

BYZANTINE SOURCES ON EASTERN LANDS AND PEOPLES

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

On Trade with India and China

Dr John Sheldon¹



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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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) 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.

SELECTIONS FROM
COSMAS INDICOPLUESTES

TOPOGRAPHIA CHRISTIANA

Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, Paris, 1860, Vol. 88, cols. 137 and 337

Translated for the *Serica* Project by Dr John Sheldon (Macquarie University)

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 μετάξιον εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς τινες ἐμπορίας οἰκτρᾶς χάριν οὐκ ὀκνοῦσι διελθεῖν, πῶς ἂν περὶ τῆς θέας αὐτοῦ τοῦ παραδείσου κνησαν πορεύεσθαι; Αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα τοῦ μεταξίου ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐσωτέρῃ 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 Ἕλλησι, Ταπροβάνη, Τζίνιτζα² 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 Τζινίτζας σπαρτίον, διελθεῖν διὰ Περσίδος ἕως Ῥωμανίας, ἀπὸ κανόνος τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κόσμου ἐστὶν, καὶ τάχα ἀληθεύουσι. Πολὺ γὰρ ἀριστερὰ 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

... 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 Seledipa, 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 Brahmins 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

² Var. Τζίνη.

καὶ περαιτέρω ποιεῖ ὁ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ εἰσερχόμενος τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Τζινίτζα· μετὰ τὸ καὶ διαστήματα πάλιν ἱκανὰ ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕξωθεν τοῦ Περσικοῦ κόλπου ὅλον τὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος ἕως Ταπροβάνης καὶ ἐπέκεινα. Διατέμνει οὖν πολλὰ διαστήματα ὁ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐρχόμενος ἀπὸ Τζινίτζας³ ἐπὶ Περσίδα, ὅθεν καὶ πλήθος μεταξίου ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Περσίδα εὐρίσκεται· περαιτέρω δὲ τῆς Τζινίτζας, οὐδὲ πλέεται οὐδὲ οἰκεῖται.

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 Ἰουυία⁴ καὶ Ἰνδία, καὶ ἡ Βάκτρων χώρα εἰσὶ περί που μοναὶ ρν', εἰ μή τι πλείους οὐκ ἔλαττον· ,,,

Tzinitza to Persia cuts off much distance. Thus it is that an abundance of silk is always found in Persia: beyond Tzinitza there is no navigation and habitation.

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 *pāiri.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 μέταξιν. 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* Παλαισιμουन्दου which is almost certainly caused by failure to separate two words since variants of Σιμουन्दου 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*, *tāmrāparṇi* 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 rāvāna* 'Island of Rāvāna', 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

³ Var. Τζίνιστα.

⁴ Var. Οἴννια (Coedès notes).

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 πλείον ἢ ἔλαττον. He prints πλείον forms elsewhere. εἰσιν also appears for εἰσι against the normal convention of ν ἐφέλκυστικόν 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 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 1. 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.

περαιτέρω 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*.

Ἴουσία 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 **πάσαν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν καὶ Οὔννια**

διαίρει ὁ Φείσων 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.

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

<p>Καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐνδοτέρων, λέγω δὴ τῆς Τζινίτζας καὶ ἐτέρων ἐμπορίων, δέχεται μέταξιν, ἀλοῆν, καρύφυλλον, τσανδάναν, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ χώραν εἰσί. ... Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἢ Τζινίτζα τὴν μέταξιν βάλλουσα· ἣς ἐνδοτέρω οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτέρα χώρα· ὁ Ὠκεανὸς γὰρ αὐτὴν κυκλοῖ κατὰ ἀνατολάς.</p>	<p>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.</p>
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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, aloewood, cloves and sandal-wood 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.’

BYZANTINE SOURCES ON EASTERN LANDS AND PEOPLES

THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

ON SILK AND TAUGAST (CHINA)

Dr John Sheldon⁵



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 in 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'. See Yule 1915 p 29 n1. The most important evaluation of Simocatta is Haussig 1953. Whitby and Whitby 1986 provides the first complete English translation and a useful introduction. Boodberg (*op. cit. infra*) remains the most valuable source for the history in the section on Taugast (VII 9 1-11).



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⁵ 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.

SELECTIONS FROM
THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA

HISTORIAE

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

Translated for the *Serica* Project by Dr John Sheldon (Macquarie University)



VII,6,5

<p>Ταῖς ἐαριναῖς τοιγαροῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν νηστεῖαις ἐναβρυνόμενος, χαίρειν φράσας ταῖς χρυσαῖς καὶ λιθοκολλήτοις κλίναις τοῖς τε νήμασι τῶν Σηρώων, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ξυλίνην σπιβάδα ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεπαννουχίζετο, θείας τινὸς ἐντεῦθεν ὥσπερ οἰόμενος μεταλήψεσθαι χάριτος.</p>	<p>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 bed, as though he thought that he would acquire some divine grace from there.</p>
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5. ταῖς ἐαριναῖς ... 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.

Σηρώων This form is anomalous and should probably be emended to Σηρώων.

VII 7 10-12

<p>Ἐπτηθέντων γοῦν τῶν Ἀβάρων, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν Ταυγάστ τὰς ἀποφυγὰς ἐποιήσαντο. 11. Ἡ δὲ Ταυγάστ πόλις ἐπιφανής, τῶν τε λεγομένων Τούρκων ἀπώκισται χιλίοις πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις σημείοις· αὐτὴ ὁμορος καθέστηκε τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ταυγάστ ἀυλιζόμενοι βάρβαροι ἔθνος ἀλκιμώτατον καὶ πολυανθρωπώτατον, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔθνεσι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπαράλληλον. 12. Ἔτεροι τῶν Ἀβάρων διὰ τὴν ἥτταν πρὸς ταπεινότεραν ἀποκλίναντες τύχην παραγίνονται πρὸς τοὺς λεγομένους Μουκρί.⁶ Τοῦτο δὲ</p>	<p>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 around 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 owing to their daily</p>
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⁶ *Var.* Μούκηνη ; ἔθνος τῶν Μουκριτῶν (*ap.* Nicephorus Callistus). (Coedès).

τὸ ἔθνος πλησιέστατον πέφυκε τῶν practice of gymnastic exercises and the fact
 Ταυγάστ, ἀλκὴ δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς that they prepared psychologically for
 παρατάξεις πολλὴ διὰ τε τὰ ἐκ τῶν dangers. ...
 γυμνασίων ὁσημέραι μελετήματα διὰ τε
 τὴν περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῆς ψυχῆς
 ἐγκαρτέρησιν. ...

NOTES

10. Ἡττηθέντων ... ἐποίησαντο 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 Ουαρχωνίται (Ουαρχωνίται / *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,9,1-11

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Τούρκων⁷ Χαγάνος τὸν When the Khagan of the Turks had
 ἐμφύλιον καταλυσάμενος πόλεμον εὐδαι- concluded the civil war he handled his affairs
 μόνως ἐχειραγῶγει τὰ πράγματα, ποιεῖται successfully and made a treaty with the men
 δὲ καὶ συνθήκας πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ, of Taugast so that, capitalizing on the
 ὅπως βαθειὰν πάντοθεν τὴν γαλήνην profound peace on all sides, he might settle
 ἐμπορευόμενος ἀστασίαστον τὴν ἀρχὴν the kingdom without seditious elements. 2.
 καταστήσεται. 2. Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγάστ The Climatarch of Taugast is called Taisan
 κλιματάρχης Ταῖσάν ὀνομάζεται, ὅπερ which means 'son of god' in Greek speech.
 υἱὸς θεοῦ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς φωναῖς The kingdom of Taugast is not riven by
 ἐνσημαίνεται. Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ταυγάστ factions; birth status provides them with the
 οὐ στασιάζεται· γένος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν appointment of their leader. This race

⁷ *Var.* Τῶν εἰς ἔω Τούρκων (ap. Nicephorus).

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 Ταυγᾶστ ποταμὸς διορίζει. 4. Πάλαι τοίνυν ποτὲ δύο μεγίστοις ἔθνεσιν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμεσίτευεν ἀντιθέτοις ἀλλήλοις· ἐσθῆς δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐνὶ μέλαινα, 5. τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ κοκκίβαφος. Ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοίνυν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς, Μαυρικίου τὰ Ῥωμαίων σκῆπτρα ἐπέχοντος, καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν μελαιοφόρων τοῖς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν περιβεβλημένοις ἐσθῆτα διαπεραιωσάμενον τὸν ποταμὸν συνίστησι πόλεμον, εἶτα νενικηκὸς τῆς ὅλης ἡγεμονίας γίνεται κύριον. 6. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν Ταυγᾶστ οἱ βάρβαροι λέγουσι κτίσαι τὸν Μακεδόνα Ἀλέξανδρον, ὀπηνίκα τοὺς τε Βακτριανοὺς καὶ τὴν Σογδοανὴν ἐδουλώσατο δέκα καὶ δύο καταφλέξας μυριάδας βαρβάρων. 7. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει τὰ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος γυναῖα ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεποιημένας ἔχουσι τὰς ἀρμαμάξας, ἐλκομένην ἐκάστην ὑπὸ βοϊδίου ἐνὸς κεκοσμημένου πολυτελῶς ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου μεγατιμίῳ· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χαλινοὶ τοῖς βουσὶ χρυσοκόλλητοι. 8. Ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ταυγᾶστ ἀνειληφῶς ἑπτακοσίαις γυναιξὶ κατεπαννουχίζετο. Τὰ δὲ γυναῖα τῶν περιφανεστέρων τῆς Ταυγᾶστ ἀργυραῖς κέχρηται ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις. Λόγος δὲ καὶ ἐτέραν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον δεῖμασθαι πόλιν ἀπὸ σημείων ὀλίγων· Χουβδάν⁸ 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

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.

⁸ Var. Χουμαδάν.

τῷ ἔθνει πολλοί. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰνδοῖς κατὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας συναναμίγνυνται· τούτους δὲ φασὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰ βόρεια τετραμμένους Ἰνδοὺς καὶ λευκοὺς πεφυκέναι. 11. Οἱ δὲ σκώληκες, ἐξ ὧν τὰ Σηρώων 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.⁹

They associate with the Indians in commercial matters. They say that those Indians reared in the north 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 – Ērān ud Anerān Webfestschrift Marshak (2003) 2-3 (<http://www.transoxiana.org/Eran/Articles/dobrovits.html>).

πρὸς τοὺς Ταυγάστ Ταυγάστ 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-buât* in Early Middle Chinese). The name appears as *Tabyač* 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-buât*) (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.

⁹ 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.

Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ταυγάστ 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.’

Ταισῶν Boodberg *op. cit.* has solved the mystery of this word. Based on its given meaning as ‘son of god’ J. Klaproth *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, Ταῖσῶν 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 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 Ταυγάστ ... 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 τοίνυν ... 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 Ταυγάστ ... 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. Schaefer, *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*. Schaefer 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 Schaefer, *op. cit.* 46-47. For Sarag in Sogdian and a connexion between Sarag and Σηρικὴ see Schaefer, *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 ... κατεπαννυχίζετο 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 rulers 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 *cymn 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 ... πεφυκέναι 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 σκώληκες ... 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 ἔθνῶν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Μουκρὶ, ἐν οἷς οἱ Ἄβαροι ἠττηθέντες διεσπάρησαν, ... καὶ περὶ τῆς Ταυγάστ, περὶ τε τῶν σκωλήκων τῶν τικτόντων τὴν ἐσθήτα τὴν Σηρικὴν, καὶ ὡς πολλή ἐστι περὶ τὴν λεγομένην Χουβδάν ἢ τῆς μετάξεως γένεσις, καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν νόμιμα. Καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν λευκῶν τὸ σῶμα.

He (Emperor Maurice) also enslaved the Abari. (Theophylact) comments on the tribes inhabiting Taugast and the Mucri 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, 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 EASTERN LANDS AND PEOPLES

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

On Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Cathayans etc.

Dr. Greg Fox



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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Translations:

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SELECTIONS FROM

LAONICUS CHALCOCONDYLAS

Translated for the *Serica* Project by Dr Greg Fox (Macquarie University)

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 ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀναγεγράφθω ἡμῖν· Τεμήρης δ' ὡς τὴν χώραν ταύτην ληϊσάμενος, καὶ πόλεις ἐλὼν ἐνίας, ὑπεκομίζετο ἐπὶ Σαμαρχάνδης. Σκύθας δὲ ὠρμημένους ἐπυρθάνετο ἀπὸ Τανάϊδος τὴν τε χώραν ¹⁰ αὐτοῦ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ ληϊσασθαι οὐκ ὀλίγα χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔφερον. ἐντεῦθεν τὸ αὐτίκα ἵετο ὁμόσε 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 ποιησαμένους ἐνοικήσαι. τούτους παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν, ¹⁵ καὶ στρατεύμα ποιησάμενος ἐς 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 παρεστήσατο, καὶ μισθωσάμενος παμπόλλους αὐτῶν, τοὺς γε κρατίστους τὰ ἐς πόλεμον γενομένους, ὄψετο 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 εὐδαιμών, πλήθει τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὄλβῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ 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 ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν οὐκέτι ¹ ἄβρους ὄντας, ἐν νῶ ἔχων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν τὴν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ πυρθανόμενος, ὡς εἶη τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο παλαιότατον τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν, καὶ οὐδένα ἔτι τῶν

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 Massagetæ 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 Massagetæ. 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

πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων χειρώσασθαι τούτο τὸ γένος, κακὰ δὲ ὡς πλείστα ἐργασάμενον ποιῆσαι τὴν ¹⁰τε Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην, ἐπιδρομὴ τὰ πλείω ταμευόμενον τῆ χώρα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ νοῦν τιθέμενον, καὶ ὡς Δαρεῖω τῷ Ὑστάσπεω βασιλεῖ γενομένω Περσῶν καὶ ἐπιστρατεύσαντι αὐτοὺς οὐδέν τι προ-ὑχώρησεν, ὥρμητο αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτο 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. ²⁰μεγάλη τε ἐν βραχεὶ ἐγένετο ἡ Χεσίη, καὶ εὐνομήθη μέντοι καὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἥμιστα δὲ βασιλέως Τεμήρεω 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 τούτο ἀπὸ τῆς Παγδατίνης Βαβυλώνος. οἰκίσας τὸ Χεσίην πόλιν, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενος, ἐπενόει ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ ἐπὶ Σκύθας ¹ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν τούτων ἀγορὰν Οὐρδὰν καλουμένην, καὶ στρατὸν μέγαν συναγείρας καὶ τοὺς Χαταΐδας· συμπαραλαβὼν ἤλαυνεν εὐθὺς Τανάϊδος.

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 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 Ninus (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 τούτον, τὸν διὰ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατὸν μέγαν ἐπὶ Τεμήρην ἐπιπέμψαντα, λέγεται τὸν τε Ἀράξην ἐπιόντα διαβῆναι, καὶ τὰ πλέω

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 Massagetæ 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.

τῆς ταύτης χώρας καταστρεψάμενον ἐπ' ἰ²⁰ οἴκου αὐθις ἀποχωρήσαι. 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) ἐκδιδούσιν, ὃ τε Γάγγης, Ἰνδός, Ἀκείσινης, 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. ὀρμώμενος τὸ οὗτος ἰ⁵ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὲρ Γάγγην χώρας καὶ τῆς παραλίου Ἰνδικῆς καὶ Ταπροβάνης, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Χαταίης, τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐντὸς Γάγγου καὶ Ἰνδοῦ, καὶ καταστρεψάμενον τὴν ταύτην χώραν τὰ βασιλεία ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πόλει ποιήσασθαι: ξυμβῆναι δὲ τότε γενέσθαι ὑφ' ἐνὶ βασιλείᾳ ξύμπασαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν χώραν. ἰ¹⁰ νομίζουσι δὲ οὗτοι θεοὺς, οἳ τε τὴν Χαταίην χώραν οἰκοῦντες, Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ Ἀρτεμιν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἥραν. φωνὴν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν σφίσις 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 ἰ¹⁵ Ἥρᾳ: τῇ τὸ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσι παῖδας ἀρτίως ἡβάσκοντας ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. φέρει δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη πυροὺς μὲν ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα πήγεις, 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 ἰ²⁰ λέγουσι, τοσοῦτον τὸ μέγεθος, ὥστε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ναυπηγείσθαι πλοῖα μεδίμνων τεσσαράκοντα Ἑλληνικῶν. τὸ μὲν γένος τοῦτο οὐ πάνυ γνωστὸν ἡμῖν γενόμενον πολλὰς ἀπιστίας παρέχει μὴ πείθεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅσα πυνθάνομαι. ἡ τε γὰρ χώρα αὕτη πρόσω ἐκποδῶν (154) γενομένη οὐ πάνυ ἐπι-τήδειος εἴσω ὤκηται τε καὶ ὅποι ἔχει ἡθῶν τε καὶ διαίτης. γένος μὲντοι ἰσχυρότατον γενόμενον τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς τε Περσῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, ἡγουμένου τῆς

China)¹⁰ 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, 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

¹⁰ 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.

Ἀσίας, θεραπεύειν μὲν τοὺς Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖς, ἐπεὶ τε Σεμίραμις¹⁵ καὶ Κῦρος ὁ τε Καμβύσου τὸν Ἀράξην διαβάντες μεγάλῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐχρήσαντο. ἢ τε γὰρ Σεμίραμις τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασίλισσα ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα ἐλαύνουσα μεγάλην παρασκευήν, ἐπεὶ τε τὸν ποταμὸν διέβη, ἐπεπράγει τε χαλεπώτατα καὶ αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐτελεύτησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω, Περσῶν¹⁶ βασιλεύς, λέγεται δὴ τὸν τε Ἀράξην διαβάς, καὶ διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς τοὺς Μασσαγέτας ἐπραξέ τε τὰ χαλεπώτατα, καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς Τομύριος τῆς Μασσαγετῶν βασιλευούσης ἀποθανεῖν.

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.

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 χώρα¹⁵ 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, βαφήν ἐνδεικνύμενα ἀξίαν λόγου. ἔστι τὸ πλέα τὰ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ Περσῶν τῶν Ἀτζαμίων καλουμένων· ὅσοι γὰρ τὴν Ἀτζαμίων¹⁶ φωνὴν προΐενται, Πέρσαι τε οὗτοι σύμπαντες καὶ τῇ Περσῶν (157) φωνῇ διαλέγονται. οἰκοῦσί τε Ταβρέζην τε καὶ Καγινὸν καὶ Νιγετίν, πόλεις εὐδαίμονας τῶν Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων χώρας. Σαμαχίη τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀρμενίων χώρα ὠκνημένη, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος.

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 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 ἐστρατεύετο καὶ τὴν ταύτην¹⁷ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τήνδε Ὑρκανίαν ἐνοικοῦντα παράλια κατεστρέφετο. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη καὶ Κασπία ἐς τὴν τε ἔθνος τούτου ἐπωνυμίαν· διήκει δὲ κατὰ μεσημβριάν Σάκας τε ἔχων καὶ

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

Καδουσίους ἐπὶ σταδίους τρισμυρίους, (110) πρὸς ἕω δὲ καὶ βορρᾶν Μασσαγέτας, γένος ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ ἐν πολέμοις εὐδοκίμουν, ἐπὶ σταδίους δισμυρίους μάλιστα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ἐλαύνον ἐπὶ τὴν Περσῶν χώραν λέγεται καταστρεψάμενον πολίσματα κατασχεῖν ἔστιν ἅ, καὶ Τεμήρην τοῦ γένους ¹ τούτου γενόμενον σὺν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ὁρμάσθαι 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 μαργαρίτας 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 τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν ἔθνη ὑπὸ Καδουσίων τε ἄρχεσθαι πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν, ²⁰ καὶ τοὺς γε φόρους αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Καδουσίων πόλιν ἔτους ἐκάστου 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 ἔστι 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 ἀυθεντεία καὶ Κορίου καὶ Καχετίου καὶ Τυφλισίου, σύνεγγυς οὖσαι αἱ πόλεις αὗται τε Σαμαχίου, Τούρκων ¹⁰ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐχόντων χωρὶς κάτωθεν τε Καχετίου πόλεως τοῦ ἐν παραθαλασσίᾳ καὶ τῆς Σεβαστοπόλεως

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 possessing 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.

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

Μικροελίων τοῦ Δαδιάννου αὐθεντεία καὶ Μαμία καὶ Σαμανταύλα καὶ Γουρίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παραθαλασσίων πόλεων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τῆς ἄνωθεν Ἰβηρίας εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Ἄλανοὶ ὄμοροι καὶ Οὔνοι καὶ ¹⁵ Ἐμβοί. οἱ δὲ Ἄλανοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον παρατείνοντες. οὗτοί καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἄνδρες νομιζόμενοι τὰ πολέμια κράτιστοι, ποιοῦντες λωρίκια ἐξαιρέτα. πολιτεύονται δὲ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ θρησκείαν, διαχρῶνται δὲ φωνῇ ἰδίᾳ τὸ παράπαν, καὶ ὄπλα ἐπιτηδεύουσιν ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ, ²⁰ τὰ Ἄλανικὰ 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 μίας γυναικὸς ἐκείσε διαφοιτώσης πίστεως εὐσεβοῦς ἕνεκα τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης: ἥδς καὶ θαυματουργίας τοὺς Ἰβηρας καταπλήξασα μετηλλάξατο τῆς ἀσεβοῦς αὐτῶν πίστεως, καὶ Χριστιανοὺς ¹ ἀπεφήνατο τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ αὐτῶν. μετὰ τὸ χρόνους πολλοὺς οἱ Σκύθαι οἱ ὄμοροι αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἤρανον κατ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς χώρας τῶν Ἰβήρων διερχόμενοι ἐδήρουν καὶ παντελῶς ἠφάνιζον, καὶ ἀνδραποδισάμενοι κατέσχον αὐτούς, καταφυγόντων τῶν βασιλέων ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρέων. ὕστερον δ' οἰχομένων τῶν Σκυθῶν ¹⁰ ἐπὶ τὰς σφετέρως 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 Ἄλανοὺς μαχεσάμενοι, Οὔνους καὶ Σάσους τοσόνδε ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιμνήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

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 wonder-working 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.

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

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

ὕφ' αὐτῷ ἔχει. βασιλεὺς τὸ καθίσταται τῆς Μέμφιος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆσδε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὅσοι τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦνται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ¹⁵ ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίστανται ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι δορυφοροῦντες βασιλέα, ἀμφὶ τοὺς δισμυροῦς, Μαμάλουκιδες 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 κατὰ βασιλέως, ²⁰ καὶ ἐς τὰ πρῶτα τιμῆς ἀξιούμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς καλουμένους 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 τάπτονται. (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 ¹ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃ τε γὰρ περίβολος ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐς ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους 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 ἄρδειν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην Μονο-θελήται καὶ Ἰακωβίται, ἔθνη τε οὐκ ὀλίγα, καὶ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν τελούντων τε καὶ ¹⁵ φρο-νούντων ἄλλων ἄλλῃ, οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, οὔτε κατὰ τὰ Ἑλλησι δεδογ-μένα ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν φρονούντες· ἀλλ' ὅσοι μὲν εἰσὶν Ἀρμένιοι πλείστοι ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην, Μονοθελήται δὴ καὶ Ἰακωβίται καὶ Μανιχαῖοι πάμπολλοι. διήκει δὲ ἡ

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 Mani-chaeans. 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 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

χώρα τε τῆς Μέμφιος βασι-λέως ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἔσπε πόλιν Χαλεπίνην ¹²⁰ οὕτω καλουμένην κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν νομίζεται δ' οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς Λιβύης καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἀρχιερέυς τε τὰ ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Μεχμέτεω, παμπόλλων αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διδασκομένων τοὺς τῆς θρησκείας αὐτοῦ (133) νόμους, καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων ἀρχιερέυς τε ἐνομίσθη, 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 ¹⁵ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως οἴκου ἐς φυλακὴν τε σήματος καθίστανται. διήκει δὲ Αἴγυπτος ἀπὸ Φάρου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔσπε Ἰτουραίαν χώραν, ἐπὶ σταδίους μάλιστά πη... ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ὁ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοί ἐς θάλασσαν πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

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 Ἄραβας καὶ Σύρους μετὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τὸ ταῦτα προσλαβόμενον τοῦ Ἀλίω δυνάστου τε τῆς χώρας καὶ ἐπιτηδείου αὐτῷ, ¹⁵ ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιόντα προσάγεσθαι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν νομοθεσίαν, ὅποι ἂν ἐπίη, τοὺς τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦντας. ἀνίει τε τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔσπε τὴν ῥαστώνην καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βακχείαν μέντοι, συνεχὴ δὲ ὡς μάλιστα μελέτην. νομίζεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τετράκις τῆς ἡμέρας προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλυόμενον εἰς τοῦτο, ¹⁰ ὥστε μὴ προσεῦξασθαι. τῇ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἡμέρᾳ κοινῇ τε ἅπαντας ἐς τοὺς ναοὺς ἰόντας προσεύχεσθαι νομίζεται μηδ' ὀτιοῦν, μήτε ἄγαλμα, μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν γεγραμμένων προσβαλλόμενον σφίσι ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἐν

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.

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

τοῖς ναοῖς. ἱερεῖς τε σφίσιν καθιστῶντες, ὥστε πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἐς περιωπὴν τινα πύργον πε-ποιημένον ¹⁵ ἀναβαίνοντα προσεύχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ καὶ αἰεὶ τὰς νομιζομένας εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι κεκραγότερα γεγωνότερον. ἐς μὲν οὖν τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ γένος τὸ τοῦτο ἴσμεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐντεταμένον, μηδ' ὅτι οὖν ἀνιέναι προσ-δεχομένους· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τε ἐς δίκαιαν καὶ ἐς τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς οὔτε κεκολασμένον ²⁰ νομίζεται, ὥστε μὴ ἐς τὸ τοῦ βίου ἠδὲ πολιτεύεσθαι· οὕτω τὴν φύσιν μηδαμῆ βιάζεται. γυναῖκας μὲν γὰρ ἄγεσθαι, παλλακίδας μέντοι ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων, ὅσαις ἂν ἕκαστος οἶός τε (114) εἴη τροφὴν παρέχεσθαι ἐς τὸν βίον. γυναῖκας τὸ κουριδίας ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰς πέντε, καὶ τοὺς τε ἀπὸ ἀνδραπόδων παῖδας νομίζεσθαι σφίσιν οὐ νόθους. ἂν δὲ ἀπὸ παλλακίδων ἐλευθέρων γένωνται σφίσι παῖδες, νόθοι τε αὐτοῖς νομίζονται, καὶ οὐκ εἰς ¹ τὴν πατρῶαν οὐσίαν εἰσ-έρχονται. ὠνοῦνται τὸ καὶ τὰς κουριδίας, ὅσου ἂν τις βούλοιο ἐκδοῦναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. λαμ-πάδων δὲ προενηνεγμένων σφίσιν ἐς τοὺς γάμους ἄγονται τὰς γυναῖκας. ἂν δὲ ἀχθεσθεῖς τῇ γυναικὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπέιπῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπὸ τριῶν σπληνῶν ἀποσχέσθαι αὐτῆς, ἤδη ἡλλοτριῶται τῷ λόγῳ ἢ ¹⁰ γυνὴ τοῦ ἀνδρός. νομίζεται τὸ αἰσχιστον, ἢν ἂν τις ἀποπέμψῃται, αὐθις αὐτὴν ἀγαγέσθαι· ἂν δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ ἑτέρου μοιχευθῇ, οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀπάγειν. οἶνω τὸ χρῆσθαι ἀθέμιτον ἀπαγορεύει τῷ γένει τούτῳ, καὶ μὴ λουσάμενον μὴ ἐξείναι αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν προσευχὴν ἰέναι. δεκατεῖαν δὲ τινα ἐξελόμενος τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἔτους, ἐς νηστεῖαν ¹⁵ αὐτοὺς προάγεται ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐπέκεινα ἡμέρας. τῆς μέντοι ἡμέρας ὅλης μηδ' ὅτι οὖν προσίεσθαι μήτε τροφῆς, μήτε πόσεως, ἐσπέρας δέ, ὅταν ἄστρα φαίνηται, σιτίζεσθαι· πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μὴ ἐξείναι οἴνου πέσθαι τὸ παράπαν. περιτέμνεσθαι δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον χρῆναι παντάπασιν. Ἰησοῦν ²⁰ δὲ θεοῦ τε ἀπόστολον γενέσθαι νομίζει, καὶ ἐξ ἀγγέλου τοῦ Γαβριὴλ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας, παρθένου τε οὔσης καὶ μηδενὶ (115) ἀνδρὶ συγγενομένης γεννήσασαι

– 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 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 for-bidden 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

Ἰησοῦν, ἤρωά τινα μείζω ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐς τὴν τελευταίην τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, ἐπειδὴν ἐς κρίσιν τῶν σφίσι βεβιωμένων καθιστῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τὸν γε Ἰησοῦν φασιν ἄγεσθαι διαιτητὴν τε κόσμου. συὸς 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 πυρίνοις, ἢ φασί, νόοις. πεπομφέναι δὲ Μεχμέτην ἐς τὰ ἐλλίπη τοῖς πρότερον ἐπιπεμφθείσιν ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην νομοθέταις. κάθαριν δὲ ἡγοῦνται τὴν τε¹⁰ περιτομὴν σφίσι πάντων δὴ μάλιστα, ἐν ἣ 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 τόδε, ὃς ἂν μὴ πείθεται τῷ νόμῳ, τελευταῖαν τῷ σιδήρῳ. Ἀρμενίους δὲ μόνους τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν¹⁵ διαφερομένων σφίσι ἐς τὴν θρησκείαν οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ὡς Ἀρμενίῳ τινὶ προειρηκότι τὸ γὰρ κλέος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐσόμενον. διὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι Ἀρμενίους.

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 τάληθους μὴ διαμαρτεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σκυθῶν ἀπογόνους τοὺς Τούρκους οἴονται εἶναι, ὀρθότερον τὸ συμβαλλόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ἐς ἡθὴ οὐ πολὺ διεστηκότα καθισταμένους γλώττη συνέγγυς μάλα διαχρησθαι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ αὐτῇ.¹⁵ Σκύθας τε γὰρ φασὶ τὸ ἕβδομον ἤδη ἀπὸ Τανάιδος ὠρμημένους καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν ἄνω Ἀσίαν, Πάρθων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τὴν τε Περσῶν χώραν καὶ Μήδων καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπικαταβάνας ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν, ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν, Λυδίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, τὰ ἐς τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὑποχείρια²⁰ σφίσι ποιήσασθαι. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἢ λέγουσι, πολλὰ τε γένους τούτου πολλαχῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπνεμόμενα, πρὸς Σκυθῶν (8)

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 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

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

τῶν νομάδων ἦθη τε καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένα οὐδαμῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔσχον καταφανῆ τὴν διατριβήν. κάκεινῃ δὲ ἔτι συμβάλλονται, ὡς Ἀσίας τὴν κάτω χώραν ἐνοικοῦντα βάρβαρα ἔθνη Τούρκων, Λυδῖαν, Καρίαν, Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Σκύθαις τὴν ἀπὸ ἰ⁹ Τανάιδος ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν χώραν ἐπινομομένοις ὁμόγλωττά τε ἐστὶ καὶ ὁμόσκευα.

Ἔνιοι δὲ Πάρθων ἀπογόνους Τούρκους φασὶν εἶναι. τούτους γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων διωκομένους ἐς τὴν κάτω Ἀσίαν ἐπικαταβῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον ἀποκλίναντας ἰ¹⁰ σκεδασθῆναι ταύτῃ ἀνὰ τὰς πόλεις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ὡς δὴ νομάδας Τούρκους τὸ γένος τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶν ἀπὸ Τούρκης τῶν Περσῶν πόλεως μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος, προελθεῖν τε τὸ γένος τοῦτο δισχυρίζονται, καὶ εἰς τὴν κάτω χώραν τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπαλλαττομένους σκεδασθῆναι ταύτῃ ἰ¹⁵ ἀνὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτοῦ καταλειφθέντας ἐς τὸ νομαδικώτερον ἰ²⁰ ἀποκλίνειν. ὡς μὲν οὖν τούτων ἕκαστα ἔχει ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐφ' ἧ (9) δέη τούτων χωροῦντας πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον, οὐκ ἔχω ξυμβалέσθαι ὡς ἀσφαλέςτατα. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἰρήσεται, ὡς τοῖς ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τούτοις δισχυριζομένοις ἔχει ἂν τις συμφέρεσθαι ἄμεινον, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς ἕω ἰ⁹ 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 τῷ γένει διαχρωμένους, διὰ τὸ Σκύθας ἐπικρατῆσαι ἀπανταχῇ τῆς Ἀσίας. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτὸ τὴν νομαδικὴν δίαιταν προηρημένον καὶ τὸν ταύτῃ τοῦ βίου ἰ¹⁰ 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 προεληλυθέναι.

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.

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 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 Τεμήρηην βασιλέα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπιόντα μεγάλη παρασκευῇ, τὴν τε εἴσοδον ἔπεμπον στρατεύματα¹⁰ προκαταληψομένους τῶν ὀρέων, ἧ ἔμελλε Τεμήρης σὺν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ διέναι. Σκύθαι μὲν οὐδὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐς μοίρας τινὰς διηρημένοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ ἕστε ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὸν Καύκασον. νῦν δὲ γένος μέντοι τούτων ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν γενόμενον, τὰ πρὸς ἕω αὐτοῦ τε ἐνοικήσαν τὴν ἐπὶ¹⁵ τὰδε τῆς Ἀσίας χώραν, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τετραμμένον, Σαχάταιοι ἐκλήθησαν, ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν Περσῶν χώραν ἐς τοὺς Σάκας τε καὶ Καδουσίους· ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ Τεμήρηην αὐτὸν οἴονται γεγονέναι τινές. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἄλκιμόν τε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πολεμικώτατον, καὶ σὺν τούτοις λέγεται²⁰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ παραλαβεῖν, πλὴν Ἰνδῶν. ὁ δὲ λοιποὶ Σκύθαι κατὰ ταῦτο φρονοῦσι τε καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχονται βασιλεῖ, κατὰ Οὐρδᾶν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγορᾶν τὰ βασιλεία ποιούμενοι, ἀποδεικνύμενοι σφίσι βασιλέα γένους τε ὄντα τοῦ βασιλείου τὸ παλαιότατον. καὶ ἔστι δὴ καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὸν²⁵ Βόσπορον μοῖρα τούτων οὐκ ὀλίγη, ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην διεσκεδασμένον, (121) ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ταπτόμενον, οἴκου τῶν βασιλέων, ὄνομα δὲ τούτῳ Ἀτζικερίης. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὡς ἐπετράποντο σφᾶς τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἐς τὴνδε ἀφικόμενοι τὴν χώραν, ἐπελάσαντες ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον διαβάντες, μοῖρά τοις 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 πλεον ἐπὶ Παιαζήτεω διαβὰν τὸν Ἰστρον [ἐνέμειναν] ὠκίσθη χωρὶς ἕκαστον μέρος τοῦ γένους τούτου γενόμενον. τὸ δὲ ὑπολειφθὲν μέρος αὐτοῦ πέραν¹⁰ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ <παρὰ> Καζιμήρω τῷ βασιλεῖ Λιτουάνων τὴν δίαίταν ἔχουσι, τὴν γῆν

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 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

νεμόμενοι ἐς ἔτι καὶ νῦν, ἕς τε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς περιοίκους αὐτῷ πόλεμον συμβαλλόμενοι τὰ κράτιστα ὅπου γὰρ ἂν τὸ γένος τοῦτο τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες, δοκοῦσι τε τὰ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ εἰσὶ κράτιστοι. ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὴν ¹⁵ Ταυρικὴν νῆσον καλουμένην, διείργουσαν λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τὸν γε Εὐξείνιον πόντον, ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἀτζικερίῃ τὰ τε ἔθνη τὰ ἐς γῆν ληϊζόμενοι κατεστρέψαντο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τοὺς τε Γότθους καλουμένους καὶ Ἰανυίους τοὺς τὴν τε Καφᾶ πόλιν ἐνοικούντας. καὶ Σαρματίας μέρος τι ἀπάγει τούτῳ τῷ ²⁰ βασιλεῖ φόρον. Σαρμάται μὲν οὖν οἱ πρὸς Εὐξείνιον 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 ἐκάστου ἀπάγουσι.

¹ Σαρματία μὲν οὖν διήκει ἀπὸ Σκυθῶν τῶν νομάδων ἐπὶ Δᾶκας τε καὶ Λιτουάνους, γένος τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν φωνῆ τὰ πολλὰ διαχρώμενον. καὶ διαίτη τε καὶ ἤθεσι τε Ἰησοῦ νόμοις ἔποικοι, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μᾶλλον τετραμμένοι οὐ πάνυ συμφέρονται τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχιερεῖ, Ἕλληνικῶ τὸ ἀρχιερεῖ χρώνται, καὶ τούτῳ ¹⁰ πείθονται τὰ ἐς θρησκείαν τε καὶ δίκαιαν σφίσι. καὶ ἤθεσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς Ἕλλήνων διαχρώμενοι, σκευὴ τῇ Σκυθῶν παραπλησίᾳ προσχρώνται. τὰ μέντοι πρὸς Εὐξείνιον πόντον Σαρματῶν γένη, ἀπὸ Λευκοπολίχνης καλουμένης, ἡγεμονία τε διαλαγχάνουσι τὰ πολλά, τό τε Μοσχόβιον τε καὶ Κίεβος καὶ Τοφάρι καὶ Χαρκόβιον, ¹⁵ πόλεις ὑπὸ τυράννους εὐθυνόμεναι, 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 καὶ αὐτὴν εὐδαιμονία ²⁰ ὑπερφέρουσαν τῶν ἄλλων τῆς Σαρματίας πόλεων, τῆς τε

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 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

λευκῆς καὶ μελαίνης οὕτως καλουμένης. καὶ διήκει ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν αὕτη ἡ χώρα, Ἰνφλάντη καλουμένη. ἐνθα 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 μήκος, ἐπὶ πλάτος δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώραν εἶναι μεγίστην, ἀπὸ Σαρματίας ἕστε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἰ⁵ χώραν. Σκύθαι νέμονται τήνδε. ἔστι μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἔμοιγε καταφαίνεται, τὰ ὑπὲρ τὸν Τανάιν χώρα μεγίστη δὴ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατ' ἄμφω, μήκος τε δὴ καὶ πλάτος ἐπὶ μήκιστον διήκουσα.

Πέρμοι τὸ οἰκοῦσι τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Σαρμάτας, ἰ¹⁰ ὄμοροι δὲ εἰσι Σαρματῶν, καὶ φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔναι οἱ Σαρμάται τοῖς Περμίοις. λέγεται δὲ περὶ Περμίων τάδε, ὡς ἔστι γένος ἀπὸ ἄγρας τὸ πλεον τοῦ βίου σφίσι ποιούμενον καὶ ...

Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς ὠκεανὸν διήκουσα Σαρματία ἐπὶ Προυσίαν καλουμένην χώραν διήκει καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ταύτη λευκοφόρους ἰ¹⁵ Ναζηραίους καὶ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ. δοκοῦσι δὲ γένος τοῦτο εἶναι Γερμανοί, καὶ φωνὴ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσχρώμενοι καὶ διαίτη. οἰκοῦσι δὲ πόλεις περικαλλεῖς καὶ εὐνομουμένας ἐς τὸ κράτιστον. ἔστι δὲ τούτοις ἱερὸν, ἧ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἱερὸν νομίζεται καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνοικοῦν Ναζηραίων γένος. ταῦτα ἰ²⁰ γὰρ δὴ τὰ τρία ἱερὰ ἀνά τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ θρησκείαν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὠκημένα τὸ καταφανῆ ἔστι, τό τε ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς ταύτη τῶν Λιβύων διαβάντας, καὶ Προυσίων πρὸς τε τοὺς Σαμάτας 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 Σαμάται, γένος

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

ἄλκιμόν τε καὶ οὐδενὶ ¹⁵ τῶν περιοίκων ὁμοδαίον, οὐδὲ ὁμόγλωσσον. νομίζει τὸ τοῦτο τὸ γένος θεοὺς Ἀπόλλω τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν διαίτη τὸ χρῶνται τῇ πάλαι Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἤθεσι, σκευῆ δὲ τῇ Προυσίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Τούτων τὸ ἔχονται Βοέμοι, τῇ τε Σαμωτῶν δόξῃ τιθέμενοι καὶ τῇ Γερμανῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ ἐνοικούντες, σκευῆ τῇ ¹⁰ τῶν Παιόνων παραπλησίᾳ ἐσκευασμένοι. ἔνεστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μητροπόλις, πόλις εὐδαίμων τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, Βράγα οὕτως καλουμένη, καὶ πολλοὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπεὶ ἐπαύσαντο τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ θρησκεύειν. μόνον δὲ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐκτὸς γενόμενον ταῖς ἐγνωσμέναις ἡμῖν ¹⁵ ἐν τῷ παρόντι θρησκείαις, τῆς τε τοῦ Ἰησοῦ φημι καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μεχμέτεω καὶ Μωσέως· ταύτας γὰρ τε σχεδὸν τε ἴσμεν διακατέχειν τήν τε ἐγνωσμένην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἡμῖν οἰκουμένην. ἔστι μέντοι, ἢ πυνθάνομαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλασσαν καὶ τοὺς Μασσαγάτας ἔθνος Ἰνδικὸν ἐς ταύτην τετραμμένον τὴν ²⁰ θρησκείαν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. νομίζει δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ γένος καὶ θεοὺς ἔτι ἄλλους, Δία τε καὶ Ἥραν, ὡς προϊόντι πρόσω τε λόγου δηλωθήσεται.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ταύτη ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· Πολάνοι (125) δὲ ἔχονται Σαρματῶν, καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τούτων νομίζουσι, καὶ ἤθεσι δὲ καὶ διαίτη τῇ Ῥωμαίων παραπλησίᾳ.

Πολάνων δὲ ἔχονται Λιτουάνοι ἐπὶ Εὐξείνου πόντον καὶ ἐπὶ Σαρματίαν καθήκοντες καὶ οὗτοι. ἢ μὲν μέλαινα Πογδανία, ¹ ἢ ἐν τῇ Λευκοπολίχῃ καλουμένη τὰ βασιλεία ἔχουσα, ἀπὸ Δακῶν τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ Λιτουάνους καὶ Σαρμάτας διήκει. γένος δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο δόκιμον, ἢ ἂν τοῖς τεκμαίροιο, τὴν τε φωνὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ἰέμενον, καὶ ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ διεσχισμένον διχῆ τὸ γένος ἐς τυραννίδας καὶ ἡγεμονίας δύο κατέστη. ¹⁰ Λιτουάνοι δὲ οὔτε Σαρμάταις εἰσὶν ὁμόγλωσσοι, οὔτε Παίοισιν, οὔτε μὲν Γερμανοῖς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Δαξίν, ἰδία τὸ τὸ παράπαν

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 populated 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

νομίζουσι φωνή. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεία πόλις μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ εὐδαίμων. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ γένος εἶναί τε μέγα τῶν ἀμφὶ τήνδε τὴν χώραν ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀνδρειότατον,¹⁵ καὶ πρὸς τε τοὺς Προυσίους τοὺς Γερμανοὺς καὶ Πολανούς διαπολεμοῦν περὶ τε ὄρων τῶν ἐς τὴν χώραν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ δίαιταν τετραμμένον, σκευὴ δὲ τῇ Σαρματῶν παραπλησία χρωμένους, καὶ τῇ μελαίνῃ Πογδανία ὄμορος τὰ πολλὰ οὐσα πρὸς τοὺτους ἀγωνίζεται.

(126) Σαρμάται τὸ φωνὴ διαχρῶνται παραπλησία τῇ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν ἐς τὸν Ἴόνιον παροικούντων ἔστε ἐπὶ Ἐνετοῦς. ὀπότεροι μὲν τούτων παλαιότεροι, καὶ τὴν ἐτέρων ὀπότεροι τούτων χώραν ἐπινέμονται, ἢ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆς Εὐρώπης διαβάντες Πολανίαν¹⁶ τε καὶ Σαρματίαν ὤκησαν, ἢ Σαρμάται δὲ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ἰστρου γενόμενοι τὴν τε Μυσίαν καὶ Τριβαλλῶν χώραν καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἴόνιον ἄχρι δὴ Ἐνετῶν ὤκησαν, οὔτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐπιθύμητον τῶν παλαιότερων διεξιόντος, οὔτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι πάντη ὡς ἀληθῆ διασημήνασθαι.

¹⁰ Ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας, ὃ δὴ γένος μέγιστόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρόν καὶ γενναιότατόν ἐστιν, οἶον οὐδενὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐθνῶν παραβάλλειν, ἂν μὴ πολλαχῆ ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κατὰ τε Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην ἐσκεδασμένον ἄλλη τε τῆς αὐτῶν βασιλείας ὤκισθη, ὡς τῇ ἐπιδρομῇ τὰ πολλὰ χρησάμενον.¹⁵ ἢ δὲ χώρα ἠρέσκετο, ταύτη ἐναπολειφθὲν ὤκησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐφρόνει κατὰ τάδε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐνοικούν χώραν, καὶ ὑφ' ἐνὶ γένοιτο 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 ἐνοικούν, ἀπώκισται 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 ἀνδρά-

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 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

ποδα ὡς πλείστα ἀγόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον, ἐπὶ Καφάν πόλιν καὶ ἐς τὴν Μαιώτιδα καλουμένην λίμνην ἀπάγοντες, ὀλίγου τε αὐτὰ ἀποδιδόμενοι τοῖς τε Ἑνετῶν καὶ Ἰανυῖων ἐμπόροις, οὕτω τὸ βιοτεύουσι. Σκύθαι ἴ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν τε καὶ ὑποζυγίων τὸν βίον ποιούμενοι, γάλακτι τὰ πολλὰ ἵππων τε καὶ κρέα διαχρώμενοι, οὔτε σίτω, οὔτε κριθῇ καταφανεῖς εἰσὶ διαχρώμενοι, μελίγη δὲ τὸ πλεόν καὶ σηκάλῃ, λινᾶς τε ἐσθήτας φοροῦντες ἐς τὸν τῶν λίθων ὄλβον εὐδαιμονέστατοι καὶ πλουσιώτατοι νομίζονται. τόξοις ἰ¹⁰ δὲ χρώνται, τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, καὶ ξίφεσι βαρβαρικοῖς, καὶ θυρεοῖς τοῖς τῶν Δακῶν παραπλησίοις, πῖλοις δὲ τὰ πολλὰ χρώμενοι, οὔτε ἢ περὶ Σαρματιᾶν οἰκοῦντες, οὔτε ἱματίοις ἀπὸ ἐρίων, ὅτι μὴ λινοῖς νομίζουσι. διήκει δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ τούτων τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἐπὶ ὁδὸν πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν, ὥστε ἰ¹⁵ ἐπυνέμεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἐς τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον σφίσι καταστάντες, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγους διεσκεδασμένοι, ἀφ' ἑκατέρου πлагίου καθιστάμενοι ἐφ' ἑνός τὴν τε ἀγορὰν ποιοῦνται ἐπὶ μήκιστον, καὶ διανέμονται τὴν χώραν, τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἄφθονον παρεχόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε ἐς τάξιν τὴν ἀρίστην ὑπὸ σφῶν νομιζομένην καθιστάμενοι. ἰ²⁰ 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 ἐφιστάσι τούτων, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλη βασιλεύς, χωροῦσιν, ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν γένηται χρεία.

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 Ἕλληνας περιήλθεν. Ἕλλησι μὲν οὖν οὕτω προσέφερε τὰ πράγματα, ὑπαγομένοις σφίσι τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἀμουράτης τὸ ὁ Μεχμέτεω ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν

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

Τριβαλλῶν χώραν. καὶ πρότερον μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον, στρατεύματα ἐπιπέμπας ἐδήου τὴν¹⁰ χώραν. καὶ τότε δὴ οὖν, ὡς ἐπύθετο ὁ τῶν Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμῶν ἐπένειαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλέα, πρέσβεις τε ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ ἡξίου σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν ἀπάγειν φόρον, ὃν ἂν τάξηται αὐτῷ βασιλεύς, καὶ πείσεσθαι, ὅτι ἂν κελεύοι αὐτῷ. ἐνταῦθα Ἀμουράτης ἄγεται τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τριβαλλῶν ἡγεμόνος. ἐπιπέμπας¹⁵ δὲ Σαραζίνην τὸν τῶν θυρῶν ἡγεμόνα ἡγάγετό τε τὴν γυναῖκα, τοῦ Χαλίλεω ἀνάγοντος, παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα εὐδοκιμοῦντος, κατὰ τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ Καραμάνον τὸν Ἀλισούριον, ἡγεμόνα τῆς Καρίας, τὰ τε ἄλλα αἰτιασάμενος, καὶ ὅτι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν νεώτερον ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔπεμψεν²⁰ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας. ἐπιπὼν δὲ σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ τὴν χώραν ἐδήου, ἐκλελοιπότης αὐτὴν τε Καραμάνου 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 βασιλεὺς ἦν τῶν πρόσθεν βασιλέων τοῦ γένους τούτου· ἅτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρέων τῆς χώρας ἰσχυρῶν ὄντων¹ καὶ οὐκ εὐπετῶν ἐπιβῆναι, ὀρῳόμενοι τὴν ταύτην χώραν περιόικον ἡγῶν καὶ ἔφερον καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊόντες κατεστρέφοντο. ἔστι δ' ἡ πόλις αὕτη εὐνομουμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ παλαιοῦ. Λάρανδα δὲ ἡ πόλις ὄκηται μὲν αὕτη ὑπὸ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τῶν ταύτην ὀρέων, καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἐάλω τινὶ ὀχυρώματι. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐπιόντος τοῦ Ἀμουράτεω¹⁰ ὑπέμενέ τε καὶ οὐκ ἐξέλιπεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ νομίζεται Τούρκους γε ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι, ἐς τὰ αὐτὰ τε ἅμα ἦθη καὶ ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν δίαιταν καθισταμένους. ὁ μὲντοι Καραμάνος οὗτος ὁμορός ἐστι τῇ Πισιδῶν χώρα καὶ τῇ Τουργούτεω. οἱ δὲ Πισιδῖται οὗτοι καὶ Βαρσάκιδες καλούμενοι νομάδες μὲν εἰσι¹⁵ καὶ γλώττη τῇ Τούρκων διαχρώμενοι, ληστρικώτερον δὲ βιοτεύουσι, τὴν τε Συρίαν ληϊζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σφίσιν χώραν, καὶ δὴ τὴν Καραμάνου διαπολεμοῦντες ληϊζόνται. ἄρχοντες δὲ σφίσιν ἐφεστῶτες καὶ

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

ληϊζόμενοι τῆς τε λείας τὸ ἐπιβάλλον (22) μέρος αὐτοί τε διαλαγγάνουσι, καὶ τοῖς οἴκοι ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπιμένουσιν ἐπιδιελλόμενοι διδῶσιν τὸ ἄλλο μέρος. Τουργούτης δὲ τῆς Φρυγίας χώρας ἐπάρχει τε, καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίαν ἦκει καὶ Καππάδοκας ἢ χώρα αὐτοῦ. τὸ δὲ Τουργούτεω γένος δοκεῖ ἰ⁵ νεώτερον γεγονέναι ὑπὸ Ἀμουράτη, καὶ ἐπικαταβάν ἐς τὴν ταύτη τῆς Φρυγίας χώραν ἐπικρατήσαι τε τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐς δεῦρο διαγενόμενον πρὸς τε τοὺς παῖδας τε καὶ Καραμάνον διαπολεμῆν. διεπολέμησε μὲν οὖν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λευκάρνας Καραϊλούκω παῖδας. τὸ μὲντοι Κανδυλόρον ἰ¹⁰ ἢ πόλις τῆς Καρίας ὑπὸ ἀνδρὶ τοῦνομα καὶ τὴν χώραν καταστρεψάμενος Ἀμουράτης ὁ Μεχμέ-τεω τὴν τε θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἔσχεν ἐς τὴν γυναικωνίτιν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἄρχειν τῆς χώρας. τοὺς μὲντοι ἡγεμόνας, τὸν τε Κερμιανὸν καὶ Αἰδίνην, ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Καραμάνον, καὶ τὸν τε Σαρχάνην τῆς τε ἰ¹⁵ χώρας ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἐπιὼν τὰ βασιλῆα αὐτῶν ἠνδραποδίσατο. ὁ μὲντοι Αἰδίνης ἐτελεύτησεν ἄπαις ὢν, Σαρχάνης δὲ καὶ Μενδεσίας ἐπὶ τὰς ὁμόρους αὐτῶν χώρας διεσώζοντο, ἀποφυγόντες Ἀμουράτην ἐπιόντα. Μενδεσίας μὲντοι ἐς Ἰρόδον ἀφικόμενος διέτριβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κηρυκευσάμενος ἀφίκετο παρὰ ἰ²⁰ βασιλέα, δεόμενος τυχεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τινος πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ (23) ἐς δεῦρο ἔτι διατρίβων τὴν δαπάνην ἔχει ὑπὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ὁ μὲντοι Καραμάνος, ὡς τό τε Ἰκόνιον κατελήφει καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ κατέχων διέτριβεν, ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις παρ' Ἀμουράτην, ὑπισχνόμενος τὴν τε θυγατέρα δοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ἰ⁵ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ ἐπιπέμπειν συστρατευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀμουράτεω θύρας. ὁ μὲν δὲ Ἀμουράτης ἐπειθέτο, τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ὄρκια ποιησάμενος ἀπήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα χρόνου ἐπιγιγνομένου αἰτιασάμενος Ἰσμαήλην τὸν Σινώπης καὶ Κασταμονίας ἡγεμόνα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτόν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὡς ἰ¹⁰ ἐπύθετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιέναι Ἀμουράτην, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, καὶ τὴν μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ

to 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.

πρόσοδον ὑπέσχετο ἀποφέρειν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὅση ἂν αὐτῷ τυγγάνοι οὔσα, καὶ τὸν γε παῖδα ὑπισχνεῖτο ἐπιπέμπειν καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὰς βασιλέως θύρας. τὸν μέντοι Τουργούτεω παῖδα καὶ πρότερον ἐπι παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς βασιλέως θύρας ¹⁵ ἐπυθόμεθα ἐπαγαγέσθαι βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπιτρέπειν τὴν χώραν αὐτῷ διαθεῖναι, ἧ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκοίη.

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 ὧδέ πη ἔχουσαι. πεζοὶ πάρεσι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους καὶ ἐνίοτε ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους· ἀπὸ (8) γὰρ τούτων φρουρὰν τε φαίνει ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι, καὶ αὐθις ἕτεραν ἐς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνων καθίστησι. παρεγένοντο δ' αὐτῷ τῆδε. παῖδας λαβὼν αἰχμαλώτους, ὅσους ἂν τύχη ἀνδραποδισάμενος, κατατίθεται ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν παρὰ τοῖς Τούρκοις, ὥστε τὴν ἴφωνην ἐκμαθεῖν ἕνα ἕκαστον. καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἢ καὶ τρία ἔτη διαγενόμενοι τὴν τε γλώσσαν ἐκμανθάνουσι, καὶ συνιέντες τῆς φωνῆς, ὅσα ἂν δυνηθῶσιν, αὐθις συλλέγει, ἀφ' ὧν κατέθετο, ἐς δισχιλίους καὶ πλείους τούτων. ἄγει δ' αὐτοὺς ξύμπαντας 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 αὐτούς, 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 χώρον ἕκαστος ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἕτερου. ἐντὸς μέντοι τούτων οὐδενὶ ἕξεσι ²⁰ σκηνοῦν, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως παίδων καὶ τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος. σκηνὴ τὸ ἐρυθρὰ αὐτῷ. ὅτε μὲν

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 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

δύο, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τρεῖς ἴδρυνται αὐτῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀπὸ πύλου ἐρυθροῦ χρυσοπάστοι, καὶ σκηναὶ ἕτεραι ἀμφὶ τὰς πεντεκαίδεκα, πᾶσαι ἐντὸς τῶν νεηλῦδων. ἐκτὸς δὲ σκηνοῦσιν οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν (9) θυρῶν ἄνδρες, οἵτε ἀμουραχόριοι καὶ οἰνοχόοι οἱ λεγόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν σαραπτάριοι, καὶ σημαιοφόροι οἱ λεγόμενοι ἐμουραλάμοι, καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν πρυτανεῖς, βεζιριδες οὕτω καλούμενοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγγελιαφόροι. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν μεγάλοι τε ὄντες, καὶ ὡς ¹⁹ πλείους ἐπαγόμενοι θεράποντας, πληθὺν παρέχοντας ἄπλετον. μετὰ δὲ συλικτάριδες ἔνεισι τῶν βασιλέως θυρῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν τριακοσίων, οἱ ἱππεῖς ὄντες ἀπὸ τῶν νεηλῦδων 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 ἀντιποιούμενοι ἔναντι 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.

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 ἑκατέρω ἐπονται τὰ τε στρατεύματα καὶ ὁ ἀρχοντες, ὅποι ἂν ἐξηγῶνται, ἐπειδὴν ἐπαγγείλη αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς. ἐπονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπαρχοὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς σημαιοφόροι καλούμενοι· ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ὑπὸ βασιλέως καθίστηται, (10) σημαία τε δωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡς στρατηγῷ γενομένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχοντι πόλεων. τούτῳ δ' αὖ τῷ ὑπάρχῳ ἐπονται οἱ τῶν πόλεων ἀρχοντες, ὅποι στρατεύηται. χωροῦσι δὲ ἅπαντες κατὰ ταῦτα ἐπόμνοι τοῖς σφετέροις

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 ἐμουραλαμοι and the chief magistrates of the gates which are called βεζιριδες, 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 (?) (συλικτάριδες) of the three hundred. These are cavalry from the recent arrivals who have come to this land. After these are the foreigners called *karipides* (καριπιδες), 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 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

αὐτῶν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ στρατηγοῖς, ἵ ἐπειδὴν ἐς τὸ βασιλέως παραγένωνται στρατόπεδον. αὕτη σχεδὸν ἢ τῶν στρατευμάτων αὐτῷ διάταξις. οἱ μέντοι ἵπποδρόμοι τάττονται καὶ οὗτοι ἐς τοὺς σφῶν αὐτῶν ὑπάρχουσ. οἱ δὲ ἀζάπιδες ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι, ἐς ταὐτὸ γιγνόμενοι στρατεύονται.

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) ἵ καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς νεήλυδας παραταξάμενος ἐκυκλοῦτο ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν, εὐμεγέθεις πηξάμενος σιδηρείους ἵ ἐς τὴν γῆν. φέρει δὲ τούτους αἰεῖ, ὅποι ἂν στρατεύηται βασιλεύς, ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων καὶ πρὸς γε τὰ ὄπλα τῶν νεηλύδων ἐπὶ τῶν καμήλων φέρει, καὶ ὅποι ἂν ἔσοιτο αὐτῷ μάχη, διανειμάμενος τὰ ὄπλα ἐς μάχην καθίσταται. μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἄγων καὶ τὰς καμήλους αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἔμπροσθεν ἵ¹⁰ τῶν θυρεῶν ἔστησε, καὶ οὕτω παρετάσσετο ἐς τὰς θύρας. ἐν μέσῳ δ' αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ οἴκου ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ τῶν θυρῶν, ὅσοι πάρεσιν 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.

SERICA (2002-) is an on-going project:

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