surely we will appear in the eyes of people to be
insane.

Furthermore it is not the same thing when we
have fought beforehand for our possessions and
incurred danger and then to falter and cast away
these things, and when the foreigners request
these things, or rather demand them, to bear this
loss. For in that way what is evil is absent and
there is nothing but the loss [1021B] of fortune,
over which it is not always possible for us being
mortals to exercise control. But to be willing to
do service to those who are utterly hostile against
ourselves, this is far removed from rational
feeling and human nature, and shows nothing else
but insensibility. This now will happen to us if we
do not change our attitude in the matters about
which we are deliberating.

Apart from these things, if we could find any
worthy guarantor for the intentions of the
foreigners (it would clearly be God, for no human
being may be allowed to understand such things)
that if the foreigners take what now they demand
from us they would subsequently relent and
would limit their covetousness in respect of the
things that have already been given to them, it
would be so utterly bad and unworthy of the
noble deeds of our forefathers up till the present,
and completely contrary to their achievements on
land [1021C] and sea, and would completely
overthrow all the glory of the city so that we
would seem in some way to surrender to the

βουλεύειν ἢ καὶ πείθειν τολμῶντα, Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἡμᾶς πείθοι, ὡς ἔστι τῶν νῦν ζητουμένων παραχωρήσαντας, τοῖς λειφθησομένοις χρῆσθαι μετ' ἀσφαλείας, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν μελῶν τινα σιδήρῳ καὶ καύσεσιν ἐκδιδόντες, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τῷ λοιπῷ σώματι ζῆν· οἷς τοῦ θανάτου πικρότερον γίνεται τὰ παρὰ πάντων ὄνειδη.

σιγάσθω μὲν τὰ τῆς πατρίδος καλά· ἀριστέων δὲ ἀνδριάντες ἀνατραπήτωσαν· ἐπιγράμματα δὲ ἐξαλειφέσθω, τοῖς ἐσομένοις δηλοῦντα τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀρετὴν· καὶ πᾶς δ' αὐτῇ ὑπὲρ δόξης διηνυσμένος [1021D] ἀγὼν λήθη δεδόσθω, καὶ περιεργία δοκείτω τὸ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ δόξης αἰρεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δὴ, ὅπως μὲν πόλεως, ἀνὴρ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερέχει· καὶ ἀνθ' ὑπακουστέον τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ οἷς συγχωροῦσιν ἔχειν ἐμμενέον. Εἰ δ' ἅπαντα μᾶλλον ἢ ταῦτ' ἐλπῖσαι τις ἄν, τοὺς βαρβάρους λαβόντες, ἃ νῦν αἰτοῦσι παρ' ἡμῶν, ἡσυχάζειν, τίς ὁ πείθων λόγος ὡς ἄρα δεῖ συμφέρον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὅπλοις τοὺς πολεμίους ὀπλιζέειν, ἴν' ὡς ἔοικε δυσκαταγωνιστοτέροις χρῆσώμεθα; Εἰ γὰρ ὅτ' ἐθήτεον καὶ κλοπαῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου, καὶ ληστεῖαις ἐχρῶντο, τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἐπεθύμησαν, οὐδένα πόνον καὶ κίνδυνον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτην κτήσασθαι παραιτούμενοι, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἡμετέρων τότε καὶ σώμασι, καὶ χρήμασι, καὶ τῷ μηδὲν προθυμίας ἐλλείπειν, ἐρρωμένως [1024A] ἀμυνομένων· τί χρὴ νῦν προσδοκὸν αὐτοῦς δράσειν, καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα προσλαβόντες ἰσχυρὰ, καὶ μάλιστα νῦν, ὅτε τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ μὲν ἀπόθετα πάντα ἀνήλωται, οἱ δὲ πόροι τούτων ἐπέλιπον· ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἕκαστος οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀρκεῖ· σώματα δὲ ἔφθαρται· αἱ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συντάξεις ἐκκλύνται· χωρία δὲ πάντα προεἰληπται; Οὗτοι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Μυσῶν πρότερον τὴν Τριβαλῶν νῦν ἄγουσι καὶ φέρουσι βασιλείαν· τοσοῦτον ἀναπνεῖν ἡμῖν συγχωροῦντες, ὅσον πρὸς ἐκείνους ἡσχόληται. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τάκει διοικῆσονται, ἐπανήξουσι μὲν ἡμῖν φοβεροὶ, ζητήσουσι δὲ οὐ τὴν Καλλιόπολιν τότε, οὐδὲ περὶ φόρων τότε ἀκριβολογήσονται, οὐδὲ στάχυσιν οὐδ' ἀμπέλους ἀπειλήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀπαιτήσουσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τὸ χρεῖναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων [1024B] καὶ ἡμᾶς γινῶναι τοὺς ὄντας δεσπότης.

foreigners, and that in those things which damage our goods; and he who would dare to give this counsel to us or persuade us would have to be buried in the earth. But indeed if someone were to persuade us that after making the concessions which are now being sought, we should use the things that are left behind in safety, like those who give up some of their limbs to the sword or burning tortures so that they may stay alive with the remainder of their body. To them the reproaches from everyone become a more bitter trial than death.

Indeed let the good things of the native land be silent, let the statues of men of nobility be overthrown, let the inscriptions, which show the valour of the city to future citizens, be obliterated. [1021D] And let every conflict completed in her for the sake of glory be consigned to forgetfulness and let the choice of incurring danger for the sake of glory be considered a work of supererogation. Indeed this is the issue, whereby one city is better than another and one man better than another. Otherwise we must obey the foreigners in every respect and remain satisfied with those things which they allow us to have. But if someone would hope for everything rather than this, that the foreigners, after having taken what they now are demanding from us, would be quiet, what is the persuasive argument that it is necessary in fact and advantageous to arm the enemy with our own weapons, so that we may seemingly enjoy greater invincibility? For if, when they were in bondage and had recourse to thieving and robbery to meet all the exigencies of life, they desired our realm, shirked no toil or danger, so that they could obtain it, and that when our soldiers were stoutly resisting with their bodies and their substance and with the greatest possible zeal, [1024A] what are we now to expect them to do, when they have taken our strongholds and especially now that all the funds laid aside have been used up and their revenue has failed? On the personal level each person does not have enough to sustain his household – bodies have been destroyed – the covenants made with the enemy have been broken and all the places (of importance) have been taken already. But they after the battle with the Bulgars (lit. Mysians) first and now with the Serbs (lit. Triballians) lead and bring the kingdom, allowing us to take a respite as long as they are busy with them. But if they settle affairs there (properly), they will come back upon us with a vengeance and then they will

Τότε τί συμβουλευόσους οἱ πάντ' εὐχερεῖς οὔτοι, καὶ τὸ παρὸν μόνον σκοπούμενοι; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ νῦν τοῖς βαρβάρους ἀφίστασθαι τῶν ὄντων, οὕτω καὶ τότε δουλεύειν αὐτοῖς παραινέσους, χρηστοὺς ἄρα πολίτας αὐτοῦς, καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἀξίους προστάτας ἀποφανοῦσιν· εἰ δ' ὅπερ εὐλογον καὶ Θεῶ μὲν ἀρέσκον, πᾶσι δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν συγκεκριμένον ἀνθρώποις, εἰθὸς δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν, καὶ τοῖς ἐξαρχῆς τοῖς πόλεως ἔργοις, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ συμβαῖνον, τότε συμβουλευεῖν θελήσους, ὡς ἄρα ἀθεκτέον μὲν τῆς ἐλευθερίας, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὴν δουλείαν φοβερῶτατον [1024C] ἡγήτεον· τί νῦν παραινῶσιν, ἃ τότε ἀναιρήσουσι δι' ὧν συμβουλευόσους; Δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τότε πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν συμβουλευόντες, καὶ χρημάτων, καὶ σωμάτων, καὶ συμμάχων, καὶ τόπων, καὶ λιμένων, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσθήκην ἐπινοήσους. Εἶτα τῶν μὴ ὄντων ὅπως προσέσται τότε σκεψόμενοι, τὰ ὄντα νῦν ἐκβαλοῦσι; καὶ προσθήκην ζητοῦντες, ἀφαιρέσει νομοῦσι περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δοκοῦντος; Εἰ γὰρ ὅπως δεῖ πολεμεῖν, βέλτιον τοῖς ὅλοις μετὰ τῶν ὄντων ἐπιχειρεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλαττοῦν ἐξεπίτηδες, μεθ' ὧν ἀνάγκη διαφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ καὶ μετὰ συμμάχων. Εἰ τούτων ἄνευ εἴποι τις ἂν δεῖν κινδυνεύειν, καὶ μετὰ χρημάτων, ἀλλ' οὐ μετὰ πενίας· καὶ ἀπλῶς μεθ' ὅτι πλείστης οἷόν τε περιουσίας· εἰ δ' ὅτι μικρὰ μὲν ἢ Καλλιπόλις, [1024D] μεγίστη δὲ ἢ μητρόπολις, διὰ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ τοῦλαττον ἀντὶ τοῦ μεγίστου προῖεσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀνόητον μεγέθει τὰ πράγματα κρίνεσθαι, καὶ βέλτιον μὲν αἰεὶ τὸ μεῖζον· τὸ δ' ἦττον χειρὸν δοκεῖν· ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν χειρίστον ᾤετο, ὅτι δὴ καὶ μικρότατον, ἢ καὶ τοὺς τὰ σώματα μεῖζους βελτίους τῶν μετρίων ἡγεῖτο. Καὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως τοίνυν οὐ τὸν περίβολον μόνον καὶ τὸν τῶν πύργων ἀριθμὸν προσήκει σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τοῦ χωρίου λογίζεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἀκρόπολις τις τῆς μεγάλης πόλεως εἶναι δοκεῖ· καὶ ὡς ἕως μὲν αὐτὴν ἡμεῖς εἶχομεν, ἢ τε Χερρόνησος καὶ αἰ ἐν Θράκῃ πόλεις ἡμῖν ὑπήκουον καθαρῶς· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ταύτην κατέσχον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐκεῖνά τε ἀπέστη, καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας οἱ λόγοι γίνονται [1025A] καθημέραν· τοσαύτην ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ῥοπήν ἔχει τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο χωρίον, Ὡστ' εἰ δεῖ τὸ μέγεθος

not only aim at Kallipolis nor will they make precise demands for tribute nor will they threaten to attack the crops or the vineyards but they will demand (our) liberty and that we and other people [1024B] must not know that they are our real masters.

Then what counsel will they give, those who are always easy going and consider only the present? Indeed if just as now they urge the people to give up our possessions to the foreigners, then they will give advice to be their slaves, indeed, they will declare themselves to be good citizens and worthy leaders of the commonwealth. But if what is consonant with reason and pleasing to God and ratified by all men, so to speak, it is also our custom, and according to the (noble) deeds done in the city from its inception and agreeable to its glory, that then they will want to deliberate that we must hold on to our liberty and must consider that slavery is the most fearful fate [1024C] of all. Why do they now advise those things which will destroy the means through they will exercise their deliberations? For it is obvious that when they deliberate about waging war at the same time that they will be thinking about an increase in finances, troops, allies, locations, harbours, in short absolutely everything. Then they will consider how the things which they do not have will be provided so will they cast away now what they have? And while they are seeking addition(s) will they think that they will gain control of what seems good (to them) by a process of subtraction? For if generally it is necessary to wage war, it is better for everyone to undertake it with the wherewithal, but certainly not to diminish it on purpose the resources, with which it is necessary to carry on the war, as with allies. Apart from these things, if someone were to say that we must incur danger, it should be with resources but not with poverty, in short, that we do so with as great resources as possible. But if the fact is that Kallipolis is small [1024D] the mother city big, then for this reason is it necessary to give up the lesser instead of the greatest? First of all it is stupid that matters be judged by size and that the larger seems better and the smaller worse, as if someone thought the eye to be the worst thing in the body, because it is the smallest or thought that those who had larger bodies were better than those of average size. So as far as Kallipolis is concerned, it is not appropriate to consider just the perimeter and number of the towers, but also

ἀφέντας, λοίξεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, οὐ παρὰ πολὺ διαφέρειν εὐροί τις ἂν τοῦ ταύτην ἐκδοῦναι τὸ τὴν πατρίδα προδοῦναι.

Ἐπειτα εἰ ταύτην τοῖς βαρβάροις αἰτοῦσιν οὐκ ἀντιλέγειν τολμήσομεν, τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν δεδιότες, εἰπάτω τις ἐμοῖ, τί τὸ κωλύον καὶ δεῦτερον αὐτοῖς αἰτοῦσι καὶ τρίτον πεισθῆναι; Ἔως γὰρ ἂν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι [1025B] στήσονται τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἢ πείθειν τις, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λεγομένοις συντίθεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τούτων ὑφορωμένους. Ὁ γὰρ ἅπαξ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχὺν ἐκπλαγεῖς, καὶ μεμελετηκῶς ὑπακούειν, οὐ τὰ μὲν ἐλάττω συγχωρήσει, πρὸς δὲ τὰ μείζω φιλονεικήσει· ἀλλὰ πάνθ' ὁμοίως ὑποστήσεται, ἕως ἂν τὴν τῶν ἐπιτατόντων ἰσχὺν ὑποπεύη. Ὡστ' οὐχὶ περὶ τῆς Καλλιπόλεως μόνον, εἰ χρὴ προέσθαι ταύτην, ἡμῖν ἐστὶ νῦν ἡ συμβουλή, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους, καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν λοιπῶν. Οὐ χρὴ τοίνυν οὕτω ταπεινωθέντας πάντα συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε καὶ συμφερότερον νομίζειν ἐνίστασθαι, καὶ νομίζειν τέχνης τινὸς εἵνεκα καὶ πείρας ὑπ' ἐκείνων ταυτὶ προβεβλήσθαι· ἴν', ἐὰν μὲν ἐνστῶμεν καὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀντιποιώμεθα, καὶ δῆλοι γενώμεθα [1025C] μὴ ἐπιτρέποντες ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἡμᾶς, ἄλλο τι ζητήσωσι λυσιτελήσον αὐτοῖς· ἐὰν δ' ὑποπήξαντες συγχωρήσωμεν, λοιπὸν ὡς ἤδη ταπεινωθεῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐ συγχωρήσουσι, χρῆσονται· καὶ πάντα περικόψαντες, τελευτῶντες ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἀναισχυντοῦντες, ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπιστήσονται σωφρονεῖν. Καὶ εἰ ταῦτα συγχωρήσαιμεν, ὡς ἔγωγε οὐχ ὀρῶ πῶς οὐκ ἀξιόσομεν, τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τόθ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκης ἐπικειμένης, πάντα ἄρα τοῖς βαρβάροις προστάττουσιν ὑπακουστέον εἶναι πάντως ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τούτου συμβαίνειν. Εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, σωφρονούντων, ἂν εἴη, πρὶν καθέκαστον διδόντας πράγματα [1025D] ἔχειν, ὑφὲν πάντ' ἐκείνοις ἀμαχητὶ προεμένους, τὴν μεταξὺ τῶν κακῶν πείραν κερδᾶναι· ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ μὴ πληγῆ πεσεῖν

the reflect upon the strategic nature of the place and that it seems to be a citadel of this great city state. And as long as we held it, not only the Chersonese, but also the cities of Thrace openly obeyed us. But from the time when the foreigners took possession of it, and then those things passed out of our control, now we have daily discussions about our (very) survival. [1025A] This small place has such significance for both sides, so that if it is necessary to ignore the question of its size but consider its usefulness, one would find that there is not much difference between giving up this place and betraying our native land.

Yet again, if we do not have the courage to contradict the foreigners' demands, because we fear their power, someone might say to me, 'What is to stop your obeying them, when they ask a second or third time? For as long as they [1025B] refrain from gaining an advantage, nobody would be able to argue a case that it would be necessary for us to agree with the things said by the former, looking askance at the power of the latter. For the person who has once been stunned by the power of the enemy and has been schooled to give obedience will not make lesser concessions, but will dispute about greater issues. But he will put up with everything in a similar fashion, until he suspects the strength of those giving the orders. So our consideration is not merely about Kallipolis, as to whether it is necessary to give it up, but about the very soil of the city and virtually everything else. So it is not necessary for us to be so humiliated that we make all concessions to the foreigners, but sometimes we must consider it more advantageous to resist and to consider that these things are being proposed by those men with some skill and subtlety. So that if we resist and contend for our possessions and it becomes obvious [1025C] that we are not about to allow ourselves to be carried to and fro, they may seek some other plan which will be advantageous to them. But if we make concessions in craven cowardice, then they will treat us like people who have already been humiliated and are not about to make any further concessions and, having laid waste everything, they will finally come at our daughters, sons, wives, most precious possessions and our fatherland. For those who behave shamelessly in minor matters will not know how to be have prudently in matters of the greatest significance. And if we were to make these concessions and I do not see how we can avoid giving consent, with

αίρετώτερον τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναλοῦσθαι τὸ σῶμα. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτ' εἰδότες σαφῶς ἐκβησόμενα, δέχεσθε μὲν τὸ μέλλον, ἀπλῶς δὲ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν ἐκρίνατε, ἄλλο τι τοῦτο εἶη· καὶ δῆλον ὡς οὔτε θηρίων, οὔτε πολλῶ μᾶλλον ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οἱ λογισμοί. Πᾶσι γὰρ ἔμφυτον τὰ οἰκεῖα τηρεῖν ἀγαθὰ, καὶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἕως ἔξεστι μάχεσθαι. Καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ζώων ἀσθενέστατα ἐρρωμένως ἂν τις ἴδοι τοῖς ἰσχυροτάτοις ἀντεπιόντα, ὅταν αὐτὰ βλάπτειν ἐπιχειρῇ· ὡς ἢ τῆς ἀδικίας ἐκεῖνα κωλύσοντα, ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἀποθανεῖν ἀμυνόμενα, ὡς ἄλλην τινὰ τῇ φύσει λειτουργίαν εἰσοίσοντα, ἧς εἶναι νόμον σώζειν αὐτά.

[1028A] Εἰ δὲ τὴν Καλλίπολιν ὄρον ἔσεσθαι τῆς πλεονεξίας τοῖς βαρβάροις νομίζετε, καὶ ταύτην λαβόντας, τοῖς λοιποῖς ἡμῖν οἴεσθε μετ' ἀσφαλείας χρῆσεσθαι συγχωρήσειν· ἴστω πᾶς τις ταῦτ' ὄνειροπολῶν, τῶν πραγμάτων παντελῶς ἀμαρτάνων. Ὁ γὰρ τοσαῦτα μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος, τοσαῦτα δὲ ἀπειλῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταύτης γενέσθαι κύριος, τί οὐκ ἂν πιστεῦοιτο δράσειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πόλεων, καὶ ἧς οὐδ' ἂν τις εὐροὶ παράδειγμα, κτήσασθαι, καὶ τοιαύτη χρημάτων καὶ δόξης προσθήκη τὰ ὑπηγμένα κοσμήσαι; Πῶς οὖν οὐκ εὐηθεῖς, τῶν μικρῶν ὀρῶντας οὕτως ἀντιποιοῦμενον, οἴεσθαι τῶν μεγίστων αὐτὸν ἀμελήσειν; Ὡσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ πληγῶν ἀνεχόμενον ὑπὲρ ὀβολοῦ τινα βλέπων, ἔπειτ' οἴοιτο ταλάντων ἐκόντα καταφρονήσειν. Μωρία καὶ ἄνοια τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλπίζειν. [1028B] Μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν αἱ προσθήκαι φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αὐξοῦσι τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἅτε τοῦ τέλους ἐγγύτερον γινομένοις, ὑπὲρ οὗ πάντα πράττουσιν.

Εἰ τοίνυν ὑμῖν μέλει τοῦ μὴ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων

this same obligation being laid upon us, it will happen as a consequence of this agreement that we have to obey utterly all the demands made upon us by the foreigners. But if matters turn out this way, it would be the wisest counsel, before causing problems to afflict us [1025D] on an individual basis, to send them away with a single word without any fighting, and profit from experiencing an interval between evil circumstances. In my judgement, it is more preferable to die by a single blow than to have one's body worn out little by little. So if, knowing clearly that these things will come to pass, you accept what is about to happen, but have simply decided not to exert yourselves against it, this other alternative may come into being. And it is obvious that this line of reasoning is not even at the level of wild beasts, let alone at the level of a human soul. For it is an intrinsic quality of everybody to preserve their own goods and to fight while they may against those who use force against them. Indeed one might see the feeblest of animals retaliating against the strongest animals, when they attempt to do them harm. (They do this) either to prevent them from doing harm or to die in self-defence, or to pay some other homage to nature, which may require them to safeguard these things.

[1028A] Now if you think that Kallipolis will be the limit of the covetousness of the foreigners and that once it has been taken, they will allow us to use the rest with impunity – let such a person who has these dreams realize that he is completely missing the point of what is happening. For if a person were to make such great promises and make such threats with the purpose of gaining sovereignty over it, why would credence be not given to his intention to annex this greatest cities in this unparalleled way and adorn the possessions that came to him with such an increase of resources and glory? Therefore how would it not be stupid that we who see him laying claim to small things with such zeal should think that he will disregard the things which are greatest? It would be just like someone looking at someone putting up with violent blows for a mere obol, but then thinking that he would willingly take no account of a talent! To have expectations like that is madness and folly. [1028B] On the contrary it is natural that acquisitions will increase the covetousness of men, inasmuch as they are nearer the goal for which they do all these things.

So if you are concerned about not stirring up

ἐρεθίζειν ὀρέξεις, ἀνθεκτέον ὧν νῦν αἰτοῦσιν ἵνα μὴ χαλεπωτέροις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τᾶλλα χρῆσώμεθα· μηδὲ ἐρωτᾶτε, εἰ δίκαιον ἀντεχομένους ταύτης ἀπολέσαι τὸ θέρος, πρὸς ὃ πάντα ἀνάγετε, καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πόνων ἐτέρους ποιῆσαι κυρίους· μηδὲ τὸ τῶν ἀμπέλων πάθος οὕτως ἡγεῖσθε βαρῦν, ὥστ' εἶναι τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτοῖς τὰ μέλη πρὸ ἐκείνων τμηθῆναι. Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν εἰς ταῦτα ζημίαν χαλεπὴν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ λυπηρὰν οὐχ ἡμῖν μόνον τοῖς ὑπομένουσι ταύτην, [1028C] ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ὅσους εἰς τὰς τοιαύτας ἀνάγκας ἡγαγον οἱ καιροί; ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν μὴ τοῦ παρόντος γίνεσθαι μόνον, καὶ τὸ νῦν λυπηρὸν θεραπεύειν, εἰ δὲ τι χεῖρον εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀπόκειται, τοῦτ' ἢ μὴ προβλέπειν, ἢ προορωμένους ἐπιτρέπειν τῇ τύχῃ· ἀλλ' αἰρεῖσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν εἰς τὰ κουφότερα λύπην τοῦ μετὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἐσομένου κινδύνου. Ἔστω γάρ, καὶ συγκεχωρήσθω τὴν Καλλίπολιν ἐκδόντας, τὸν σῖτον κομίσασθαι· οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐν τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἔτος ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξομεν. Καίτοι τις ἂν ἴσως εἴποι διὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπιστίαν μηδὲ τοῦτο βέβαιον εἶναι. Πολλὰ γὰρ πολλάκις ὑπισχνούμενοι, ἐναντία τὰ τέλη τοῖς ὑπεσχημένοις ἐξήνεγκαν. Ἐγὼ δὲ τίθημι τηρήσειν αὐτοὺς τὰς συνθήκας, πάντως οὐχ ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν τὸ νῦν ἔτος ἔσται· ἀλλὰ τελευτήσει μὲν τοῦτο: [1028D] ἀναλωθήσονται δὲ οἱ καρποί· καὶ πάλιν ὁ σῖτος ἐν ἀκμῇ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἀσθενῆ. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ὥσπερ πυρετοῦ περίοδος ἤξουσιν· καὶ ἡμῖν δεήσει τροφῶν· τί ποτ' αὐτοῖς δώσομεν ὑπὲρ τῆς κομιδῆς τῶν ὠραίων; Σηλυμβρίαν ἐρεῖ τις ἢ Πείρινθον, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐνεχυράζοντες.

Ἄλλ' οὐθ' ἡμῖν ἄπειροι πόλεις δι' ὧν τοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἀμητοὺς ἢ τρυγητοὺς ὠνησώμεθα, οὐθ' οἱ βάρβαροι συγχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν προῖκα τρυφῶν. Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἀπαντὸν· ἐκείνων μὲν τὴν πόλιν αἰτούντων καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὕστατα λείπεται· ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντιλέγειν μὴ δυναμένων, τῶν καρπῶν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦ θέρους ἐμφορατόντων τὰ στόματα. Ὡστ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δουλεύσομεν. Οὐ [1029A] γὰρ ἔγωγε ἄλλο τι μέσον ὁρῶ τῆς τε τῶν βαρβάρων πλεονεξίας καὶ τοῦ μὴδ' ἡμᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀπολέσαι. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χωρὶς τούτων δέδοικα μὴ τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν σφόδρα

the cupidity of the foreigners we must hold on to what they now are seeking, so that we may not find them to be more obnoxious in other matters. And do not ask if it is right to hold on to this city (Kallipolis) and lose the harvest to which you are exercising all your energies, and to make other people profit from all our hard work. And do not think that the damage done to the vines is so severe that there should be those who want their bodies to be mutilated rather than the vines! Indeed think that there is a grievous and sad loss, not only to us who sustain it, [1028C] but also to all whom circumstances have driven into such necessities. But (may it be the responsibility) of men not only to be (masters) of the present, and to attend to what is now grievous, but if there is something worse set aside for the future, either not to look to it or if they do look at it, to entrust it to fortune. But (it is better) to choose present misery which tends to be lighter than danger which in a short time will be grievous. Well, let it be, and after giving up Kallipolis, let us be permitted to bring in the harvest. For in this way we will spend this one year at least in prosperity. And yet someone might perhaps say that even this was not a sure thing because of the faithlessness of the foreigners. For after promising many things on many occasions, they have brought about results which are contrary to what they promised. Now I affirm that they will keep the agreements, but this present year will not be the whole generation. For this year will end [1028D] and the crops will be used up and again the corn will be at its height but (public) affairs will be weak and the foreigners will come like a bout of fever and we will lack provisions. What on earth will we give them for the procuring of provisions? Someone will say in Selymbria or Perinthus, as if they were people who always pledged their surplus wealth.

But in fact our cities, through which we will gain our harvests and vintage every year, are not unlimited, nor will the foreigners allow us to live in luxury free of charge. So then what remains is to approach the primary issue – they are asking for our city and our liberty. For these are the last things which remain. But we do not have the power to speak against them, as our crops and harvest are shutting our mouths and so of necessity we shall be slaves. For I cannot [1029A] see any other middle course between the greed of the foreigners and our not putting up with the destruction of our produce from the

ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἐφεξῆς πόλλ' ἔτη λιμώττειν ἀναγκασθῶμεν. Νῦν μὲν καὶ μὴ γεωργοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργοῦμενα κομιεῖ· καὶ πολλάκις ἴσμεν τοῦτο συμβᾶν, ὅταν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὐρανίων ὁ τῆς γῆς τόκος κωλύηται, ἢ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων τουτωνὶ βλάβηται, ποιούντων ἃ νῦν ἀπειλοῦσι. Τότε γὰρ ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡμῖν ἢ θάλαττα γίνεται· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ ταύτην ἀροῦντες καὶ σπεύροντες· πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πόρρωθεν κομίζοντες ἡμῖν ὧν δεόμεθα· καὶ πολλάκις ἢ πόλις τὰ τῆς περιοικίδος μὴ συγκομισαμένη, ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις διήγαγε. [1029B] Καὶ ὅλως τῆς θαλάττης ἤρηται τὸ πλεον τῆς ἐνταῦθα τροφῆς, ἧς ἐκστάντες, ἀναγκασθόσμεθα συνεχῆ λιμὸν ὑπομένειν. Τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς ἄμα τε τῆς Καλλιπόλεως οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ τῆς σιτοπομπίας ἔσονται κύριοι, καὶ οὔτε σιταγωγὸς, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν χρησίμων ἡμῖν κομίζουσα ναῦς οὐδεμία ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἕξει λιμένας; Τίς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ λιμώττειν ἑτέρους αὐτὸς αἰρήσεται κινδυνεύειν; Ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἕξοντα διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἰέναι, τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτόθι συνεχῶς ἐγκαθημένων πρὸς τοῖς στενοῖς, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ πλοίοις ἄλλοις τοὺς στελλομένους εἰργόντων, καὶ τὸν πόρον ποιούντων οὐκ ἄδεᾶ. Ὡστ' εἴ τι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὠρῶν παισείεν, οὐ γὰρ δυνατὸν ἀεὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς εὐτυχεῖν, [1029C] ἀθεραπεύτω συντυχεῖν ἀνάγκη λιμῶ. μήτ' ἄλλων παρ' ἡμᾶς δυναμένων καταίρειν, μήθ' ἡμῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀνάγεσθαι· καὶ συμβήσεται, τὴν τοῦ παρόντος ἔτους δυσχέρειαν ἐκφυγεῖν βουλομένους, κακοῖς ἀμηχάνοις περιπεσεῖν, λιμώττοντας διὰ βίου· ὃ τῆς φύσεως στέγειν μὴ δυναμένης, λοιπὸν ἢ θανεῖν δυστυχῶς, ἢ ζῆν δυστυχέστερον, αὐτοχειρίᾳ παραδόντας τὰ τείχη.

Τί οὖν; πολεμήσομεν, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο κελεύεις; Ἐγὼ δ' ἀντερήσομαι· Τί οὖν; δουλεύσομεν, καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔσται ποιεῖτε; Ἀλλ' οὐθ' ὑμᾶς τῆς ἐλευθερίας ποτὲ προδότας ἔγωγ' ἂν εἶποιμι, οὐτ' ἐγὼ δυναμένους ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ταύτης συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν [1029D] ἀνθελέσθαι τὸν

fields. And indeed apart from these things, I fear that we, who eagerly desire our annual crops, may be compelled to suffer famine for many years in succession. So now if we do not work our farms, the sea will bring us provisions produced by others. And we know that this has often happened, whenever either the produce of the earth is prevented by heavenly enemies or is harmed by (earthly) enemies such as these, as they do what they are now threatening. For under such circumstances, for us the sea takes the place of the farms. And there are many of our men who are ploughing and sowing this earth, but there are also many who bring from afar the provisions which we need and often the city which has not gathered provisions from the neighbouring area lives in a more affluent state.[1029B] And the bulk of the provisions that we have here depends entirely on the sea. If we depart from this, we shall be compelled to endure continual famine. Who does not know that the foreigners will gain control both of Kallipolis and the transport of corn, and that neither a corn-ship nor any ship conveying any other of our necessary provisions will come to the harbours of the city? For who will choose to incur danger so as to prevent others from experiencing famine? For it is necessary that anyone coming to us must pass through many dangers, with the foreigners lying in ambush here at the straits continually, preventing those who have been despatched with ships and triremes and other vessels, and making the journey fraught with fear. So that if there were some misadventure with storms, it would not be possible for things to go well with the farmers, [1029C] but we would be of necessity afflicted by a famine with no solution, since others would not be able to put into port near us, and we would not be able to set sail from this place. And so what will happen will be that we who wish to escape the unpleasantness of the present year will be involved in irresistible misfortunes and will suffer famine all our lives. So since our nature is incapable of tolerating this, it remains that we will die miserably or live more miserably, having handed over the walls of the city with our own hands.

What then? Shall we go to war and do you order (us to do) this? But I will speak against this. What then? Shall we be slaves, and are you acting in such a way that this will happen? But I would neither say that you were at any time the betrayers of liberty nor would I advise you, when

πόλεμον. Ἄλλ' εἰ τὰ πράγμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἄγει, οὐ τοῖς γε συμβούλοις δίκαιον τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων λογίζεσθαι; Ὅμως οὐχ οὕτως ἀπλῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ τοὺς πολέμους αἰροῦνται· ἀλλ' ἐνῶμᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἢ σωτηρία καὶ τὸ τυγχάνειν ὧν βούλονται περιγίνεται, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς προτιμᾶται θατέρου. Καὶ γὰρ πολεμοῦμεν ἐφ' ὃ σώζεσθαι, καὶ τὴν εἰρηνην ἀσπαζόμεθα, εἰ διὰ ταύτην τὰ ὄντα τηροῦμεν. Τὸ δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἐξ ἧς πάντα ἀπόλλυμεν, οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἕτερον ἢ δι' εὐπρεποῦς ὀνόματος τὸ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχροὺς ὑπομένειν. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἡσυχάζουσιν ἀπολαύειν ἔξεστι τῶν οἰκείων, σύμφημι τοῖς μηδὲν περιεργάζεσθαι παραινοῦσιν· εἰ δὲ μέχρι μὲν ῥήματος μόνον τὸ σεμνόν ἐστι τῆς εἰρήνης, τὰ δὲ ὄντα πόλεμός ἐστι χαλεπώτατος, πῶς ἂν εἰκότως δυσχεραίνετε τοὺς πολεμεῖν ἀξιούοντας, ἐφ' ὅπερ [1032A] ἡμᾶς ὠθεῖ καὶ ἄκοντας ἢ διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη; Εἰ δὲ τις τὰς τοῦ πολέμου τύχας λογιζόμενος, καὶ τὰς δυσκολίας, ὀκνεῖ τοῦτον ἐκφέρειν, ἄλλοτε μὲν σωφρονούστος ἂν τις εἶπεν εἶναι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ταύτην· ἐνταῦθα δὲ πάντα τὰ αἰσχίστα πρόσεστι τῇ ἀναβολῇ. Τί γὰρ τῶν ὀνειδῶν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἀκούσειεν ὁ πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας στερούμενος, ἔπειτα μὴ κινούμενος, ἀλλ' εἰδώλου τινὸς ἔτ' αὐτῷ λειψθῆναι δοκούντος ἐχόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀξίῳ σπένδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πάντα ἀφελομένους· καὶ νομίζων ἐν τῇ δουλείᾳ μετρίου τινὸς ἀπολαύσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, ὡς ἢ τῶν δούλων τύχη οὐδενὸς ἀπολαύειν χρηστοῦ, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην πάντων τοῖς δεσπότηαι ἐξίστασθαι;

[1032B] Ὡστ' εἰ μὲν ἐλπίς ἐστὶ κομιεῖσθαι ὧν διὰ τὴν ἄγαν ἀπραγμοσύνην πρότερον ἐμπεπτώκαμεν, πολεμητέον, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολογιστέον, οὐ πόνον, οὐ κίνδυνον, οὐ δαπάνην, ἐξ ὧν μέλλομέν τε εὖ πράξειν, καὶ τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι βουλομένους, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἡδικηκότας ἀμυνεῖσθαι δικαίως· εἰ δ' οὐδὲν χρηστὸν τέλος ἡμῖν ἐλπίζομεν οἴσειν τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη σφαλέντας μηκέτ' εἶναι, οὐδὲ τὴν τελευτὴν ταύτην ἀτιμαστέον, καλήν τε οὔσαν καὶ ἔντιμον, καὶ δόξης οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσαν· ἧς καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα, καὶ κατὰ πόλεις. Τί γὰρ σεμνότερον, τί δ' ἐντιμότερον ἀνθρώπων τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν τετηρηκότων, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος

you were able to maintain peace, to choose war in its place. [1029D] But if circumstances drive us in this direction, is it not the right thing to (respect) our counsellors and to consider the way matters are? Nonetheless men do not choose peace or war(s) so simply, but that method by which their deliverance is attained and their purposes are realized is preferred to the alternative. For we wage war in order to get deliverance and we welcome peace if through it we keep our possessions. But to keep a peace from which we lose everything is nothing else but putting up with the debasement of circumstances under a specious name. So if it is permissible for those living quietly to enjoy their possessions, I agree with those who advise us not to get agitated. But if the grandeur of peace is nothing but a name and in reality war is the most serious issue, how could you be justifiably upset at those who are determined to make war, towards which [1032A] the necessity of circumstances is forcing us against our will? But if anyone considers the vicissitudes and difficulties of war and is reluctant to wage it, on another occasion people might say that this was the caution of a prudent man. But in this situation delay involves the worst consequences. For what reproach is there which a person does not deserve to hear, who is deprived of his liberty in addition to all other benefits, but is not moved as a consequence, but clings to a phantom which seems to be still left in his mind and because of this thinks it appropriate to enter upon a treaty with those who have taken away everything? Such a person thinks that he will gain some reasonable benefit in slavery and does not take this into consideration that the fate of slaves is to enjoy no benefits, but in short to give up all rights in favour of their masters.

[1032B] So if there is some hope that we will recover the thing which we have lost because of our previous excessive laziness, we must go to war and not consider the cost, whether it be toil or danger or expense, whereby we will achieve prosperity and defend ourselves justly against those who wish to reduce us to the state of slaves, and have already done us so much harm. But if we expect that war will bring us no good outcome, then it will be necessary for us to perish with disappointed hopes. We must not despise this outcome, which is good and honourable and not devoid of glory. Many excellent and noble men have desired this, both as individuals and in their cities. For what is finer, what is more

καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν κίνδυνον καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς [1032C] ψυχῆς προτετιμηκότων, καὶ θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἐλομένων, ἢ τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ὑπομεῖναι; Θάνατος μὲν γὰρ ἅπασι πρόκειται κοινός τις ὄρος πᾶσι τῆς γενέσεως μετασχοῦσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτον φυλάξασθαι, ἅν μὲχρι τοῦ παντός τις τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην τηρήσεται· τὸ δὲ μετ' ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης ἐκείνου τυχεῖν, τοῦτ' ἤδη παρὰ Θεοῦ μὲν ὀλίγοις δίδεται γέρας· ἀνδρῶν δὲ δοθέν τε ἀρπάσαι, καὶ τῷ βίῳ τέλος εὐκλεές ἐπιθεῖναι. Οὐ δεῖ δὴ, τὸ κοινῇ πάντως καὶ μετ' ἀνάγκης ἐσόμενον σκοποῦντας, τοῦ καλοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀμελεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅπου μὴ ἄμφο λαβεῖν ἔνεστι, τῆς γοῦν ἀρετῆς πάντα τρόπον ἀντιποιώμεθα, ἧς τοῖς ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν ὠφελιμώτερον κτῆμα. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐνταῦθα οὐδ' ἀνέλπιστα παντάπασι πολεμήσομεν. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ δικαίου μερίδα· καὶ τὸ, [1032D] δεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συμπλέκεσθαι, ἀεὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἶναι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίους ἄνωθεν ἔθος εἶναι τούτους ὑπακούοντας ἔχειν· καὶ πρὸ πάντων ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβεια, ἢ δὴ μάλιστα τὸν Θεὸν εὐμενῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρασκευάζει, πολλὴν ἡμῖν εἰσοίσει ῥοπήν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον συναγωνιέται.

Ἐπειτα καὶ τὰς εἰς πολὺ μέγεθος ἐπιδούσας τυραννίδας ἴδοι τις ἂν νοσοῦσας ἐν ἐναυαῖς τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν σαθρῶν περιφερούσας λανθάνειν, ὧν εἴ τις ἀποπειρῶτο καὶ πολέμῳ κινοίη, ἐλάττους αὐτὰς τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν δόξης εὐρήσει· καὶ τοῖς ἐπιχειροῦσι [1033A] πολλὰ φανήσονται πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων καθαίρεσιν ἀφορμαί. Καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ νῦν ἀποστάντες τῶν οἰκειῶν, καὶ πόλεμον φανερωῶς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξενεγκόντες· οἷς εἴ τις ἐπικελεύοιτο, καὶ χρήμασιν ὀλίγοις καὶ συμμαχίᾳ τὰς ὀρμὰς ἐπιρρώσειε καὶ συμπροθυμοῖτο, ἴσως ἂν, ἀξιόμαχοι γενόμενοι, τράποιντο μὲν ἐφ' αὐτούς· ἡμᾶς δ' ἢ μηδὲν ἢ ἐλάττω βλάπτειν, ἀσχολούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Τριβαλῶν ἦκουσι πρέσβεις, ἀξιοῦντες κοινῇ τοὺς κοινούς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι, καὶ γάμους αἰτοῦντες, καὶ χρήματα ὑπισχνούμενοι, δι' ὧν οἴονται κινήσειν ἡμᾶς· οὗς βεβαίους κρῆ νομίζειν ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἠδίκηγνται. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡμῶν χάριν ἀμυνομένους, εἴποι δ' ἂν [1033B] τις, καὶ ἄλλα, ἃ νῦν μὲν χαλεπὸν καθέκαστα λέγειν· αὐτὸς δ' ὁ

honourable than man who have maintained the duty of justice and have preferred to incur danger on behalf of their fatherland and its citizens rather than [1032C] their very lives and have preferred to die rather than to endure some indignity? For indeed death lies ahead of all mankind, as a common boundary for all who have been brought into this world and it is not possible to avoid it, even if a person avoids activity throughout all his life. But to reach death with courage and glory, is given as a prize from God to few indeed. And (may it be the lot) of man to grasp what has been given and put a glorious end to life. Indeed it is not necessary (for us) to look to the future constantly with others, bound by necessity and to disregard the virtue of courage. But in a situation where it is not possible to receive both benefits, let us lay claim to courage by all means, for there is no more useful possession for those who have it. But indeed as everything here is in line with our expectations, we will launch into war. Now the first thing is that the portion of justice is on our side. Also, since it is necessary [1032D] to engage with them in open warfare, the victory will always be ours and we will have them in subjection as was the practice of the Romans in times of old. Above all, reverence for the divinity, which especially renders God benign towards mankind, will bring us great influence and will help our struggle in the war.

Then, as for those tyrannies which increase to a great size, one might see that in many places they are sick and endure many corrupt things secretly, but if someone were to make the attempt and engage in a war, he will find them to be inferior to the report (circulated) about them. To those who attack (them) there [1033A] will come many occasions in which they (the enemy) may be destroyed. Those who have recently defected from their own people are witnesses to this, as are those who have openly waged war against them. If someone were to cheer them on and with limited resources and an alliance were to strengthen their attacks and join with them zealously, they might well turn them against themselves, provided that they were fit for battle. But being busy with one another, they would not harm us at all or even less. But in fact ambassadors are coming from the Serbians (lit. Triballians), requesting that we defend ourselves with a common purpose against a common enemy. They are seeking a marriage alliance and promising money, through which they intend to stir us to

πόλεμος κινούμενος σαφῶς πάντα δείξει. Οὐ δὴ δίκαιον τοιοῦτον παραπεπτωκότα καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μηδὲ βουλομένους ἡσυχάζειν συγχωροῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καθημένους τῆς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τύχης κληρονομήσαι· χρηστέον τοῖς καιροῖς, καὶ προθυμητέον ἢ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐλευθεροῦν, ἢ γενναῖον γοῦν τι καὶ καλὸν πράξαντας, μνημεῖον ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἐσομένοις καταλιπεῖν. Εἰ δ' οἴομεθα, προδόντας τὴν Καλλίπολιν, οἰκήσειν ἀσφαλῶς τὴν πατρίδα, δέδοικα μὴ καὶ ταύτης μετὰ μικρὸν ἐκπεσόντες, οὐδ' ἦν οἰκήσομεν εὐρωμεν τοῦ λοιποῦ. Τίς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς τῶν οἰκείων προδότας ἐπιβῆναι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συγχωρήσειε; [1033C] Τίς δὲ τοὺς τοῦ τοιοῦτου μύσους σκυτόχειρας, πρὸς τινα τῶν σεμνῶν πράξεων ἐπιτηδεῖους ἠγήσεται; Ἄλλ' ὅσοις περ ἂν ἡμῶν γένηται τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων χεῖρας διαφυγεῖν, πλανησόμεθα μὲν λανθάνοντες περὶ τὰς ἀλλοδαπὰς· κἄν που φανῶμεν, ἀραὶ παρὰ πάντων ἡμῖν ἔψονται καὶ κατηγορίαι καὶ γέλως. Τοῦτους δὲ χρῆν ὁρᾶσθαι; μετέχειν δὲ συλλόγου; ἀναπνεῖν δὲ ὄλω; οἱ τοιαύτην μὲν ἔχοντες πόλιν, τσαῦτα δὲ χρήματα, τσαῦτην δὲ δύναμιν· θαλάττης δὲ καὶ γῆς ὄντες κύριοι· πάντα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιτάγματος ἀνύειν δυνάμενοι, τὴν μὲν περιουσίαν ἐκείνην βλακευόμενοι καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ὑβρίζοντες πᾶσαν ἀνήλωσαν· τελευτῶντες δὲ, καὶ τὴν πατρίδα προδόντες, νῦν ὡς περ κοινόν τι περιίασιν ἄγος· λοιμοὶ τινες, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῆς νόσου μεταδιδόντες! [1033D] Ἡμῖν δ' οὐτ' ἀντιλέγειν ἐξέεται. Τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐλέγχων δίκαιον τὴν παρρησίαν παντελῶς ἀφαιρήσεται· καὶ τὸ φέρειν ὑβριζομένους ποίας οὐ βαρύτερον συμφορᾶς! Ὡστ' ἀνάγκη φεύγειν μὲν πόλεις, φεύγειν δὲ συλλόγους· εἰς χηραμοὺς δὲ τινὰς καταδύντας, ζῆν, κρύπτοντας ὄθεν ἐσμέν, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν εὐχομένους. Οὐκ, ἐὰν ἐμοὶ πειθήσθε· ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρότερον, νῦν γοῦν παντελῶς ἀπιστήσαντες τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ πιστεύσαντες πρὸς ἕν αὐτοῖς πάντα τείνουν, ὅπως ἡμᾶς καταδουλωσάμενοι, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀφέλοιτο τὰ ἡμέτερα, τοῖς δ' ἡμετέροις σώμασι τὰς τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐπιθεῖεν ἀνάγκας,

action. Such people we ought to consider to be our future firm allies, as they themselves have been wronged by the foreigners. But let no one say [1033B] that they will take vengeance on our account and (say) other things which it is now difficult to say in detail: the war itself, once declared, will demonstrate these things clearly. Indeed it is not right to let slip an opportunity like this which has fallen into our lap. However, since the foreigners are allowing us to be at rest even though we do not want to be, it is necessary for us to sit still and experience as our lot the fate of slaves, we must use our opportunities and must be eager either to free our native land and our kith and kin or to perform some especially good and noble deed and leave behind a memorial of our courage for our successors. But if we think that after betraying Kallipolis we will be able to inhabit our native land and in safety again, I am fearful that after having departed from it for a short time, we may not find any city where we will dwell in the future. For who would allow those who have betrayed their own to set foot on his land? [1033C] And who will consider those who have cobbled together such defilement to be suitable for any of their noble activities? But as many of us have the good fortune to escape the hands of the foreigners will wander in obscurity around strange lands. And if we make an appearance somewhere curses, accusations and laughter from everyone will follow us. "Was it necessary for these men to be seen to take part in a meeting? In short to have a respite? Men who are in possession of such a city, such great wealth and such great power, being lords of land and sea, who are able to accomplish everything with a command, who in their indolence sleep and abuse and have squandered all that abundance, and finally, having betrayed their fatherland, they now walk around it as if it was a common curse. They are pestilences spreading their diseases to others." [1033D] But we will not have the means of contradicting them. For the just accusations will completely remove any free speech. And to have to put up with being abused what kind of disaster is (more grievous) than this? So it is necessary to flee the cities and flee the assemblies, to sink down into some hollow and live our lives, concealing our origins and praying for death. No, not if you do what I say, But if you have not done so previously, now at any rate do not put any trust in the foreigners but believe this one thing about them, that they are stretching

οὐ μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε τῶν νῦν βουλευμάτων· ἀλλὰ καὶ δύσνους τῇ πόλει νομίσαντες τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντας ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν, πέμπειν μὲν τοὺς τὴν Καλλιπόλιν [1036A] φυλάζοντας, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσων δέοι πρὸς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προνοησομένους καὶ πράζοντας, ὅπως ἂν βεβαία παραμένει τῇ πόλει· αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας γεγονότας τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ τὴν πατρίδα ἐλευθεροῦν. Εἴρηκα ἂ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔλοισθε τὸ μέλλον κοινῇ συνοίσειν.

every sinew to enslave us, confiscate our possessions and subject our bodies to the privations suffered by prisoners of war. So, not only must you withdraw from the present deliberations, but you must consider those who are so bold as to join in these deliberation with us as being malevolent towards the city. You must send (soldiers) to guard Kallipolis [1036A] and also provide and put into practice all that may be necessary for its safety, so that the security of the city may continue. May you who are men by birth use your good fortune to free the city. I have said what I think is beneficial. May you choose what in the future will be of benefit to all!

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

On Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Cathayans etc.



Laonicus “Chalcocondylas” (“the man with the brazen candlestick”) was one of only a handful of Greek and Byzantine historians who could claim genuine Athenian origin – the others being Thucydides, Xenophon, Dexippus and Praxagoras. The works of the last two named have only come down to us in citations. Born in Athens circa 1423, Laonicus’s father betook himself to the Morea after an unsuccessful coup against the Frankish rulers of his city. Laonicus had the opportunity to study under the famous Gemistos Plethon at Mistra.

His most famous work, *Ἀποδείξεις Ἱστοριῶν* (*Proofs of Histories*, Lat. *Historiae Demonstrationes*) was written in the 1480s after Constantinople had fallen to the Turks. It is one of the most important accounts in Greek of the rise of the Ottomans. More importantly for the SERICA project is that it includes lengthy excursus on lands and peoples of Central Asia, written at a time when the Mongol conquest of Asia Minor brought unprecedented knowledge of such matters to the notice of Byzantine men of letters. Many of these excursus have been conveniently collected together and translated into German by Karl Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde (5.-15. Jhd.)*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Erd- und Kulturkunde 5, 2 vols in 1 (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1912). However, Dieterich did not give the Greek text. Although the Bonn edition of the text of Laonicus is now available on-line, the project-leaders of SERICA have decided to give the Greek text of Darkó to aid the researcher, especially since the text of Darkó (published in Rumania) has for a long time been extremely hard to obtain.

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SELECTIONS FROM

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

Translated by Dr Greg Fox

1. Mercantile Cities in Central Asia

(III; i, 118.6-120.7, ed. Darkó = 126.20-128.21, ed. Bonn)

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὴν τοῦ Μεχμέτεω νομοθεσίαν ἕς τοσοῦτον ἀναγεγράφθω ἡμῖν· Τεμήρης δ' ὡς τὴν χώραν ταύτην ληϊσάμενος, καὶ πόλεις ἐλὼν ἐνίας, ὑπεκομίζετο ἐπὶ Σαμαρχάνδης. Σκύθας δὲ ὠρημένους ἐπυρθάνετο ἀπὸ Ταναΐδος τὴν τε χώραν ¹⁰ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ ληϊσασθαι οὐκ ὀλίγα· χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔφερεν. ἐντεῦθεν τὸ αὐτίκα ἵετο ὁμοσε ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας. λέγονται δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι Μασσαγέται τὸ παλαιόν, καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ἀράξην τῆς ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ ποταμοῦ χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διεξελθεῖν, καὶ ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενους ἐνοικῆσαι. τούτους παρ-εσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν, ¹⁵ καὶ στρατεύμα ποιησάμενος ἕς ὀγδοήκοντα μυριάδας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς. καὶ συμβαλὼν μάχῃ τε ἐκράτησε τοὺς Χαταΐδας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἐλαύνων ὁμολογία τε παρ-εστήσατο, καὶ μισθωσάμενος παμπόλλους αὐτῶν, τοὺς γε κρατίστους τὰ ἕς πόλεμον γενομένους, ὄχετο ἄγων. ²⁰ ὁμήρους δὲ λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ φόρον ταξάμενος τούτοις ἀπάγειν τε ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἀπήλαυνε. τὰ δὲ Χαταΐα πόλις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἕω τῆς Ὑρκανίας μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαιμων, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὄλβῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία προφέρουσα (119) τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων πλὴν Σαμαρχάνδης καὶ Μέμφιος, εὐνομουμένη δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν. τῶν μέντοι Περσῶν τοὺς πλείστους μισθωσάμενος τούτους, οἷα τῶν τε Σκυθῶν ἐμπείρους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ γενομένους καὶ τὰ ἕς τὴν δίαιταν οὐκέτι ¹ ἄβροῦς ὄντας, ἐν νῷ ἔχων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τὴν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ πυρθανόμενος, ὡς εἶη τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο παλαιότατόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων χειρώσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ γένος, κακὰ δὲ ὡς πλείστα ἐργασάμενον ποιῆσαι τὴν ¹⁰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην, ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ πλείω ταμειούμενον τῇ χώρᾳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ νοῦν τιθέμενον, καὶ ὡς Δαρείῳ τῷ Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Περσῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατεύ-

So this is all I want to say about the legislation of Mohammed. Timur (Tamerlane) devastated this land and, having captured some cities, arrived back safely in Samarkand. He learnt that some Scythians, who had set out from Tanais had invaded his land and ravaged it in many places. And he was furious. From there he immediately set out to the same place against the people of Khataia. These people are said to be the Massagetae of years gone by. They crossed the Araxēs, went through the land a great distance on this side of the river and colonized the peoples subdued under them. He made preparations for them as if he was going to capture them. Having formed an army of up to 800,000 soldiers, he conducted an expedition against them. Meeting them in battle, he overcame the people of Khataia. He marched into their actual assembly place and royal places (capital) and met with them to discuss terms of peace. He hired very many of them as mercenaries, the ones who had proven to be the strongest in warfare, and left with them. He took hostages and the sons of the nobles and, after imposing tribute on them to pay within the year, rode away. Khataia is a great and prosperous city to the East of Hyrcania. It is pre-eminent for population, wealth and other signs of prosperity among all the cities in Asia (Minor) except for Samarkand and Memphis. It was well governed from of old by the Massagetae. He hired as mercenaries for the most part those Persians who had had a lot of experience among the Scythians and who had not yet become soft in their demeanour, because it was his intention to launch a campaign against the Scythians, against their assembly place which is called Horde. He learnt that this race was the oldest of the peoples in the inhabited world and that none of the kings before him was able to subdue this race, but that for the most part it treated Asia and Europe badly and controlled the land by making attacks. Having put this in mind that Darius the son of Hystaspes and king of the Persians had led an attack against them and accomplished nothing, he

σαντι αὐτοὺς οὐδέν τι προὐχώρησεν, ὥρμητο αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ κλέος ἰέναι. ὥστε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔχεσθαι τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐγγυτέρω τούτων γενόμενον, ¹⁵ ἐς τὴν χώραν Χεσίην πόλιν κατοικίσας ἀπὸ τε τῆς Σαμαρχάνδης καὶ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτῷ στελλομένων ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ὄκισε πόλιν Χεσίην οὕτω καλουμένην, μεγάλην τε καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἅτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίβοντος καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτοῦ, τῶν τε τῆς Ἀσίας στρατῶν ἐς αὐτὴν συνιόντων. ¹⁶ μεγάλη τε ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Χεσίη, καὶ εὐνομήθη μέντοι καὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἥμισυ δὲ βασιλέως Τεμήρῳ περιόντος. ὅποι μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀσίας ὄκισται ἡ πόλις αὕτη, καὶ εἴτε ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ χώρα, εἴτε καὶ ἐν τῇ Μήδων, οὐκ ἔχω τεκμήρασθαι. λέγουσι (120) μὲν τινες Νίνον τὴν Χεσίην γενέσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίων χώραν τετάχθαι, τεκμαιρόμενοι τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Παγδατίνης Βαβυλώνας. οἰκίσας τὸ Χεσίην πόλιν, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενος, ἐπενόει ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας ¹⁷ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγορὰν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ στρατὸν μέγαν συναγείρας καὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας· συμπαραλαβὼν ἤλαυνεν εὐθὺς Τανάϊδος.

was eager to attain to this distinction. So that he might keep himself there and be nearer the work, he settled soldiers and nobles from Samarkand in the city of Khesiē (Kesh) so-called. It was great and prosperous, since the king and his nobles were dwelling in it and the armies of Asia assembled in it. Kesh became great quickly and in fact was well-governed subsequently, particularly when king Timur was on the scene. So I am not able to affirm where in Asia this city was founded, whether in the land of Assyria or in the land of the Medes. Some people say that Khesiē (Kesh) was Ninos (Nineveh) in days of old and was assigned to the land of the Assyrians. They deduce this from Pagdatinian Babylon. After having colonized the city of Kesh, Timur made it his capital and took it into his mind to lead an expedition against Egypt and the Scythians and their assembly place called Urde (Urda). Having gathered a large army and enlisting the people of Khataia, he pressed on to Tanaïs (i.e. Don).

2. India

(III, p. 152.15-154.12, ed. Darkó = 163.6-165.6, ed. Bonn)

¹⁵ Ὁ δὲ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς οὐδὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν ἐννέα βασιλέων τοῦνομα ἔχων, Τζαχατάης βασιλεὺς. τῶν ἐννέα δὲ βασιλέων βασιλέα γενόμενον τοῦτον, τὸν διὰ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατὸν μέγαν ἐπὶ Τεμήρην ἐπιπέμψαντα, λέγεται τὸν τε Ἀράξην ἐπιόντα διαβῆναι, καὶ τὰ πλέω τῆς ταύτης χώρας καταστρεψάμενον ἐπ' ¹⁶ οἴκου αὐθις ἀποχωρῆσαι. Σίνης τε βασιλεύει καὶ Ἰνδίας [καὶ] Ξυμπάσης, καὶ διήκει αὐτῷ ἡ χώρα ἐπὶ Ταπροβάνην νήσον, ἐς Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν, ἐς ἣν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς Ἰνδίας χώρας ποταμοὶ (153) ἐκδιδοῦσιν, ὃ τε Γάγγης, Ἰνδός, Ἀκεσίνης, Ὑδάσπης, Ὑδραώτης, Ὑφασις, μέγιστοι δὲ οὗτοι ὄντες τῆς χώρας. φέρει τὸ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα ἀγαθὰ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβον πολύν, καὶ ὃ τε βασιλεὺς Ξυμπάσης τῆς χώρας ὑπ' αὐτὸν γενομένης. ὁρμώμενος τὸ οὗτος ¹⁷ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ Γάγγην χώρας καὶ τῆς παραλίου Ἰνδικῆς καὶ

The King of the Indians is this man who has the name of the nine kings, King Khaghatai. It is said that he became the king of the nine kings after sending a large army because of the Massagetae against Timur. He went to the Araxēs and crossed it and after subduing most of the land there, withdrew and came home again. He is the King of Sines (i.e. China)²⁹ and of all India and his land extends as far as the Taprobanē Island (Sri Lanka), to the Indian sea, into which the greatest rivers in the land of India empty themselves – the Ganges, the Indus, the Akesinēs, the Hydaspēs, the Hydraotēs and the Hyphasis – these being the greatest rivers in the land. The land of India provides many goods and much wealth, as does the King of the whole land, which is under his sway. He himself, setting out from the land above the Ganges and the coast of India and Taprobanē (Sri Lanka), went against the King of Khataia,

²⁹ Or: 'Sinēs rules over the whole of India...'. Trans. N. Nikoloudis, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles. A Translation and Commentary of the Demonstrations of Histories* (Athens, 1996) 331.

Ταπροβάνης, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Χαταίης, τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Γάγγου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ καταστρεψάμενον τὴν ταύτην χώραν τὰ βασιλεία ἐν ταύτη δὴ τῇ πόλει ποιήσασθαι: ξυμβῆναι δὲ τότε γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἐνὶ βασιλεῖ ξύμπασαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν χώραν. ¹⁰ νομίζουσι δὲ οὗτοι θεοὺς, οἳ τε τὴν Χαταίην χώραν οἰκοῦντες, Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἥραν. φωνὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν σφίσιν ἴενται, ἀλλ' ἐς ἔθνη τε πολλὰ διηρημένα εὐνομεῖται ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τε πόλεις καὶ κώμας. θυσίας δὲ ἀνάγουσιν ἵππους μὲν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, βούς δὲ τῇ ¹⁵ Ἥρᾳ: τῇ τὸ Ἀρτέμει θύουσι παῖδας ἀρτίως ἡβάσκοντας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. φέρει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη πυροὺς μὲν ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεις, ὡς λέγεται, βασιλικούς, καὶ κριθὰς δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καὶ μελίην ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ μέγεθος. καλαμίνοις τὸ πλοίοις χρώμενοι διαπορθμεύουσι τὸν ποταμόν. φέρει δὲ ἡ Ἰνδική, ὡς ²⁰ λέγουσι, τοσοῦτον τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ναυπηγεῖσθαι πλοῖα μεδίμωνν τεσσαράκοντα Ἑλληνικῶν. τὸ μὲν γένος τοῦτο οὐ πάνυ γνωστὸν ἡμῖν γενόμενον πολλὰς ἀπιστίας παρέχει μὴ πείθεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα πυνθάνομαι. ἢ τε γὰρ χώρα αὕτη πρόσω ἐκποδῶν (154) γενομένη οὐ πάνυ ἐπιτήδειος εἶσω ᾤκηται τε καὶ ὅποι ἔχει ἡθῶν τε καὶ διαίτης. γένος μὲντοι ἰσχυρότατον γενόμενον τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς τε Περσῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, ἡγουμένους τῆς Ἀσίας, θεραπεύειν μὲν τοὺς Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε Σεμίραμις ⁵ καὶ Κύρος ὁ τε Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀράξην διαβάντες μεγάλῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐχρήσαντο. ἢ τε γὰρ Σεμίραμις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλισσα ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα ἐλαύνουσα μεγάλην παρασκευῆν, ἐπεὶ τε τὸν ποταμόν διέβη, ἐπεπράγει τε χαλεπώτατα καὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐτελεύτησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω, Περσῶν ¹⁰ βασιλεὺς, λέγεται δὴ τὸν τε Ἀράξην διαβάς, καὶ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἔπραξε τε τὰ χαλεπώτατα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς Τομύριος τῆς Μασσαγετῶν βασιλευούσης ἀποθανεῖν.

3. Tabriz and the Adzamians

(III, p. 156.12-157.4, ed. Darkó = 167.5-18, ed. Bonn)

Ταβρέζη δὲ πόλις εἶναι μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐδαίμων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ γε Σαμαρχάνδην χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ προέχουσα: σῆράς τε τρέφει ἢ

the land inside the Ganges and the Indus. He overthrew its land and made this city his capital. Then it transpired that the whole of the land of India was under one king. These people reverence the gods who manage the land of Khataia – Apollo, Artemis and especially Hera. They do not all speak the same language among themselves, but good governance is given to the many distinct races, to most of the people in their cities and villages. They offer horses as sacrifices to Apollo and oxen to Hera. Every year they sacrifice boys who have just attained puberty to Artemis. This land produces so-called “royal” wheat up to fifteen cubits high and barley after the same fashion and millet up to the same size. They cross the river using boats made of reeds. The land of India, as they say, produces reeds of such great size that boats of forty Greek *medimni* are constructed from them. Because this nation is not very well known to us, I have many doubts and do not believe the things which I hear about it. For this country is so far away, inaccessible and uncolonized that we don't know about its customs and way of life. However, they were a very powerful race in days gone by- the kings of the Persians and the Assyrians, who ruled Asia, paid honour to the kings of the Indians, when Semiramis and Cyrus the son of Cambyses crossed the Araxēs and engaged in a great war. For Semiramis, the Queen of the Assyrians, marched against the King of the Indians with a great force. She crossed the river, fared very badly and died in that place. After this Cyrus the son of Cambyses the King of the Persians is said to have crossed the Araxēs and come into conflict with the Massagetae, but fared very badly and died there – while a woman called Tomyr ruled as queen.

Tabriz is a large and prosperous city. After Samarkand it is the most eminent in Asia in income and other forms of prosperity. This country breeds silkworms and produces raw silk

χώρα ¹⁵ αὕτη μέταξάν τε καλλίστην ποιουμένη καὶ τῆς Σαμαχίης ἀμείνω. φέρει δὲ καὶ κριμίζιν σῆρα οὕτω καλούμενον πορφυροῦν, ἐπὶ τὰ ἱμάτια, τὰ τε ἀπὸ ἐρίων καὶ σηρῶν, βαφὴν ἐνδεικνύμενα ἀξίαν λόγου. ἔστι τὸ πλέα τὰ ἐν τῆδε τῇ χώρᾳ Περσῶν τῶν Ἀτζαμίων καλουμένων ὅσοι γὰρ τὴν Ἀτζαμίων ²⁰ φωνὴν προίενται, Πέρσαι τε οὗτοι σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν (157) φωνῇ διαλέγονται. οἰκοῦσί τε Ταβρέζην τε καὶ Καγινὸν καὶ Νιγετίην, πόλεις εὐδαίμονας τῶν Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώρας. Σαμαχίη τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρᾳ ὠκνημένη, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

of the finest quality, even better than that produced in Shemakhi. It produces a purple silk which is called *krimizis* (cream), which is suitable for garments of wool and silk - the dye being of the highest quality. Many of these are (found) in this land of the Persians, who are also called the Adzamians. For all the people who speak the language of the Adzamians are all Persian and converse in the Persian language. They dwell in Tabriz, Kagino and Nigetia, wealthy cities of the land of the Medes and the Assyrians. Shemakhi is situated in the land of the Armenians and is a prosperous and densely populated city.

4. The Caspian Sea

(III, p. 109.19-110.21, ed. Darkó = 117.19-118.24, ed. Bonn)

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ Ὑρκανίους ἔστρα-τεύετο καὶ τὴν ταύτην ²⁰ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε Ὑρκανίαν ἐνοικοῦντα παράλια κατ-εστρέφετο. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη καὶ Κασπία ἐς τὴν τε ἔθνοὺς τούτου ἐπωνυμίαν διήκει δὲ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν Σάκας τε ἔχων καὶ Καδουσίους ἐπὶ σταδίους τρισμυρίους, (110) πρὸς ἕω δὲ καὶ βορρᾶν Μασσαγέτας, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ ἐν πολέμοις εὐδοκιμοῦν, ἐπὶ σταδίους δισμυρίους μάλιστα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ἐλαῦνον ἐπὶ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν λέγεται κατα-στρεψάμενον πολίσματα κατασχεῖν ἔστιν ἄ, καὶ Τεμήρην τοῦ γένους ⁵ τούτου γενόμενον σὺν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ὁρμᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρχάνδης ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενον ἔχειν. τὴν μέντοι θάλασσαν ταύτην ὑπὸ ποταμῶν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐκδιδόντων μεγίστην τε γίνεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους διήκειν, οὐδαμῆ ἐκδιδοῦσαν, ἣ λέγεται, εἰς τὴν ἐκτὸς θάλασσαν. ¹⁰ διώρυχα μέντοι ἐπυθόμην ἔγωγε ἀπὸ ταύτης διήκειν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοί. ἐνοικοῦσι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε ἔθνη πολλά τε καὶ ἄλκιμα. καὶ ἰχθύας μὲν φέρει αὕτη ἢ θάλασσα πολλοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαθοὺς, φέρει τὸ καὶ ὄστρεα μαργαρί-τας ἔχοντα, ἥπερ τὸ καὶ ἢ Ἰνδικὴ θάλασσα. καὶ πλοῖα πολλὰ ¹⁵ πλεῖ τὴν θάλασσαν ταύτην, παρὰ ἀλλήλους ἐπιπλέοντα φορτίων πλέα. ἔστι τὸ αὕτη ἢ θάλασσα πρὸς ἕω μάλιστα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐς ἣν ἐκδιδοί ὃ τε Ἀράξης ποταμὸς μέγιστος καὶ Χοάσπης πρὸς ἕω ῥέων, καὶ ποταμοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι. τὰ μέντοι ἐς

After this he (Timur) led an expedition against the Hyrcanians and towards the sea there. Quite a number of coastal tribes dwelling at this Hyrcanian sea were overthrown. It is called the Caspian Sea, being named after this nation. It extends for 30,000 stades in a southerly direction past the Sakai and the Cadusians. On the East and North it borders the Massagetae, a nation notable for its strength and warlike qualities – this extends as far as 20,000 stades. It is said that this nation invaded the land of the Persians, overthrew some cities and occupied them. Timur, who was born into this nation, joined with the Massagetae in invading the kingdom of Samarkand and overthrowing and posse-ssing the land of the Assyrians. The sea in this place (the Caspian) is very large and extends over many stades, as many rivers flow into it. But it is said that that it does not flow into the sea outside (the Black Sea?). However I learnt that a canal extends from this sea and flows into the Indian Ocean. Many powerful tribes live near this sea and this sea produces many fine fish and also produces oysters which have pearls in them, as is the case with the Indian Sea. Many vessels sail on this sea, conveying merchandise from one group of people to another. It lies mostly on the eastern side of Asia. The mighty Araxēs, Khoaspēs, which flows towards the East and many other rivers flow into it. We mentioned earlier that the peoples which live near this river are ruled by the Cadusians and that they pay their taxes every year to the city of the Cadusians.

τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθνη ὑπὸ Καδουσίων τε ἄρχεσθαι πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν, ¹²⁰ καὶ τοὺς γε φόρους αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Καδουσίων πόλιν ἔτους ἑκάστου ἐπάγειν ἐπὶ τούτους.

5. Iberia (i.e. Georgia) and the Illyrians

(IX; ii, p. 223.5-224.14, ed. Darkó = 467.10-468.21, ed. Bonn)

Ἡ δὲ Ἰβηρία προσεχῆς ἐστὶ τῇ τῆς Κολχίδος χώρα, καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τούτων οὐκ ἀγενεῖς. διήκει τὸ ἢ χώρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Βαθὺ λεγομένου καὶ ἀπὸ Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἕως Χαλτζιχί, ἢ τοῦ Γοργούρου αὐθεντεῖα καὶ Κορίου καὶ Καχετίου καὶ Τυφλισίου, σύνεγγυς οὖσαι αἱ πόλεις αὗται τε Σαμαχίου, Τούρκων ¹¹⁰ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐχόντων χωρὶς κάτωθεν τε Καχετίου πόλεως τοῦ ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Σεβαστοπόλεως Μιγκρελίων τοῦ Δαδιάννου αὐθεντεῖα καὶ Μαμία καὶ Σαμανταύλα καὶ Γουρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραθαλασσιῶν πόλεων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἄνωθεν Ἰβηρίας εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ἀλανοὶ ὄμοροι καὶ Οὐνοὶ καὶ ¹¹⁵ Ἐμβοί. οἱ δὲ Ἀλανοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον παρατείνοντες. οὗτοι καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄνδρες νομιζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι, ποιούντες λωρῖκια ἐξαίρετα. πολιτεύονται δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θρησκείαν, δια-χρῶνται δὲ φωνῇ ἰδίᾳ τὸ παράπαν, καὶ ὄπλα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ, ¹²⁰ τὰ Ἀλανικὰ καλούμενα. Ἰβηρες δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τήνδε ἀφίκοντο, εἴτε ἀπὸ Ἰβήρων τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν, οὐκ ἔχω διασημῆναι δοκοῦσι δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα χωρῆσαι δυνάμεως, (224) καὶ ὄλβον κτησάμενοι καὶ πίστιν ἐκ Κωνσταντίνου πόλεως παρὰ μῆς γυναικὸς ἐκείσε διαφοιώσεως πίστεως εὐσεβοῦς ἕνεκα τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης: ἥδς καὶ θαυματουργίαις τοὺς Ἰβηρας καταπλήξασα μετηλλάξατο τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αὐτῶν πίστεως, καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ¹⁵ ἀπεφῆνατο τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ αὐτῶν. μετὰ τὸ χρόνους πολλοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι οἱ ὄμοροι αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἤρασαν κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς χώρας τῶν Ἰβήρων διερχόμενοι ἐδήουν καὶ παντελῶς ἠφάνιζον, καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενοι κατ-έσχον αὐτούς, καταφυγόντων τῶν βασιλέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρέων. ὕστερον δ' οἰχομένων τῶν Σκυθῶν ¹¹⁰ ἐπὶ τὰς σφετέρας διατριβὰς ἐπικαταβῆναι τε ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ δασμὸν φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ βασιλεύοντας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον πρὸς τε τοὺς

Now Iberia borders the land of Colchis and the kings of these people are not of lowly birth. The land extends from the so-called Bathu River and the Phasis River as far as Khalchikhi and is the property of Korias, Kakhetias and Typhlisas, these cities which are quite near Samakhias. Turks live in it and possess separately from below, the city of Kakhetias, which is in the coastal area and in the domain of Dadiannos of the Migrelian of Sebastopol and Mamias and Samantaulas and Guria and the other coastal cities. For from the cities of Upper Iberia are also the Alanians, who share a border, and the Huns and the Embians. The Alanians seem to be living alongside the Caucasus. These men are considered to be the most excellent in military matters, making remarkable corslets. These men also serve as citizens in the service of our Lord Jesus Christ. They use their own language constantly and fashion their shields from bronze – called “Alanic shields” I am not able to indicate from where the Iberians have come to this land, even from Iberia in the West. They indeed seem to have attained great power, having gained wealth and faith from Constantinople from one woman who constantly visited that place for the sake of the most holy faith. By her wondering she astounded the Iberians, converted them from their ungodly belief and declared them to be Christians by their profession of faith. But after some considerable time the Scythians, who had the same borders as they did, undertook a war against them, went through the lands of the Iberians, ravaged them and completely devastated them. They enslaved the men and held them in subjection, after the kings had fled to the tops of the mountains. Afterwards, when the Scythians had gone to their own pursuits, they came down to the land and by bringing tribute to the king of the Scythians, continued to rule there. Not long after this they fought against the Alanians, the Unians and the Sasians..... Such is the extent of my knowledge and I will make mention of them.

Ἄλανοὺς μαχεσάμενοι, Οὔνοὺς καὶ Σάσους
 τοσόνδε ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιμνήσομαι περὶ
 αὐτῶν.

6. Cairo and the Expansion of Islam

(III, p. 131.10-133.9 , ed. Darkó = 140.18-142.23, ed. Bonn)

Ὁ δὲ τῆς Μέμφιος βασιλεὺς χώρας τε ἄρχει οὐκ ὀλίγης καὶ εὐδαίμονος: ἀπὸ Ἀράβων ἀρξάμενος Συρίαν τε κοίλην καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ σύμπασαν τὸ Αἴγυπτον ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἔχει. βασιλεὺς τὸ καθίσταται τῆς Μέμφιος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆσδε τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. ὅσοι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦνται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ¹⁵ ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίστανται ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι δορυφοροῦντες βασιλέα, ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυρίους, Μαμλούκιδες καλούμενοι. ἀπὸ τούτων δέ, ὅσοι ἐπίσημοι ἐπὶ τὸ κατεργάζεσθαι ὀτιοῦν τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένων, οὗτοι ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς κατὰ βραχὺ καθιστάμενοι ἐπὶ μείζον χωροῦσι τύχης ἅμα καὶ βασιλέως, ²⁰ καὶ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα τιμῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς καλούμενους Μελικαμηράδας καθίστανται, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἤδη χωροῦσι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Μέμφιος ἀρχὴν καὶ συμπάσης τῆς τε Αἰγύπτου Ἀραβίας τε καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν, ὅσοι ὑπὸ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεὶ τάττονται. (132) Μελικαμηράδες εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑπὸ τήνδε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπισήμους, ἄρχοντες καθιστάμενοι ὑπὸ βασιλέως. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ταύτην τῆς Μέμφιος μεγίστην δὴ πασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων ἔστε τὴν ἄλλην εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ⁵ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃ τε γὰρ περίβολος ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίου διήκων. εὐνομεῖται δὲ κάλλιστα πασῶν δὴ, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, πόλεων. οἰκίας δὲ ἔχειν καλλίστας λέγεται ἐς τὰς πενήκοντα μυριάδας. ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως Νεῖλος ποταμός, κράτιστον ὕδωρ παρεχόμενος, ῥέων ἀπὸ ¹⁰ ἀργυροῦ ὄρους. Αἴγυπτον δὲ σύμπασαν ἀρδεύει ἐς τὰ κάλλιστα κατὰ τὰς διώρυχας ὑπὸ τῶν ἑκασταχῆ χωρῶν κατεσκευασμένων, ὥστε τὴν χώραν ἄρδεν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην Μονοθελῆται καὶ Ἰακωβίται, ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα, καὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν τελούντων τε καὶ ¹⁵ φρονούντων ἄλλων ἄλλῃ, οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὔτε κατὰ τὰ Ἑλλησι δεδογμένα ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν φρονούντες· ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀρμένιοι πλείστοι ἀνὰ τὴν

Now the King of Memphis (i.e. Cairo) rules over a substantial and prosperous land. Beginning from the Arabs he holds all of Coele Syria, Palestine and Egypt under his control. He has become the King of Memphis and this empire in the following way. All the prisoners of war that demonstrate valour are raised by the king to the status of soldiers. These men are called Mamelukes – there are about two thousand of them and they are the king's bodyguards. Those of them that are outstanding in carrying out any of the commands of the king rise to power in a short time, even attaining the level of the king. When they are considered worthy of the highest honour, they are promoted to the rank of Melik emirs, as they are called. From this they progress to the very territory of the king and hold sway over the dominion of Memphis and the whole of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine and the other regions which are under the sway of the king. The Melik emirs are rulers over the notable cities under this kingdom and have been made rulers by the king. This city of Memphis is the greatest city in the world in both prosperity and population. The area of this land extends as far as seven hundred stades. Indeed it is the best managed of all the cities which we know. It is said that it has five hundred thousand very beautiful houses. The Nile River, which flows from the Silver Mountains, runs through the middle of the city and provides the best quality water. It irrigates the whole of Egypt in an excellent way through the canals which have been dug in every part of the country, so that the land is watered in a very suitable fashion. Great numbers of Monothelites and Jacobites inhabit this land and of those who worship Jesus as divine, some think one way, others another way. They do not think the same way as the Romans or according to the concepts approved by the Greeks in their worship. But just as there are very many Armenians throughout this land, so there are many Monothelites, Jacobites and Manichaeans. The land of the King of Memphis extends from Libya as far as the city called Aleppo in Asia. This king is considered by the peoples in Asia and Libya and even in Europe

χώραν ταύτην, Μονοθελήται δὴ καὶ Ἰακωβίται καὶ Μανιχαῖοι πάμπολλοι. διήκει δὲ ἡ χώρα τε τῆς Μέμφιος βασι-λέως ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἔσπε πόλιν Χαλεπίην ἰ²⁰ οὕτω καλουμένην κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν νομίζεται δ' οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐθνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Λιβύης καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀρχιερέως τε τὰ ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Μεχμέτεω, παμπόλων αὐτοῦ ταύτη διδασκομένων τοὺς τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῦ (133) νόμους, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀρχιερέως τε ἐνομήσθη, καὶ γράμμασι τοῖς τούτων ἀποδείκνυσθαι ἀκριβέστατα δὴ τὸν τοῦ Μεχμέτεω νόμον. τὸν δὲ τάφον Ἰησοῦ κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην κατέχοντες μέγα τε ἀποφέρονται κέρδος, καὶ ἄρχοντες μέγιστοι ἰ⁵ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου ἐς φυλακὴν τε σήματος καθίστανται. διήκει δὲ Αἴγυπτος ἀπὸ Φάρου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔσπε Ἰτουραϊαν χώραν, ἐπὶ σταδίους μάλιστά πη... ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

to be the high priest of their worship and the laws laid down by Mohammed. Very many people are taught the laws of his religion there. He was considered to be a high priest by the ancients and according to their writings he expounded the law of Mohammed very accurately. As they own the tomb of Jesus in Palestine, they derive much financial benefit. The highest rulers of the house of the king have been assigned to guard the monument. Egypt extends from Pharos in Alexandria as far as the land of Ituraea for as long as 80 stades. The Nile, the river of Egypt, flows northward into the sea near Alexandria in Egypt.

7. The religion of the Arabs

(III, p. 112.22-132.18 , ed. Darkó = 121.4-124.2, ed. Bonn)

Ὁ μέντοι νομοθέτης τούτων ὁ Μεχμέτης παῖς λέγεται γενέσθαι (113) Ἀλίω, ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας τῆς εὐδαίμονος. ἐκθέμενος δὲ τὴν νομοθεσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν μέντοι μηδὲν βιάζεσθαι, ἀναπειθοντά τε τοὺς Ἀραβας καὶ Σύρους μετὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα προσλαβόμενον τοῦ Ἀλίω δυνάστου τε τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖον αὐτῷ, ἰ⁵ ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιόντα προσάγεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νομοθεσίαν, ὅποι ἂν ἐπὶ, τοὺς τὴν χώραν οἰκούντας. ἀνίει τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔσπε τὴν ῥαστώνην καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βακχείαν μέντοι, συνεχῆ δὲ ὡς μάλιστα μελέτην. νομίζεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τετράκις τῆς ἡμέρας προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλυόμενον εἰς τοῦτο, ἰ¹⁰ ὥστε μὴ προσεύξασθαι. τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρᾳ κοινή τε ἅπαντας ἐς τοὺς ναοὺς ἰόντας προσεύχεσθαι νομίζεται μηδ' ὀτιοῦν, μήτε ἄγαλμα, μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν γεγραμμένων προσβαλόμενον σφίσιν ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς. ἱερεῖς τε σφίσιν καθιστώντες, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐς περιωπὴν τινα πύργον πεποιημένον ἰ¹⁵ ἀναβαίνοντα προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ μεγάλη φωνῆ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς νομιζόμενας

The lawgiver Mohammed is said to have been born the son of Ali from Arabia Felix. As he set forth his teaching he did not use force at first, but subsequently persuaded the Arabs and Syrians. After this he engaged Ali, who was the ruler of the land and his personal friend, to go and convert the inhabitants of the land to the teaching wherever he went. He disseminated the teaching towards gentleness and the fervour of the divine (worship), but yet inculcated continual study. For it is laid down by him as a statute to pray to God four times a day and that one should not be prevented by anyone in this matter of praying. On Aphrodite's day (Friday) they all go to the temples *en masse* and pray. Nothing at all, neither an image nor anything painted is allowed to impinge upon their prayer in the temples. They ordain priests for themselves, so that the priest goes up on a tower constructed with a panoramic view in front of the temple and utters prayers in a loud voice – he constantly yells the appointed prayers in a very vociferous manner. So as far as its prayers are concerned we know that this race is most vehement and does not admit of any

εὐχὰς ποιείσθαι κεκραγότα γεγωνότερον. ἐς μὲν οὖν τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ γένος τὸ τοῦτο ἴσμεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐντεταμένον, μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀνιέναι προσ-δεχομένους· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐς δίαιταν καὶ ἐς τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς οὔτε κεκολασμένον¹²⁰ νομίζεται, ὥστε μὴ ἐς τὸ τοῦ βίου ἡδὺ πολιτεύεσθαι· οὕτω τὴν φύσιν μηδαμῆ βιάζεται. γυναίκας μὲν γὰρ ἄγεσθαι, παλλακίδας μέντοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων, ὅσας ἂν ἕκαστος οἶός τε **(114)** εἴη τροφὴν παρέχεσθαι ἐς τὸν βίον. γυναίκας τὸ κουριδίας ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰς πέντε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων παῖδας νομίζεσθαι σφίσι οὐ νόθους. ἂν δὲ ἀπὸ παλλακίδων ἐλευθέρων γένωνται σφίσι παῖδες, νόθοι τε αὐτοῖς νομίζονται, καὶ οὐκ εἰς¹⁵ τὴν πατρῶαν οὐσίαν εἰσέρχονται. ὠνοῦνται τὸ καὶ τὰς κουριδίας, ὅσου ἂν τις βούλοιο ἐκδοῦναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. λαμ-πάδων δὲ προενηγεμένων σφίσι ἐς τοὺς γάμους ἄγονται τὰς γυναίκας. ἂν δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέιπῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τριῶν σπληνῶν ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτῆς, ἥδη ἡλλοτριῶται τῷ λόγῳ ἢ¹⁰ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. νομίζεται τὸ αἰσχιστον, ἢν ἂν τις ἀποπέμψῃται, αὐτὴς αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι· ἂν δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ ἐτέρου μοιχευθῆ, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀπάγειν. οἴνω τὸ χρῆσθαι ἀθέμι-τον ἀπαγορεύει τῷ γένει τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ λουσάμενον μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἰέναι. δεκατεῖαν δὲ τινα ἐξελόμενος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἔτους, ἐς νηστεῖαν¹⁵ αὐτοῦς προάγεται ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἡμέρας. τῆς μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅλης μὴδ' ὅτι οὖν προσίεσθαι μήτε τροφῆς, μήτε πόσεως, ἐσπέρας δέ, ὅταν ἄστρα φαίνηται, σιτίζεσθαι· πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μὴ ἐξεῖναι οἴνου πιέσθαι τὸ παράπαν. περιτέμνεσθαι δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον χρῆναι παντά-πασιν. Ἰησοῦν¹²⁰ δὲ θεοῦ τε ἀπόστολον γενέσθαι νομίζει, καὶ ἐξ ἀγγέλου τοῦ Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, παρθένου τε οὔσης καὶ μηδενὶ **(115)** ἀνδρὶ συγγενομένης γεννήσαι Ἰησοῦν, ἥρωά τινα μείζω ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπειδὴν ἐς κρίσιν τῶν σφίσι βεβιωμένων καθιστῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν γε Ἰησοῦν φασὶν ἄγεσθαι διατητὴν τε κόσμου. σὺς δὲ μὴ ἄπτεσθαι¹⁵ θέμις εἶναι, καὶ τὰ γε ζῶα πάντα ἐσθίουσιν, ἂν μέντοι ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γένωνται. θεὸν μὲν οὖν ἕνα ἐφιστῶσι τῷδε τῷ παντί, ὑπηρέταις δὲ χρώμενον δς πυρίνοισι, ἢ φασί, νόοις. πεπομφέναι δὲ Μεχμέτην ἐς τὰ ἐλλιπῆ τοῖς πρότερον ἐπιπεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην νομοθέταις. κάθαρον δὲ

relaxation at all. Yet in other matters their customs as far as their way of life and demeanour are not straightened, so that they do not campaign against the pleasure of life. Thus they do not repress their natural instincts. For they marry women and may have as many concubines secured as slaves in wartime as they are able to maintain. They have as many as five lawful wives and the children born to slave women are not viewed as illegitimate. But if they beget children from free concubines, these are regarded by them as being illegitimate and do not become beneficiaries of the family's estate. They purchase their wives for as much money as a man might require for his daughter. They carry lighted candles in front of the procession as they escort the women into the nuptials. If a husband is annoyed with his wife and makes the pronouncement that henceforth he will keep away from her for three spleens (i.e. months). It is considered to be disgraceful for someone to dismiss his wife and to marry her again. Unless she has been debauched by another man, it is not permitted to lead her away (into marriage). It is absolutely forbidden for people of this nation to partake of wine and if they have not washed themselves they are not allowed to go to prayers. They give a tithe to God every year. They are supposed to fast for thirty or more days. During the whole of the day time they do not touch either food or drink, but in the evening, when the stars appear, they do eat. Especially at this time they are not allowed to drink wine at all. Circumcision of the genitals is mandatory. They consider Jesus to be an apostle of God, the progeny of the angel Gabriel and Mary, who was a virgin and had not had intercourse with any man. She gave birth to Jesus, who was a kind of demigod, greater than a man. They say that at the end of the world, when people are appointed to be judged for the things they have done in their lives, Jesus will be designated as the judge of the world. They eat all animals that are slaughtered, but do not think it right to touch pork. So they acknowledge on God who rules over everything and uses servants of fiery minds, as they say. They say that God sent Mohammed to complete the teaching of the lawgivers who had previously been sent by God into the world. They think that the purification of everything is particularly effected by circumcision, which they link with marriage. They customarily bury their dead near roads- it is not permitted to bury them anywhere else. They wash

ἡγούνται τὴν τε ¹⁰ περιτομὴν σφίσι πάντων δὴ μάλιστα, ἐν ἧ καὶ γάμους ποιοῦνται. ταφὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς νομίζεται γίνεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλη ἐξεῖναι θάπτειν. θάπτουσι δὲ λούσαντες καὶ ξυρῶ ἅμα τὸ σῶμα. νομίζεται δ' ἔτι καὶ τότε, ὅς ἂν μὴ πειθῆται τῷ νόμῳ, τελευτᾶν τῷ σιδήρῳ. Ἀρμενίους δὲ μόνους τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ¹⁵ διαφερο-μένων σφίσιν ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ὡς Ἀρμενίῳ τινὶ προειρηκότι τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐσόμενον. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι Ἀρμενίους.

and shave the body and then bury it. They have this custom as well, that whoever does not obey the law should be killed by the sword. The Armenians are the only ones of the other races that differ from them in religion, whom they do not

8. The Origin of the Turks

(I; i, pp. 7.10-9.10, ed. Darkó = 9.10-11.9, ed. Bonn)

Τούρκους τὸ οὖν ἔγωγε οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι ἂν καλέσαιμι κατὰ τὸ παλαιόν, ὥστε τάληθοῦς μὴ διαμαρτεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκυθῶν ἀπογόνους τοὺς Τούρκους οἶονται εἶναι, ὀρθότερον τὸ συμβαλλό-μενοι περὶ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐς ἦθη οὐ πολὺ διεστηκότα καθισταμένους γλώττη συνέγγυς μάλα διαχρησθαι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ. ¹⁵ Σκύθας τε γὰρ φασι τὸ ἕβδομον ἤδη ἀπὸ Τανάιδος ὠρμημένους κατα-στρέφεσθαι τὴν ἄνω Ἀσίαν, Πάρθων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τὴν τε Περσῶν χώραν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπικαταβάοντας ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν, Λυδίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὰ ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὑποχείρια ²⁰ σφίσι ποιήσασθαι. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἧ λέγουσι, πολλὰ τε γένους τούτου πολλαχῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπινεμόμενα, πρὸς Σκυθῶν (8) τῶν νομάδων ἦθη τε καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένα οὐδαμῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔσχον καταφανῆ τὴν διατριβήν. κακείνη δὲ ἔτι συμβάλλονται, ὡς Ἀσίας τὴν κάτω χώραν ἐνοικοῦντα βάρβαρα ἔθνη Τούρκων, Λυδίων, Καρίων, Φρυγίων τε καὶ Καππαδοκίων, Σκύθαις τὴν ἀπὸ ⁵ Τανάιδος ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν χώραν ἐπινεμομένοις ὁμόγλωττά τε ἔστι καὶ ὁμόσκενα.

As far as the Turks are concerned, I do not know what name from the past I should use to describe them, so as not to deviate from the truth. For some people think that the Turks are the descendants of the Scythians. This deduction about them is quite accurate, because they are not far removed from them in customs and even now use almost the same language. People say that the Scythians set out from the Tanais River (the Don) for the seventh time and subjugated Upper Asia, at the time when the Parthians held sway, and also the land of the Persians, the Medes and the Assyrians. After this they went down to Lower Asia – to Phrygia, Lydia and Cappadocia- and made the regions about this land subject to them. At the present time they say that it is possible to see many of this race spread over many parts of Asia. They have adopted the customs and way of life of the nomadic Scythians and have not had a conspicuous dwelling place anywhere in Asia. It is supposed that the barbarian Turkish races who inhabit the lower regions of Asia – Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia – speak the same language and use the same tools as the Scythians who occupy the area from Tanais to Sarmatia.

Ἔνιοι δὲ Πάρθων ἀπογόνους Τούρκους φασὶν εἶναι. τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων διωκομένους ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν ἐπικαταβῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον ἀποκλίναντας ¹⁰ σκεδασθῆναι ταύτῃ ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὡς δὴ νομάδας Τούρκους τὸ γένος τούτου καλεῖσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶν ἀπὸ Τούρκης τῶν Περσῶν πόλεως μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος, προελθεῖν τε τὸ

Some people say that the Turks are descended from the Parthians. For when they were pursued by the nomadic Scythians, they ended up in Lower Asia. When they were inclined there to a more nomadic life, they scattered there among the cities, and as a consequence this race was called nomadic Turks. But other people assert vigorously that this race is descended from Turke, a great and prosperous city of the Persians, that it

γένος τούτο δισχυρίζονται, καὶ εἰς τὴν κάτω χώραν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπαλλαττομένους σκεδασθῆναι ταύτη ¹⁵ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ταύτη αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντας ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον ²⁰ ἀποκλίνει. ὡς μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕκαστα ἔχει ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐφ' ἧ (9) δέη τούτων χωροῦντας πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον, οὐκ ἔχω ξυμβalέσθαι ὡς ἀσφαλέςτατα. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἰρήσεται, ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτοις δισχυρίζομένοις ἔχει ἂν τις συμφέρεσθαι ἄμεινον, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς ἔω ⁵ ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαγενομένους κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν καλουμένην τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Τούρκων ἐπαίειν ὁ χαλεπῶς, διαίτη τε καὶ σκευὴ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ ἄμφω τῶ γένεε διαχρωμένους, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας ἐπικρατήσαι ἀπανταχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτὸ τὴν νομαδικὴν δίαιταν προηρημένον καὶ τὸν ταύτη τοῦ βίου ¹⁰ πλέον αὐτῷ ποιούμενον. ἐπικατασχόντας τὴν χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ βούλονται Τούρκους ἀπὸ Συρίας μᾶλλον τῆς κοίλης καὶ Ἀραβίας ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἀφικομένους μετὰ Ὀμάρεω τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν διαδεξαμένου ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρχὴν προελθύνειν.

went forth, moved to the lower region of Asia, were scattered there over Asia and subjugated the country. There are some who want to say that the Turks came to this land from Coelesyria and Arabia, rather than from the Scythians. They say that they came with Omar, who was Mohammed's successor in spreading the teaching. He rose to exercise rule over Asia, while the Turks who were left behind were inclined to a more nomadic style of life. As for the issue of how much truth lies in each of these suggestions and what theories are worthy of more credence, I am not able to give a certain conclusion. However this much can be said, that those who assert that this dominion originates from the Scythians would seem to be more in harmony with the facts. The Scythians who still reside in Eastern Europe, in the so-called "market", comprehend the Turks in Asia without difficulty. Both nations even now still enjoy the same way of life and apparel, as the Scythians ruled everywhere in Asia. Indeed the name itself (Scythian) designates a person who has chosen a nomadic way of life and practises this style of life more than any other.

9. The Mongols of Central Asia and countries of Eastern Europe
(III; i, pp. 120.8-128.3 , ed. Darkó = 129.1-137.4, ed. Bonn)

Ἐνταῦθα πυθόμενοι Σκύθαι Τεμήρην βασιλέα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντα μεγάλη παρασκευῇ, τὴν τε εἰσόδον ἔπεμπον στρατεύματα ¹⁰ προκαταληψομένους τῶν ὀρέων, ἧ ἔμελλε Τεμήρης σὺν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ διεύειν. Σκύθαι μὲν οὐδ' τὸ πάλαί ἐς μοίρας τινὰς διηρημένοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἰστρου ἔσταν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον. νῦν δὲ γένος μέντοι τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν γενόμενον, τὰ πρὸς ἔω αὐτοῦ τε ἐνοικῆσαν τὴν ἐπὶ ¹⁵ τάδε τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τετραμμένον, Σαχαραῖοι ἐκλήθησαν, ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν χώραν ἐς τοὺς Σάκας τε καὶ Καδουσίους· ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ Τεμήρην αὐτὸν οἶονται γεγονέναι τινές. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἄλκιμόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολεμικώτατον, καὶ σὺν τούτοις λέγεται ²⁰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ παραλαβεῖν, πλὴν Ἰνδῶν. ὁ δὲ λοιποὶ Σκύθαι κατὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ εἰσὶν τε καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχονται βασιλεῖ, κατὰ Οὐρδὰν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγορὰν τὰ βασιλεία ποιούμενοι, ἀποδεικνύμενοι σφίσι βασιλέα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ βασιλείου τὸ παλαιότατον. καὶ ἔστι δὴ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὸν ²⁵ Βόσπορον μοῖρα τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγη, ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην διεσκεδασμένον, (121) ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ταπτόμενον,

Then learning that King Timur was attacking them with a great army, the Scythians sent an army to seize the entry to the mountains beforehand at the place where Timur and his army were planning to pass through. These Scythians divided up into tribes long before and managed the country between the Ister and the people that are near the Caucasus. Now one of these tribes called the Sachataioi (Chaghatais) ended up in Asia. They settled in the eastern part of Asia and spread over much territory north of the country of the Persians and going towards the Sakai and the Cadusians. Some people believe that Timur was descended from them. This nation is a strong nation and the most warlike of all those in Asia. With their assistance Timur is said to have seized control of all the regions of Asia except for India. The rest of the Scythians are of the same mentality and are governed under one king. They have their capital in Horde, which is the so-called 'market'. They claim that their king comes from a very old royal lineage. They are also elsewhere in Europe. A large proportion of them went to the Bosphorus, being scattered

οἴκου τῶν βασιλέων, ὄνομα δὲ τούτῳ Ἀτζικερίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐπετρέποντο σφᾶς τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τήνδε ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἐπελάσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες, μοῖρά τοῖς οὐκ ὀλίγη⁵ τῆς Θράκης λεηλατοῦντες ἐπέδραμον, καὶ ἀνεχώρουν ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἐπὶ τὸν Τάναϊν ἰόντες. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ γένους τούτου αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐνέμειναν. ὧν τὸ πλεόν ἐπὶ Παιαζήτεω διαβὰν τὸν Ἰστρον [ἐνέμειναν] ὠκίσθη χωρὶς ἕκαστον μέρος τοῦ γένους τούτου γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν μέρος αὐτοῦ πέραν¹⁰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ <παρὰ> Καζιμήρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λιτουάνων τὴν δίαιταν ἔχουσι, τὴν γῆν νεμόμενοι ἐς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἔς τε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους αὐτῷ πόλεμον συμβαλλόμενοι τὰ κράτιστ᾽ ὅπου γὰρ ἄν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, δοκοῦσί τε τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰσὶ κράτιστοι. ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὴν¹⁵ Ταυρικὴν νῆσον καλουμένην, διείργουσαν λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιωτίδα καὶ τὸν γε Εὐξείνου πόντον, ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀτζικερίῃ τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ ἐς γῆν ληϊζόμενοι κατεστρέψαντο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς τε Γότθους καλουμένους καὶ Ἰανυῖους τοὺς τὴν τε Καφᾶ πόλιν ἐνοικοῦντας. καὶ Σαρματίας μέρος τι ἀπάγει τούτῳ τῷ²⁰ βασιλεῖ φόρον. Σαρμάται μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Εὐξείνου πόντον καὶ οἱ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν τῷ μεγάλῳ Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ (122) φόρον ἀπάγουσιν, ἐξ ὅτου τὴν Σαρματίαν ἐπιδραμόντες τὰ μὲν ἠνδραποδίσαντο, τὰ δὲ ληϊσάμενοι κατέσχον ἐπὶ συχνόν τινα χρόνον, καὶ ταύτη τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ, καὶ ἔτους ἑκάστου ἀπάγουσι.

⁵ Σαρματία μὲν οὖν διήκει ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων ἐπὶ Δᾶκας τε καὶ Λιτουάνους, γένος τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν φωνῇ τὰ πολλὰ διαχρώμενον. καὶ διαίτη τε καὶ ἥθεσι τε Ἰησοῦ νόμοις ἔποικοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μᾶλλον τετραμμένοι οὐ πάνυ συμφέρονται τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, Ἑλληνικῶ τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ χρῶνται, καὶ τούτῳ¹⁰ πείθονται τὰ ἐς θρησκείαν τε καὶ δίαιταν σφίσι. καὶ ἥθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἑλλήνων διαχρώμενοι, σκευῇ τῇ Σκυθῶν παραλησῖα προσχρῶνται. τὰ μέντοι πρὸς Εὐξείνου πόντον Σαρματῶν γένη, ἀπὸ Λευκοπολίχνης καλουμένης, ἡγεμονίαι τε διαλαγχάνουσι τὰ πολλὰ, τό τε Μοσ-χόβιον τε καὶ Κίεβος καὶ Τοφάρι καὶ Χαρκόβιον,¹⁵ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννου εὐθυνομένοι, ἐς τὴν μέλαιναν οὕτω ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν καλουμένην Σαρματίαν τελοῦσι. τὰ δὲ πρὸς ὠκεανὸν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρκτον οἰκημένα γένη λευκὴν Σαρματίαν καλοῦσι. πρὸς μέντοι ὠκεανὸν πόλις Οὐγκράτης καλουμένη, ἐς ἀριστοκρατίαν τετραμμένη, ὄλβον τε παρέχεται

throughout that land. They were under the direction of a king, from a house of kings, and his name was Atzikerie (Hadji Girai). These people submitted themselves to the rule of this king, proceeding to this land and even pressing on as far as the Ister. They crossed the Ister, overran a substantial portion of Thrace and plundered it. Then they withdrew from Sarmatia on their way to the Tanais. Many from this race settled at the Ister. Most crossed under Paiazetis (Bayazid) and settled there. Thus each part of this race was settled. The remainder of it (Scythia) beyond the Ister is subject to Casimir, the King of the Lithuanians. They have their way of life, look after the land even to this present time and ally themselves with him to a great extent in his fighting against his neighbours. Wherever this nation happens to be they seem to be warlike and are very powerful. The people who live around the Bosphorus and the so-called Taurus Island, which marks off Lake Maiotis and the Black Sea are under the rule of King Hadji Girai Atzikerie. They raid the peoples in the land and have subjugated them to pay tribute- the peoples are the so-called Goths and the Genoans, who inhabit the city of Caffa. A section of Sarmatia also pays tribute to this king. So the Sarmatians, those who live near the Black Sea and those near the Ocean pay tribute to the great King of the Scythians “in the market” – inasmuch as (the Scythians) overran Sarmatia and enslaved some sections, others they raided and occupied for a long time.

So Sarmatia extends from the Scythian nomads to the Dacians and the Lithuanians, a tribe that mostly uses the language of the Illyrians. Both in manner of life and customs they are adherents of the laws of Jesus, being rather inclined to the Greeks. They are not very partial to the high priest of the Romans, but use the Greek high priest and obey him in matters connected with their worship and behaviour. Although they practise the same customs as the Greeks, they wear almost the same apparel as the Scythians. Most of the Sarmatian tribes that live near the Black Sea (Euxine), near what is called Leukopolichne (White City) are divided into principalities. Moscow, Kiev, Tofar and Kharkov are cities ruled by princes in the so-called Black Sarmatia. The tribes that live in the (sub-) arctic region near the Ocean call their region White Sarmatia. However the city by the Ocean called Ugkratis (Novgorod) has been converted into an

καὶ αὐτὴν εὐδαιμονία ¹²⁰ ὑπερφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Σαρματίας πόλεων, τῆς τε λευκῆς καὶ μελαίνης οὕτως καλουμένης. καὶ διήκει ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν αὕτη ἢ χώρα, Ἰνφλάντη καλουμένη. ἔνθα δὴ ὀρμίζονται καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Δανίας νῆες καὶ Γερμανίας, φορτία φέρουσαι Βρετανικά τε ἅμα καὶ Κελτικά ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν. ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν **(123)** Τανάιτοῖς ἐς ὠκεανὸν τὸν Βρετανικὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κελτῶν χώραν εἴη ἂν ὁδὸς τὸ μακρότατον ἡμερῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ οἰκούμενον ἐπὶ μῆκος, ἐπὶ πλάτος δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώραν εἶναι μεγίστην, ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ¹⁵ χώραν. Σκύθαι νέμονται τήνδε. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔμοιγε καταφαίνεται, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώρα μεγίστη δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατ' ἄμφω, μῆκός τε δὴ καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ μήκιστον διήκουσα.

Πέρμιοι τὸ οἰκοῦσι τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σαρμάτας, ¹⁰ ὅμοροι δὲ εἰσι Σαρματῶν, καὶ φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἱένται οἱ Σαρμάται τοῖς Περμίοις. λέγεται δὲ περὶ Περμίων τάδε, ὡς ἔστι γένος ἀπὸ ἄγρας τὸ πλέον τοῦ βίου σφίσι ποιούμενον καὶ ...

Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς ὠκεανὸν διήκουσα Σαρματία ἐπὶ Προυσίαν καλουμένην χώραν διήκει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ταύτη λευκοφόρους ¹⁵ Ναζηραίους καὶ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ. δοκοῦσι δὲ γένος τοῦτο εἶναι Γερμανοί, καὶ φωνῇ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσχρώμενοι καὶ διαίτη. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πόλεις περικαλλεῖς καὶ εὐνομουμένας ἐς τὸ κράτιστον. ἔστι δὲ τούτοις ἱερὸν, ἧ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρία ἱερὸν νομίζεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνοικοῦν Ναζηραίων γένος. ταῦτα ²⁰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τρία ἱερά ἀνά τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὠκημένα τὸ καταφανῆ ἔστι, τό τε ἐν Ἰβηρία πρὸς τοὺς ταύτη τῶν Λιβύων διαβάντας, καὶ Προυσίων πρὸς τε τοὺς Σαμῶτας καὶ Σκυθῶν τοὺς νομάδας, αὐτοῦ **(124)** ταύτη ἀγχοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ὠκισμένους, καὶ Ῥοδίων τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ Παλαιστίνῃ διὰ τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τάφον καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους.

Προυσίων δὲ ἔχονται Σαμῶται, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ οὐδενὶ ⁵ τῶν περιοίκων ὀμοδίαιτον, οὐδὲ ὀμόγλωσσον. νομίζει τὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος θεοῦς Ἀπόλλῳ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν διαίτη τὸ χρῶνται τῇ πάλαι Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἤθεσι, σκευῇ δὲ τῇ Προυσίων παραπλησία.

Τούτων τὸ ἔχονται Βοέμοι, τῇ τε Σαμωτῶν δόξῃ τιθέμενοι καὶ τῇ Γερμανῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτη ἐνοικοῦντες, σκευῇ τῇ ¹⁰ τῶν Παιόνων παραπλησία ἐσκευασμένοι. ἔνεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μητρόπολις, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυ-

aristocracy. It is rich and exceeds the other cities of Sarmatia in wealth, whether they are called white or black. And this land called Inflante (Livonia) extends to the Ocean. Indeed ships from Denmark and Germany, which carry cargo from Britain and Celtica to this land anchor there. Now from the Tanais to the British Ocean and the land of the Celts the journey over the inhabited area would take a maximum of thirty-five days. The area beyond the Tanais is extremely wide, from Sarmatie to the land of the Assyrians. The Scythians occupy this land and so, as it seems to me, the land beyond the Tanais is the largest of the lands in Europe in two respects, both in length and breadth.

The Permians live in the area north of the Sarmatians. They share a border with the Sarmatians and the Sarmatians speak the same language as the Permians. It is said about the Permians that they make their living mostly through hunting and ...

The region of Sarmatia which borders on the Ocean also borders the country called Prus(s)ia and the White-robed Nazirites (Knights) and the religious order in this land. This tribe seems to be German and they use the language and way of life of the Germans. They live in very beautiful cities which are extremely well governed. They have a religious order, which is the same as that practised in Iberia and the race of Nazirites which dwells in Rhodes. These three religious orders are prominent throughout the inhabited world. They have been founded to promote the religion of Jesus against the barbarians. The one in Iberia was founded to fight the Libyans who crossed over to Iberia. The Prussian one is fighting the Samo(ge)tai and the Scythian nomads who settled there in times gone by. The Rhodian order is fighting for the grave of Jesus against the barbarians in Egypt and Palestine and those in Asia.

The Prus(s)ians border on the Samo(ge)tai who are a strong nation and do not have the same customs or language as their neighbours. This race worships the gods Apollo and Artemis. They practise the old Greek way of life and customs and their apparel is like that of the Prussians.

These people (The Samogetai) border on the Bohemians – they live in this land appearing like? the Samogetai and the Germans (and) use almost the same apparel as the Paeonians. They have a capital which is a prosperous and densely popu-

άνθρωπος, Βράγα ούτωςι καλουμένη, και πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπεὶ ἐπαύσαντο τῷ πυρὶ και τῷ ἡλίῳ θρησκευεῖν. μόνον δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐκτὸς γενόμενον ταῖς ἐγνωσμέναις ἡμῖν ¹⁵ ἐν τῷ παρόντι θρησκείαις, τῆς τε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φημι και τῆς τοῦ Μεχμέτεω και Μωσέως ταύτας γάρ τε σχεδόν τε ἴσμεν δια-κατέχειν τήν τε ἐγνωσμένην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην. ἔστι μέντοι, ἣ πυνθάνομαι, και τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν και τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν ἐς ταύτην τετραμμένον τὴν ²⁰ θρησκείαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. νομίζει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ γένος και θεοὺς ἔτι ἄλλους, Δία τε και Ἥραν, ὡς προϊόντι πρόσω τε λόγου δηλωθήσεται.

Και περὶ μὲν τούτων ταύτη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· Πολάνοι **(125)** δὲ ἔχονται Σαρματῶν, και τῇ φωνῇ τούτων νομίζουσι, και ἤθεσι δὲ και διαίτη τῇ Ῥωμαίων παραπλησία.

Πολάνων δὲ ἔχονται Λιτουάνοι ἐπὶ Εὐξείνου πόντον και ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν καθήκοντες και οὗτοι. ἡ μὲν μέλαινα Πογδανία, ⁵ ἢ ἐν τῇ Λευκοπολίχῃ καλουμένη τὰ βασιλεία ἔχουσα, ἀπὸ Δακῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἐπὶ Λιτουάνους και Σαρμάτας διήκει. γένος δὲ ἔστι τοῦτο δόκιμον, ἣ ἂν τοῖς τεκμαίροιο, τήν τε φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἰέμενον, και ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ διεσχισμένον διχῆ τὸ γένος ἐς τυραννίδας και ἡγεμονίας δύο κατέστη. ¹⁰ Λιτουάνοι δὲ οὔτε Σαρμάταις εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε Παίσιον, οὔτε μὲν Γερμανοῖς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Δαξίν, ἰδίᾳ τὸ τὸ παράπαν νομίζουσι φωνῆ. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεία πόλις μεγάλη τε και πολυ-άνθρωπος και εὐδαίμων. και δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ γένος εἶναι τε μέγα τῶν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐθνῶν και ἀνδρείοτατον, ¹⁵ και πρὸς τε τοὺς Προυσίους τοὺς Γερμανοὺς και Πολανούς διαπολεμοῦν περὶ τε ὄρων τῶν ἐς τὴν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ και τοῦτο τὸ γένος πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη και διαίταν τετραμμένον, σκευῆ δὲ τῇ Σαρματῶν παραπλησία χρωμένους, και τῇ μελαίνῃ Πογδανία ὄμορος τὰ πολλὰ οὔσα πρὸς τούτους ἀγωνίζεται.

(126) Σαρμάται τὸ φωνῇ διαχρῶνται παραπλησία τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον παροικούντων ἔστε ἐπὶ Ἐνετούς. ὁπότεροι μὲν τούτων παλαιότεροι, και τὴν ἐτέρων ὁπότεροι τούτων χώραν ἐπινέμονται, ἣ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης διαβάντες Πολανίαν ⁵ τε και Σαρματίαν ὤκησαν, ἣ Σαρμάται δὲ ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενοι τὴν τε Μυσίαν και Τριβαλλῶν χώραν και δὴ και Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἰόνιον ἄχρι δὴ Ἐνετῶν ὤκησαν, οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐπυθόμην τῶν παλαιότερων διεξιόντος, οὔτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι πάντη ὡς ἀληθῆ δια-σημήνασθαι.

lated city called Braga (Prague). Many of the inhabitants of this city have not long ceased worshipping the fire and the sun. This is the only race of those in Europe which does not abide by the religious observances known to us at the present time, I mean the religions of Jesus, Mohammed and Moses. For we know that these religions have almost covered the known world which has been inhabited. As I have ascertained, there is also beyond the Caspian Sea and the Massagetai the Indian nation, which is devoted to the worship of Apollo. That race worships still more gods, Zeus and Hera, as will be made clear as my account progresses. Let this conclude my remarks about them at this point.

The Poles border on the Sarmatians and use a language cognate to theirs and have a way of life and customs which are similar to the Romans.

The Lithuanians are neighbours of the Poles and border on the Black Sea and Sarmatia. Black Bogdania, which has its capital in White Town, borders on Dacia along the Ister (Danube), Lithuania and Sarmatia. This nation is worthy of notice, one might say, as it has the same language as the Dacians and from old has been divided into two kingdoms and principalities. The Lithuanians do not have the same language as the Sarmatians or the Paeonians, nor the Germans or even the Dacians, but use their own individual language. Their capital city is large, populous and prosperous and this race seems to me to be the greatest and bravest of all the races in this region. They are at war with the Prussians, Germans and Poles about the borders of their land. This race is inclined towards the customs and way of life of the Romans. They wear virtually the same apparel as the Sarmatians and as they share a border with Black Bogdania over a long distance, they are engaged in hostilities with them.

The Sarmatians speak a language which is almost the same as that of the Illyrians, who live by the Ionian Sea as far as the Enetoi (Venice). I have not been able to ascertain from the narratives of any of the elders nor could I signify as being true which of these two nations are older and which of these two nations settled in the territory of the others, or whether the Illyrians crossed Europe and settled in Poland and Sarmatia, or whether the Sarmatians came to this side of the Ister (Danube) and settled in Mysia, the land of the Triballi and the Ionian coast as far

¹⁰ Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, ὃ δὴ γένος μέγιστόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρόν καὶ γενναιοτάτον ἐστίν, οἷον οὐδενὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν παραβάλλειν, ἂν μὴ πολλαχῆ ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην ἐσκεδασμένον ἄλλη τε τῆς αὐτῶν βασιλείας ῥκίσθη, ὡς τῆ ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ πολλὰ χρησάμενον¹⁵ ἢ δὲ χώρα ἠρέσκετο, ταύτη ἐναπολειφθὲν ῥκησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφρόνει κατὰ τάδε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνοικοῦν χώραν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ γένειτο βασιλεῖ, οὐδένας οἱ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἐνίσταντο ἄν, ὥστε μὴ συνομολογεῖν αὐτῷ. νῦν δὲ ἀπανταχῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπινεμόμενον καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἐπὶ τῇ Θράκῃ τε καὶ ἐς τὸν²⁰ Βόσπορον ἐνοικοῦν, ἀπόκισται τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλείας τῆς ἐς τὸ Οὐρδάν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸν Βόσπορον τὴν ταύτην χώραν ἐπινεμόμενοι καὶ τὴν ὄμορον λεηλατοῦντες, τὴν τε Τζαρκάσων (127) καὶ Μιγκρελίων καὶ Σαρματῶν, καὶ ἀνδράποδα ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἐπὶ Καφᾶν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιδα καλουμένην λίμνην ἀπάγοντες, ὀλίγου τε αὐτὰ ἀποδιδόμενοι τοῖς τε Ἐνετῶν καὶ Ἰανυῶν ἐμπόροις, οὕτω τὸ βιοτεύουσι. Σκύθαι⁵ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενοι, γάλακτι τὰ πολλὰ ἵπων τε καὶ κρέα διαχρώμενοι, οὔτε σίτω, οὔτε κριθῇ καταφανεῖς εἰσὶ διαχρώμενοι, μελίγη δὲ τὸ πλεόν καὶ σηκάλῃ, λινᾶς τε ἐσθῆτας φοροῦντες ἐς τὸν τῶν λίθων ὄλβον εὐδαιμονέστατοι καὶ πλουσιώτατοι νομίζονται. τόξοις¹⁰ δὲ χρῶνται, τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, καὶ ξίφεσι βαρβαρικοῖς, καὶ θυρεοῖς τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν παραπλησίοις, πῖλοις δὲ τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι, οὔτε ἢ περὶ Σαρματιῶν οἰκοῦντες, οὔτε ἱματίοις ἀπὸ ἐρίων, ὅτι μὴ λινοῖς νομίζουσι. διῆκει δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ τούτων τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὁδὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν, ὥστε¹⁵ ἐπινέμεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον σφίσι καταστάντες, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους διεσκεδασμένοι, ἀφ' ἑκατέρου πλαγίου καθιστάμενοι ἐφ' ἐνός τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ μήκιστον, καὶ διανέμονται τὴν χώραν, τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀφθονον παρεχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς τάξιν τὴν ἀρίστην ὑπὸ σφῶν νομιζομένην καθιστάμενοι.²⁰ κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ταύτη ἀρίστους ἐπὶ κύκλους καταστάντες, καὶ περιόδους ποιούμενοι, βασιλεία τε παρέχουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπὸ ξύλων κατεσκευασμένα. ἐπιδιελόμενοι (128) δὲ εἰς μοίρας ταύτην σύμπασαν τὴν ἀγορὰν, ἄρχοντάς τε ἐφιστᾶσι τούτων, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλλῃ βασιλεύς, χωροῦσιν, ἐφ' ὃ τι ἂν γένηται χρεία.

as the Enetoi (Venice).

I shall now return to the question of the Scythian nomads. They would have been the greatest, strongest and most noble of races, such that none of the races in the inhabited world would be able to come near, if it were not for the fact that they have been scattered in many places throughout the world, throughout Asia and Europe, and have established their kingly rule in different places, as they have been heavily involved in conducting raids. Where the land was pleasing, once they were left in it, they settled it. So if they had had this inclination to settle in the same land and if they had been under the rule of a single king, nobody in the world could have withstood them. But now they have settled everywhere in Asia and Europe, settling in Thrace and around the Bosphorus. They have established their capital in the Horde. So those of them who have settled around the Bosphorus, in the land there, raid the bordering countries – the Circassians, the Mingrelians and the Sarmatians. They carry off many captives to the Bosphorus, the city of Caffa, and Lake Maiotis, as it is called, and make a living selling them cheaply to the Venetian and Genoese traders. The Scythians in the market travel around in carriages and on beasts of burden. They live mostly on horse milk and meat and apparently do not consume wheat or barley, but rather millet and rye. They wear linen garments and their riches and affluence is measured according to their wealth in (precious) stones. The bows and swords that they use, to tell the truth, are quite barbaric. Their shields are similar to those used by the Dacians. Many of them wear caps but not those who live near Sarmatia and they do not wear woollen garments, just linen. The “market” of these Scythians and the Great King extends for a distance of fifteen days. They have managed the land and subdivided it in a manner most suitable to themselves. They are scattered into small groups, being established from each side into one. They make their “market” a very long distance and subdivide the land, providing abundant pasture for their livestock. They live under the government thought best for them. They establish the king and the aristocracy in rotation and have them for periods of time. They provide the king with a royal residence made out of wood. They subdivide this “market” into sections and appoint rulers over them. And whenever the king summons them, they proceed to whatever task is needful.

10. The Karamanians and the Barsakians

(V; ii, pp. 20.5-128.3 , ed. Darkó = 242.10-245.17, ed. Bonn)

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἀπὸ Ἰταλῶν ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας περιήλθεν. Ἑλλησι μὲν οὖν οὕτω προσέφερε τὰ πράγματα, ὑπαγομένοις σφίσι τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀμουράτης τὸ ὁ Μεχμέτεω ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Τριβαλλῶν χώραν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον, στρατεύματα ἐπιπέμψας ἐδήου τὴν¹⁰ χώραν. καὶ τότε δὴ οὖν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἐπιέναι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βασιλέα, πρέσβεις τε ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἠξίου σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι, ἐφ’ ᾧ ἂν ἀπάγειν φόρον, ὃν ἂν τάξῃται αὐτῷ βασιλεύς, καὶ πείσεσθαι, ὅ τι ἂν κελεύοι αὐτῷ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀμουράτης ἄγεται τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιπέμψας¹⁵ δὲ Σαραζίην τὸν τῶν θυρῶν ἡγεμόνα ἠγάγετό τε τὴν γυναῖκα, τοῦ Χαλίλεω ἀνάγοντος, παρ’ αὐτῷ μέγα εὐδοκισμοῦντος, κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤλανεν ἐπὶ Καραμᾶνον τὸν Ἀλισούριον, ἡγεμόνα τῆς Καρίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα αἰτιασάμενος, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον ἔχων παρ’ ἑαυτῷ ἔπεμψεν²⁰ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἐπιὼν δὲ σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ τὴν χώραν ἐδήου, ἐκλελοιπότης αὐτὴν τε Καραμᾶνου καὶ τὰ ἄκρα κατέχοντος (21) τῶν ὀρέων. ἐστὸν δὲ αὐτῷ δύο πόλεις, ἡ μὲν Λάρανδα λεγομένη, ἡ δὲ τὸ Ἰκόνιον, πόλις μεγάλη τε οὖσα τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ εὐδαίμων, ἐν ἧ καὶ βασιλις ἦν τῶν πρόσθεν βασιλέων τοῦ γένους τούτου· ἄτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρέων τῆς χώρας ἰσχυρῶν ὄντων⁵ καὶ οὐκ εὐπετῶν ἐπιβῆναι, ὀρμώμενοι τὴν ταύτην χώραν περίοικον ἦγον καὶ ἔφερον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες κατεστρέφοντο. ἔστι δ’ ἡ πόλις αὕτη εὐνομουμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ. Λάρανδα δὲ ἡ πόλις ᾠκῆται μὲν αὕτη ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν ταύτη ὀρέων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἐάλω τινὶ ὀχυρώματι. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐπιόντος τοῦ Ἀμουράτεω¹⁰ ὑπέμενε τε καὶ οὐκ ἐξέλιπεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομίζεται Τούρκους γε ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ τε ἅμα ἦθη καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν δίαίταν καθισταμένους. ὁ μὲντοι Καραμᾶνος οὗτος ὁμορός ἐστι τῇ Πισιδῶν χώρα καὶ τῇ Τουργούτεω. οἱ δὲ Πισιδῆται οὗτοι καὶ Βαρσάκιδες καλοῦ-μενοι νομάδες μὲν εἰσι¹⁵ καὶ γλώττη τῇ Τούρκων διαχρῶμενοι, ληστρικώτερον δὲ βιοτεύουσι, τὴν τε Συρίαν ληϊζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σφίσιν χώραν, καὶ δὴ τὴν Καραμᾶνου διαπολεμοῦντες ληϊζονται. ἄρχοντες δὲ σφίσιν ἐφεστῶτες καὶ ληϊζόμενοι τῆς τε λείας τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (22) μέρος αὐτοὶ τε διαλαγχάνουσι, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπιμένουσιν ἐπιδιελόμενοι διδόασιν τὸ ἄλκιμον μέρος. Τουργ-

And so in this manner the Peloponnese passed from the Italians to the Greeks. So it brought business to the Greeks, who subjugated the Peloponnese to themselves. Murad, the son of Mahomet, led an expedition to the land of the Triballi. And first, when he initiated the war, he sent forth armies and ravaged the land. So then, when the king of the Triballi learnt that the king was attacking him, after sending ambassadors, he requested that they make a treaty, with the proviso that they take whatever tribute the king might demand and that they would put up with whatever conditions he might exact. Then Murad married the daughter of the leader of the Triballi and sent Sarazie the keeper of the gates and married his wife, when Chalilis, who was of great reputation with him, took him up to his capital. After this he attacked Karamanos the Alisurian, the leader of Caria, making some accusations and primarily the one that when he had his younger brother beside him, he sent him against the Greeks. When he arrived with a great army, he devastated the land, when Karamanos had left it and was occupying the high places of the mountains. He had two cities – one of them called Laranda and the other Iconium, a city which from days of old was great and prosperous. In it was the queen of the previous kings of this race. Now since the mountains of the land were strong and were not easy to climb, they set out from that point and took the surrounding land and captured it. After attacking it for a short time, they subdued it. The city (Iconium) has been well governed for a very long time. Now this city of Laranda has been settled at the foot of the mountains there and was not captured with any stronghold.. When Murad attacked, the land withstood him and did not give in. For it is not considered appropriate for those who are Turks to be enslaved, in that they have been established both in the same customs and way of life as the Romans. Now this Karamanos shares borders with the land of Pisidia and the land of Turgutis. These Pisidians and those called Barsakians are nomadic and use the language of the Turks. They live in a rather piratical way and plunder Syria and their other territory. And in fact they carry on hostilities in the land of Karamanos and plunder it. Those who rule over them, when they engage in piracy, divide up the share of the plunder which falls to

ούτης δὲ τὸ τῆς Φρυγίας χώρας ἐπάρχει τε, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἦκει καὶ Καππάδοκας ἡ χώρα αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ Τουργούτεω γένος δοκεῖ⁵ νεώτερον γεγονέναι ὑπὸ Ἀμουράτη, καὶ ἐπικαταβὰν ἐς τὴν ταύτη τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν ἐπικρατήσαί τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐς δεῦρο διαγενόμενον πρὸς τε τοὺς παῖδάς τε καὶ Καραμᾶνον διαπολεμεῖν. διεπολέμησε μὲν οὖν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λευκάρνας Καραϊλούκεω παῖδας. τὸ μέντοι Κανδυλόρον¹⁰ ἢ πόλις τῆς Καρίας ὑπὸ ἀνδρὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενος Ἀμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέτεω τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν ἐς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἄρχειν τῆς χώρας. τοὺς μέντοι ἡγεμόνας, τὸν τε Κερμιανὸν καὶ Αἰδίνην, ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Καραμᾶνον, καὶ τὸν τε Σαρχάνην τῆς τε¹⁵ χώρας ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐπιὼν τὰ βασιλεία αὐτῶν ἠνδραποδίσατο. ὁ μέντοι Αἰδίνης ἐτελεύτησεν ἅπαις ὧν, Σαρχάνης δὲ καὶ Μενδεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμόρους αὐτῶν χώρας διεσώζοντο, ἀποφυγόντες Ἀμουράτην ἐπιόντα. Μεν-δεσίας μέντοι ἐς Ῥόδον ἀφικόμενος διέτριβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κηρυκευσάμενος ἀφίκετο παρὰ²⁰ βασιλέα, δεόμενος τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ (23) ἐς δεῦρο ἔτι διατρίβων τὴν δαπάνην ἔχει ὑπὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ὁ μέντοι Καραμᾶνος, ὡς τό τε Ἰκόνιον κατελήφει καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ κατέχων διέτριβεν, ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀμουράτην, ὑπισχνόμενος τὴν τε θυγατέρα δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ⁵ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέμπειν συστρατευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμουράτεω θύρας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἀμουράτης ἐπέιθετο, τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ὄρκια ποιησάμενος ἀπήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου ἐπιγιγνομένου αἰτιασάμενος Ἰσμαήλην τὸν Σινώπης καὶ Κασταμωνίας ἡγεμόνα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὡς¹⁰ ἐτύθετο ἐπ' αὐτόν ἐπιέναι Ἀμουράτην, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ πρόσδοτον ὑπέσχετο ἀποφέρειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὅση ἂν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοι οὔσα, καὶ τὸν γε παῖδα ὑπισχνεῖτο ἐπιπέμπειν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. τὸν μέντοι Τουργούτεω παῖδα καὶ πρότερον ἔτι παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας¹⁵ ἐπυθόμεθα ἐπαγαγέσθαι βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ διαθεῖναι, ἢ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκοίη.

them and distribute the lion's share and give it to those who stay at home with wives. Turgutis rules over the land of Phrygia and his land extends to Armenia and Cappadocia. The family of Turgutis seems to have come on the scene more recently under Murad and went down there and wrested the land from him. And when he reached this place, he conducted hostilities against his children and Karamanos. So he conducted hostilities of old, against the Leucarnians, the children of Karailoukis. Kanduloron the city of Caria is under a man named ... and after overthrowing the land, Murad the son of Mahomet put his daughter into the harem and left his son behind to rule the land. The rulers, Kermianos and Aidines, he drove towards Karamanos and drove Sarchanes out of the land. After attacking their capital, he enslaved them. Now Aidines died being childless and Sarchanes and Mendesias escaped to the lands that shared the same borders and fled from Murad's advance. Mendesias actually arrived at Rhodes and stayed there. After this having been summoned by a herald, he went to the king. He made a request to receive some benefit from the king and staying in that place had his expenses paid by the gates. Now Karamanos, as he had captured Iconium and subjugated its land, stayed there. He sent envoys to Murad, promising to give his daughter to him as a wife and to send his son to serve with him at the gates of Murad. Murad was persuaded by this and after making a truce and taking an oath, advanced on Europe. After this, when some time was elapsing, he found fault with Ishmael, the leader of Sinope and Castamonia and conducted an expedition against him. On learning that Murad was attacking him, he sent envoys, undertook to deliver revenue of bronze (money), as much as he had, and he too undertook to send his son to the king's gates. We learnt that he brought in the son of Turgutis, who had previously been present at the king's gates, made him king and entrusted the land to him to manage it, as might seem good to him.

10. The Administrative hierarchy and Military command of the Turks

i. (V; ii, pp. 7.23-10.8 , ed. Darkó = 228.9-231.4, ed. Bonn)

αἱ μὲν οὖν θύραι ὧδε πη ἔχουσαι. πεζοὶ πάρεισι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐνίστε ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους ἀπὸ (8) γὰρ τούτων φρουρὰν τε φαίνει ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι, καὶ αὖθις ἑτέραν ἐς

So the gates (ie. the Porte) function something like this. The foot-soldiers wait upon the king, about the six thousand and sometimes about the ten thousand. For from these he displays a garrison

τὴν χώραν ἐκείνων καθίστησι. παρεγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ τῆδε. παῖδας λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ὄσους ἂν τύχη ἀνδραποδισάμενος, κατατίθεται ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ τοῖς Τούρκοις, ὥστε τὴν ⁵ φωνὴν ἐκμαθεῖν ἓνα ἕκαστον. καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρία ἔτη διαγενόμενοι τὴν τε γλῶσσαν ἐκμανθάνουσι, καὶ συνιέντες τῆς φωνῆς, ὅσα ἂν δυνηθῶσιν, αὐθις συλλέγει, ἀφ' ὧν κατέθετο, ἐς δισχιλίους καὶ πλείους τούτων. ἄγει δ' αὐτοὺς ζύμπαντας ἐς τὴν Καλλιούπολιν, καὶ καθίστησιν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, ναυτίζεσθαι ¹⁰ τε καὶ διαπορθμεύειν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης τοὺς βουλομένους διαβαίνειν. ὀβολὸν δ' ἔχει ἕκαστος ἐνταῦθα, καὶ χιτῶνα τε ἐνιαυτοῦ. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταπέμπονται ἐς τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ, παρέχων τε μισθόν, ὅσος ἂν ἰκανὸς εἴη ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν αὐτοῦς, ἐνίοις ἄλλοις δὲ πλείω παρέχεται. καὶ ἐς δεκαδάρχας ¹⁵ τε καὶ πεντηκοντάρχας καὶ ἐνωμοτίας καὶ λόχους τεταγμένοι τε καὶ διακεκριμένοι στρατεύονται, κατὰ τὰ συσσίτια τε καὶ τῆ δύσει ἡλίου εἶναι σὺν τῷ δεκαδάρχη ἐς τὴν σκηνήν. σκηνοῦσι τὸ οὗτοι ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα, ἐς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ χῶρον ἕκαστος ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἑτέρου. ἐντὸς μέντοι τούτων οὐδενὶ ἔξεστι ²⁰ σκηνοῦν, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παιδῶν καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος. σκηνή τὸ ἐρυθρὰ αὐτῷ. ὅτε μὲν δύο, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἴδρυνται αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀπὸ πύλου ἐρυθροῦ χρυσόπαστοι, καὶ σκηναὶ ἕτεραι ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντεκαίδεκα, πᾶσαι ἐντὸς τῶν νεηλύδων. ἐκτὸς δὲ σκηνοῦσιν οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν (9) θυρῶν ἄνδρες, οἷτε ἀμουραχόριοι καὶ οἰνοχόοι οἱ λεγόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν σαραπτάριοι, καὶ σημαιοφόροι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐμουραλάμιοι, καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν πρυτανεῖς, βεζίριδες οὕτω καλούμενοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελιαφόροι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μεγάλοι τε ὄντες, καὶ ὡς ⁵ πλείους ἐπαγόμενοι θεράποντας, πληθὺν παρέχοντας ἄπλετον. μετὰ δὲ συλκτάριδες ἐνεῖσι τῶν βασιλέως θυρῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, οἱ ἰππεῖς ὄντες ἀπὸ τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ ταύτην παραγίνονται τὴν χώραν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καρίπιδες οἱ ἐπήλυδες καλούμενοι, ἀπὸ τε Ἀσίας καὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ δὴ καὶ Λιβύης αὐτῷ ¹⁰ ἐς τὰς θύρας παραγενόμενοι, καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιοῦμενοι ἐναντι βασιλέως, μεμισθωμένοι αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν πλείονος, ὁ δὲ ἐλάττονος. τούτων τὸ ἔχονται ἀλοφατζίδες ὁ μισθωτοὶ καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀκτακοσίους. τούτων δὲ αὐθις ἔχονται οἱ σπαχίδες καλούμενοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους. οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων ¹⁵ παῖδες, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος ἐκβαλὼν ἐς ταύτην αὐτοὺς καθίστησι τὴν χώραν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἔχει ὡς ἀνδρῶν παῖδας ἀγαθῶν γενομένους.

son on the citadels and he establishes yet another one for their land. And they were near him in this place. After having taken the children captive, he settled as many as he happened to enslave in Asia to stay among the Turks, so that each one of them might learn the language thoroughly. So having spent two or three years they do understand the language thoroughly. And when they have understood the language, he again assembles as many as possible of those whom he settled, up to two thousand and more. He leads them all to Kallioupolis (Gallipoli) and puts them on the boats, to act as sailors and carry across those who want to cross from Europe to Asia. Each one of them receives an obol there and a coat each year. After a short time they are sent to his gates. He provides some of them with a salary sufficient for survival. But to others more is provided. They are assigned to decemvirs, leaders of fifty men, bands of sworn soldiers and armed bands of soldiers. Those who have distinguished themselves go on campaigns, share in the officers' mess and at sunset are with the decemvirs in the tent. These dwell in their tents in close proximity to the king, each in his own spot, but adjacent to another person. However within this area nobody is permitted to pitch a tent, except for the children of the king and the treasures of the king and the bedchamber. He has a red tent. Now when there are two and when there are three tents situated near the king himself, they are made of red felt shot through with gold. The other tents around the fifteen are all inside the newcomers. The rest of the men of the gates dwell outside, the ἀμουραχόριοι, and the cup-bearers, which are called σαραπτάριοι by them and standard-bearers, which are called ἐμουραλάμιοι and the chief magistrates of the gates which are called βεζίριδες, the message-bearers of the king. So these men are important and possess as many servants as possible, which produce an immense multitude. As well there are the keepers (?) (συλκτάριδες) of the three hundred. These are cavalry from the recent arrivals who have come to this land. After these are the foreigners called *karipides* (καρίπιδες), who have come from Asia and Egypt and even Libya to his gates. They demonstrate valour before the king and are hired by him, one man for a greater amount, another for less. Close to these are the paid officials called the *alophatzides* (ἀλοφατζίδες) around the eight hundred. Close to these again are the so-called spachides (σπαχίδες) around the two hundred. These are the children of

Καὶ αἱ μὲν θύραι, ὡς ξυνελόντι μοι φάναι, οὕτω τετάχεται· δύο δὲ ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐς ξύμπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν καθίστανται |²⁰ στρατηγοί, ὁ μὲν τῆς Εὐρώπης, ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ τούτων ἑκατέρῳ ἔπονται τὰ τε στρατεύματα καὶ ὁ ἄρχοντας, ὅποι ἂν ἐξηγῶνται, ἐπειδὴν ἐπαγγελίῃ αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. ἔπονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημαιοφόροι καλούμενοι· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίσταται, **(10)** σημαία τε δωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς στρατηγῷ γενομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι πόλεων. τούτῳ δ' αὖ τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἔπονται οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἄρχοντες, ὅποι στρατεύηται. χωροῦσι δὲ ἅπαντες κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπόμενοι τοῖς σφετέρους αὐτῶν ἄρχουσι τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, |⁵ ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὸ βασιλέως παραγένονται στρατόπεδον. αὕτη σχεδὸν ἡ τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτῷ διάταξις. οἱ μὲντοι ἵπποδρόμοι τάττονται καὶ οὗτοι ἐς τοὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχους. οἱ δὲ ἀζάπιδες ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι, ἐς ταὐτὸ γιγνόμενοι στρατεύονται.

the chiefs, some of whom, after removing them from the bedchamber, he sets in charge of this land, while he chooses others and keeps them there as the children of noble men.

Now the gates, as was told to me briefly, are arranged in this way: two generals are appointed by the king to rule over his whole empire – one over Europe and the other over Asia. The armies and the rulers follow each of them wherever they lead, whenever the king issues instructions to them. The subordinate commanders, who are called among themselves standard-bearers follow them. For whenever someone is assigned to this responsibility, the king bestows a standard on him, as having become a general and a ruler of many cities. Also the rulers of the cities follow this subordinate commander, wherever he leads his army. They all proceed according to these criteria, as they follow their own rulers and generals, whenever they are involved with the king's army. So this is roughly the way his armies are managed. The cavalry however are organised for their own subordinate commanders. The *azapides* (ἀζάπιδες), who follow under one leader, go on military expeditions for the same purpose.

ii. (VII; ii, p. 103.3-12, ed. Darkó = 331.12-22, ed. Bonn)

(103) |³ καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς νεήλυδας παραταξάμενος ἐκυκλοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν, εὐμεγέθεις πηξάμενος σιδηρεῖους |⁵ ἐς τὴν γῆν. φέρει δὲ τούτους αἰεῖ, ὅποι ἂν στρατεύηται βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων· καὶ πρὸς γε τὰ ὄπλα τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέρει, καὶ ὅποι ἂν ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ μάχῃ, διανεμιάμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐς μάχην καθίσταται. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἄγων καὶ τὰς καμήλους αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἔμπροσθεν |¹⁰ τῶν θυρεῶν ἔστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρετάσσετο ἐς τὰς θύρας. ἐν μέσῳ δ' αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ οἴκου ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν, ὅσοι πάρεισιν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

First of all, having drawn up the newcomers in battle array, he was surrounded by the shields, having fixed huge iron posts in the ground. The king constantly conveys these on the camels, wherever he leads an expedition. In addition he conveys the weapons of the newcomers on the camels. Whenever he might be involved in a battle, he distributes the weapons and gets involved in the battle. After bringing the shields and camels, he puts them in front of the shields and thus things are arranged for the gates. But in the middle, he and the leaders of his household and those in charge of the gates are situated, as many as are at hand for his army.