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**THE
FRAGMENTARY CLASSICISING HISTORIANS
OF THE
LATER ROMAN EMPIRE**

EUNAPIUS, OLYMPIODORUS, PRISCUS AND MALCHUS

II

Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes

R.C. BLOCKLEY

X
FRANCIS CAIRNS

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διάταξω μὴ εἰσερχεσθαι εἰς ἀξίας συγκλητικῶν ἢ πατρικίων τοὺς
 εὐνούχους κουβικουλαρίους μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς αὐτῶν στρατείας, 10
 τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων παλατίου. καὶ ἐτελεύτα ὁ αὐτὸς
 Ἀντίοχος, ὦν πρεσβύτερος. (Cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5936;
Suda A 2694, E 3604, Θ 145, Π 793, Υ 169)]

[8]

[(Malalas *Chron.* 14 pp.361f.)

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς προεβάλετο ἑπαρχὸν πραιτωρίων καὶ
 ἑπαρχὸν πόλεως τὸν πατρικίον Κύρον, τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἀνδρὰ σοφώ-
 τατον ἐν πᾶσι. καὶ ἤρξεν ἔχων τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς ἔτη τέσσαρα, προΐων
 εἰς τὴν καροῦχαν τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως καὶ φροντίζων τῶν
 κτισμάτων καὶ ἀνανεώσας πᾶσαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν· ἦν γὰρ 5
 καθαριώτατος. περὶ οὗ ἔκραξαν οἱ Βυζάντιοι εἰς τὸ ἵππικὸν πᾶσαν
 τὴν ἡμέραν θεωροῦντος Θεοδοσίου ταῦτα, “Κωνσταντῆτος ἔκτισε,
 Κύρος ἀνανέωσεν· αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τόπον, Αὐγουστε”. Κύρος δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς
 ἀπεφθέγατο, “οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι τύχη πολλὰ γελῶσα”. καὶ ἐχόλησεν
 ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἔκραξαν περὶ Κύρου καὶ μετὰ Κωνσταντῆτος αὐτὸν 10
 ἔκραξαν, ὡς ἀνανεώσαντα τὴν πόλιν· καὶ κατεσκευάσθη λοιπὸν καὶ
 ἐπλάκη ὡς “Ἕλληνας ὁ αὐτὸς Κύρος, καὶ ἐδημεύθη παυθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς.
 καὶ προσφυγῶν ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὸς παπᾶς, καὶ ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὴν
 Φρυγίαν, ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Κοτυαεῖον.
 (Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* p.588; Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5937; *Suda* Θ 145,
 K 2776; Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]

9

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ βασιλέως Ἀττήλας ὁ τῶν
 Οὐννων βασιλεὺς τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν ἀγείρας γράμματα στέλλει
 παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε φυγάδων καὶ τῶν φόρων πέρι, ὅσοι προ-
 φάσει τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ ἐδέδοντο, τὴν ταχίστην οἱ ἐκπέμπεσθαι 5
 παρακελευόμενος· συντάξεως δὲ ἕνεκα <τοῦ> μέλλοντος φόρου παρ'
 αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ὡς, εἰ μελλήσειαν ἢ
 πρὸς πόλεμον ὀρμήσειαν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν εἶτι ἐθέλοντα τὸ Σκυθικὸν
 ἐφέξω πληθός. ταῦτα ἀναγρόντες οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλεία οὐδαμῶς τοὺς
 παρὰ σαφᾶς καταφυγόντας ἐκδώσειν ἔφασαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἐκείνοις τὸν 10
 πόλεμον ὑποστήσειν, πέμψω δὲ πρέσβεις τοὺς τὰ διάφορα λύ-
 σουντας. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀττήλα τὰ δεδογμένα Ῥωμαίοις ἠγγέλλετο, ἐν
 ὀργῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιούμενος τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐδήου γῆν, καὶ φρούριά
 τινὰ καθελὼν τῇ Ῥατιαρίᾳ προσέβαλε μεγίστη καὶ πολυανθρώπων.

5 τοῦ add. Maltese (1977)

a decree that no eunuch chamberlain, after he had completed his
 official career (that is, those who had served as head chamberlain of the
 palace), might advance to the rank of senator or patrician. Antiochus
 died a presbyter.¹⁶ (Cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5936; *Suda* A 2694,
 E 3604, Θ 145, Π 793, Υ 169)]

[8]

[(Malalas *Chron.* 14 pp.361f.)

The Emperor made the patrician Cyrus, a philosopher and the
 wisest man of all, praetorian prefect and prefect of the city. He held
 these combined offices for four years. He used to go forth in the carriage
 of prefect of the city and he cared for the buildings and renovated the
 whole of Constantinople, for he was completely incorruptible. While
 Theodosius was watching at the Hippodrome, the populace of Byzantium
 hailed Cyrus for a whole day, “Constantine founded, Cyrus
 restored. That is his place, Augustus”.¹⁷ Cyrus was stunned and said, “I
 don’t like Fortune when she laughs a lot”. The Emperor was angry that
 they had hailed Cyrus and named him with Constantine as the restorer
 of the city. Then a plot was laid and a charge contrived to the effect
 that Cyrus was a Hellene, and he was stripped of his office and his prop-
 erty was confiscated. He sought asylum, and was ordained a cleric and
 sent to Phrygia where he became bishop of the place called Cotyaeum.¹⁸
 (Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* p.588; Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5937; *Suda* Θ 145,
 K 2776; Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]

9

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

During the reign of Theodosius the Younger, Attila, the king of
 the Huns, collected his army and sent letters to the Emperor concerning
 the fugitives and the payments of tribute, commanding that all that had
 not been handed over under the pretext of the present state of war
 should be sent to him with all speed. Moreover, concerning the future
 tribute ambassadors should come to him for discussions, for, if they
 prevaricated or prepared for war, he would not willingly restrain his
 Scythian forces. When those at court read these demands, they said
 that they would by no means hand over the fugitives amongst them and
 that, along with these, they would submit to war; but they would send
 ambassadors to settle the disputes. When the views of the Romans were
 reported to him, Attila reacted in anger and ravaged Roman territory,
 destroying some forts and attacking Ratiaria, a very large and populous
 city.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

Ἵτι Θεοδόσιος ἐπεμπε Σηνάτορα ἄνδρα ὑπατικῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν πρεσβευσόμενον. ὃς οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ ἔχων ὄνομα ἐθάρρησε πεζὸς παρὰ τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἀφικέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσηνῶν ἐπλευσε πόλῳ, ἐν ἧ καὶ Θεόδουλος στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς διέτριβεν.

4 Ὀδυσσηνῶν Niebuhr [Ὀδυσσὸς cod.

3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

Ἵτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ μάχην Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Οὐννοὺς ἐγίνοντο καὶ αἱ συμβάσεις, Ἀνατολίου πρεσβευσάμενον. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐσπένδοντο, ὅπως ἐκδοθεῖεν μὲν τοῖς Οὐννοῖς οἱ φυγάδες, καὶ ἕξ χιλιάδες χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν πάλαι συντάξεων δοθεῖεν αὐτοῖς· φόρον δὲ ἔτους ἑκάστου δισχιλίας καὶ ἑκατὸν λίτρας χρυσοῦ σφίσι τεταγμένον εἶναι· ὑπὲρ δὲ αἰχμαλώτου Ῥωμαίου φεύγοντος καὶ ἐς τὴν σφετέραν γῆν ἀνευ λύτρων διαβαίνοντος δώδεκα χρυσοὺς εἶναι ἀποτίμησιν, μὴ καταβάλλοντας δὲ τοὺς ὑποδεχομένους ἐκδιδόναι τὸν φεύγοντα· μηδένα δὲ βάρβαρον Ῥωμαίους κατὰ σφᾶς φεύγοντα δέχεσθαι.

Ταύτας προσεποιούντο μὲν ἐθελονταὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συνθήκας τίθεσθαι· ἀνάγκη δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι δέει, ὅπερ κατεῖχε τοὺς σφῶν ἄρχοντας, πᾶν ἐπίταγμα καίπερ ὃν χαλεπὸν τυχεῖν τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσπουδακότες ἡσμένισον, καὶ τὴν τῶν φόρων σύνταξιν βαρυτάτην οὖσαν προσίεντο, τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν οὐκ εἰς δέον ἐκδεδαπανημένων, ἀλλὰ περὶ θεᾶς ἀτόπους καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐκ εὐλόγους καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ δαπάνας ἀνεμείνας, ἃς οὐδεὶς τῶν εὐφρονούντων οὐδὲ ἐν εὐπραγίαις ὑποσταίη, μήτι γε δὴ οἱ τῶν ὄπλων ὀλιγωρήσαντες, ὥστε μὴ μόνον Σκύθαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς παροικοῦσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπακοῦεν ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῆν.

Τούτων τῶν συντάξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ, ἅπερ ἔδει τοῖς Οὐννοῖς ἐκπέμπεσθαι, συνεισφέρειν πάντας ἠνάγκασαν δασμὸν εἰσπραττομένους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χρόνον τῶν βαρυτάτην κουρισθέντας τῆς γῆς ἀποτίμησιν εἴτε δικαστῶν κρίσει εἴτε βασιλέων φιλοτιμίαις. συνεισφέρων δὲ ῥητὸν χρυσοῖν καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀναγεγραμμένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίας, καὶ ἦν πολλοῖς ἢ λαμπρὰ τύχη βίου μεταβολή· ἐσεπράττοντο γὰρ μετὰ αἰκισμῶν ἅπερ ἑκάστον ἀπεγράψαντο οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιτεταγμένοι, ὥστε τὸν κόσμον τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ ἔπιπλα τοὺς πάλαι εὐδαίμονας προτιθέναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ. τοῦτο μὲν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸ κακὸν Ῥωμαίους

18 ἄν post εὐπραγίας add. Dindorf 23 ἠνάγκασε edd.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

Theodosius sent Senator, a man of consular rank, as ambassador to Attila. Although he had the title of ambassador, he was not confident of reaching the Huns by land and so he sailed to the Black Sea to the city of Odessus, where Theodulus, who had been sent out as a general, was stationed.

3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

After the battle between the Romans and the Huns in the Chersonese, a treaty was negotiated by Anatolius. The terms were as follows: that the fugitives should be handed over to the Huns, and six thousand pounds of gold be paid to complete the outstanding instalments of tribute; that the tribute henceforth be set at 2,100 pounds of gold per year; that for each Roman prisoner of war who escaped and reached his home territory without ransom, twelve *solidi* were to be the payment, and if those who received him did not pay, they were to hand over the fugitive; and that the Romans were to receive no barbarian who fled to them.

The Romans pretended that they had made these agreements voluntarily, but because of the overwhelming fear which gripped their commanders¹⁹ they were compelled to accept gladly every injunction, however harsh, in their eagerness for peace. They paid over the instalments of the tribute, heavy as they were, although both their own wealth and that of the imperial treasuries had been squandered not on necessities but upon disgusting spectacles, unreasonable displays of generosity, pleasures and dissolute banquets, such as no right-minded person would participate in, even in times when things were going well, even if military matters were of no concern to him. The result of this was that they submitted to pay tribute not only to the Scythians but also to the other barbarian neighbours of the Roman Empire.

To these payments of tribute and the other monies which had to be sent to the Huns they forced all taxpayers to contribute, even those who for a period of time had been relieved of the heaviest category of land tax through a judicial decision or through imperial liberality. Even members of the Senate contributed a fixed amount of gold according to their rank. To many their high station brought a change of lifestyle. For they paid only with difficulty what they had each been assigned by those whom the Emperor appointed to the task, so that formerly wealthy men were selling on the market their wives' jewellery and their furniture. This was the calamity that befell the Romans after the war,

ἐδέξατο, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἢ ἀποκατερήσαντας ἢ βρόχον ἀψαμένους
τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν. τότε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τῶν θησαυρῶν
ἐξαντληθέντων, τό τε χρυσίου καὶ οἱ φυγάδες ἐπέμποντο, Σκόττα ἐπὶ
ταύτην τὴν πράξιν ἀφικόμενον· ὧν πλείστους Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέκτεψαν 35
ἀπειθοῦντας πρὸς τὴν ἔκδοσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπῆρχον
Σκυθῶν, οἱ ὑπὸ Ἀττίλα τάττεσθαι ἀνυπάκουοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίους
ἀφίκοντο.

Τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀττίλας προστιθεὶς ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ Ἀσημου-
τίους ἐκέλευσεν ἐκδιδοῖναι ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους ὑπῆρχον ἔχοντες εἶτε 40
Ῥωμαίους εἶτε βαρβάρους. Ἀσημοῦς δὲ ἐστὶ φρούριον καρτερόν, οὐ
πολὺ μὲν ἀπέχον τῆς Ἰλλυρίας, τῷ δὲ Θρακίῳ προσκειμένον μέρει·
ὅπερ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἄνδρες πολλὰ δευὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς εἰργάσαντο,
οὐκ ἀπὸ τειχῶν ἀμνυόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἔξω τῆς τάφρου μάχας ὑριστάμενοι 45
πρὸς τε ἄπειρον πλῆθος καὶ στρατηγούς μέγιστον παρὰ Σκύθαις
ἔχοντας κλέος, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Οὐννοὺς ἀπορρέουσας τοῦ φρουρίου
ὑπαναχωρήσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεκτρέχοντας καὶ περαιτέρω τῶν οἰκείων
γνωμένους ἠνίκα ἀπήγγελλον αὐτοῖς οἱ σκοποὶ διένοι τοὺς πολεμίους
λείαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀπάγοντας, ἀδοκῆτοις τε ἐμπίπτειν καὶ σφέτερα τὰ 50
ἐκείνων ποιῆσθαι λάφυρα, πλήθει μὲν λειπομένους τῶν ἀντιπολε-
μοῦντων, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ διαφέροντας. πλείστους τούτων οἱ
Ἀσημουτίοι ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Σκύθας μὲν ἀπέκτεψαν, Ῥωμαίους
δὲ ἠλευθέρωσαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀποδράσαντας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδέξαντο.

Οὐκ ἀπάγεω οὖν ἔρη ὁ Ἀττίλας τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ ἐπικυροῦν
τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας, εἰ μὴ ἐκδοθεῖεν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνους κατα- 55
φυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δοθεῖεν ἀποτιμήσεις, ἀφε-
θείησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀσημουτίων ἀπαχθέντες αἰχμαλῶτοι βάρ-
βαροι. ἀντιλέγεω δὲ αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ οἶός τε ἦν οὔτε Ἀνατόλιος πρεσ-
βευόμενος οὔτε Θεόδουλος ὁ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν κατὰ τὸ Θράκιον
ταγμάτων ἡγούμενος, (οὔτε γὰρ ἔπειθον οὔτε τὰ εὐλόγια προ- 60
τείνοντες, τοῦ μὲν βαρβάρου τεθαρρηκός καὶ προχείρως ἐς τὰ
ὄπλα ὀρμῶντος, αὐτῶν δὲ κατεπτηχότων διὰ τὰ προὑπάρξαντα)
γράμματα παρὰ τοὺς Ἀσημουτίους ἔστειλλον ἢ ἐκδιδοῖναι τοὺς παρ'
αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας αἰχμαλώτους Ῥωμαίους, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου
δώδεκα πιθέναι χρυσοῦς, διαφεθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους 65
Οὐννοὺς. οἱ δὲ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπεσταλμένα ἀναγνόντες ἔφασαν τοὺς μὲν
παρ' αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας Ῥωμαίους ἀφεῖναι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίαν, Σκύθας
δὲ ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον ἀνρηκέναι, δύο δὲ συλλαβόντας ἔχειν
διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ χρόνον πολιορκίαν
ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιθεμένους τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φρουρίου νεμόντων παιδῶν 70

and the outcome was that many killed themselves either by starvation
or by the noose. On that occasion the treasuries were suddenly
emptied, and the gold and fugitives sent off when Scottas arrived to
collect them. The majority of the fugitives, who refused to be handed
over, were killed by the Romans, amongst whom were some of the
Scythian royalty who were unwilling to take orders from Attila and had
come across to the Romans.

Attila added to these orders of his and demanded that the people
of Aseumus hand over the prisoners in their hands, both Roman and bar-
barian. Aseumus is a strong fortress close both to Illyria and the border
of Thrace. The garrison of this place inflicted much damage upon the
enemy, for they did not merely fight from their walls, but gave battle
outside the ditch against an overwhelming force and generals of the
greatest repute amongst the Scythians, so that the Huns, their numbers
melting away, slowly withdrew from the fortress. Since their spies
reported to the Asimuntians that the enemy were retreating, taking
with them Roman booty, they set out to attack them a good distance
from their homes and, falling upon the enemy unawares, they made the
Hunnic spoils their own, since, though outnumbered by their ad-
versaries, they were their superiors in courage and strength. Thus, in
this war the Asimuntians killed many Scythians, freed many Romans
and gave refuge to those who had fled from the enemy.

Attila said that he would neither withdraw his army nor ratify the
terms of the peace unless the Romans who had fled to the Asimuntians
were either handed over or a ransom paid for them and the barbarian
prisoners whom they had taken were set free. Neither Anatolius the
ambassador nor Theodulus the commander of the forces in Thrace
was able to dispute Attila's claim. Indeed, even when they put forward
strong arguments they could not persuade him, since he was confident
and ready to resort to arms, whereas they were cowed by what had
happened. Therefore, they sent letters to the people of Aseumus telling
them either to hand over the escaped Roman prisoners who were
amongst them or pay twelve *solidi* for each and to set the Hunnic
prisoners free. When they received these messages the Asimuntians
declared that the Roman fugitives amongst them had departed to free-
dom and the Scythians who had been taken prisoner had been put to
death except for two whom they had kept because, after the siege had
been underway for a while, the enemy had sprung an ambush and
seized some of the children as they were pasturing flocks before the

59 στρατιωτικῶν Niebuhr [στρατιωτῶν τῶν A
Niebuhr 67 αὐτοὺς Niebuhr [αὐτοῖς A

61 γὰρ post μὲν exp.

ἀρπάσαι τινάς, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἀπολάβοιεν, οὐδὲ σφᾶς τοὺς νόμῳ πολέμου κτηθέντας ἀποδώσειν. ταῦτα ἀπαγγειλάντων τῶν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀσημοντίους ἀριγμένων, τῷ τε Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχουσῶ ἐδόκει μὲν ἀναζητεῖσθαι οὓς οἱ Ἀσημοντίοι ἔφασαν ἠρπάσθαι παῖδας, οὐδενὸς δὲ φανέντος, οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσημοντίοις βάρβαροι ἀπεδόθησαν, πίστεις τῶν Σκυθῶν δόντων ὡς παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ παῖδες οὐκ εἶσαν. ἐπωμύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀσημοντίοι, ὡς οἱ παρὰ σφᾶς καταρυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφείδησαν. ὥμυνον δέ, καίπερ παρὰ σφίσω ὄντων Ῥωμαίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίορκον ζῶντο ὄρκον ὁμῶναι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀνδρῶν.

[4. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5942)

Τοῦ δὲ στόλου, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκδεχομένου τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν Γιζερίχου ἄφιξιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀττίλας, ὁ Μουνδίου παῖς, Σκύθης, γενόμενος ἀνδρείος καὶ ὑπερήφανος, ἀποβαλὼν Βδελλάν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφόν, καὶ μόνος ἄρχων τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλείον, οὓς καὶ Οὐννοὺς καλοῦσιν, κατατρέχει τὴν Θράκην, δι' ὃν μάλιστα Θεοδοσίος σπένδεται <πρὸς> Γιζερίχον καὶ ἐπανάγει τὸν στόλον ἐκ Σικελίας. ἀποστέλλει δὲ τὸν Ἄσπαρα σὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμει καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον καὶ Ἀργαγίσκλον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀττίλαν Ῥατιαρίαν ἤδη καὶ Νάισσον καὶ Φιλιππούπολιν καὶ Ἀρκαδιούπολιν καὶ Κωνσταντίαν καὶ ἕτερα πλείστα πολιόματα καταστρεψάμενον καὶ σὺν αἰχμαλώτοις πολλοῖς ὑπέρογκον συμφορήσασα λείαν. τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν ἐλαττωθέντων σφόδρα ταῖς μάχαις, προσῆλθεν Ἀττίλας καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἑκατέρας, τῆς τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Καλλιπόλει καὶ Σηστῶν κεχυμένης, πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ φρούριον δουλούμενος πλὴν Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλείας, τῆς ποτε Πεωρώνου κληθείσης, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀθύραν αὐτὸν φρούριον ἐλθεῖν. ἀναγκάζεται οὖν Θεοδοσίος πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἀττίλαν καὶ ἑξακισχιλίας χρυσοῦ λίτρας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως παρασχεῖν, χιλίων δὲ χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν ἐτήσιον φόρον αὐτῷ ἡμεροῦντι προσομολογήσασθαι τελεῖν. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]

1 στόλου b |λαοῦ xyz 6 πρὸς add. de Boor 12 τῶν οὖν στρατηγῶν b
|τῶν συστρατηγῶν xz 13 προσῆλθεν γ 19-20 προσομολόγησε εg

10

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

Ὅτι γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν Ἀττίλας αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοὺς ἐξώους ἐπέμψεν πρέσβεις φυγάδας αἰτῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευομένους δεξάμενοι καὶ πλείστοις δώροις θεραπεύσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν φυγάδας μὴ ἔχειν φήσαντες. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἑτέροις ἐπέμψεν. χρηματισαμένων δὲ

fortress. Unless these were returned, they would not hand over their prisoners whom they had captured under the rules of war. When the messengers to the Asimuntians brought back this reply, the Scythian king and the Roman commanders agreed that a search should be made for the children whom the Asimuntians claimed had been seized, and, when none were found, the Scythians swore that they did not have the children, and the barbarians in Asimuntian hands were given back. The Asimuntians also swore that the Romans who had escaped to them had departed to freedom, and they swore this although there were Romans amongst them. For they did not consider that they had sworn a false oath, since they had done it for the safety of men of their own race.

[4. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5942)

While the fleet was, as we have described,²⁰ in Sicily receiving the envoys of Gaiseric and awaiting the commands of the Emperor, Attila, the son of Mundius, a Scythian and a brave and haughty man, killed his elder brother Bleda, became sole ruler of the kingdom of the Scythians (whom they also call 'Huns') and devastated Thrace. Particularly because of him Theodosius made a treaty with Gaiseric and withdrew the fleet from Sicily. Against Attila, who had already sacked Ratiaria, Naissus, Philippopolis, Arcadiopolis, Constantia and very many other cities and had collected an enormous plunder and many prisoners, he sent Aspar with the force under his command and Areobindus and Argagisclus.²¹ The generals were badly beaten in the battles they fought, and Attila advanced to both seas, the Black Sea and that which washes Callipolis and Sestus. He captured every city and fortress except for Adrianople and Heracleia (which was once called Perinthus), so that he reached the fortress of Athyras itself. Theodosius was forced, therefore, to send an embassy to Attila, to buy his withdrawal for six thousand pounds of gold and to promise to pay him a yearly tribute of one thousand pounds of gold if he kept the peace. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]²²

10

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

When the treaty was in force, Attila again sent envoys to the eastern Romans demanding the fugitives. They received the envoys, honoured them with many gifts and sent them away saying that they had no fugitives. Again, he sent others, and, when they had been enriched,

καὶ αὐτῶν, τρίτῃ παρεγένετο πρεσβεία, καὶ τετάρτῃ μετ' αὐτήν. ὁ
 γὰρ βάρβαρος ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀφορῶν φιλοτιμίαν, ἣν ἐποιοῦντο
 εὐλαβεία τοῦ μὴ παραβαθῆναι τὰς σπονδὰς, ὄσους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 εὖ ποιεῖν ἐβούλετο ἔπεμπε παρ' αὐτοῦς, αἰτίας τε ἀναπλάττων καὶ
 προφάσεις ἐφευρίσκων κενάς. οἱ δὲ παντὶ ὑπήκουον ἐπιτάγματι καὶ
 δεσπότην ἡγοῦντο τὸ πρόσταγμα, ὅπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνος παρεκελεύσατο. οὐ
 γὰρ μόνον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον εὐλαβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 Παρθναίους ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνοντας ἐδεδίεσαν καὶ Βανδύλους τὰ
 κατὰ θάλασσαν ταραττοντας καὶ Ἰσαύρους πρὸς τὴν λησθεϊάν δια-
 νισταμένους καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπικρατείας τὴν ἕω κατατρέ-
 χοντας καὶ τὰ Αἰθιοπικὰ ἔθνη συνιστάμενα. διὸ δὴ τεταπεινωμένοι
 τὸν μὲν Ἀττήλαν ἐθεράπευον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη ἐπειρῶντο παρα-
 τάττεσθαι δυνάμεις τε ἀθροίζοντες καὶ στρατηγούς χειροτονοῦντες.

11

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5*)

Ὅτι καὶ αὐθις Ἐδέκων ἦκε πρέσβις, ἀνὴρ Σκυθῆς μέγιστος
 κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα διαπραξάμενος, σὺν Ὀρέστη, ὃς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ
 γένους ὢν ᾤκει τὴν πρὸς τῷ Σάω ποταμῷ Παιόνων χώραν τῷ
 βαρβάρῳ κατὰ τὰς Ἀετίου στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων συν-
 θήκας ὑπακούουσαν. οὗτος ὁ Ἐδέκων ἐς τὰ βασιλεία παρελθὼν
 ἀπέδιδου τὰ παρὰ Ἀττήλα γράμματα, ἐν οἷς ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
 ἐν αἰτία τῶν φυγάδων περὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἠπειλεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν, εἰ
 μὴ ἀποδοθεῖεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρέξονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν δοριάλωτον
 ἀροῦντες. εἶναι δὲ μῆκος μὲν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀπὸ
 τῆς Παιόνων ἄχρι Νοβῶν τῶν Θρακίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος πέντε ἡμερῶν
 ὁδόν· καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰλλυριῷς μὴ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστρου
 ποταμοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὡς περ καὶ πάλαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Ναῖσσο, ἣν ὄριον ὡς
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλωθεῖσαν τῆς Σκυθῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐτίθετο γῆς, πέντε
 ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀπέχουσαν ποταμοῦ. πρέσ-
 βεις δὲ ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀρικνεῖσθαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβόλων
 διαλεχομένους, οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπατικῶν ἀνδρῶν
 τοὺς μεγίστους· οἷς εἰ ἐκπέμπω εὐλαβηθεῖεν, αὐτὸν δεξόμενον σφᾶς
 ἐς τὴν Σερδικὴν διαβήσεσθαι.

Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων βασιλεῖ τῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς ὑπεξ-
 ἤλθεν ὁ Ἐδέκων σὺν τῷ Βιγίλα ἐρμηνεύσαντι ὅσα περ ὁ βάρβαρος
 ἀπὸ στόματος ἔφρασε τῶν Ἀττήλα δεδογμένων, καὶ ἐς ἑτέρους
 οἴκους παρεγένετο, ὥστε αὐτὸν Χρυσάφιῳ τῷ βασιλέως ὑπασπιστῇ
 οἷα δὴ τὰ μέγιστα δυναμένῳ ἐς ὄψω ἐλθεῖν, ἀπεθαύμασε τὴν τῶν

he sent a third embassy and a fourth after it. For the barbarian, mindful
 of the Romans' liberality, which they showed out of caution lest the
 treaty be broken, sent to them those of his retinue whom he wished to
 benefit, inventing new reasons and discovering new pretexts. The
 Romans heeded his every bidding and obeyed whatever order their
 master issued. They were not only wary of starting a war with Attila,
 but they were afraid also of the Parthians who were preparing for
 hostilities, the Vandals who were harrying the coastal regions, the
 Isaurians whose banditry was reviving, the Saracens who were ravaging
 the eastern parts of their dominions, and the Ethiopian tribes who were
 in the process of uniting. Therefore, having been humbled by Attila,
 they paid him court while they tried to organise themselves to face the
 other peoples by collecting their forces and appointing generals.²³

11

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5*)

Edeco, a Scythian who had performed outstanding deeds in war,
 came again as ambassador together with Orestes, a Roman by origin
 who lived in the part of Pannonia close to the river Save which became
 subject to the barbarian by the treaty made with Aetius, the general of
 the western Romans. This Edeco came to the court and handed over
 the letters from Attila, in which he blamed the Romans in respect of
 the fugitives. In retaliation he threatened to resort to arms if the
 Romans did not surrender them and if they did not cease cultivating
 the land which he had won in the war. This, he asserted, was a strip five
 days' journey wide and extending along the Danube from Pannonia to
 Novae in Thrace. Furthermore, he said that the market in Illyria was
 not on the bank of the Danube, as it had been before, but at Naissus,
 which he had laid waste and established as the border point between
 the Scythian and the Roman territory, it being five days' journey from
 the Danube for an unladen man. He ordered that ambassadors come to
 him and not just ordinary men but the highest ranking of the consulars;
 if the Romans were wary of sending them, he would cross to Serdica
 to receive them.

When the letters had been read out to the Emperor, Edeco de-
 parted with Vigilas, who had interpreted all of Attila's views which the
 barbarian had communicated, and went to another suite to meet
 Chrysaphius, the Emperor's chamberlain and the most powerful of his
 ministers. The barbarian expressed wonder at the magnificence of the

βασιλείων οἰκῶν περιβάειαν. Βιγίλας δέ, ὡς τῷ Χρυσάφιῳ ἐς
 λόγους ἦλθεν ὁ βάρβαρος, ἔλεγεν ἑρμηνεύων, ὡς ἐπαυοίῃ ὁ 25
 Ἐδέκων τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὸν παρὰ σφίσι μακαρίζοι πλοῦτον. ὁ δὲ
 Χρυσάφιος ἔρασκεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῶν τε χρυσοστέγων καὶ
 πλοῦτου κύριον, εἴ γε περιῦδοι μὲν τὰ παρὰ Σκύθαις, ἔλοιτο δὲ τὰ
 Ῥωμαίων. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρωαμένου ὡς τὸν ἐτέρου δεσπότητος θερά-
 πουτα ἄνευ τοῦ κυρίου οὐ θέμις τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ εὐνούχος 30
 εἴ γε ἀκώλυτος αὐτῷ ἢ παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν εἴη εἰσοδος καὶ δύναμις
 παρὰ Σκύθαις ἔχει τινά. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρωαμένου ὡς καὶ ἐπιτήδειος εἴη
 τῷ Ἀττήλα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἅμα τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἀποκεκρίμενοις λογάσῃ
 ἐμπιστεύεται φυλακῆν, (ἐκ διαδοχῆς γὰρ κατὰ ῥητὰς ἡμέρας ἕκαστον 35
 αὐτῶν ἔλεγε μεθ' ὀπλων φυλάττειν τὸν Ἀττήλαν) ἔφρασκεν ὁ εὐ-
 νούχος, εἴπερ πίστευσι δέξοιτο, μέγιστα αὐτῷ ἐρεῖν ἀγαθά· δεῖσθαι δὲ
 σχολῆς· ταύτην δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχειν, εἴ γε παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι
 χωρὶς Ὀρέστου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπροσβευτῶν. ὑποσχομένους δὲ
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν πρὸς τὸν εὐνούχον παραγενόμενος,
 ὑπὸ τῷ Βιγίλα ἑρμηνεῖ δεξιὰς καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν, ὁ μὲν εὐνούχος ὡς 40
 οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ Ἐδέκωνι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς λόγους
 ποιήσοιτο, ὁ δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐξείποι τὰ αὐτῷ ῥηθησόμενα, εἰ καὶ μὴ
 πέρατος κυρήσοι. τότε δὴ ὁ εὐνούχος ἔλεγε τῷ Ἐδέκωνι, εἰ διεβὰς ἐς
 τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀνέλθοι τὸν Ἀττήλαν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἦξει, ἔσεσθαι 45
 αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον μέγιστον. τοῦ δὲ ὑποσχομένου καὶ
 φήσαντος ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει δεῖσθαι χρημάτων, οὐ πολλῶν δέ, ἀλλὰ
 πενήτηκοντα λιτρῶν χρυσοῦ δοθησομένων τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τελούντι
 πλήθει, ὥστε αὐτῷ τελείως συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ τοῦ
 εὐνούχου τὸ χρυσοῖον παραχρήμα δώσῃ ὑποσχομένου, ἔλεγεν ὁ
 βάρβαρος ἀποπέμπεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τῷ Ἀττήλα περὶ 50
 τῆς πρεσβείας, συμπέμπεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ Βιγίλαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα
 ἐπὶ τοῖς φηγάσιν ἀπόκρισιν δεξόμενον. δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 χρυσοῦ μνηύσῃ, καὶ ὃν τρόπον τοῦτο ἐκπεμφθήσεται. ἀπεληλυθότα
 γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, πολυπραγμονήσῃ τὸν Ἀττήλαν, τίς τε
 αὐτῷ δωρεὰ καὶ ὅποσα παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέδοται χρήματα· μὴ οἶόν τε 55
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀποκρύπτειν διὰ τοὺς συμπορευομένους.

Ἔδοξε δὴ τῷ εὐνούχῳ εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὸν βάρ-
 βαρον ἀποδεξάμενος ἀποπέμπει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖα φέρει
 τὴν βουλὴν. ὃς Μαρτιάλιον τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου διέποντα ἀρχὴν προσ-
 μεταπεμψάμενος ἔλεγε τὰς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον συνθήκας. ἀνάγκη δὲ 60
 ἐθάρρει τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς· πασῶν γὰρ τῶν βασιλέως βουλῶν ὁ μά-
 γιστρός ἐστι κοινωνός, οἷα δὴ τῶν τε ἀγγελιαφόρων καὶ ἑρμηνέων

32 ἔχει de Boor | ἔχοι E, Niebuhr ἔχει A 39-40 καὶ ante ὑπὸ in codd.
trans. ante ἐπὶ de Boor 44 Ῥωμαίους Hoeschel | Ῥωμαίους A

palace rooms, and when he came to speak to Chrysaphius, Vigilas, while
 translating, said that Edeco was praising the palace and congratulating
 the Romans on their wealth. Chrysaphius said that he, too, would be-
 come the owner of wealth and of rooms with golden ceilings if he were
 to disregard Scythian interests and work for those of the Romans.
 When Edeco replied that it was not right for the servant of another
 master to do this without his lord's permission, the eunuch asked if he
 had unrestricted access to Attila and any authority amongst the
 Scythians. When Edeco replied that he was one of Attila's intimates and
 that he, together with others selected from amongst the leading men,
 was entrusted with guarding Attila (he explained that on fixed days
 each of them in turn guarded Attila under arms), the eunuch said that if
 he would receive oaths, he would speak greatly to his advantage; there
 was, however, need of leisure for this, and they would have it if Edeco
 came to dinner with him without Orestes and his other fellow ambassa-
 dors. Edeco promised to do this and came to dinner at the eunuch's
 residence. With Vigilas interpreting, they clasped right hands and
 exchanged oaths, the eunuch that he would speak not to Edeco's harm
 but to his great advantage, Edeco that he would not reveal what would
 be said to him even if he did not work towards its achievement. Then
 the eunuch said that if Edeco should cross to Scythia, slay Attila and
 return to the Romans, he would enjoy a life of happiness and very great
 wealth. Edeco promised to do this and said that for its accomplishment
 he required money — not much, only fifty pounds of gold to be given
 to the force acting under his orders, to ensure that they co-operated
 fully with him in the attack. When the eunuch replied that he would
 give the money immediately, the barbarian said that he should be sent
 off to report to Attila upon the embassy and that Vigilas should be sent
 with him to receive Attila's reply on the subject of the fugitives.
 Through Vigilas he would send instructions as to how the gold was to
 be dispatched. Since he had been away, he, like the others, would be
 closely questioned by Attila as to who amongst the Romans had given
 him gifts and how much money he had received, and because of his
 companions he could not hide the fifty pounds of gold.

Edeco's words seemed sensible to the eunuch, and, accepting the
 barbarian's advice, he dismissed him after dinner and took the plan to
 the Emperor. The Emperor summoned Martialis, the master of the
 offices, and told him of the agreements with the barbarian. (Of ne-
 cessity he confided in this official, since the master of the offices, being

καὶ στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως φυλακὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταπτο-
μένων. ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις τῶν προκειμένων περὶ μὴ
μόνον Βιγίλαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Μαξιμῖον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευόμενον
παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ἵτι τοῦ Χρυσσαφίου τοῦ εὐνοῦχου παραθέσαντος Ἐδέκωνι
ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀττήλαν, ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ τῷ μαγίστρῳ
Μαρτυαλίῳ βουλευομένοις τῶν προκειμένων περὶ μὴ μόνον Βιγίλαν
ἀλλὰ καὶ Μαξιμῖον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευόμενον παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν, καὶ
Βιγίλαν μὲν τῷ φανομένῳ τὴν τοῦ ἑρμηνέως ἐπέχοντα τάξω
πράττειν ἅπερ Ἐδέκωνι δοκεῖ, τὸν δὲ Μαξιμῖον μηδὲν τῶν αὐτοῖς
βουλευθέντων ἐπιστάμενον τὰ βασιλέως ἀποδιδόναι γράμματα.
ἀντεγέγραπτο δὲ τῶν πρεσβευομένων ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα ὡς ὁ μὲν
Βιγίλας ἑρμηνεύς, ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος μείζονος ἤπερ ὁ Βιγίλας ἀξίας
γένους τε περιφανοῦς καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ, ἔπειτα
ὡς οὐ δεῖ παρασαλεύοντα τὰς σπονδὰς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐμβατεῦειν γῆ,
φυγάδας δὲ μετὰ τοὺς ἤδη ἐκδοθέντας ἑπτακαίδεκα ἀπέσταλκά σοι,
ὡς ἐτέρων οὐκ ὄντων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι. φράξω
δὲ τὸν Μαξιμῖον ἀπὸ στόματος τῷ Ἀττήλῃ μὴ χρῆναι αἰτεῖν πρέσβεις
μεγίστης ἀξίας παρ' αὐτὸν διαβῆναι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ
προγόνων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἐτέρων τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς Σκυθικῆς γενέσθαι,
ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύεσθαι τὸν τε ἐπιτυχόντα στρατιώτην καὶ ἀγγελια-
φόρον. εἰς δὲ τὸ διευκρωῆσαι τὰ ἀμβραλλόμενα ἐδόκει πέμπειν
Ἵννηγῆσιον παρὰ Ῥωμαίους· μὴ οἶόν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν Σερδικῆς
δηωθείσης σὺν ὑπατικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐς αὐτὴν προίεναι.

Ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐκλιπαρήσας πείθει με Μαξιμῖνος
αὐτῷ συναπᾶραι. καὶ δῆτα ἅμα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐχόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐς
Σερδικὴν ἀφικνούμεθα τρισκαίδεκα ὁδὸν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τῆς Κων-
σταντῖνου ἀπέχουσιν· ἐν ἣ καταλύσαντες καλῶς ἔχου ἡγησάμεθα
ἐπὶ ἐστίαν Ἐδέκωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ βαρβάρους καλεῖν. πρόβατα
οὖν καὶ βόας ἀποδομένων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῶν, κατασφάζαντες
ἡριστοποιούμεθα. καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου καιρὸν τῶν μὲν βαρ-
βάρων τὸν Ἀττήλαν, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα θαυμαζόντων, ὁ Βιγίλας
ἔφη ὡς οὐκ εἴη θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν δίκαια συγκρίνειν, ἀνθρωπὸν
μὲν τὸν Ἀττήλαν, θεὸν δὲ τὸν Θεοδοσίον λέγων. ἦσχαλλον οὖν οἱ
Οὐννοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποθερμασόμενοι ἐχαλέπων. ἡμῶν δὲ ἐς
ἕτερα τρεψάντων τὸν λόγον καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν
καταπραϊνάντων θυμόν, μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὡς διανέστημεν, δῶροις ὁ

8 ἐνεγέγραπτο Bekker 12 ἀπέσταλκά σοι Niebuhr [ἀπέσταλκέ σοι codd.
ἀπέσταλκέν οἱ Valesius 25 ἐστίασιw Papabasilios (1896) 33 κατα-
πραϊνόντων B, edd.

in charge of the messengers, interpreters and imperial bodyguard, is informed of all the Emperor's plans.) They discussed the proposal and decided to send as envoys to Attila not only Vigilas but also Maximinus.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

When Chrysaphius had proposed to Edeco that he kill Attila, the Emperor Theodosius and the master of the offices Martialis discussed the proposal and decided to send as envoys to Attila not only Vigilas but also Maximinus. They told Vigilas, while apparently serving as interpreter, to take his orders from Edeco, and Maximinus, who knew nothing of what they had planned, to deliver the Emperor's letters. In reply to Attila it was written on behalf of the ambassadors that Vigilas was the interpreter and that Maximinus was a man of higher rank than Vigilas, of illustrious lineage and a confidant of the Emperor in matters of the highest importance. Then it was written, "It is not proper that one who is undermining the treaty should enter Roman territory", and, "In addition to those already handed over I have sent you seventeen fugitives, since there are no more".²⁴ These were the words in the letters. Maximinus was ordered to speak personally to Attila in order that he need not demand that envoys of the highest rank come to him; for this had not been the case with his ancestors or other rulers of Scythia, but ordinary soldiers and messengers had acted as ambassadors. To settle the matters in dispute it seemed best to send Onegesius to the Romans, for, since Serdica had been sacked, Attila could not proceed there with a man of consular rank.

Maximinus by his pleadings persuaded me to accompany him on this embassy. So, we set out together with the barbarians and reached Serdica, which is thirteen days from Constantinople for an unladen traveller. There we broke our journey and thought it proper to offer hospitality to Edeco and the barbarians with him. The inhabitants supplied us with sheep and cattle which we slaughtered, and we prepared a meal. While we were drinking, the barbarians toasted Attila and we Theodosius. But Vigilas said that it was not proper to compare a god and a man, meaning Attila by a man and Theodosius by a god. This annoyed the Huns, and gradually they grew heated and angry. But we turned the conversation to other things and by our friendly manner calmed their anger, and when we were leaving after dinner, Maximinus

Μαξιμῖνος Ἐδέκωνα καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐθεράπευσε σηρικοῖς ἐσθήμασι καὶ λίθοις Ἰνδοῖς.

Ἀναμείνας δὲ τὴν Ἐδέκωνος Ὀρέστης ἀναχώρησεν πρὸς τὸν Μαξιμῖνον φράζει, ὡς σοφός τε εἶη καὶ ἄριστος μὴ ὅμοια σὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλεία πλημμελήσας· χωρὶς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τὸν Ἐδέκωνα καλοῦντες δώροις ἐτίμων. ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὡς μηδὲν ἐπισταμένους φανέντος, καὶ ἀνερωτήσασιν ὅπως καὶ κατὰ ποῖον καιρὸν περιώπται μὲν αὐτός, τετιμηταὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐδέκων, οὐδὲν ἀποκρῶναι ἐξῆλθεν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία ὡς ἐβαδίζομεν, φέρομεν ἐπὶ Βυγίλαν ἄπερ ἡμῶν Ὀρέστης εἰρήκει. ὅς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν μὴ δεῖν χαλεπαίνεω ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν Ἐδέκωνι μὴ τυγχάνοντα· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁπάονά τε καὶ ὑπογραφεὰ εἶναι Ἀττήλα, Ἐδέκωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἄριστον καὶ τοῦ Οὐννου γένους ἀναβεβηκέναι τὸν Ὀρέστην πολὺ. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ Ἐδέκωνι ἰδιολογησάμενος ἔφασκεν ὕστερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ἀληθιζόμενος εἴτε ὑποκρῶνόμενος, ὡς εἶποι μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα, μόγις δὲ αὐτὸν καταπραῦναι τραπέντα ἐπὶ τοῖς λεχθεῖσι εἰς ὀργήν.

Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Ναῖσσον ἔρημον μὲν εὗρομεν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνατραπέισαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καταλύμασι τῶν ὑπὸ νόσων κατεχομένων τινὲς ἐτίγχανον ὄντες. μικρὸν δὲ ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν καθαρῷ καταλύσαντες (σὺμπαντα γὰρ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην ὁστέων ἦν πλέα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναφειθέντων) τῇ ἐπαύριον πρὸς Ἀγίνθεον τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ταγματῶν ἡγούμενον ἀφικόμεθα οὐ πόρρω ὄντα τῆς Ναῖσσοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως ἀγγεῖλαι καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας παραλαβεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ ε' τῶν ἰζ', περὶ ὧν Ἀττήλα ἐγγράπτο, αὐτὸν ἔδει παραδίδοι. ἤλθομεν οὖν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοὺς ε' φυγάδας παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τοῖς Οὐννοῖς παρεσκευάσαμεν· οὓς φιλορρονησάμενος σὺν ἡμῶν ἀπέπεμψεν.

Διανυκτερεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Ναῖσσοῦ τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐς τι χωρίον ἐσβάλλομεν σινηρεφές, καμπὰς δὲ καὶ ἐλιγμοὺς καὶ περιαιγωγὰς πολλὰς ἔχον. ἐν ᾧπερ τῆς ἡμέρας διαφανούσης, οἰομένοις ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς πορεύεσθαι <ἢ> τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆ κατεναντίον ὤφθη, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπείρως ἔχοντας τῆς τοῦ χωρίου θέσεως ἀναβοῆσαι, οἷα δὴ τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἐναντίαν ποιούμενου πορείαν καὶ ἕτερα παρὰ τὰ καθεστῶτα σημαίνοντος· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ἀνωμαλίας ἐπὶ ἀνατολᾶς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος ἔβλεπε τῆς ὁδοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ὑλῶδει παρεγενόμεθα. ἐντεῦθεν βάρβαροι πορθμεῖς ἐν σκάφει

55 τῇ ὄχθῃ conī. de Boor 65 διαφανούσης Niebuhr διαφανούσης de Boor
66 ἢ add. Bekker 71 παρεγενόμεθα Dindorf [παρεγενόμεθα codd. παρα-
γόμεθα Niebuhr

won over Edeco and Orestes with gifts of silk garments and pearls.²⁵

While Orestes was awaiting Edeco's departure he said to Maximinus that he was a wise and very good man not to have committed the same offence as those at court, for they had invited Edeco to dinner without himself and had honoured him with gifts. This remark was meaningless to us since we were in ignorance of what had been done, and we asked him how and on what occasion he had been slighted and Edeco honoured. But he made no reply and went away. On the following day as we were travelling along, we told Vigilas what Orestes had said to us. Vigilas said that he should not be angry at being treated differently from Edeco, since Orestes was a servant and secretary of Attila, whereas Edeco, as one of the leading warriors and of the Hunnic race,²⁶ was by far his superior. Having said this and having spoken privately with Edeco, he later told us (either truthfully or otherwise) that he had reported to Edeco what had been said and had only with difficulty calmed him down since he had become very angry at the report.

When we arrived at Naissus, we found the city empty of people since it had been laid waste by the enemy. In the Christian hostels there were some persons suffering from disease. A short distance away from the river we halted in a clean place²⁷ (for all towards the river bank was full of the bones of men killed in the fighting) and on the following day we came to Agintheus, the general of the forces in Illyricum, who was not far from Naissus, to convey to him the Emperor's orders and to receive the fugitives. He was to hand over five of the seventeen about whom it had been written to Attila.²⁸ We spoke to him and caused him to hand over the five fugitives to the Huns. He treated them kindly and sent them off with us.

Having spent the night we set out on our journey from the border at Naissus to the river Danube.²⁹ We came upon a thickly-shaded place where the path took many twists and turns and detours. While we were here the day dawned, and, thinking that we were journeying westwards, we saw the sun rise³⁰ right in front of us. As a result those who were unfamiliar with the lie of the land cried out that the sun was travelling in the opposite direction and portended unusual events. But because of the irregularity of the terrain that part of the path turned to the East. After this difficult ground we came to a plain which was also wooded.³¹ Here barbarian ferrymen received us and conveyed us across

μονοξύλοις, ἄπερ αὐτοὶ δένδρα ἐκτέμνοντες καὶ διαγλύφοντες κατασκευάζουσιν, ἐδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ διεπόρθμεον τὸν ποταμὸν, οὐχ ἡμῶν ἔνεκα παρασκευασάμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαπορθμεύσαντες πλῆθος βαρβαρικόν, ὅπερ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπηντήκει, οἷα δὴ βουλομένου ὡς ἐπὶ θήραν Ἀττίλα διαβαίειν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν πολέμου παρασκευὴν ποιούμενῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Σκύθη, προφάσει τοῦ μὴ πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς φυγάδας δεδόσθαι.

Περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς ὁ πορευθέντες σταδίου ἐν πεδίῳ τῷ ἐπιμένειν ἠναγκάσθημεν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐδέκωνα τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ γενέσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀφίξεως μηνυτάς. καταμενάντων δὲ σὺν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ξεναγησάντων ἡμᾶς βαρβάρων, ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ὄψιαν δεῖπνον ἡμῶν αἰρουμένων, κρότος ἵππων ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐρχομένων ἠκούετο, καὶ δὴ ἄνδρες β' Σκύθαι παρεγίνοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι παρακελευόμενοι. ἡμῶν δὲ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν αἰτησάντων, ἀποβάντες τῶν ἵππων εὐωχήθησαν καὶ ἡμῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἠγήσαντο. παραγενομένων δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀττίλα σκηνας ἀμφὶ θ' τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρα (πολλὰ δὲ αὐταὶ ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι) ἐπὶ τε λόφου τιῶς σκηνοποιῆσαι βουλευθέντων, οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες διεκώλυσαν βάρβαροι, ὡς τῆς Ἀττίλα ἐν χθαμαλῷ ὑπαρχούσης σκηνῆς.

Καταλυσάντων δὲ ὅπου τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐδόκει, Ἐδέκων καὶ Ὀρέστης καὶ Σκόττας καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογάδων ἦκον ἀνερωτῶντες τῶν τυχεῶν ἐσπουδακότες τὴν πρεσβειάν ποιούμεθα. ἡμῶν δὲ τὴν ἄλογον ἀποθουμαζόντων ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁρώντων, διετέλουν πρὸς ὄχλον τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἔνεκα γινόμενοι. εἰπόντων δὲ Ἀττίλᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἑτέροις λέγειν βασιλέα παρακελεύσασθαι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Σκόττας ἀπεκρίνατο τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγούμενου ἐπίταγμα εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πολυπραγμοσύνη σφετέρᾳ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι. φησάντων δὲ μὴ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι κείσθαι τὸν νόμον, ὥστε μὴ ἐντυγχάνοντας μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν ἐρχομένους παρ' οὐδ' ἐστάλησαν δι' ἑτέρων ἀνακρίνεσθαι ὡς ἔνεκα πρεσβεύοντο, καὶ τοῦτο μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν Σκύθας θαμνῶ παρα βασιλέα πρεσβευόμενους· χρῆναι δὲ τῶν ἴσων κυρεῖν· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ἐρεῖν· ὡς τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἀνέξευξεν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆκον Ἐδέκωνος χωρὶς καὶ ἅπαντα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρεσβεύομεθα, ἔλεγον προστάττοντες τὴν ταχίστην ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἕτερα φράζεω ἔχομεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς λεχθεῖσι πλέον ἐπαποροῦντες (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐφικτὸν γινώσκειν, ὅπως ἐκδηλὰ ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἐν παραβύστῳ δεδομένα βασιλεῖ) συμφέρειν ἡγούμεθα μηδὲν περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀποκρίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τῆς

77 παρασκευὴ ποιούμενη Bekker 88 τὰς Bekker [τοῦ codd. 109 ἐν παραβύστῳ Niebuhr {ἐν παραβύστα E θὴν παραβύστα X θεῶν παραβύστα edd.

the river in boats which they had made from single trunks, themselves cutting and hollowing out the trees. They had not made these boats for our sake, but had already ferried across a force of barbarians, which had met us on the road, since Attila wished to cross over to Roman territory as if to hunt. But the royal Scythian was really doing this in preparation for war, on the pretext that all the fugitives had not been given up.³²

When we had crossed the Danube and travelled about seventy stades with the barbarians, we were compelled to wait on some flat ground while Edeco's attendants went to Attila to announce our arrival. Our barbarian guides remained with us, and in the late afternoon we were taking our dinner when we heard the clatter of horses coming towards us and two Scythians arrived and told us to come to Attila.³³ We bade them first join us for dinner, and they dismounted and were well entertained. On the next day they led us on the road, and we arrived at Attila's tents (of which there were many) at about the ninth hour of the day. When we wanted to pitch our tents on a hill, the barbarians who had come to meet us prevented us because Attila's tent was on low ground.

When we had encamped where the Scythians thought best, Edeco, Orestes, Scottas and others of the leading men amongst the Huns came and asked what we hoped to achieve in making the embassy. We were shocked by this unreasonable question and looked at each other, but they persisted, becoming troublesome in their demands for a reply. When we said that the Emperor had ordered us to speak to Attila and no others, Scottas became angry and replied that this was the command of their leader; for they would not have come to us meddling on their own. We said that it was not the rule for ambassadors that they should wrangle through others over the purpose of their mission without meeting or coming into the presence of those to whom they had been sent. The Scythians, moreover, were not ignorant of this since they had sent frequent embassies to the Emperor: we deserved equal treatment, and if we did not receive it we would not tell the purpose of the embassy. They went off to Attila and came back again without Edeco and told us everything for which we had come on the embassy, ordering us to leave with all speed if we had nothing further to say. At these words we were even more puzzled, since we could not see how things which the Emperor had decided in secret had come to their knowledge. We considered that it was of no advantage to our

παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν εἰσόδου τύχομεν. διὸ ἐφάσκομεν, εἴτε τὰ εἰρημένα τοῖς Σκύθαις εἴτε καὶ ἕτερα ἤκομεν πρεσβευόμενοι, τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἵγουμενοῦ τὴν πεῦσω εἶναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλοις τούτου χάριω διαλεχθήσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἡμᾶς παραχρῆμα ἀναχωρεῖν προσέταττον.

Ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τῆς δδοῦ γενομένους τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἡμᾶς 115 ὁ Βιγίλας κατεμέμεφτο, ἐπὶ ψεύδει ἀλῶναι ἄμεων λέγων ἢ ἀπράκτους ἀναχωρεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐς λόγους τῷ Ἀττήλα ἔτυχον, φησὶν, ἐλληλυθῶς, ἐπεπεῖκεν βραδίως ἂν αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστῆναι διαφορᾶς, οἷα δὴ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀνατόλιον πρεσβεία γενομένου. <πρὸς> ταῦτα εὖνον αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐδέκωνα 120 ὑπάρχειν ἔφασκεν, ὥστε λόγῳ τῆς πρεσβείας καὶ τῶν ὀπωσοῦν εἴτε ἀληθῶς εἴτε ψευδῶς ῥηθησομένων προφάσεως τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀττήλα δεσπομένων, καὶ ὅπως τὸ χρυσίον, οὐπερ ἔφασκε δεῖσθαι ὁ Ἐδέκων, κομίσει τὸ διανεμηθῶσόν <τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν> ταττομένοις ἀνδράσι. προδοδομένος δὲ 125 ἐλελήθει. ὁ γὰρ Ἐδέκων, εἴτε δόλω ὑποσχόμενος εἴτε καὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην εὐλαβηθείς, μὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀγάγοι ἄπερ ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Σερδικῇ μετὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν εἰρήκει, ἐν αἰτία ποιούμενος τὸ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ εὐνοῦχῳ ἐς λόγους αὐτὸν ἐλληλυθῆναι, καταμη- 130 νύει τὴν μελετηθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸ ποσοῦν τοῦ ἐκπεμφθησομένου χρυσίου, ἐκλέγει δὲ καὶ ἐφ' οἷς τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐποιούμεθα.

Τῶν δὲ φορτίων ἤδη τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιτεθέντων, καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν πορείαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς καιρὸν ποιῆσθαι πειρώμενοι, μετεξέτεροι τῶν βαρβάρων παραγενομένοι ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμᾶς τοῦ 135 καιροῦ χάριω παρακελεύσασθαι τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἔλεγον. ἐν αὐτῷ οὖν τῷ χωρίῳ, ὅθεν καὶ διανέστημεν, ἤκον ἡμῖν βοῦν ἄγοντες τρες καὶ ποταμίους ἰχθύας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα διαπεμφθέντας, δειπνήσαντες οὖν ἐς ὕπνον ἐτράπημεν.

Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὥσόμεθα μὲν ἡμερόν τι καὶ πρᾶον παρὰ 140 τοῦ βαρβάρου μνησθῆσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔπεμπε παρακελευόμενος ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἔχοιμεν τι παρὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐγνωσμένα λέγω. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀποκρωάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν παρασκευαζόμεθα, καίπερ τοῦ Βιγίλα διαφιλονεικούντος λέγω εἶναι καὶ ἕτερα ἡμῖν ῥηθησόμενα. ἐν πολλῇ δὲ κατῆρεία τὸν Μαξιμίον ἰδὼν, παραλαβὼν 145 Ῥουστικίον ἐξεπιστάμενον τὴν βαρβάρων φωνήν (ὃς οὖν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Σκυδικὴν ἐλληλυθῆι οὐ τῆς πρεσβείας ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα πρὸς Κωνσταντίον, ὃν Ἰταλιώτην ὄντα ὑπογραφεῖ Ἀττήλα ἀπεστάλκει Ἀέτιος ὁ τῶν ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός) παρὰ τὸν Σκότταν ἀφικνούμενος (οὐ γὰρ Ὀνηγήσιος τῆνκαῦτα παρῆν) καὶ

120 ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. corrupta indicant edd., πρὸς scripsi [διὰ ταῦτα . . . [ἔφασκεν] Hoeschel ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγεν ἐλπίζων Bekker 125 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν add. Bekker

embassy to give a reply unless we were granted access to Attila. We, therefore, said that their leader was asking whether we had come as envoys on the matters mentioned by the Scythians or on other business and that we would by no means discuss this with others than himself. They ordered us to depart immediately.

While we were preparing for our journey Vigilias criticised us for our answer, saying that it was better to be caught in a lie than to leave without achieving anything. "If", he said, "I had been able to speak with Attila, I should easily have persuaded him to set aside his differences with the Romans, since I became friendly with him on the embassy with Anatolius".³⁴ He claimed that Edeco supported him in this,³⁵ in order that by arguing for continuing the embassy and for saying anything, whether true or false, he might have an excuse to consult over what they had decided against Attila and as to how the gold, which Edeco said he needed for distribution amongst those under his orders, might be brought. But he did not know that he had been betrayed. For Edeco had either made his promise falsely or he was afraid of Orestes, lest he say to Attila what he had said to us at Serdica after the banquet, blaming Edeco for having spoken with the Emperor and the eunuch without himself. Therefore, he reported to Attila the plot that had been hatched against him and the amount of gold that was to be sent, and he revealed the purpose of the embassy.

Our baggage had already been loaded upon the animals, and out of necessity we were attempting to start out on our journey at night, when some barbarians came to us and said that Attila bade us wait because of the hour. At that very spot from which we had set out men came bringing us an ox and fish from the river, which Attila had sent us. Therefore, we ate dinner and turned to sleep.

When day came we thought that there would be some mild and conciliatory indication from the barbarian. But he again sent the same men, ordering us to leave if we had nothing to say beyond what was already known to them. We said nothing and prepared for our journey, although Vigilias argued persistently that we should claim that we had other things to say. Seeing that Maximinus was very dejected, I took with me Rusticius,³⁶ who knew the language of the barbarians (he had come with us to Scythia not on the embassy but on business with Constantius, who was an Italian and secretary of Attila, sent to him by Aetius, the general of the western Romans),³⁷ and approached Scottas, for Onegesius was not there at the time. With Rusticius as interpreter,

αὐτὸν προσειπὼν ὑπὸ ἑρμηνεῖ τῷ Ῥουστικίῳ ἔλεγον δῶρα πλείιστα 150
 παρὰ τοῦ Μαξιμίμου λήψεσθαι, εἴπερ αὐτὸν τῆς παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν
 εἰσόδου παρασκευάσαι τυχεῖν. τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν οὐ μόνον
 Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐννοῖς συνοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀνηγησίῳ, ὃν παρ' αὐτὸν
 βασιλεὺς ἰέναι βούλεται καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι διευκρωῆσαι ἀμφίβολα
 ἀρκόμενον δὲ μεγίστων τεύξεσθαι δωρεῶν, χρῆναι οὖν μὴ παρόντος 155
 Ὀνηγησίου ἡμῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τᾶδελφῶ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ συναγωνίζεσθαι
 πράξει. πείθεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀττήλαν μεμαθηκέναι ἔλεγον·
 οὐκ ἐν ἀκοῇ δὲ ἔσεσθαι βεβαίως τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γε πείρα τὴν
 αὐτοῦ γνοίημεν δύναμιν. ὃς δὲ ὑπολαβὼν μηκέτι ἀμφιβόλους εἶναι ἔφη
 τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἴσα τῷ ἀδελφῶ παρὰ Ἀττήλα λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν· 160
 καὶ παραχρῆμα τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττήλα διήλασε σκηπὴν.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Μαξιμῖον ἐπανελθὼν ἀλύοντα ἅμα τῷ Βιγίλα καὶ
 διαπορούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἔλεγον ἃ τε τῷ Σκόττα διεί-
 λεγμαι καὶ ἄπερ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠκηκόεω, καὶ ὡς δεῖ τὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ
 δοθησόμενα παρασκευάζειν δῶρα καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ρηθησόμε- 165
 να ἀναλογίζεσθαι. ἀμρότεροι οὖν ἀναπηδήσαντες (ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ
 ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς πόας κείσθαι σφᾶς συνέβαιεν) ἐπήνεσάν τε τὴν
 πρᾶξιν καὶ τοὺς ἦδη μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐξορμήσαντας ἀνεκάλουν
 καὶ διεσκέψαντο, ὅπως τε προσείποιεν τὸν Ἀττήλαν καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ
 τὰ τε βασιλέως δῶρα δοῖεν καὶ ἄπερ αὐτῷ ὁ Μαξιμῖος ἐκόμιζεν. 170

Ἄμφι δὲ ταῦτα πονομένους διὰ τοῦ Σκόττα ὁ Ἀττήλας μετε-
 πέμψατο, καὶ διήγαγε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου <σκηπὴν> παραγωγόμεθα ὑπὸ
 βαρβαρικοῦ κύκλου φρουρουμένην πλήθους. ὡς δὲ εἰσόδου ἐτύχομεν,
 εὐρόμεν ἐπὶ ξυλῶν δίφρου τὸν Ἀττήλαν καθήμενον. στάντων δὲ
 ἡμῶν μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ θρόνου, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαξιμῖος ἠσπά- 175
 σατο τὸν βάρβαρον, τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλέως γράμματα δοὺς ἔλεγεν ὡς
 σῶν εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εὐχεται βασιλεὺς. ὁ δὲ ἀπε-
 κρίνατο ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἄπερ αὐτῷ βούλωτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιγίλαν
 εὐθύς τρέπει τὸν λόγον θηρίον ἀναιδὲς ἀποκαλῶν, ὅτου χάριν παρ'
 αὐτὸν ἔλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀνατολίῳ ἐπὶ 180
 τῇ εἰρήνῃ δόξαντα, ὡς εἶρητο μὴ πρότερον πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν
 ἔλθεῖν πρὶν ἢ πάντες οἱ φυγάδες ἐκδοθεῖεν βαρβάροις. τοῦ δὲ
 φήσαντος ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ εἶη φυγάς,
 τοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἐκδεδῶσθαι, χαλεπήνας μᾶλλον καὶ αὐτῷ πλείστα
 λοιδορησάμενος μετὰ βοῆς ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀνασκολοπίσας πρὸς 185
 βορᾶν ὀλωνοῖς ἐδεδώκει ἄν, εἰ μὴ γε τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας θεσμῶ
 λυμαίνεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν

168 ἀνεκαλοῦντο Thompson (1947) 172 σκηπὴν add. de Boor
 173 φρουρουμένην de Boor [ἐφρουρουμένην codd. πεφρουρουμένην Hoeschel
 186 ἐδεδώκει Hoeschel [ἐδεδώρει codd. ἐδεδώρητ' de Boor

I spoke to Scottas and said that he would receive many gifts from
 Maximinus if he obtained him an interview with Attila. For his embassy
 would benefit not only the Romans and the Huns, but also Onegesius
 whom the Emperor wished to come to him to settle the disputes
 between the two peoples and who, if he came, would receive very great
 gifts. Since Onegesius was absent he must help us — or, rather, his
 brother — in this laudable enterprise. I said that we had heard that he,
 too, had influence with Attila, but that the reports about him would
 not seem well-founded unless we had an example of his power. He rose
 to the challenge and said that we should no longer doubt that he spoke
 and acted before Attila on an equality with his brother. Then he
 immediately mounted his horse and galloped off to Attila's tent.

I returned to Maximinus, who, like Vigilas, was in despair and at
 a loss in the present situation, and I told him what I had said to Scottas
 and what he had replied. I said that they should prepare the gifts to give
 the barbarian and work out what they would say to him. Both of them
 leaped up (for they had been lying on the grass) and applauded what I
 had done. They called back those who had already set out with the
 pack animals and fell to considering how they should address Attila
 and how to present to him the gifts from the Emperor and those
 which Maximinus had brought for him.

While we were busy with these matters, Attila summoned us
 through Scottas, and we came to his tent, which was surrounded by a
 ring of barbarian guards. When we were granted entrance, we saw Attila
 seated on a wooden chair. We halted a little before the throne, and
 Maximinus advanced, greeted the barbarian, gave him the letters from
 the Emperor and said that the Emperor prayed that he and his
 followers were safe and well. He replied that the Romans would have
 what they wished for him. Then he immediately directed his words
 towards Vigilas, calling him a shameless beast and asking why he had
 wished to come to him when he knew the peace terms agreed between
 himself and Anatolius, which specified that no ambassadors should
 come to him before all the fugitives had been surrendered to the
 barbarians. When Vigilas replied that there was not one fugitive of the
 Scythian race amongst the Romans, for all who were there had been
 surrendered, Attila became even more angry and abused him violently,
 shouting that he would have impaled him and left him as food for the
 birds if he had not thought that it infringed the rights of ambassadors
 to punish him in this way for the shamelessness and effrontery of his

λόγων ἰταμότητι ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην· φυγάδας γὰρ τοῦ σφετέρου ἔθνους
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίους εἶναι πολλούς, ὧν ἐκέλευε τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγεγραμ-
 μένα χάρτη τοὺς ὑπογραφέας ἀναγνώσκειν. ὡς δὲ διεξήλθον 190
 ἅπαντας, προσέταττε μηδὲν μελλήσαντα ἀπιέναι· συμπέμφειν δὲ
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἦσλαν Ῥωμαίους λέξοντα πάντας τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι κατα-
 φυγόντας βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τῶν Καρπιλιέονος χρόνων, ὃς ὠμήρευσε
 παρ' αὐτῷ παῖς ὧν Ἀετίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρα Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ,
 ἐκπέμψαι παρ' αὐτόν. μὴ γὰρ συγχωρήσειν τοὺς σφετέρους θερά- 195
 ποντας ἀντίον αὐτοῦ ἐς μάχην ἰέναι, καίπερ μὴ δυναμένους ὠφελεῖν
 τοὺς τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιτρέψαντας γῆς. τίνα γὰρ
 πόλιν ἢ ποῖον φρούριον σεσῶσθαι, ἔλεγεν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων, οὐδὲρ αὐτὸς
 ποιῆσαι τὴν αἴρεσιν ὥρμησεν; ἀπαγγείλαντας δὲ τὰ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν
 φυγάδων δεδομένα αὐθις ἐπανήκειν μινύοντας, πότερον αὐτοῖς 200
 ἐκδιδόναι βούλονται ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδέχονται πόλεμον. παρα-
 κελυσάμενος δὲ πρότερον καὶ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἐπιμένειν, ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ
 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποκρυνόμενος βασιλεῖ, ἐπέτρεπε τὰ δῶρα
 δόντας, ἅπερ ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἔφερεν, ὑπεξιέναι.

Δόντες τοίνυν καὶ ἐπανιόντες ἐς τὴν σκηπὴν ἐκάστου τῶν 205
 λεχθέντων περὶ ἰδιολογούμεθα. καὶ Βιγίλα θαυμάζοντας, ὅπως
 πάλαι αὐτῷ πρεσβευομένῳ ἠπιός τε καὶ πρᾶος νομισθεὶς τότε
 χαλεπῶς ἐλοιδορήσατο, ἔλεγον, μήποτε τινας τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν
 Σερδικῇ ἐστιαθέντων σὺν ἡμῖν δυσμενῇ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀττήλαν παρε-
 σκεύασαν ἀπαγγείλαντες, ὡς θεὸν μὲν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάλει βασιλέα,
 ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν Ἀττήλαν. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ὡς 210
 πιθανὸν ἐδέχετο οἷα δὴ ἀμέτοχος ὧν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἦν κατὰ τοῦ
 βαρβάρου ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐποίησατο. ὁ δὲ Βιγίλας ἀμφίβολός τε ἦν καὶ
 ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει προφάσεως ἀπορεῖν, δι' ἣν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐλοιδορή-
 σατο· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἐν Σερδικῇ, ὡς ὕστερον ἡμῖν διηγείτο, οὔτε τὰ τῆς 215
 ἐπιβουλῆς εἰρησθαι τῷ Ἀττήλα ἐνόμιζεν, μηδενοὶ μὲν ἑτέρου τῶν ἐκ
 τοῦ πλήθους διὰ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα κατὰ πάντων φόβον ἐς λόγους
 αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος ἐλθεῖν, Ἐδέκωνος δὲ πάντως ἐχεμυθήσοντος διὰ
 τε τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὴν ἀδηλίαν τοῦ πράγματος, μήποτε καὶ αὐτός, ὡς
 τοιοῦτων μέτοχος λόγων, ἐπιτήδειος νομισθεὶς θάνατον ὑρέξει 220
 ζημίαν.

Ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν ἀμφιβολία τυγχάνουσα ἐπιστάς Ἐδέκων καὶ
 τὸν Βιγίλαν ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπαγαγὼν συνόδου ὑποκρυσάμενος τε
 ἀληθίζεσθαι τῶν αὐτοῖς βεβουλευμένων ἔνεκα καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖον
 κομισθῆναι παρακελυσάμενος τὸ δοθησόμενον τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ περὶ 225
 τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔλευσομένοις ἀνεχώρει. πολυπραγμονοῦντας δὲ τινας οἱ

words. He continued that there were many fugitives of his own race
 amongst the Romans and he ordered the secretaries to read out their
 names, which were written on papyrus. When the secretaries had read
 out all the names, Attila told Vigilas to depart immediately and he said
 that he would send with him Esilas to tell the Romans to return to him
 all the barbarians who had fled to them from the time of Carpilio (the
 son of Aetius, the general of the Romans in the West), who had been a
 hostage at his court.³⁸ He would not allow his own servants to go to war
 against himself, even though they were unable to help those who en-
 trusted to them the guarding of their own land. For, asked Attila, what
 city or fortress had been saved by them after he had set out to capture
 it? When they had announced his views on the fugitives, they were to
 return and report whether the Romans were willing to give them up or
 would go to war on their behalf. Maximinus he first ordered to remain
 with the court so that through him he might reply to the Emperor's
 written messages, and then he told us to hand over the gifts which
 Maximinus was bringing and to withdraw.³⁹

We handed over the gifts and, returning to our tent, discussed
 amongst ourselves each of the things which had been said. Vigilas
 expressed amazement that while Attila had seemed calm and mild
 towards him on the previous embassy, on the present occasion he
 abused him violently. I said that perhaps some of the barbarians who
 had dined with us at Serdica had made Attila angry by telling him that
 Vigilas had called the Roman Emperor a god and Attila a man. Maxi-
 minus, since he had no part in the plot which the eunuch had devised
 against the barbarian, accepted this explanation as likely. But Vigilas
 was at a loss and appeared to me to have no explanation of why Attila
 had railed at him. For he did not think, as he told us later, that either
 the business at Serdica or the details of the plot had been reported to
 Attila, since no one else from the group, because of the fear which
 constrained all of them, would dare to go to speak with him, and
 Edeco would keep entirely quiet both because of his oaths and because
 of the uncertainty in the matter, in case he should be judged to have
 forwarded the plot, since he took part in the talks, and be killed as a
 punishment.

While we were in this state of uncertainty, Edeco arrived. He
 drew Vigilas aside from our group and, pretending to be serious about
 what they had planned, said that the gold should be brought to be given
 to those who would co-operate with him in the attempt. Then he left.

195 μὴ γὰρ codd. [καὶ γὰρ Hoeschel καὶ γὰρ οὐ Niebuhr 204 δόντας . . .
 ὑπεξιέναι om. X et edd. 212 ἀμέτοχος Valesius [μέτοχος codd.

τοῦ Ἐδέκωνος πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοι ἀπατᾶν ἔσπευδεν ἠπατημένος αὐτός, καὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν ἀποκρυψάμενος ἔφασκε παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἐδέκωνος εἰρησθαι ὡς καὶ αὐτῶ ὁ Ἀττήλας περὶ τῶν φυγάδων χαλεπαῖνοι· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ πάντας ἀπολαβεῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας ἀρκεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

Ταῦτα διαλεγόμενοι παραγενομένοι τῶς τοῦ Ἀττήλα ἔλεγον μήτε Βιγίλαν μήτε ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαῖον αἰχμάλωτον ἢ βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον ἢ ἵππους ἢ ἕτερόν τι πλὴν τῶν εἰς τροφήν ὠνεῖσθαι, ἄχρις ὅτου τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Οὐννων ἀμφίβολα διακριθεῖη. σεσορισμένως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐγένετο τῷ βαρβάρῳ, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Βιγίλαν ραδίως ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀλῶναι πράξει ἀποροῦντα αἰτίας, ἐφ' ἧπερ τὸ χρυσίον κομίζοι, ἡμᾶς δὲ προκράσει ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ δοθησομένης Ὀνηγήσιον ἀπεκδέξασθαι τὰ δῶρα κομιούμενον, ἅπερ ἡμεῖς τε δίδοναι ἐβουλόμεθα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀπεστάλκει.

Συνέβημεν γὰρ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀττήλα παίδων ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἀκατζίρων ἔθνος ἐστάλθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ Σκυδικὸν ἔθνος, παρέστη δὲ τῷ Ἀττήλα ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. πολλῶν κατὰ φύλα καὶ γένη ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἔθνους, Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμπει δῶρα, ὥστε ὁμονοία σφετέρᾳ ἀπαγορεῦσαι μὲν τῇ τοῦ Ἀττήλα συμμαχία, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰρήνην ἀσπάξεσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα ἀποκομίζων οὐ κατὰ τάξιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ ἔθνους δίδωσιν, ὥστε τὸν Κουρίδαχον πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῇ ἀρχῇ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενον δεύτερον, οἷα δὴ περιοφθέντα καὶ τῶν σφετέρων στερηθέντα γερῶν, ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀττήλαν κατὰ τῶν συμβασιλεύοντων, τὸν δὲ μὴ μελλήσαντα πολλὴν ἐκπέμψαι δύναμιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα, τοὺς δὲ παραστησάμενον καλεῖν τὸν Κουρίδαχον τῶν νικητηρίων μεθέξοντα. τὸν δὲ ἐπιβουλὴν ὑποτοπήσαντα εἰπεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δίσκον ἀτενῶς ἔστω ἰδεῖν, πῶς τὸν μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ἀπαθῶς τις ὄψοιτο; οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Κουρίδαχος ἔμεθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς τοῦ Ἀκατζίρων ἔθνους τῷ Ἀττήλα παραστάτος· οὐπερ ἔθνος βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων καταστήσαι βουλόμενος Ὀνηγήσιον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπει τὴν πρᾶξιν. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπιμεῖναι παρακελευσάμενος τὸν Βιγίλαν διαφῆκεν ἅμα Ἥσλα προκράσει μὲν τῶν φυγάδων ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων διαβησόμενον, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἐδέκωνι τὸ χρυσίον κομιούντα.

Τοῦ δὲ Βιγίλα ἐξορμήσαντος, μίαν μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀναχώρησιν ἡμέραν ἐπιμεῖναντες τῇ ὑστεραία ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς

When we asked what Edeco had said to him, Vigilas, being himself deceived, tried to deceive us. Hiding the true reason, he said that Edeco had told him that Attila was angry with him over the fugitives, since it was necessary either that he receive them all or that ambassadors of the highest rank come to him.

While we were discussing these things, some of Attila's men came and said that neither Vigilas nor ourselves were to buy any Roman prisoner, or barbarian slave, or horses, or anything else except for food until the disputes between the Romans and the Huns had been settled. This was cunningly contrived and part of the barbarian's plan that Vigilas should be easily trapped in the plot against himself without a reason for bringing the gold, and that, on the excuse of a reply to be given to the embassy, we should await Onegesius, who would thus receive the gifts which the Emperor had sent and which we wished to deliver.

It happened that Onegesius had been sent together with Attila's eldest son⁴⁰ to the Akatziri, a Scythian people that had submitted to Attila for the following reason.⁴¹ This people had many rulers according to their tribes and clans, and the Emperor Theodosius sent gifts to them to the end that they might unanimously renounce their alliance with Attila and seek peace with the Romans. The envoy who conveyed the gifts did not deliver them to each of the kings by rank, with the result that Kouridachus, the senior in office, received his gifts second and, being thus overlooked and deprived of his proper honours, called in Attila against his fellow kings. Attila without delay sent a large force, destroyed some and forced the rest to submit. He then summoned Kouridachus to share in the prizes of victory. But he, suspecting a plot, declared that it was hard for a man to come into the sight of a god: "For if it is not possible to look directly at the sun's disc, how could one look at the greatest of the gods without harm?" In this way Kouridachus remained amongst his own folk and saved his realm, while all the rest of the Akatzirian people submitted to Attila. He, wishing to make his eldest son king of this people, sent Onegesius for this purpose. Therefore, as I have said, he ordered us to remain with him and sent off Vigilas with Esclas to cross to Roman territory on the pretext of the fugitives, but in reality so that Vigilas might bring the gold to Edeco.

When Vigilas had left, we waited for one day after his departure and on the next set out with Attila for the more northerly parts of the

242 Ἀκατζίρων BE [Ἀκατρίων Müller codd. Ἀκατρίων Müller] 257 Ἀκατζίρων scripsi [Κατζίρων Müller]

χώρας σὺν Ἀττίλᾳ ἐπορεύθημεν, καὶ ἄχρι τῶς τῷ βαρβάρῳ συμ-
 προελθόντες ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐτράπημεν, τῶν ξεναγούντων ἡμᾶς Σκυ-
 θῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρακελευσμένων, ὡς τοῦ Ἀττίλᾳ ἐς κώμην τῶν
 παρεσομένου, ἐν ἣ γαμεῖν θυγατέρα Ἐσκάμ ἐβούλετο, πλείστας μὲν
 ἔχων γαμετάς, ἀγόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατὰ νόμον τὸν Σκυθικόν.
 ἐνθένδε ἐπορευόμεθα ὁδὸν ὁμαλὴν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην ναυσιπόρους τε
 προσεβάλομεν ποταμοῖς, ὧν οἱ μέγιστοι μετὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ὃ τε Δρή-
 κων λεγόμενος καὶ ὁ Τίγας καὶ ὁ Τιψήσας ἦν, καὶ τούτους μὲν
 ἐπεραιώθημεν τοῖς μονοξύλοις πλοίοις, οἷς οἱ προσοικοῦντες τοὺς
 ποταμοὺς κέχρηται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ταῖς σχεδιαῖς διεπλεύσαμεν, ἃς
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ τοὺς λμνάζοντας φέρουσι τόπους.
 ἐχορηγοῦντο δὲ ἡμῖν κατὰ κώμας τροφαί, ἀντὶ μὲν σίτου κέγχρος,
 ἀντὶ δὲ οἴνου ὁ μέδος ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενος. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ
 ἐπόμενοι ἡμῖν ὑπηρέται κέγχρον καὶ τὸ ἐκ κριθῶν χορηγούμενον
 πόμα· κάμον οἱ βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν αὐτό.

Μακρὰν δὲ ἀνύσαντες ὁδὸν περὶ δειλὴν ὄψιαν κατεσκευάσαμεν
 πρὸς λίμνην τινὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐχούση, ὅπερ οἱ τῆς πλησίον ὑδρεύοντο
 κώμης. πνεῦμα δὲ καὶ θύελλα ἐξαπίνης διαναστάσα μετὰ βροντῶν
 καὶ συχῶν ἀστραπῶν καὶ ὄμβρου πολλοῦ οὐ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀνέτρεψε
 τὴν σκηνὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν σύμπασαν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκύλιε
 τῆς λίμνης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς κρατούσης τὸν ἀέρα ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ συμ-
 βάντος δευματωθέντες τὸ χωρίον ἀπελείπομεν καὶ ἀλλήλων χωριζό-
 μεθα, ὡς ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ὑετῷ, τραπέντες ὁδόν, ἦν αὐτῷ ῥάδιαν
 ἕκαστος ἔσσεσθαι ζῆτο, ἐς δὲ τὰς καλύβας τῆς κώμης παραγενόμενοι
 (τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ πάντες διαφόρως ἐτράπημεν) ἐς ταῦτόν συνήεμεν καὶ
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων σὺν βοῇ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιούμεθα. ἐκπηδήσαντες
 δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τὸν θόρυβον τοὺς καλάμους, οἷς πρὸς τῷ πυρὶ
 κέχρηται, ἀνέκαιον φῶς ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ ἀνηρώτων ὃ τι βουλό-
 μενοι κεκράγαμεν, τῶν δὲ σὺν ἡμῖν βαρβάρων ἀποκριαμένων ὡς διὰ
 τὸν χειμῶνα ταραττόμεθα, πρὸς σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καλοῦντες ὑπε-
 δέχοντο καὶ ἀλέαν παρεῖχον καλάμους πλείστους ἐναύοντες.

Τῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἀρχούσης γυναικὸς (μία δὲ αὕτη τῶν Βληδα
 γυναικῶν ἐγεγόνει) τροφὰς ἡμῖν διαπεμφαμένης καὶ ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ
 γυναικᾶς εὐπρεπεῖς (Σκυθικὴ δὲ αὕτη τιμὴ) τὰς μὲν γυναικᾶς ἐκ τῶν
 προκειμένων ἐδωδύμων φιλοφρονησάμενοι, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὰς ὁμιλίᾳ
 ἀπαγορεύσαντες, ἐγκαταμεύαντες δὲ ταῖς καλύβαις ἅμα ἡμέρα ἐς
 τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ἐτράπημεν ἀναζήτησιν, καὶ σύμπαντα εὐρηκότες, τὰ
 μὲν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῇ προτεραίᾳ καταλύσαντες ἐτύχομεν,
 τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι,

country. For a while we travelled with him and then turned off onto a
 different road at the command of our Scythian guides, since Attila was
 to go to a certain village where he wished to marry a daughter of
 Escam.⁴² (Although he had many wives, he was marrying her according
 to Scythian custom.) From there we travelled along a level road over a
 plain and crossed navigable rivers, of which the greatest, after the
 Danube, were the ones named the Drecon, the Tigas and the Tiphesas.⁴³
 These we crossed in boats made of single tree trunks, which those living
 near the rivers used; the others we negotiated on the rafts which the
 barbarians carry on their wagons because of the marshy areas. At the
 villages we were abundantly supplied with foodstuffs, millet instead of
 wheat and instead of wine what is called by the natives *medos*. The
 attendants in our train also carried millet and the drink made from
 barley which the barbarians call *kamon*.⁴⁴

Having completed a long journey, in the late afternoon we
 encamped near to a pool containing drinkable water which supplied the
 inhabitants of the nearby village. Suddenly a wind and a storm arose
 with thunder and a great deal of lightning and rain, and it not only
 collapsed our tent but blew all our baggage into the pool. Terrified by
 the tumult that was raging in the air and by what had already hap-
 pened, we fled the place and scattered, each of us in the darkness and
 the downpour taking the path which we thought would be the easiest.⁴⁵
 Arriving at the huts of the village (which we all reached by our different
 routes), we gathered together and began to shout for the things we
 needed. At the uproar the Scythians rushed out, kindling the reeds
 which they used for fire and making light, and asked us what we
 wanted with our shouting. When the barbarians who were with us
 replied that we were panicked by the storm, they called to us and took
 us into their own homes and, burning a great quantity of reeds, gave
 us warmth.

The woman who ruled the village (she had been one of Bleda's
 wives) sent us food and attractive women for intercourse, which is a
 mark of honour amongst the Scythians. We plied the women generously
 from the foods placed before us, but refused intercourse with them.
 We remained in the huts and at about daybreak we went to search for
 our baggage and found it all, some in the spot in which we had
 happened to halt on the previous day, some at the edge of the pool, and
 some actually in the water. We gathered it up and spent the day in

279 χορηγούμενον Dindorf [χορηγούμενοι codd. Hoeschel 303 ἐν ᾧ περὶ τῇ de Boor [ᾧ περ ἐν τῇ Hoeschel

301 ἀπαγορεύσαμεν

ἀνελάβομεν καὶ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ διετρίψαμεν ἅπαντα
 διατεροσαίνοντες· ὁ τε γὰρ χειμῶν ἐπέπαυτο καὶ λαμπρὸς ἦλιος ἦν.
 ἐπιμεληθέντες δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποζυγίων παρὰ
 τὴν βασιλῖδα ἀφικόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενοι καὶ δώροις ἀμειψά-
 μενοι, τρισὶ τε ἀργυραῖς φιάλαις καὶ ἐρυθροῖς δέρμασι καὶ τῷ ἔξ
 Ἰνδίας πεπέρει καὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῶν φοινίκων καὶ ἐτέροις τραγήμασι
 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωριάξω τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐσι τιμίους, ὑπέξιμεν εὐξά-
 μενοι αὐτῇ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ξενίας πέρι.

Ἡμερῶν δὲ ζ' ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες ἐν κώμῃ ταῖ ἐπεμεύαμεν, τῶν
 ξεναγούτων παρακελευσαμένων Σκυθῶν, οἷα δὴ τοῦ Ἀττήλα ἐς
 αὐτὴν ἐμβαλοῦντος τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἡμῶν κατόπῳ αὐτοῦ πορευέσθαι
 ὀρειλόντων. ἔνθα δὴ <ἐνε>τυγχάνομεν ἀνδράσι τῶν ἑσπερίων
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρεσβευομένοις· ὧν Ῥω-
 μύλος ἦν, ἀνὴρ τῇ τοῦ κόμητος ἀξία τετιμημένος, καὶ Προμοῦτος τῆς
 Νωρικῶν ἀρχῶν χώρας καὶ Ῥωμανὸς στρατιωτικοῦ τάγματος
 ἡγεμῶν. συνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς Κωνσταντίος, ὃν ἀπεστάλκει Ἀέτιος παρὰ
 τὸν Ἀττήλαν ὑπογραφέως χάριν, καὶ Τατοῦλος ὁ Ὀρέστου πατὴρ
 τοῦ μετὰ Ἐδέκωνος, οὗ τῆς πρεσβείας ἔνεκα, ἀλλὰ οἰκειότητος χάριν
 ἅμα σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενοι, Κωνσταντίος μὲν διὰ <τὴν
 ἐν> ταῖς Ἰταλίαις προῦπάρξασαν πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας γινῶσκω, Τα-
 τοῦλος δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν· ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ὀρέστης Ῥωμύλου
 θυγατέρα ἐγεγαμήκει. . . . ἀπὸ Παταβίωνος τῆς ἐν Νωρικῷ πόλεως
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐκμειλιττόμενοι τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐκδοθῆναι αὐτῷ βου-
 λόμενον Σιλβανόν, ἀσήμου τραπέζης κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην προεστῶτα,
 ὡς φιάλας χρυσᾶς παρὰ Κωνσταντίου δεξάμενον, ὃς ἐκ Γαλατῶν
 μὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρα ὠρμάτο, ἀπέσταλτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Ἀττή-
 λαν τε καὶ Βλήδαν, ὡσπερ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Κωνσταντίος, ὑπογραφέως
 χάριν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐν τῇ Παιόνων ἐπο-
 λιορκεῖτο τὸ Σίρμιον, τὰς φιάλας παρὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου
 ἐδέξατο ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν λύσασθαι, εἴ γε περιόντος αὐτοῦ ἄλῃναι τὴν
 πόλιν συμβαίη, ἢ ἀναφειθέντος ὠνήσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
 ἀπαγομένους τῶν ἀστῶν. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντίος μετὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως
 ἀνδραποδισμόν ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν Σκυθικῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κατὰ
 πρᾶξιν τινα παραγίνεται καὶ κομίζεται παρὰ τοῦ Σιλβανοῦ χρυσοῖον
 τὰς φιάλας δούς, ὥστε ῥητοῦ χρόνου ἐντὸς ἢ ἀποδόντα τὸ ἐκδα-
 νεισθὲν χρυσοῖον ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, ἢ αὐτοῖς τὸν Σιλβανόν ἐς ὃ

the village drying it all out, for the storm had ceased and the sun was
 shining brightly. When we had taken care of the horses and the rest of
 the baggage animals, we visited the queen, thanked her, and repaid her
 with three silver bowls, red skins, Indian pepper, dates and other dried
 fruits which the barbarians value because they are not native to their
 own country. Then we called blessings upon her for her hospitality
 and departed.

When we had completed a journey of seven days, on the orders of
 our Scythian guides we halted at a village, since Attila was to take the
 same road and we had to follow behind him. There we met some
 western Romans who were also on an embassy to Attila. Amongst them
 were Romulus, who had the rank of count, Promotus, the governor of
 Noricum, and the general Romanus.⁴⁶ With them were Constantius,
 whom Aetius had sent to Attila as his secretary, and Tatulus, the father
 of Orestes who was with Edeco. They were not members of the
 embassy but were travelling with the envoys out of personal friendship,
 Constantius because of his earlier acquaintance with them in Italy,
 Tatulus out of kinship, since his son Orestes had married a daughter
 of Romulus. . . . They were making this embassy from Patavio, a city
 in Noricum,⁴⁷ in order to pacify Attila, who wanted Silvanus, the
 manager of the bank dealing in bullion at Rome,⁴⁸ to be handed over
 to him on the ground that he had received some golden bowls from
 Constantius. This Constantius came from the Gauls of the West⁴⁹ and
 he too, like the later Constantius, had been sent by Aetius to Attila and
 Bleda as secretary. At the time when Sirmium, a city of Pannonia, was
 being besieged by the Scythians,⁵⁰ Constantius was given the bowls by
 the bishop of the city for the purpose of ransoming him if the city
 were captured and he survived, or, if he were killed, of buying the
 freedom of those citizens who were being led off as prisoners. However,
 after the capture of the city, Constantius ignored the rights of the
 Scythians⁵¹ and, coming to Rome on business, handed over the bowls
 to Silvanus and received from him gold on condition that either within
 a stated period of time he repay the gold with interest and recover the
 sureties or Silvanus do with them as he wished. But Attila and Bleda

316 ἐνε- add. Hoeschel 323-24 τὴν ἐν add. Niebuhr 326 lac. post ἐγεγα-
 μήκει ponit de Boor, post πόλεως edd. 328 ἀσήμου Bury [ἀρμίον X (aut
 ἀσμίου E) ἀργυρίου Valesius 336 τὸν post πόλεως ponunt MP, omittunt BE
 337 Σκυθικῶν codd. praeter M (συνθικῶν) [συνθηκῶν Niebuhr 339-40
 ἐκδανησθὲν P

τι βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Κωνσταντίον ἐν ὑποψία
 προδοσίας ποιησάμενοι Ἀττήλας τε καὶ Βλήδας ἀνεσταύρωσαν·
 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τῷ Ἀττήλα ὡς τὰ περὶ τῶν φιαλῶν ἐμηνύθη, ἐκ-
 δοθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν Σιλβανὸν οἷα δὴ φῶρα τῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον 345
 ἐβούλετο. πρέσβεις τούτων παρὰ Αἰτίου καὶ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος τῶν
 ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαίων ἐστάλησαν ἐροῦντες ὡς χρήστης Σιλβανὸς
 Κωνσταντίου γενόμενος τὰς φιάλας ἐνέχυρα καὶ οὐ φῶρια λαβῶν
 ἔχοι, καὶ ὡς ταύτας ἀργυρίου χάρῳ ἱερεῦσι καὶ <οὐ> τοῖς ἐπι-
 τυχοῦσιν ἀπέδοτο· οὔτε γὰρ θέμις ἀνθρώποις εἰς σφετέραν διακονίαν
 κεκρῆσθαι ἐκπώμασιν ἀνατεθεῖσι θεῶν. εἰ οὖν μὴ <μετὰ> τῆς 350
 εὐλόγου προφάσεως καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ τοῦ θείου ἀποσταίῃ τοῦ τὰς φιάλας
 αἰτεῦν, ἐκπέμπω τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χρυσίον τὸν Σιλβανὸν παραιτου-
 μένους· οὐ γὰρ ἐκδώσειν ἄνθρωπον ἀδικοῦντα οὐθέν. καὶ αὕτη μὲν
 αἰτία τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεσβείας, καὶ παρείποντο ὅ τι καὶ ἀποκρινά-
 μενος ἀπέμψοι σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος. 355

Ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὖν ὁδοῦ γενόμενοι, προπορευθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀνα-
 μέναντες σὺν τῷ παντὶ ἐπηκολουθήσαμεν πλήθει. καὶ ποταμούς
 τῶν διαβάντες ἐν μεγίστῃ παρεγνώμεθα κώμη, ἐν ἣ τὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα
 οἰκῆματα περιφανέστερα τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ εἶναι ἐλέγετο ξύλοις τε καὶ
 σανίσιν εὐξέστοις ἡρμοσμένα καὶ περιβόλῳ ξυλίνῳ κυκλούμενα οὐ 360
 πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν συλλαμβάνοντι. μετὰ δὲ τὰ
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τὰ τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου διαπρεπῆ καὶ περιβόλον μὲν ἐκ
 ξύλων καὶ αὐτὰ ἔχοντα, οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀττήλα πύργοις
 ἐκοσμεῖτο. βαλανεῖον δὲ ἦν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ περιβόλου, ὅπερ Ὀνηγή-
 σιος μετὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν παρὰ Σκύθαις ἰσχύων μέγα ᾠκοδόμησε λίθους 365
 ἐκ τῆς Παιόνων διακομίσεως γῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ λίθος οὐ δένδρον
 παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μέρος οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐπεισάκτω
 τῇ ὕλῃ κέχρηται ταύτῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ βαλανείου ἀπὸ τοῦ
 Σιρμίου αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθεῖς, μισθὸν τοῦ εὐρέματος ἐλευθερίαν
 λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν ἔλαθε μείζονι πόνῳ περιπεσῶν τῆς παρὰ 370
 Σκύθαις δουλείας· βαλανέα γὰρ αὐτὸν Ὀνηγήσιος κατέστησεν, καὶ
 λουομένῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν διηκουεῖτο.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κώμῃ εἰσιόντα τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀπήντων κόραι
 στοιχηδὸν προπορευόμεναι ὑπὸ ὀθόνην λεπταῖς τε καὶ λευκαῖς 375
 ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐς μῆκος παρατεωρούσας, ὥστε ὑπὸ μιᾷ ἐκάστῃ ὀθόνη
 ἀνεχομένη ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα γυναικῶν κόρας ζ' ἢ καὶ
 πλείους βαδιζούσας (ἦσαν δὲ πολλαὶ τοιαῦται τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς
 ὀθόνην τάξεις) ἄδων ἄσματα Σκυθικά. πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ὀνηγησίου

came to suspect Constantius of treachery and crucified him, and, after
 a time, Attila, being informed of the matter of the bowls, wished Sil-
 vanus to be handed over to him as a thief of his own possessions. There-
 fore, envoys had been sent by Aetius and the Emperor of the western
 Romans to say that, as Constantius' creditor, Silvanus had received the
 bowls as sureties and not as stolen property and that he had sold them
 for silver to priests and not to common citizens; for it was not right
 that men should use for their own purposes vessels dedicated to God.
 Accordingly, if, after⁵² this reasonable explanation and out of respect
 for divinity, Attila would not drop his demand for the bowls, they
 would send gold for them but would not surrender Silvanus, since they
 would not hand over a man who had done no wrong. This was the
 reason for their embassy, and they were attending him so that the
 barbarian might give his reply and dismiss them.

Since we were on the same journey, we waited for Attila to go
 ahead and followed with our whole party. Having crossed some rivers,
 we came to a very large village⁵³ in which Attila's palace was said to be
 more spectacular than those elsewhere. It was constructed of timbers
 and smoothly planed boards⁵⁴ and was surrounded by a wooden wall
 which was built with an eye not to security but to elegance. The
 buildings of Onegesius were second only to those of the king in magni-
 ficence, and they too had a circuit wall made of timbers but not em-
 bellished with towers, as was Attila's. Not far from this wall was a bath
 which Onegesius, whose power amongst the Scythians was second only
 to that of Attila, had built, fetching stones from Pannonia. For there is
 neither stone nor timber amongst the barbarians who inhabit this area,
 but the wood that they use is imported. The builder of the bath had
 been taken prisoner at Sirmium, and he hoped to gain his freedom as a
 reward for his inventive work. But he was disappointed and fell into
 greater distress than slavery amongst the Scythians. For Onegesius made
 him bath attendant, and he waited upon him and his followers when
 they bathed.

In this village, as Attila was entering, young girls came to meet
 him and went before him in rows under narrow cloths of white linen,
 which were held up by the hands of women on either side. These cloths
 were stretched out to such a length that under each one seven or more
 girls walked. There were many such rows of women under the cloths,
 and they sang Scythian songs. When Attila came near to Onegesius'

348 οὐ add. Bekker | καὶ exp. Müller 350 μετὰ post μὴ inserui, quod Niebuhr
 pro μὴ scripsit 351 εὐλόγῳ προφάσει Bornmann (1974) 353 ἐκδώσεις X
 366 οὐδὲν γὰρ MP οὐδὲ post γὰρ exp. Hoeschel

οίκημάτων γενόμενον (δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἢ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἤγεν ὁδός) 380
 ὑπεξεληθοῦσα ἢ τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου γαμετῆ μετὰ πλῆθους θεραπόντων,
 τῶν μὲν ὄψα, τῶν δὲ καὶ οἶνον φερόντων (μεγίστη δὲ αὕτη παρὰ
 Σκύθαις ἐστὶ τιμῆ) ἠσπάζετό τε καὶ ἡξίου μεταλαβεῖν ὧν αὐτῷ φιλο-
 φρονουμένη ἐκόμισεν. ὃς δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖου ἀνδρὸς χαριζόμενος γαμετῆ
 ἤσθιεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἤμενος, τῶν παρεπομένων τὸν πῖνακα (ἀργύ- 385
 ρεος δὲ ἦν οὗτος) ἐς ὕψος ἀράντων βαρβάρων. ἀπογευσάμενος δὲ
 καὶ τῆς προσερχείσης αὐτῷ κύλικος ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἐχώρει ὄντα
 τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐν ὑψηλῷ διακείμενα χωρίῳ.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ὀνηγησίου, ἐκεῖνου παρακελευσαμένου, ἐγ-
 κατεμείψαμεν· ἐπανεληλύθει γὰρ σὺν τῷ Ἀττήλα παιδί. ἤριστο-
 ποιησάμεθα <δέ>, δεξιωσαμένης ἡμᾶς τῆς τε γαμετῆς καὶ τῶν 390
 κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ διαφερόντων· αὐτὸς γὰρ τῷ Ἀττήλα μετὰ τὴν
 ἐπάνοδον τότε πρῶτον ἐς ὄψω ἐλθῶν καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει,
 ἐφ' ἣν ἔσταλτο, ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ τὸ πάθος τὸ τῷ Ἀττήλα παιδί
 συνενεχθέν (τὴν γὰρ δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐξολισθήσας κατέαξεν) συνε-
 ωχεῖσθαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἤγε σχολήν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀπολιπόντες τὰ 395
 τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου οἰκήματα πλησίον τῶν Ἀττήλα κατεσηκνωσαμεν
 ἐπιτραπέντες, ὥστε καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἢ παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν εἰσέναι
 τὸν Μαξιμίον ἤγουν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἰέναι
 ἀρείοντα μὴ πολλῷ κεχωρίσθαι διαστήματι. διαγαγόντων δὲ ἡμῶν
 ἐκεῖνην τὴν νύκτα ἐν ὧπερ κατελύσαμεν χωρίῳ, ὑπαφανούσης 400
 ἡμέρας ὁ Μαξιμῖος στέλλει με παρὰ τὸν Ὀνηγησίον τὰ δῶρα
 δώσουσα, ἃ τε αὐτὸς ἐδίδου, ἃ τε βασιλεὺς ἀπεσάλκει, καὶ ὅπως
 γνοῖται οἱ βούλεται αὐτῷ καὶ ὁπότε ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. παραγεγόμενος
 δὲ ἅμα τοῖς κομίζουσιν αὐτῷ ὑπηρέταις προσεκαρτέρουν, ἔτι τῶν
 θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, ἄχρις ὅτου τις ὑπεξεληθῶν τὴν ἡμετέραν 405
 μηνύσειεν ἄφιξιν.

Διατρίβοντι δὲ μοι καὶ περιπάτους ποιουμένῳ πρὸ τοῦ περι-
 βόλου τῶν οἰκημάτων προσελθῶν τις, ὃν βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς
 ᾤκηθην εἶναι στολῆς, Ἑλληνικῆ ἠσπάζεται με φωνῇ, χαῖρε προσει-
 πῶν, ὥστε με θαυμάσειε ὅτι γε δὴ ἑλληνίζει Σκύθης ἀνὴρ. ξύγκλυδες 410
 γὰρ ὄντες πρὸς τῇ σφετέρῃ βαρβάρῳ γλώσσει ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὴν
 Οὐννων ἢ τὴν Γότθων ἢ καὶ τὴν Αὐσονίων, ὅσοις αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥω-
 μαίους ἐπιμείξια· καὶ οὐ βραδίως τις σφῶν ἑλληνίζει τῇ φωνῇ, πλὴν
 ὧν ἀπήγαγον αἰχμαλώτων ἀπὸ τῆς Θρακίας καὶ Ἰλλυρίδος παρά-
 λου. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γνώριμοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐτύγχανον ἔκ τε 415
 τῶν διερρωγῶτων ἐνδυμάτων καὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὡς ἐς

compound, through which the road to the palace passed,⁵⁵ Onegesius' 380
 wife came out to meet him with a crowd of servants, some carrying
 food and others wine (this is a very great honour amongst the Scythi-
 ans), welcomed him and asked him to partake of what she had brought
 out of friendship. In order to please the wife of a close friend, he ate
 while sitting on his horse, the barbarians who were accompanying him
 having raised aloft the platter which was of silver. When he had also
 drunk from the cup of wine which was offered to him, he proceeded to
 the palace, which was higher than the other structures and built on a
 rise.

We waited at the compound of Onegesius as he had ordered, for
 he had returned with Attila's son. His wife and the most important
 members of his clan received us, and there we dined. Onegesius did not
 have time to dine with us, since immediately upon his return he had
 gone to speak with Attila to report to him upon the business for which
 he had been sent and upon the accident suffered by Attila's son, who
 had fallen and broken his right arm. After the meal we left Onegesius' 390
 compound, moved closer to Attila's palace and camped there, so that
 when the time came for Maximinus to have an audience with Attila or
 else to speak with others of his retinue, he should not be far away. We
 spent the night where we had encamped, and at daybreak Maximinus
 sent me to Onegesius to give him the gifts, both those which he was
 giving and those which the Emperor had sent, and to learn where and
 when he wished to speak with him. I arrived with the servants who were
 carrying the gifts for him and, since the doors were still shut, I waited
 until someone should come out and report our arrival.

As I was waiting and walking about before the circuit wall of the
 palace, someone, whom I took to be a barbarian from his Scythian
 dress, approached me and greeted me in Greek, saying, "khaire"
 ("Hello"). I was amazed that a Scythian was speaking Greek. Being a
 mixture of peoples, in addition to their own languages they cultivate
 Hunnic or Gothic or (in the case of those who have dealings with the
 Romans) Latin. But none of them can easily speak Greek, except for
 those whom they have taken prisoner from the sea coasts of Thrace
 and Illyria;⁵⁶ and whoever met them could easily recognise them from
 their tattered clothes and filthy hair as persons who had fallen into

390 δέ add. de Boor 397 ἐπιτραπέντες . . . καλοῦντος om. X et edd. 399
 διαγαγόντων Bekker [διαγόντων codd. 400 ὑπεφανούσης M ex quo ὑπερ-
 φανούσης Dindorf 403 οἱ Dindorf [οἱ codd. ei Bekker

τὴν χεῖρονα μεταπεσόντες τύχην· οὗτος δὲ τρυφῶντι ἐώκει Σκύθη
εὐεμίω·ν τε ὦν καὶ ἀποκειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτρόχαλα.

Ἄντασπασάμενος δὲ ἀνηρώτων τίς ὦν καὶ πόθεν ἐς τὴν βάρ-
βαρον παρήλθε γῆν καὶ βίον ἀναίρειται Σκυθικόν, ὃ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὃ 420
τι βουλόμενος ταῦτα γινῶναι ἐσπούδακα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔφην αἰτίαν πολυ-
πραγμοσύνης εἶναι μοι τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν. τότε δὴ γελάσας ἔλεγε
Γραυκός μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος, κατ' ἐμπορίαν δὲ εἰς τὸ Βιμνάκιον
ἐληλυθέναι τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ ποταμῷ Μυσῶν πόλιν. πλείστον δὲ 425
ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίψαι χρόνον καὶ γυναῖκα γήμασθαι ζάπλουτον. τὴν δὲ
ἐντεῦθεν εὐπραγίαν ἐκδύσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς πόλεως
γενομένης, καὶ διὰ τὸν ὑπάρξαντα πλοῦτον αὐτῷ Ὀνηγησιῷ ἐν τῇ
τῶν λαφύρων προκριθῆναι διανομῇ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀλόντας ἀπὸ τῶν
εὐπόρων μετὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἐκκρίτους εἶχον οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν λογάδες
διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστοις διατίθεσθαι. ἀριστεύσαντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑστερον 430
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μάχαις καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀκατίρων ἔθνος, δόντα τῷ
βαρβάρῳ δεσπότη κατὰ τὸν παρὰ Σκύθαις νόμον τὰ κατὰ τὸν
πόλεμον αὐτῷ κτηθέντα, ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν. γυναῖκα δὲ γήμασθαι
βάρβαρον, εἶναι τε αὐτῷ παῖδας· καὶ Ὀνηγησιῷ τραπέζης κοινω-
νοῦντα ἀμείωνα τοῦ προτέρου τὸν παρόντα βίον ἡγεῖσθαι. 435

Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Σκύθαις μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐν ἀπραγ-
μοσύνῃ διατελεῖν, ἐκάστου τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύοντος καὶ οὐδαμῶς
ἢ ὀλίγα ἐνοχλοῦντος ἢ ἐνοχλουμένου, τοὺς μὲντοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἐν
μὲν πολέμῳ ῥαδίως ἀναλίσκεσθαι εἰς ἑτέρους τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας
ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας, ὡς πάντων διὰ τοὺς τυράννους μὴ χρωμένων 440
ὅπλοις· καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις δὲ σφαλερωτέρα ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν
κακία μὴ ὑφισταμένων τὸν πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ὀδυνηρότερα
ὑπάρχειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κακῶν διὰ τε τὴν
βαρυντάτην εἰσπραξὴν τῶν δασμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν πονηρῶν βλάβας,
τῶν νόμων οὐ κατὰ πάντων κεμμένων, ἀλλὰ εἰ μὲν ὃ παραβαίνων τὸν 445
θεσμὸν τῶν πλουτουόντων εἴη, ἔστι τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτὸν μὴ δίδόναι
δίκας· εἰ δὲ πένης εἴη, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος χρῆσθαι πράγμασις ὑπομένει
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ζημίαν, εἴπερ μὴ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀπολείποι τὸν
βίον, μακροῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις παρατεωομένου χρόνου καὶ πλείστων
ἐκδαπανωμένων χρημάτων· ὅπερ τῶν πάντων ἀναιρότατον εἴη, ἐπὶ 450
μισθῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τυγχάνειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ τις
δικαστήριον παραδώσει, εἰ μὴ τι ἀργύριον τῷ τε δικαστῇ καὶ τοῖς
ἐκεῖνῳ διακονουμένοις κατάθουτο.

adversity. This one, however, was like a well-cared-for Scythian with
good clothing and his hair clipped all around.⁵⁷

I returned his greeting and asked who he was and where he came
from to the land of the barbarians and took up a Scythian way of life.
In reply he asked why I was so eager to know this. I said that his Greek
speech was the reason for my curiosity. He laughed and said that he
was a Greek and for purposes of trade he had gone to Viminacium, the
city in Moesia on the river Danube. He had lived there for a very long
time and married a very rich woman. When the city was captured by
the barbarians,⁵⁸ he was deprived of his prosperity and, because of his
great wealth, was assigned to Onegesius himself in the division of the
spoils; for after Attila the leading men of the Scythians, because they
were in command of very many men,⁵⁹ chose their captives from
amongst the well-to-do. Having proven his valour in later battles against
the Romans and the nation of the Akatiri and having, according to
Scythian law, given his booty to his master, he had won his freedom.
He had married a barbarian wife and had children, and, as a sharer at
the table of Onegesius, he now enjoyed a better life than he had
previously.

He continued, saying that after a war men amongst the Scythians
live at ease, each enjoying his own possessions and troubling others or
being troubled not at all or very little. But amongst the Romans, since
on account of their tyrants⁶⁰ not all men carry weapons, they place
their hope of safety in others and are thus easily destroyed in war.
Moreover, those who do use arms are endangered still more by the
cowardice of their generals, who are unable to sustain a war. In peace
misfortunes await one even more painful than the evils of war because
of the imposition of heavy taxes and injuries done by criminals. For
the laws are not applied to all. If the wrongdoer is rich, the result is
that he does not pay the penalty for his crime, whereas if he is poor
and does not know how to handle the matter, he suffers the prescribed
punishment – if he does not die before judgement is given (since law-
suits are much protracted and much money is spent on them). And this
may be the most painful thing, to have to pay for justice. For no one
will grant a hearing to a wronged man unless he hands over money for
the judge and his assessors.

421 ἔφη X et edd. 431 Ἀκατίρων Müller [Ἀκατήρων codd. 441 τοῖς
χρωμένοις Maltese (1977) [τῶν χρωμένων codd. 441-42 ἡ τύχη τῆ τῶν
στρατηγῶν κακία de Boor 442 μηδὲ M et Dindorf 446 ἔστι Bekker [ἐπὶ
codd. 451 τις Niebuhr [eis codd. 452 τῷ τε Hoeschel [τότε codd.

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πλείοστα ἕτερα προτιθέντος, ὑπολαβῶν ἔφασκον
 πράως αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἀκούειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγον ὡς οἱ τῆς Ῥω- 455
 μαίων πολιτείας εὑρεταὶ σοφοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥστε τὰ
 πράγματα τηράλλως μὴ φέρεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν τῶν νόμων εἶναι φύ-
 λακας, τοὺς δὲ ποιείσθαι τῶν ὀπλων ἐπιμέλειαν ἔταξαν καὶ τὰς
 πολεμικὰς μελέτας ἀσκεῖν, πρὸς μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐπαγομένους ἢ ὥστε
 εἶναι πρὸς μάχην ἐτοίμους καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη γυμνασίαν θαρ- 460
 ροῦντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἰέναι, προαναλωθέντος αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς
 μελέτης τοῦ φόβου· τοὺς δὲ προσκεμένους τῇ γεωργίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπι-
 μελείᾳ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζομένους
 τρέφειν ἔταξαν [δὲ καὶ τοὺς] τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰσπραττομένους
 σιτηρέσιον· ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ἀδικουμένων προνοεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ 465
 δικαίου προϊστασθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν φύσεως μὴ οἴων τε
 ὄντων τὰ σφετέρη προῖσχεσθαι δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας φυλάττειν
 ἄπερ ὁ νόμος βούλεται· μὴ ἐστερηθῆσθαι δὲ φροντίδος μηδὲ τῶν παρα-
 στάντων τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἀλλὰ κάκείνων εἶναι τοὺς πρόνοιαν ποιησο-
 μένους, ὅπως τοῦ τε δικαίου τεύξοιτο ὁ τῆς τῶν δικαστῶν τυχῶν 470
 κρίσεως καὶ ὁ ἀδικεῖν νομισθεῖς μὴ εἰσπραχθεῖη πλέον ἢπερ ἡ
 δικαστικὴ βούλεται ψῆφος. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτα ἐν φροντίδι
 ποιούμενοι, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἐτέρας δίκης ἐγίνετο ἂν πρόφασις, ἢ
 τοῦ νενικηκότος χαλεπώτερον ἐπεξιόντος, ἢ τοῦ τὴν χείρονα ἀπ- 475
 ενεγκαμένου τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ἐπιμένοντος γνώμη.

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τούτοις τεταγμένον ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν τὰς δίκας
 ἀγωνιζομένων, ὡς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ἢ οὐκ ὄσιον
 τὸν ἐπικουροῦντα τρέφειν καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἀμείβεσθαι; ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν
 ἵππεϊ μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἵππου κομιδῇ, ἀγαθὸν δὲ βουκόλῳ ἢ τῶν βοῶν καὶ 480
 θηρατῇ ἢ τῶν κυνῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν πρὸς σφετέρην
 φυλακὴν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ὅποτε τὴν δαπάνην τὴν
 ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ γενομένην ἀλόντες ἐκτίωσιν, ἀνατιθέντες ἀδικία
 σφετέρη καὶ οὐχ ἐτέρῳ τὴν βλάβην.

Τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις μακρότερον, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, χρόνον τῆς
 τοῦ δικαίου προνοίας γίνεσθαι χάρῳ, ὥστε μὴ σχεδιάζοντας τοὺς 485
 δικαστὰς τῆς ἀκριβείας διαμαρτεῖν, λογιζομένους ἄμεινον εἶναι ὄψε
 πέρας ἐπιτεθῆναι δίκῃ ἢ ἐσπουδακότας μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀδικεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ εἰς <τὸν> τοῦ δικαίου εὐρετὴν θεὸν πλημμελεῖν, κείσθαι δὲ
 τοὺς νόμους κατὰ πάντων, ὥστε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλέα πείθεσθαι, καὶ 490
 οὐχ, ὃ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἔνεστι κατηγορία, ὅτι γε δὴ οἱ εὐποροὶ τοὺς πένητας

While he was putting these and many other complaints, I said
 gently in reply that he should also hear my point of view. “Those who
 founded the Roman polity were,” I said, “wise and good men. So that
 things should not be done haphazardly, they ordained that some should
 be guardians of the laws and that others should attend to weaponry and
 undergo military training, with their sole object that they be ready for
 battle and go out confidently to war as if to some familiar exercise,
 their fear having been already eradicated by their training. Our founders
 also ordained that those whose care was farming and the cultivation of
 the land should support both themselves and those fighting on their
 behalf by contributing the military grain-tax. Still others they ap-
 pointed to take thought for those who had suffered wrongs, some to
 have charge of the cases of those who, through their own natural
 incapability, were unable to plead for themselves, and others to sit in
 judgement and uphold the intent of the law. Furthermore, they took
 thought for those who came before the courts, that there should be
 persons to ensure that the one who obtained the judgement should
 receive his award and that the one adjudged guilty should not pay more
 than the judge decided. If there did not exist persons to take thought
 for these matters, a reason for a second case would arise out of the
 cause of the first, because either the victor would proceed too harshly
 or the one who had obtained the adverse decision would persist in his
 injustice.⁶¹

“There is also a set sum of money laid down for these men to be
 paid by the litigants, just as the farmers pay a set sum to the soldiers.
 Is it not right to support one who comes to your aid and to reward his
 good will (in the same way as the feeding of a horse benefits the horse-
 man and the care of cattle, dogs and other animals benefits herdsmen,
 hunters and others who keep the animals for their own safety and
 profit) and to blame one’s own illegal act rather than another person
 whenever the court costs have to be paid even though the case has been
 lost?”

“The excessive time taken over the cases, if that happens, is the
 result of a concern for justice, lest the judges deal with them carelessly
 and err in their decisions. For they think it is better to conclude a case
 late than by hurrying to wrong a man and offend against God, the
 founder of justice. The laws apply to all, and even the Emperor obeys
 them. It is not a fact” — as was part of his charge — “that the rich do

464 δὲ καὶ τοὺς exp. Bekker [ἔταξαν, ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ τὸ σ. εἰσπράττεσθαι
 Thompson (1947) 474 τοῦ τὴν χείρονα [sc. ψῆφον] de Boor [τοῦ τὴν
 χείρονος E τῆ τοῦ χείρονος X τοῦ τὸ χείρον Niebuhr 482 ἀντιτιθέντων
 Valesius 488 τὸν add. Niebuhr 490 ὃ Bekker [ὅς codd. ὡς Valesius

ἀκινδύνως βιάζονται, εἰ μὴ γε διαλαθῶν τις φύγοι τὴν δίκην. ὅπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πενήτων εὖροι τις ἄν· πλημμελοῦντες γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀπορία ἐλέγχων δοῖεν δίκας. καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ οὐ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μόνον συμβαῖνόν ἐστν.

Χάρῳ δὲ ὁμολογεῖν τῇ τύχῃ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῷ παραξάσῃ ἐλευθερία, 495 καὶ μὴ τῷ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξάγοντι δεσπότῃ, ὥστε αὐτὸν δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρεθῆναι ἢ φεύγοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κτησαμένου κολάζεσθαι. ἄμενον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις διατελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι χρώμενοι. πατέρων γὰρ ἢ διδασκάλων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔργα ἐπίδεικνυνται, ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν φαύλων ἀπεχομένους μετιέναι ἄπερ αὐτοῖς κατὰ νερόμισται. <καὶ> σωφρονίζουσι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν ὥσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτους παῖδας· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς θάνατον, ὥσπερ Σκύθαις, ἐπάγειν θέμις.

Ἐλευθερίας δὲ τρόποι παρ' αὐτοῖς πλείστοι. ἦν οὐ μόνον 505 περιόντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶντες χαρίζονται διατάττοντες κατὰ τῆς περιουσίας ὃν βούλονται τρόπον, καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἕκαστος τελευτῶν περὶ τῶν προσηκόντων βουλευσοίτο.

Καὶ ὃς δακρύσας ἔφη ὡς οἱ μὲν νόμοι καλοὶ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθὴ, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες οὐχ ὅμοια τοῖς πάλαι φρονούντες αὐτὴν διαλυμαίνονται. 510

Ταῦτα διαλεγόμενων ἡμῶν, προσελθὼν τις τῶν ἐνδοθεν ἀνοίγει τὰς θύρας τοῦ περιβόλου. ἐγὼ δὲ προσδραμῶν ἐπυθόμην ὅ τι πράττων Ὀνηγήσιος τυγχάνοι· ἀπαγγεῖλαι γὰρ αὐτῷ με βούλεσθαι τι τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἡκοντος πρεσβευτοῦ. ὃς δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ με ἐντεύξεσθαι μικρὸν ἀναμείναντα· μέλλω γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπεξιέναι. 515 καὶ δὴ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου χρόνου, ὡς προϊόντα εἶδον, προσελθὼν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται πρεσβευτῆς, καὶ δῶρα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἦκω φέρων σὺν καὶ τῷ παρὰ βασιλέως πεμφθέντι χρυσίῳ· ἐσπουδακότε δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οἱ καὶ πότε βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι. ὃς δὲ τό τε χρυσίον τὰ τε δῶρα ἐκέλευσε τοὺς προσήκοντας δέξασθαι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλω Μαξιμίνῳ ὡς ἦξει αὐτίκα παρ' αὐτόν. ἐμήνυον τοῖσιν ἐπανελθὼν τὸν Ὀνηγήσιον παραγίνεσθαι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἦκεν ἐς τὴν σκηνὴν.

Προσεῖπὼν δὲ τὸν Μαξιμίων ἔφασκε χάρῳ ὁμολογεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν 525 δώρων αὐτῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀνηρώτα ὅ τι λέγω βουλόμενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν ἦκεν καιρὸν ὥστε Ὀνηγήσιον μείζον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔξεω κλέος, εἴπερ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐλθὼν διευκρυνῆσει τὰ

violence to the poor with impunity, unless one escapes justice through escaping detection; and this is a recourse for the poor as well as for the rich. These offenders would go unpunished because of lack of evidence, something which happens not only amongst the Romans but amongst all peoples.

“For your freedom you should give thanks to fortune rather than to your master. He led you out to war, where, through inexperience, you might have been killed by the enemy or, fleeing the battle, have been punished by your owner. The Romans are wont to treat even their household slaves better. They act as fathers or teachers towards them and punish them, like their own children, if they do wrong, so that they are restrained from improper behaviour and pursue what is thought right for them. Unlike amongst the Scythians, it is forbidden to punish them with death.

“Amongst the Romans there are many ways of giving freedom. Not only the living but also the dead bestow it lavishly, arranging their estates as they wish; and whatever a man has willed for his possessions at his death is legally binding.”

My acquaintance wept and said that the laws were fair and the Roman polity was good, but that the authorities were ruining it by not taking the same thought for it as those of old.

While we were discussing these things, one of those inside came out and opened the gates of the wall. I ran forward and asked what Onegesius was doing, saying that I wished to pass him a message from the ambassador of the Romans. He replied that if I waited a little I should meet him, since he was about to go out. Shortly afterwards I saw him coming out and I went forward and said that the ambassador of the Romans sent him greetings and that I had come bearing gifts from him and gold sent by the Emperor. I also asked where and when he was willing to speak with the ambassador, who was eager to confer with him. He ordered his attendants to take the gold and the gifts and told me to report to Maximinus that he would come to him straightaway. I returned to Maximinus and reported that Onegesius was on his way; and he came to the tent immediately.

Onegesius addressed Maximinus, thanking both him and the Emperor for the gifts and asking what he wished to say in sending for him. Maximinus said that the time had come when Onegesius would win greater fame amongst men if he went to the Emperor and, by his

499 ἐπίδεικνύντες Classen 501 καὶ add. Thompson (1947) 514 τοῦ παρὰ Bekker παρὰ τοῦ codd. παρὰ Bekker παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἡκοντα de Boor 515 με . . . ἀναμείναντα de Boor [μοι . . . ἀναμείναντα codd. μοι . . . ἀναμείναντι Hoeschel 519 οἱ Valesius [ᾧ codd. ποῦ Bekker

ἀμφίβολα τῆ σφετέρᾳ συνέσει καὶ ὁμόνοιαν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐννοῖς
καταστήσεται. γενήσεται γὰρ ἐνθὲνδε οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀμφο- 530
τέρους συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἀγαθὰ παρέξει πολλά,
ἐπιτήδειος ἐς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῷ
ἐκεῖνου ἐσόμενοι γενεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ὀνηγήσιος ἔφη· καὶ τί ποιῶν ἔσται
κεχαρισμένος βασιλεῖ ἢ ὅπως παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα λυθῆι; ἀπο-
κριναμένου δὲ ὡς διαβάς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ τὴν χάριν 535
καταθήσει, διευκρωθήσει δὲ τὰ ἀμφίβολα τὰς αἰτίας διερευνῶν καὶ
ταύτας κατὰ <τόν> τῆς εἰρήνης λύων θεσμόν, ἔφρασκεν ἐκεῖνα ἐρεῖν
βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, ἅπερ Ἀττήλας βούλεται. ἢ οἰεσθαι
ἔφη Ῥωμαίους τοσοῦτον ἐκλπαρήσειν αὐτόν ὥστε καταπροδοῦναι
δεσποτὴν καὶ ἀνατροφῆς τῆς παρὰ Σκύθαις καὶ γαμετῶν καὶ παῖδων
κατολιγωρήσασαι, μὴ μείζονα δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν παρὰ Ἀττήλα δουλείαν 540
τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πλούτου; συνοίσειν δὲ ἐπιμένοντα τῆ οἰκείᾳ τὸν
[γὰρ] τοῦ δεσπότη καταπραῦνεω θυμόν, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτόν ὀργίζεσθαι
κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συμβαίνει, ἢ παρὰ σφᾶς ἐλθόντα αἰτία ὑπάγεσθαι
ἕτερα ἢ περ ἐκεῖνῳ δοκεῖ διαπραξάμενον. ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς κάμῃ
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτόν εἰσηγησάμενος ἐντευξῶν περὶ ὧν πυνθά- 545
νεσθαι αὐτοῦ βουλόμεθα, (οὐ γὰρ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ ὡς ἐν ἀξίᾳ τελοῦντι
ἢ συνεχῆς πρόσσδος ἦν εὐπρεπῆς) ἀνεχώρει. ἐγὼ δὲ τῆ ὑστεραία ἐς
τὸν Ἀττήλα περίβολον ἀφικνούμαι δῶρα τῆ αὐτοῦ κομιζῶν γαμετῆ,
(Ἡρέκαν δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῆ) ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγεγονέουσιν τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ
πρεσβύτερος ἦρχε τῶν Ἀκατίρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν 550
νεμομένων τὴν πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Σκυθικῆν. ἐνδον δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου
πλεῖστα ἐτύγχανεν οἰκήματα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ σανίδων ἐγγλύφων καὶ
ἡρμοσμένων εἰς εὐπρέπειαν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ λίθων κεκαθαυμένων καὶ πρὸς
εὐθύτητα ἐπεξεσμένων, ἐμβεβλημένων δὲ ξύλοις <κύκλους> ἀπο- 555
τελοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κύκλοι ἐν τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀρχόμενοι ἐς ὕψος ἀνέβαινον
μετρίως. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττήλα ἐνδιδαιτωμένης γαμετῆς, διὰ τῶν
πρὸς τῆ θύρα βαρβάρων ἔτυχον εἰσόδου καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ στρώματος
μαλακοῦ κεκλιμένην κατέλαβον, τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρέας πιλωτοῖς τοῦ
ἐδάφους σκεπομένου, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδίσειν. περιεῖπε δὲ αὐτὴν 560
θεραπόντων πλῆθος κύκλων· καὶ θεράπαιμαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀντικρὺ
αὐτῆς καθήμεναι ὀνόνας τῶν χρώμασι διεποικίλλον ἐπιβλήθησο-
μένας πρὸς κόσμον ἐσθημάτων βαρβαρικῶν. προσελθὼν τοῖνυν καὶ

own sagacity, settled the disputes and established harmony between the
Romans and the Huns. From this not only would advantage come for
both nations, but also he would derive many benefits for his own
household, since he and his children would be forever friends of the
Emperor and his family. Onegesius asked what he was to do to win the
Emperor's friendship and how the disputes were to be settled. When
Maximinus replied that if he crossed over to Roman territory, he would
earn the Emperor's gratitude and he would settle the disputes by
investigating the causes and removing them in accordance with the
terms of the peace, Onegesius said that he would simply tell the Em-
peror and his officials what Attila wished. "Or do the Romans think,"
he retorted, "that they will bring so much persuasion to bear on me
that I shall betray my master, turn my back upon my upbringing
amongst the Scythians, my wives and my children and think that
slavery to Attila is not preferable to wealth amongst the Romans?" He
concluded that it would be better for him to remain in his own country
and to calm his master's rage on those matters over which he was angry
at the Romans rather than to go to them and incur the charge that he
had acted other than seemed best to Attila. Having said this and having
instructed that I should confer with him on questions we wished to ask
of him (for continual visiting was not proper for Maximinus, a man in
an official position), he went away.

On the following day I approached Attila's wall bearing gifts for
Attila's wife, whose name was Hereka⁶² and who had borne him three
sons, the eldest of whom ruled the Akatiri and the other tribes dwelling
by the Black Sea in Scythia.⁶³ Inside the wall there was a large cluster
of buildings, some made of planks carved and fitted together for orna-
mental effect, others from timbers which had been debarked and
planed straight. They were set on circular piles made of stones, which
began from the ground and rose to a moderate height.⁶⁴ Here lived
Attila's wife. I entered through the barbarians at her door and found
her reclining on a soft couch. The floor was covered with woollen-felt
rugs for walking upon. A group of servants stood around her in
attendance, and servant girls sat facing her working coloured em-
broidery on fine linens to be worn as ornaments over the barbarian
clothing. I went forward, greeted her, presented the gifts and withdrew.

532-33 ποιῶν ἔσται κεχαρισμένος de Boor [ποιῶντες καιχαρισμένος codd. ποιῶντες κεχαρισμένως Hoeschel 536 τὸν add. Müller 540 κατολιγωρήσασαι de Boor [κατολιγωρήσεις E κατολιγωρήσειν Hoeschel 542 γὰρ expr. Müller 545 ἡγησάμενος X et edd. 549 Ἡρέκαν scripsi (cf. n.62) [Κρέκα codd. ἐγεγόνησαν B ἐγεγόνεσαν edd. 550 Ἀκατίρων Müller [Ἀκατήρων codd. 551 πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ de Boor [πρὸς τὸ Πόντ codd. πρὸς τὸν Πόντον edd. 553 λίθων Hoeschel [λόγων codd. λύγων de Boor δοκῶν Cantoclar. 554 κύκλους add. Bekker

τὰ δῶρα μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν δούς ὑπεξήηω καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐβάδιζον οἰκήματα, ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπεκδεχόμενος 565 ὅποτε ὑπεξέλθοι Ὀνηγήσιος· ἤδη γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκημάτων ἐξεληλύθει καὶ ἔνδον ἦν. μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ παντός ἰστάμενος πλήθους (γνώριμός τε γὰρ ὦν τοῖς Ἀττήλα φρουροῖς καὶ τοῖς παρεπομένοις αὐτῷ βαρβάροις ὑπ' οὐδενὸς διεκωλύομην) εἶδον πλῆθος πορευόμενον καὶ θροῦν καὶ θόρυβον περὶ τὸν τόπον γενόμενον, ὡς τοῦ Ἀττήλα 570 ὑπεξιόντος. προῆει δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος βαδίζων σοβαρῶς τῆδε κάκει περιβλεπόμενος. ὡς δὲ ὑπεξεληθὼν σὺν τῷ Ὀνηγησιῷ ἔστη πρὸ τοῦ οἰκήματος, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων προσήεσαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν ἐδέχοντο. εἶτα ἐπανῆει ὡς τὸ οἶκμα καὶ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντας βαρβάρους ἐδέχετο.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπεκδεχομένῳ τὸν Ὀνηγησιῶν Ῥωμύλος καὶ Προμοῦ- 575 τος καὶ Ῥωμανὸς οἱ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐλθόντες παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρέσβεις τῶν φιαλῶν ἕνεκα τῶν χρυσῶν, συμπάροντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥου- τικίου τοῦ κατὰ Κωνσταντίον, καὶ Κωνσταντιύλου, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς Παιόνων χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀττήλα ταττομένης, ἐς λόγους ἦλθον καὶ ἀνηρώτων, πότερον διηκρίθημεν ἢ ἐπιμένειν ἀναγκαζόμεθα. καὶ 580 ἐμοῦ φήσαντος, ὡς τούτου χάριν πευσόμενος τοῦ Ὀνηγησιῶν τοῖς περιβόλοις προσκαρτερῶ, καὶ ἀντερωτήσαντος, <εἰ> αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἀττήλας ἡμέρον τι καὶ πρᾶον περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀπεκρίνατο, ἔλεγον μηδαμῶς μετατρέπεσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον καταγ- γέλλειν, εἰ μὴ γε αὐτῷ Σιλβανὸς ἢ τὰ ἐκώματα πεμφθεῖη. 585

Ἀποθαυμαζόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπονοίας τὸν βάρβαρον, ὑπο- λαβὼν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, πρεσβευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος, ἔλεγε τὴν αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τύχην καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης δύναμιν ἐξαίρειν αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι δικαίω λόγων, εἰ μὴ 590 πρὸς αὐτοῦ νομίση ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῦς. οὐπω γὰρ <τῷ> τῶν πρόποτε τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἢ καὶ ἐτέρας ἀρξάντων γῆς τοσαῦτα ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατε- πράχθη, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀκεανῷ νήσων ἄρχειν καὶ πρὸς πάση τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν. ἐφιέμενον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι πλείονων καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον αὐξοῦντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ 595 ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιέναι βούλεσθαι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν ἡμῶν τινας πυθομένου, ποίαν ὁδὸν τραπεῖς ἐς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν δυνασεται, ἔλεγεν ὁ Ῥωμύλος μὴ πολλῶν διαστήματι τὴν Μήδων ἀφροσάται τῆς Σκυθικῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ Οὐννοὺς ἀπίρους τῆς 600 ὁδοῦ ταύτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐμβεβληκέναι, λιμοῦ τε τὴν χώραν κρατήσαντος, καὶ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν τότε συνιστάμενον

Then I walked to the other group of buildings, where Attila was living, and waited for Onegesius to come out, since he had already left his own dwellings and was within. As I was standing in the midst of the whole throng (for I was known to Attila's guards and followers, and no one hindered me), I saw a group of persons advancing and heard murmuring and shouts around the place, since Attila was coming out. He came out of the house swaggering and casting his eyes around. When he had come out, he stood with Onegesius in front of the building, and many persons who had disputes with one another stepped forward and received his judgement. Then he re-entered the house and received the barbarian envoys who had come to him.

While I was waiting for Onegesius, Romulus, Promotus and Romanus, who had come from Italy as envoys to Attila over the golden bowls, came to speak to me. With them were Rusticius, the subordinate of Constantius,⁶⁵ and Constantiolus, a man from the part of Pannonia subject to Attila. They asked whether we had been dismissed or whether we were being forced to remain. I said that I was waiting by the enclosures to learn this from Onegesius. When I, in my turn, asked whether Attila had given them a mild and gentle reply on the matter of their embassy, they said that he had changed his mind not at all and was threatening war unless either Silvanus or the bowls were sent to him.

When we expressed amazement at the unreasonableness of the barbarian, Romulus, an ambassador of long experience, replied that his very great good fortune and the power which it had given him had made him so arrogant that he would not entertain just proposals unless he thought that they were to his advantage. No previous ruler of Scythia or of any other land had ever achieved so much in so short a time. He ruled the islands of the Ocean and, in addition to the whole of Scythia, forced the Romans to pay tribute. He was aiming at more than his present achievements and, in order to increase his empire further, he wanted to attack the Persians.

When one of those amongst us asked what road Attila could take to reach Persia, Romulus replied that the land of the Medes was not a great distance from Scythia, and the Huns were not ignorant of the route. They came upon it long ago when famine was sweeping their land and the Romans did not oppose them on account of the war in

565 ὑπεξέλθοι van Herwerden [ἐπεξέλθοι codd. 582 εἰ add. Bekker
583 τι Niebuhr [τε codd. 590 τῷ add. de Boor [οὐδενὶ pro οὐπω con].
Niebuhr 591-92 καταπεπράχθαι Bekker 595 ἀπιέναι X et edd.

πόλεμον μὴ συμβαλλόντων. παρεληλυθέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν Μήδων τὸν τε
 Βασιῆα καὶ Κουροῖα τοὺς ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλληλυθότας εἰς
 ὁμαιχμίαν, ἄνδρας τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθῶν καὶ πολλοῦ πλήθους
 ἄρχοντας. καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας λέγειν ὡς ἔρημον ἐπελθόντες
 χῶραν καὶ λίμνην τῶν περαιωθέντες, ἦν ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὴν Μαιῶτων
 εἶναι ᾤετο, πεντεκαίδεκα διαγενομένων ἡμερῶν ὄρη τῶν ὑπερ-
 βάντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσέβαλον. ληιζομένοις δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν κατα-
 τρέχουσι πλήθος Περσικὸν ἐπελθὼν τὸν σφῶν υπερκείμενον ἀέρα
 πλήσαι βελῶν, ὥστε σφᾶς δέει τοῦ κατασχόντος κωδύνου ἀναχω-
 ρῆσαι εἰς τοῦπίσω καὶ τὰ ὄρη ὑπεξελθεῖν ὀλίγην ἄγοντας λείαν· ἡ
 γὰρ πλείστη ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀφήρητο. εὐλαβουμένους δὲ τὴν τῶν
 πολεμίων δίωξιν ἐτέραν τραπήναι ὁδόν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑφάλου
 πέτρας ἀναπεμπομένην φλόγα ἐκεῖθεν πορευθέντας ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων
 ὁδὸν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἀφικέσθαι καὶ γινῶναι οὐ πολλῶ διαστήματι τῶν
 Μήδων ἀφροσάται τὴν Σκυθικὴν. τὸν οὖν Ἀττίλαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰέναι
 βουλόμενον οὐ πονήσῃσιν πολλὰ οὔτε μακρὰν ἀνύσῃσιν ὁδόν, ὥστε καὶ
 Μήδους καὶ Πάρθους καὶ Πέρσας παραστήσεσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάσειν
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν· παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτῷ μάχῃσιν δύναμιν,
 ἦν οὐδὲν ἔθνος ὑποστήσεται.

Ἡμῶν δὲ κατὰ Περσῶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπευξαμένων καὶ ἐπ'
 ἐκείνους τρέψαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ Κωνσταντίος ἔλεγε δεδιέναι
 μήποτε καὶ Πέρσας ῥαδίως παραστήσασθαι ἀντὶ φίλου δεσπότης
 ἐπανήξει. νῦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον κομιζέσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀξίας
 ἔνεκα· εἰ δὲ καὶ Πάρθους καὶ Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας παραστήσειτο,
 οὐκ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέξεσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ νοσηριζομένων ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ
 θεράποντας περιφανῶς ἡγησάμενον χαλεπώτερα ἐπιτάξῃσιν καὶ οὐκ
 ἀνεκτὰ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτάγματα. ἦν δ' <ἡ> ἀξία, ἧς ὁ Κωνσταντίος
 ἐπεμήθη, στρατηγῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἧς χάριν ὁ Ἀττίλας παρὰ βασι-
 λέως ἐδέδεκτο τὸ τοῦ φόρου ἐπικαλύπτοντος ὄνομα, ὥστε αὐτῷ
 σιτηρεσίου προφάσει τοῦ τοῖς στρατηγῶσι χορηγουμένου τὰς συν-
 τάξεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι. ἔλεγεν οὖν μετὰ Μήδους καὶ Πάρθους καὶ
 Πέρσας τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπερ αὐτὸν βούλονται Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν, καὶ
 τὴν ἀξίαν, ἧ αὐτὸν τετιμηκέναι νομίζουσιν, ἀποσεισάμενον ἀνα-
 κάσειν σφᾶς ἀντὶ στρατηγῶν βασιλεία προσαγορεύειν. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ
 χαλεπαίνοντα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν οἱ αὐτοῦ θεράποντες εἰσι
 στρατηγῶν, αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ τοῖς βασιλεύουσι Ῥωμαίων ὁμότιμοι.

which they were then involved.⁶⁶ Basich and Kursich, members of the
 Scythian royalty and commanders of a large force (who later came to
 Rome to make an alliance), reached the land of the Medes. Those Huns
 who have gone over to the Romans⁶⁷ say that, having come into a
 desert land and having crossed a lake (which Romulus thought was
 Maeotis), after fifteen days they passed over some mountains and
 entered Media. As they were overrunning and plundering the land, a
 Persian army confronted them and filled the air above them with
 missiles, so that they had to retreat from their immediate danger and
 retire across the mountains. They gained little plunder, since the Medes
 took most of it from them. As a precaution against enemy pursuit they
 took a different route and, after a journey of a few days from the flame
 that issues from the rock beneath the sea,⁶⁸ they reached their own
 land. Thus they know that Scythia is not far from Media and, if Attila
 wished to go there, he would neither have much toil nor a long journey.
 And so, since he has a military force which no nation can withstand,
 he would subdue the Medes, the Parthians, and the Persians and force
 them to pay tribute.

When we prayed that he would go against the Persians and direct
 the war against them, Constantiolus said that he feared that when he
 had easily subdued the Persians, he would return as a master rather than
 as a friend. At present, gold is brought to him because of his rank.
 However, if he were to subdue the Parthians, Medes and the Persians,
 he would not continue to endure a Roman state independent of
 himself and, holding them to be obviously his servants, would lay upon
 them very harsh and intolerable injunctions. (The rank which Constan-
 tiolus mentioned was that of a Roman general,⁶⁹ which the Emperor
 had granted to Attila, thus concealing the word tribute. As a result,
 the payments were sent to him disguised as provisions issued to the
 generals.) Constantiolus said that after the Medes, Parthians and
 Persians, Attila would reject the title by which the Romans wished
 to call him and the rank with which they thought they had honoured
 him and would force them to address him as king instead of general.
 Already when angry he would say that his own subjects were generals
 of [Theodosius]⁷⁰ and that his own generals were of equal worth to
 the Emperors of the Romans.

613 ἀναπεμπομένην codd. praeter B [ἀναφλεγόμενην Hoeschel cum B ἀναφε-
 ρομένην Niebuhr ὀλίγων om. X et edd. 615 αὐτοῦς con. Niebuhr
 623 αὐτῷ codd. 627 ἡ add. Dindorf 633-4 ἀναγκάσειν Niebuhr [ἀν-
 αγκάσας codd. praeter B (ἀναγκάσαι) 636 οἱ Bekker [οὐ codd.

3. (Jordanes *Get.* 34,178-80 and 182)

Ad quem in legatione se missum a Theodosio iuniore Priscus historicus tali voce inter alia refert: ingentia si quidem flumina, id est Tisia Tibisiaque et Dricca transientes venimus in loco illo, ubi dudum Vidigoia Gothorum fortissimus Sarmatum dolo occubuit; indeque non longe ad vicum, in quo rex Attila morabatur, accessimus, vicum inquam ad instar civitatis amplissimae, in quo lignea moenia ex tabulis nitentibus fabricata repperimus, quarum compago ita solidum mentiebatur, ut vix ab intentu possit iunctura tabularum conprehendi. videres triclinia ambitu prolixiore distenta porticusque in omni decore dispositas. area vero curtis ingenti ambitu cingebatur, ut amplitudo ipsa regiam aulam ostenderet. hae sedes erant Attilae regis barbariae tota tenenti; haec captis civitatibus habitacula praeponebat.

Is namque Attila patre genitus Mundzuc, cuius fuere germani Octar et Roas, qui ante Attilam regnum tenuisse narrantur, quamvis non omnino cunctorum quorum ipse . . . vir in concussione gentium natus in mundo, terrarum omnium metus, qui, nescio qua sorte, terrebat cuncta formidabili de se opinione vulgata. erat namque superbus incessu, huc atque illuc circumferens oculos, ut elati potentia ipso quoque motu corporis appareret; bellorum quidem amator, sed ipse manu temperans, consilio validissimus, supplicantium exorabilis, propitius autem in fide semel susceptis; forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiore, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aspersus, semo nasu, teter colore, origenis suae signa restituens.

7 nitentibus [ingentibus XYZ 8 metiebatur O 15 Hunnorum *post* regnum *add.* B 16 confusionem XYZ 22 autem *om.* SOB [enim XYZ receptis ASOB acceptis XYZ

12

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

Ἔσεσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶ δυνάμειος αὐξήσω· σημαίνω καὶ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἄρεος ἀναφάναντα ξίφος, ὅπερ ὄν ἱερὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σκυθικῶν βασιλέων τιμώμενον, οἷα δὴ τῶ ἐφόρω τῶν πολέμων ἀνακείμενον, ἐν τοῖς πάλαι ἀφανισθῆναι χρόνοις, εἶτα διὰ βοῶς εὔρεθῆναι.

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 35,183)

Qui quamvis huius esset naturae, ut semper magna confideret, addebat ei tamen confidentia gladius Martis inventus, sacer apud

2 ei [et BXY

3. (Jordanes *Get.* 34,178-80 and 182)

The historian Priscus says that he was sent on an embassy to him [Attila] by the younger Theodosius. Amongst other things, he reports as follows: When we had crossed some great rivers, namely the Tisia, Tibisia and Dricca,⁷¹ we came to that place where long ago Vidigoia, the bravest of the Goths, was killed through the treachery of the Sarmatians.⁷² Not far from this place we reached a village in which Attila was staying, a village actually like a very large city, in which we found wooden walls made of smoothed planks. These were joined together to suggest solidity in such a way that even by looking hard one could scarcely see the joints.⁷³ You might see dining rooms of great dimensions and colonnades laid out with every form of decoration.⁷⁴ The area of the courtyard was enclosed by a circuit wall of high extent so that its size might show that this was a royal palace. This was the seat of Attila, the king who ruled the whole barbarian world; this was the dwelling he preferred to the cities which he had captured.

Attila's father was Mundzuc, whose own brothers were Octar and Ruas, who are said to have held the kingship before Attila, though by no means over all the peoples whom he ruled . . .⁷⁵ [Attila] was a man born in the world for the shattering of nations, the terror of all the lands who, through some chance, made all quake as his fearsome reputation spread abroad. His gait was haughty, and he cast his eyes hither and thither, so that the power of his pride was reflected in the movements of his body. Though a lover of war, he was not prone to violence. He was a very wise counsellor, merciful to those who sought it and loyal to those whom he had accepted as friends. He was short, with a broad chest and large head; his eyes were small, his beard sparse and flecked with grey, his nose flat and his complexion dark, which showed the signs of his origin.

12

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

[Constantiolus said that] in a short time there would be an increase in his [Attila's] present power. God had indicated this by revealing the sword of Ares, which is a sacred object honoured by the Scythian kings, since it was dedicated to the guardian of wars. In ancient times it had disappeared and then it was found through the agency of an ox.⁷⁶

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 35,183)

Although he [Attila] was by nature always self-assured, his confidence was increased by the finding of the sword of Mars, which is held

Scytharum reges semper habitus, quem Priscus historicus tali refert occasione detectum. cum pastor, inquiring, quidam gregis unam bo-
 culam conspiceret claudicantem nec causam tanti vulneris inveniret, 5
 sollicitus vestigia cruoris insequitur tandemque venit ad gladium,
 quem depascens herbas incauta calcaverat, effossumque protinus ad
 Attilam defert. quo ille munere gratulatus, ut erat magnanimis,
 arbitratur se mundi totius principem constitutum et per Martis
 gladium potestatem sibi concessam esse bellorum. 10

7 incaute LSOB

13

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Καὶ ἐκάστου λέγω τι περὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων βουλομένων,
 Ὀνηγησίου ὑπεξελθόντος, παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθομεν καὶ ἐπειρώμεθα περὶ
 τῶν ἐσποδασμένων μανθάνειν. ὁ δὲ τισὶ πρότερον βαρβάροις δια-
 λεχθεὶς πυθέσθαι με παρὰ Μαξιμίου ἐπέτρεπε, τίνα Ῥωμαῖοι ἄνδρα
 τῶν ὑπατικών παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρεσβευόμενον στέλλουσι. ὡς δὲ 5
 παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἔφραζον ἄπερ εἴρητό μοι, καὶ ὅ τι δεῖ
 λέγω ὡς χάρις ὁ βάρβαρος ἡμῶν ἐπύθετο ἅμα τῷ Μαξιμῶ
 βουλευσάμενος ἐπανήλθον ὡς τὸν Ὀνηγήσιον, λέγων ὡς ἐθέλουσι
 μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸν παρὰ σαῶς ἐλθόντα τῶν ἀμφιβόλων ἕνεκα δια-
 λέγεσθαι, εἰ δὲ τούτου διαμάρτοιν, ἐκπέμψει βασιλέα ὃν βούλεται 10
 πρεσβευόμενον. καὶ εὐθὺς μετιέναι με τὸν Μαξιμῶν παρεκελεύ-
 σατο, καὶ ἦκοντα αὐτὸν ἦγε παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν. καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον
 ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ Μαξιμῶς ἔλεγεν ἐθέλω τὸν βάρβαρον Νόμον ἢ Ἀνα-
 τόλιον ἢ Σενάτορα πρεσβεύεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλον παρὰ τοὺς εἰρη-
 μένους δέξεσθαι. καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυσσόμενον μὴ χρῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν 15
 πρεσβείαν τοὺς ἄνδρας καλοῦντα ὑπόπτους καθιστᾶν βασιλεῖ, εἰρη-
 κένοι τὸν Ἀττήλαν, εἰ μὴ ἔλωτο ποιεῖν ἃ βούλεται, ὅπλοισι τὰ ἀμφί-
 βολα διακριθῆσεσθαι.

Ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν, Τατοῦλος ὁ τοῦ
 Ὀρέστου πατὴρ ἦκε λέγων ὡς ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς Ἀττήλας ἐπὶ τὸ
 συμπόσιον παρακαλεῖ· γενήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ περὶ θ' τῆς ἡμέρας. ὡς
 δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐφυλάξαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κληθέντες παρεγενό-
 μεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἔστημεν
 ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐδοῦ ἀντὶ Ἀττήλα. καὶ κύλικα οἱ οἰνοχόοι κατὰ τὸ ἐπι-
 χώριον ἐπέδοσαν ἔθος, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῆς ἔδρας ἐπεύξασθαι· οὐ 25
 δὴ γενομένου, τῆς κύλικος ἀπογευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους ἦλθομεν,

9 αὐτὸν Niebuhr [τὸν codd. 15 δεξέσθαι Niebuhr [δεξάσθαι codd. 21 ὦραν
 post ἡμέρας coni. de Boor 24 κύλικα Hoeschel [ἐπόλικα codd. de Boor
 suspicitur versum archetypi intercidisse inter ἐπό- et -λικα

sacred amongst the Scythian kings. The historian Priscus says it was
 found under the following circumstances. When a herdsman noticed
 one of his heifers limping and could find no reason for such a wound,
 he was troubled and followed the trail of blood. At length he came to a
 sword which the animal had carelessly trodden on while grazing. He dug
 it up and took it straight to Attila. He was pleased by this gift and,
 since he was a high-spirited man, he concluded that he had been ap-
 pointed ruler of the whole world and that through the sword of Mars he
 had been granted invincibility in war.

13

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

As each of us was wanting to say something about the present
 situation, Onegesius came out and we went over to him and attempted
 to obtain information upon our own business. When he had first spoken
 to some barbarians, he sent me to Maximinus to ask which man of
 consular rank the Romans were sending as ambassador to Attila. When I
 came to the tent, I reported what had been said to me and discussed
 with Maximinus what I should reply to the question which the bar-
 barbarian had asked of us. I returned to Onegesius and said that the
 Romans wished him to go to them to discuss the disputes, but if this
 were denied them, the Emperor would send whomever he desired. He
 immediately told me to bring Maximinus, and when he arrived, took
 him to Attila. Shortly afterwards Maximinus came out and said that the
 barbarian wanted Nomus, Anatolius or Senator as ambassador and that
 he would receive no other than those named. When Maximinus had
 replied that he ought not render these men suspect to the Emperor by
 naming them for an embassy, Attila said that if the Romans were
 unwilling to follow his wishes, the disputes would be settled by arms.

When we returned to our tent, Tatulus, the father of Orestes,
 came to us and announced, "Attila invites you both to his banquet. It
 will begin at about the ninth hour of the day." We waited for the time,
 and those of us who had been invited and the envoys of the western
 Romans presented ourselves. We stood at the threshold facing Attila,
 and, as was the custom of the land, the wine waiters gave us a cup⁷⁷ so
 that we might make a prayer before taking our seats. When we had

οὐ ἔδει καθεσθέντας δειπνεῖν.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις τοῦ οἰκήματος πάντες ὑπῆρχον οἱ δίφροι ἐξ ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς. ἐν μεσωτάτῳ δὲ ἦστο ἐπὶ κλίνης ὁ Ἀττήλας, 30 ἑτέρας ἐξόπισθεν κλίνης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, μεθ' ἣν βαθμοὶ τινες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνήγον εὐνήν καλυπτομένην ὀθόνας καὶ ποικίλοις παραπετάσμασι κόσμου χάριω, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν γαμούντων Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατασκευάζουσιν. καὶ πρώτην μὲν ἐνόμιζον τῶν δειπνούντων τάξω τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀττήλα, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν εὐώνυμον, ἐν ἣ ἐτυγχάνομεν ὄντες, προκαθεσθέντος ἡμῶν Βερίχου παρὰ 35 Σκύθαις εὖ γεγονότος ἀνδρός· ὁ γὰρ Ὀνηγήσιος ἐπὶ δίφρου ἦστο ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κλίνης. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ Ὀνηγήσιου ἐπὶ δίφρου ἑκαθέζοντο δύο τῶν Ἀττήλα παιδῶν· ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἦστο κλίνης, οὐκ ἐγγύς, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄκρου, αἰδοῖ τοῦ πατρὸς βλέπων ἐς γῆν.

Πάντων δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ καθεστῶτων, παρελθὼν οἰνοχόος τῷ Ἀττήλα οἴνου κισσύβιον ἐπίδιδωσιν· δεξάμενος δὲ τὸν τῆ τάξει 40 πρῶτον ἠσπάζετο. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἀσπασμῷ τιμηθεὶς διανίστατο· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἰζηοῖσι θέμις ἦν, πρὶν ἢ τῷ οἰνοχόῳ ἀπογευσάμενος ἢ καὶ ἐκπιῶν ἀπέδωκε τὸ κισσύβιον. καθεσθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ <αὐτῷ> 45 τρόπῳ οἱ παρόντες ἐτίμων δεχόμενοι τὰς κύλικας καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀπογευόμενοι. ἐκάστῳ δὲ εἰς οἰνοχόος παρῆν, ὃν ἔδει κατὰ στοῖχον εἰσιέναι, τοῦ Ἀττήλα οἰνοχόου ὑπεξίοντος, τιμηθέντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἴσοις ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐδεξιῶσατο κατὰ τὴν τῶν θάκων τάξω, ὥ δὴ ἀσπασμῷ πάντων 50 τιμηθέντων, ὑπεξήεσαν μὲν οἱ οἰνοχόοι, τράπεζαι δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀττήλα παρετίθεντο κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἀνδρας ἢ καὶ πλείους· ὅθεν ἕκαστος οἴος τε ἦν τῶν τῆ μαγίδι ἐπιτιθεμένων μεταλαβεῖν μὴ ὑπεξίον τῆς τῶν θρόνων τάξεως. καὶ πρῶτος εἰσῆει ὁ τοῦ Ἀττήλα 55 ὑπηρέτης κρεῶν πλήρη πίνακα φέρων, καὶ οἱ πᾶσι διακονούμενοι μετ' αὐτὸν οἶτον καὶ ὄψα ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐπέθεσαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις βαρβάρους καὶ ἡμῶν πολυτελεῖ δειπνα κατεσκευάστο κύλικας ἐπι- κείμενα ἀργυροῖς, τῷ δὲ Ἀττήλα ἐπὶ τοῦ ξυλίου πίνακος ἦν οὐδὲν 60 πλεον κρεῶν. μέτριον δὲ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐδείκνυ. τοῖς γὰρ τῆς εὐωχίας ἀνδράσι κύλικες χρυσαῖ τε καὶ ἀργυραὶ ἐπε- δίδοντο, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκπῶμα ξύλων ἦν. λιτῆ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς ἐτύγγαυεν οὐσα μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων πλην τοῦ καθαρὰ εἶναι διαφυλάτ- 65 τουσα· καὶ οὔτε τὸ παρηωρημένον αὐτῷ ξίφος οὔτε οἱ τῶν βαρ- βαρικῶν ὑποδημάτων δεσμοὶ οὔτε τοῦ ἵππου ὁ χαλῶς, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν, χρυσοῦ ἢ λίθοις ἢ τι τῶν τιμίων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

done this and had tasted from the cup, we went to the seats where we were to sit for dinner.

All the seats were arranged around the walls of the building on both sides. In the very middle of the room Attila sat upon a couch. Behind him was another couch, and behind that steps led up to Attila's bed, which was screened by fine linens and multicoloured ornamental hangings like those which the Greeks and Romans prepare for weddings. The position of those dining on the right of Attila was considered the most honourable, that on the left, where we were, less so. Ahead of us sat Berichus, a Scythian noble, for Onegesius sat on a chair to the right of Attila. Opposite Onegesius two of Attila's sons sat on a chair; the eldest one sat upon Attila's couch, not close to him but right at the end, gazing at the ground out of respect for his father.⁷⁸

When all were seated in order, a wine waiter came up to Attila and offered him a wooden cup of wine. He took the cup and greeted the first in the order. The one who was honoured with the greeting stood up, and it was the custom that he not sit down until he had either tasted the wine or drunk it all and had returned the wooden cup to the waiter. When he had sat down, all present honoured him in the same manner, taking our cups and tasting them after the greeting. Each guest had a wine waiter in attendance, who had to step forward in line after Attila's waiter retired. When the second had been honoured and the rest in order, Attila greeted us with the same ceremony according to the order of the seats.⁷⁹ When all had been honoured with this greeting, the wine waiters withdrew and, beginning from Attila,⁸⁰ tables were set up for three or four or more persons, from which each could partake of what was placed on the platter without leaving the line of chairs. Attila's servant entered first bearing a plate full of meat, and after him those who were serving us placed bread and cooked foods on the tables. While for the other barbarians and for us there were lavishly prepared dishes served on silver platters, for Attila there was only meat on a wooden plate. He showed himself temperate in other ways also. For golden and silver goblets were handed to the men at the feast, whereas his cup was of wood. His clothing was plain and differed not at all from that of the rest, except that it was clean. Neither the sword that hung at his side nor the fastenings of his barbarian boots nor his horse's bridle was adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or precious stones or anything else of value.

Τῶν δὲ ὄψων τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις πύαξιν ἐπιτεθέντων ἀνα-
 λωθέντων, πάντες διανέστημεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν δίφρον
 ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν, πρὶν ἢ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν τάξιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἐπι-
 δομένην αὐτῷ οἴνου πλήρη ἐξέπιε κύλικα τὸν Ἀττήλαν σῶν εἶναι
 ἐπευξάμενος. καὶ τοῦτον τιμηθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον ἐκαθέσθημεν, 70
 καὶ δεύτερος ἐκάστη τραπέζῃ ἐπετίθετο πύαξ ἕτερα ἔχων ἐδώμα.
 ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πάντες μετέλαβον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐξαναστάντες
 τρόπῳ αὐθις ἐκπιόντες ἐκαθέσθημεν, ἐπιγενομένης ἑσπέρας δᾶδες
 ἀνήφθησαν, δύο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀττήλα παρελθόντες βάρβαροι
 ᾄσματα πεποιημένα ἔλεγον νίκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον 75
 ἄδοντες ἀρετάς. ἐς οὓς οἱ τῆς εὐωχίας ἀπέβλεπον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦδοντο
 τοῖς ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολέμων ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι διηγείροντο
 τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐχώρουν ἐς δάκρυα, ὧν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου
 ἦσθενεὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἠσυχάζεω ὁ θυμὸς ἠναγκάζεται.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ᾄσματα Σκύθης τις παρελθὼν φρενοβλαβῆς 80
 ἀλλόκοτα καὶ παράσημα καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς φθεγγόμενος ἐς γέλωτα
 πάντας παρεσκεύασε παρελθεῖν. μεθ' ὃν ὑπείσηλθε Ζέρκων ὁ
 Μαυρούσιος.

2. (Suda Z 29)

Ζέρκων, Σκύθης οὕτω καλούμενος, Μαυρούσιος τὸ γένος. διὰ
 δὲ κακοφυίαν σώματος καὶ τὸ γέλωτα ἐκ τῆς τραυλότητος τῆς
 φωνῆς καὶ ὄψεως παρέχεω (βραχὺς γάρ τις ἦν, κυρτός, διάστροφος
 τοῖς ποσὶ, τὴν ῥῖνα τοῖς μυκτῆροι παραφαίων διὰ σιμότητος ὑπερ-
 βολῆν), Ἄσπαρι τῷ Ἀρδαβουρίῳ ἐδεδώρητο, καθ' ὃν ἐν Λιβύῃ 5
 διέτριβε χρόνον. ἦλω δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Θρακῶν ἐμβαλόντων
 καὶ παρὰ τοὺς βασιλείους ἦχθη Σκύθας. καὶ Ἀττήλας μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ ἠνεγκεν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Βλήδας ἦσθη τε λίαν αὐτῷ φθεγγόμενῳ οὐ
 μόνον γέλωτος ἄξια, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ βαδίζοντι καὶ περιττῶς κωοῦντι τὸ
 σῶμα. συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ εὐωχουμένῳ καὶ ἐκστρατεῦντι, πεποιημένην 10
 πρὸς τὸ γελοιώτερον ἀναλαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις ναυοπλίαν. διὸ δὴ
 περισπούδαστον αὐτὸν ὁ Βλήδας ποιούμενος μετὰ αἰχμαλώτων ἀπο-
 δράντα Ῥωμαίων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατωλιγώρησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ
 πάσης φροντίδος ἀναζητεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. καὶ ἄλόντα καὶ παρ'
 αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα ἐν δεσμοῖς ἰδὼν ἐγέλασεν. καὶ καθυφείς τῆς ὀργῆς 15
 ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὅτου χάριον νομίζοι τὰ Ῥω-
 μαίων τῶν παρὰ σφίσι ἀμείωνα. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀμάρτημα μὲν
 τὴν φυγὴν εἶναι, ἔχεω δὲ τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος λόγον, τὸ μὴ γαμετὴν
 αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι. τῷ δὲ γέλῳτι μᾶλλον ὁ Βλήδας ὑπαχθεῖς δίδωσιν
 αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν εὐ γεγονότων καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι διακονησα- 20
 μένων, ἀτόπου δὲ τῶς πράξεως ἔνεκα οὐκέτι παρ' ἐκείνην φοιτῶσαν.

When we had finished the food on the first platters, we all stood
 up, and no one resumed his seat until, in the order as before, we had
 each drained the cup full of wine which was given to us and prayed for
 Attila's health. When he had been honoured in this way we resumed our
 seats, and a second platter, containing different dishes, was placed on
 each table. When all had partaken of this, again we stood up in the same
 manner, drank a cup of wine and sat down. Since it was now evening,
 pine torches were lit. Two barbarians came and stood before Attila and
 chanted songs which they had composed, telling of his victories and his
 deeds of courage in war. The guests fixed their eyes on the singers:
 some took pleasure in the verses, others recalling the wars became
 excited, while others, whose bodies were enfeebled by age and whose
 spirits were compelled to rest, were reduced to tears.

After the songs a Scythian whose mind was deranged came for-
 ward and, by uttering outlandish, unintelligible and altogether crazy
 words, caused all to burst into laughter. After him Zercon the Moor
 entered.

2. (Suda Z 29)

Zercon: a Scythian so-called,⁸¹ but a Moor by origin. Because of
 his physical deformity and the laughter which his stammering and his
 general appearance caused (for he was rather short, hunchbacked, with
 distorted feet and a nose that, because of its excessive flatness, was
 indicated only by the nostrils) he was presented to Aspar, the son of
 Ardabur, when he was in Libya. When the barbarians attacked Thrace,
 he was captured and taken to the Scythian kings. Attila could not stand
 the sight of him, but Bleda was most pleased by him, not only when he
 was saying amusing things but even when he was not, because of the
 strange movements of his body as he walked. He accompanied Bleda
 both at feasts and on campaigns, and on these expeditions he wore a
 suit of armour made for amusing effect. Bleda thought so highly of him
 that when he ran off with some Roman prisoners, he ignored the rest
 but ordered him to be sought for with all diligence. When Zercon was
 recaptured and brought back in chains, Bleda, at the sight of him, burst
 into laughter, abated his anger and asked the reason for his flight and
 why he thought life amongst the Romans was better than that amongst
 themselves. He answered that his flight had been a crime, but he had a
 reason for the crime, that he had not been given a wife. Bleda laughed
 even more and gave him a wife from one of the well-born attendants
 upon the queen, who was no longer in her service because of some

καὶ οὕτω διετέλει ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τῷ Βλήδα συνών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευταίην Ἀττήλας Ἀετίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαίων δῶρον τὸν Ζέρκωνα δίδωσιν, ὃς αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἄσπαρα ἀπέπεμψεν.

25

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3*)

Ὁ γὰρ Ἐδέκων αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐλθεῖν παρέπεισεν ὡς τῇ ἐκείνου σπουδῇ τὴν γαμετὴν ἀποληψόμενον, ἣν κατὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων εἰλήφει χώραν τῷ Βλήδα περισπούδαστος ὢν, ἀπολελοῖπει δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα δῶρον Ἀετίῳ πεμφθεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης διήμαρτεν ἐλπίδος, τοῦ Ἀττήλα χαλεπήμαντος, ὅτι γε δὴ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπανήλθεν· τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν τῆς εὐωχίας καιρὸν παρελθὼν τῷ τε εἶδει καὶ τοῖς ἐσθήμασι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς συγκεχυμένως παρ' αὐτοῦ προφερομένοις ῥήμασι (τῇ γὰρ Αὔσονίων τὴν τῶν Οὔνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Γότθων παραμιγνύς γλωτταν) πάντας διέχεε καὶ ἐς ἀσβεστον ὀρμηῆσαι γέλωτα παρεσκεύασε πλὴν Ἀττήλα· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔμενεν ἀστεμφής καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀμετάτρεπτος καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ποιῶν γέλωτος ἐχόμενον ἐφαίνετο, πλὴν ὅτι τὸν νεώτατον τῶν παίδων (Ἥρνᾶς δὲ ὄνομα τούτῳ) εἰσιόντα καὶ παρεστῶτα εἶλκε τῆς παρειᾶς γαληνοῖς ἀποβλέπων ὄμμασι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐμοῦ δὲ θαυμάζοντος, ὅπως τῶν μὲν ἄλλων παίδων ὀλιγωροῖη, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἔχει τὸν νοῦν, ὁ παρακαθήμενος βάρβαρος συνιείς τῆς Αὔσονίων φωνῆς καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ μοι ῥηθησομένων μηδὲν ἐκλέγειν προειπῶν ἔφασκε τοὺς μάντις τῷ Ἀττήλα προηγουμέναι τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ πεσεῖσθαι γένος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι τούτου. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ εἶλκον τὴν νύκτα, ὑπεξήλθομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ μὴ βουληθέντες τῷ πόντῳ προσκαρτερεῖν.

5

10

15

20

9 παρεμίγνυ Papabasilieus (1896) [παραιμίγνυσι aut παραμιγνύς ἦν de Boor
11 αὐτὸς [οὗτος Dindorf 16 ἔχει Niebuhr [ἔχει codd.

14

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3*)

Ἡμέρας δὲ ἐνομένης ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀνηγησίον ἦλθομεν χρῆναι ἡμᾶς διαφεθῆναι λέγοντες καὶ μὴ τηνάλλως τριβῆναι τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ὃς ἔφη ἐθέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀποπέμπεω ἡμᾶς, καὶ μικρὸν διαλίπων ἅμα τοῖς λογάσω ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν Ἀττήλα δεδωγμένων καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖ ἀποδοθησόμενα συνέταττε γράμματα, ὑπογραφέντων αὐτῷ παρόντων καὶ Ρουστικίου, ἀνδρὸς ὀρωμένου μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω Μυσίας, ἀλόντος δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ λόγων ἀρετὴν τῷ βαρβάρῳ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων διαπνουμένου συντάξει.

5

misdeemeanour. Thus he passed all his time with Bleda. After his death Attila gave Zercon as a gift to Aetius, the general of the western Romans, who sent him back to Aspar.

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3*)

Edeco had persuaded him [Zercon] to come to Attila in order to recover his wife, whom he had been given in the country of the barbarians as a result of his great favour with Bleda, but whom he had left behind in Scythia when Attila had sent him as a gift to Aetius. But he was disappointed in his hopes, since Attila was angry that he had returned to his country. Now, during the banquet he came forward and by his appearance, his clothing, his voice and the words which he spoke all jumbled together (for he mixed Latin, Hunnic and Gothic) he put all in a good humour and caused all to burst into uncontrollable laughter,⁸² except Attila. He remained unmoved with no change of expression and neither said nor did anything that hinted at laughter, except when his youngest son, whose name was Ernach,⁸³ came up and stood by him. Then he drew him closer by the cheek and gazed at him with gentle eyes. When I expressed amazement that he paid attention to this son while ignoring the others, the barbarian who sat next to me and who knew Latin, warning me to repeat nothing of what he would tell me, said that the prophets had foretold to Attila that his race would fall, but would be restored by this boy. Since they were spending the night over the banquet, we departed, not wishing to continue drinking for a long time.

14

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3*)

When day came we went to Onegesius and said that we ought to be dismissed without any pointless delay. He said that Attila was willing to send us away. After a short time he deliberated with the leading men upon Attila's views and had the letters drawn up to be delivered to the Emperor. Present at this transaction were his own secretaries and Rusticius, a man from Upper Moesia who had been captured in war and who, because of his literary skills, was employed by the barbarian in drawing up letters.

Ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς συνόδου διανέστη, ἐδεήθημεν αὐτοῦ περὶ λύσεως
τῆς Σύλλου γαμετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης παιδῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥατιαρίας 10
ἀνδραποδιοθέντων ἀλώσει. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπηγγό-
ρευσε λύσω, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς δὲ σφᾶς ἐβούλετο χρήμασιν ἀπεμπολᾶν.
ἡμῶν δὲ ἐλεεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης ἰκετευσάντων τὴν προτέραν εὐ-
δαμονίαν λογιζόμενον, διέβη τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀττήλαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν
γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις διαῤῃκε χρυσοῖς, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δῶρον 15
ἔπεμπε βασιλεῖ.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡρέκῳ ἢ τοῦ Ἀττήλα γαμετῆ παρὰ Ἀδάμει
τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔχοντι δειπνεῖν ἡμᾶς παρε-
κάλει. καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες ἅμα τισὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους λογάδων 20
φιλοφροσύνης ἐτύχομεν· ἐδεξιούτο γὰρ ἡμᾶς μελιχίους τε λόγοις καὶ
τῇ τῶν ἐδωδῖμων παρασκευῇ. καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν παρόντων Σκυθηκῆ
φιλοτιμία κύλικα ἡμῖν πλήρη διανιστάμενος ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν ἐκπιόντα
περιβαλὼν καὶ φιλήσας ταύτην ἐδέχετο. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ τὴν
οκητὴν ἐλθόντες ἐς ὕπνον ἐτράπημεν.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ συμπόσιον αὖθις ἡμᾶς Ἀττήλας ἐκάλει, καὶ 25
τῷ προτέρῳ τρόπῳ παρὰ τε αὐτὸν εἰσήλθομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν εὐωχίαν
ἐτράπημεν. συνέβη δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κλῆνης ἅμα αὐτῷ μὴ τὸν πρεσβύ-
τερον τῶν παιδῶν ἦσθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ὀηβάρσιον θεῖον αὐτῷ τυγχά-
νοντα πρὸς πατρός, παρὰ πᾶν δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον λόγοις φιλοφρονού-
μενος φράζεω ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖ παρεκελεύετο τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ, ὃς αὐτῷ 30
παρὰ Ἀετίου ἀπέσταλτο ὑπογραφέως χάρω, διδόναι ἢν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα
καὶ ὑπέσχετο. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα Θεοδοσίον ἅμα τοῖς σταλεῖσι
παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα πρέσβεσιν ἀφικόμενος ὁ Κωνσταντίος τὴν εἰρήνην
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Σκύθαις ἔφησεν ἐπὶ μακρὸν φυλάττεσθαι χρόνον
παρασκευάσει, ἂν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα εὖπορον δοίη. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο 35
ἐπένευσε βασιλεὺς καὶ Σατορνίλου περιουσίᾳ καὶ γένει κοσμουμένου
θυγατέρα εἰρήκει δώσειν. τὸν δὲ Σατορνίλον ἀνηγήκει Ἀθηναῖς ἢ
καὶ Εὐδοκία· ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ἐς ἔργον δὲ τὴν
αὐτοῦ οὐ συνεχώρησεν ἀχθῆναι ὑπόσχεσιν Ζήνωνος ὑπατικός ἀνὴρ καὶ
πολλὴν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων Ἰσαύρων δύναμιν, μεθ' ἧς καὶ τὴν Κων- 40
σταντίνου κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν φυλάττεω ἐπετέτραπτο. τότε
δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἔξω στρατιωτικῶν ἀρχῶν ταγμάτων ὑπεξάγει τοῦ
φρουρίου τὴν κόρην καὶ Ῥούφῳ τινὶ ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεγγυᾶ.
ταύτης δὲ ἀφρημένης, ὁ Κωνσταντίος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐνυβρι-
σόμενον αὐτὸν μὴ περιορᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἢ τὴν ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην 45
αὐτῷ δίδοσθαι γαμετὴν τοσαύτην φερνὴν εἰσοίσουσιν. παρὰ τὸν
τοῦ δεῖπνου τούτων καιρὸν ὁ βάρβαρος λέγειν τῷ βασιλεῦσιν τὸν

When he came out of the meeting, we asked him to free the wife
of Syllus and her children, who had been taken prisoner at the capture
of Ratiaria. He did not object to their freedom, but wished to sell them
for a high price. When we begged him to think of their previous
happiness and have pity for their current misfortune, he went to Attila
and dismissed the wife for five hundred *solidi* and sent the children to
the Emperor as a gift.

Meanwhile Hereka,⁸⁴ Attila's wife, invited us to dine at the house
of Adamis, the manager of her affairs. We went there together with
some of the leading men of the nation and were generously received.
He welcomed us with gracious words and an array of foods. With
Scythian hospitality each of those present stood up, handed us a
cup full of wine, after we had drunk, embraced and kissed us, and
took back the cup. After the dinner we returned to our tent and
turned to sleep.

On the next day Attila again invited us to a banquet, and in the
same manner as before we presented ourselves and took part in the
feast. On this occasion it was not the eldest of his sons who was seated
next to him on the couch, but Oebarsius, his paternal uncle. Through-
out the banquet Attila addressed friendly words to us and he bade us
tell the Emperor to give to Constantius, who had been sent to him as
secretary from Aetius, the wife whom he had also⁸⁵ promised to him.
When Constantius had come to the Emperor in the company of the
envoys sent from Attila, he said that if Theodosius gave him a wealthy
wife, he would ensure that the peace between the Romans and the
Scythians would be preserved for a long time. The Emperor agreed to
this proposal and said that he would give him the daughter of Satur-
nilus, a man of considerable wealth and family connections, who had
been destroyed by Athenais (or Eudocia — she was called by both
names).⁸⁶ But the fulfilment of this promise was prevented by Zeno,⁸⁷
a man of consular rank who commanded a large force of Isaurians with
which he had been assigned the guarding of Constantinople during the
war. Then, being master of the soldiers in the East, he carried off the
girl from the fortress⁸⁸ and betrothed her to Rufus, one of his associ-
ates.⁸⁹ When the girl was taken away from him, Constantius asked the
barbarian not to overlook the insult to him, but that either the girl
who had been taken away or another with a comparable dowry be
given to him as his wife. During the banquet, therefore, the barbarian

17 Ἡρέκῳ BE Ἰ'Ηρέκα MP Κρέκα Niebuhr et Müller (qui ἢ Ρέκῳ in textu habet) 20 γὰρ E Ἰδέ X 32 καὶ exp. Dindorf

Μαξιμίων ἐκέλευε μὴ χρῆναι τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Κωνσταντίον ἐλπίδος διαμαρτεῦ· οὔτε γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ ψεῦδεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐνετέλλετο, ὑποσχομένου Κωνσταντίου χρήματα δώσειν, εἰ τῶν 50
 ζαπλοῦτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους κατεγγυηθείη γυνή.

Τοῦ δὲ συμποσίου ὑπεξελθόντες μετὰ τὴν νύκτα ἡμερῶν δια-
 γενομένων τριῶν διηφειθήμεν δώροις τοῖς προσήκουσι τιμηθέντες. ἔπεμπε δὲ ὁ Ἀττήλας καὶ Βέριχον τὸν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ προκαθ-
 εσθέντα ἄνδρα τῶν λογάδων καὶ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κωμῶν 55
 ἄρχοντα παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευσόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτόν, οἷα δὴ
 πρέσβιν, <δῶρα> παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέξασθαι.

Ποιουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν πορείαν καὶ πρὸς κώμη κατα-
 λυσάντων τῷ, ἦλθον Σκύθης ἀνὴρ κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἐκ τῆς Ῥω-
 μαίων ἐς τὴν βάρβαρον διαβηθικῶς χώραν· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀττήλας 60
 ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι παρεκελεύσατο. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ δι' ἐτέρων κωμῶν
 πορευομένων ἡμῶν, ἄνδρες β' τῶν παρὰ Σκύθαις δουλευόντων
 ἦγοντο ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεδεμένῳ ὡς τοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀνελόντες
 δεσπότης· καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλων β' κεραίας ἐχόντων ἀμφοῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς
 ἐμβαλόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν. 65

Ἐφ' ὅσων δὲ τὴν Σκυθικὴν διεξήγεμεν, ὁ Βέριχος ἐκοκῶνει τε
 ἡμῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἡσυχός τις καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ἐνομίζετο. ὡς δὲ τὸν
 Ἰστρον ἐπεραιώθημεν, ἐν ἐχθροῦ ἡμῶν ἐγένετο μοίρα διὰ τῶν
 ἐώλους προφάσεις ἐκ τῶν θεραπόντων συνενεχθείσας. καὶ πρό-
 τερον μὲν τὸν ἵππον ἀφείλετο, ὃ τὸν Μαξιμίων δωρησάμενος ἦν. ὁ 70
 γὰρ Ἀττήλας πάντας τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν λογάδας παρεκελεύσατο
 δώροις τὸν Μαξιμίων φιλοφρονήσασθαι, καὶ ἕκαστος ἐπεπόμφει
 ἵππον αὐτῷ, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Βέριχος. ὀλίγους δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄλλους
 ἀπέπεμπε τὸ σῶφρον δηλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς μετριότητος ἐσπουδακῶς.
 τοῦτον οὖν ἀφείλετο τὸν ἵππον καὶ οὔτε συνοδοιπορεῖν οὔτε συνεσι- 75
 ᾶσθαι ἠνέσχετο· ὥστε ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων χωρᾷ γενόμενον σύμ-
 βουλον ἐς τοῦτο προελθεῖν.

Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τῆς Φιλίππου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν τὴν
 πορείαν ἐποίησάμεθα. ἐν ἣ διαναπαυσάμενοι ἐς λόγους ἦλθομεν τῷ
 Βερίχῳ καὶ αὐτόν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σιωπῆς κατεμεμψάμεθα, ὅτι γε 80
 δὴ ὀργίζεται οὐκ ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδέν. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπὶ
 ἐστίασιν καλέσαντες ἐξωρμήσαμεν, καὶ τῷ Βερίχῳ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀπαν-
 τήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐπαναζευγνύντι καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀττήλα

commanded Maximinus to tell the Emperor that Constantius should not be disappointed in his hopes of him, for it was not the mark of a king to lie. Attila gave these orders since Constantius had promised to give him money if a woman from one of the very rich Roman families were betrothed to him.

After nightfall we left the banquet and three days later we were dismissed, having been honoured with appropriate gifts. Attila also sent along on an embassy to the Emperor Berichus, one of the leading men and the ruler of many villages in Scythia, who had sat before us at the banquet. There were various reasons, but the particular purpose was that he should receive <gifts> from the Romans.⁹⁰

When we were on our journey and had halted near to a certain village, a Scythian, who had crossed from Roman to barbarian territory in order to spy, was captured. Attila ordered him impaled. On the following day, while we were travelling through other villages, two men who were in slavery amongst the Scythians were brought in, their hands tied behind them, because they had killed their masters in battle. They gibbeted them by affixing their heads to two lengths of wood with v-shaped clefts at the top.⁹¹

While we were journeying through Scythia, Berichus rode with us, and we thought him gentle and friendly. But when we had crossed the Danube, as a result of some old issues which had arisen out of the servants, he adopted the attitude of an enemy towards us. First, he took back the horse which he had given as a gift to Maximinus. (For Attila had ordered each of his leading men to show friendship to Maximinus with gifts, and each of them, including Berichus, had sent him a horse. Maximinus had kept a few of these, but had sent back the rest, since he was eager to show his restraint by his temperate behaviour.) Berichus, then, took back this horse and refused to ride or to eat with us. And so, the pact which existed towards us in the land of the barbarians now came to this.

From here we made our journey through Philippopolis to Adrianople. Here we halted and approached Berichus, complaining to him of his silence towards us and saying that he was angry at men who did him no wrong. When we had tried to win him over and had invited him to dinner, we set out. On the road we met Vigilas, who was returning to Scythia. We told him what reply Attila had made to our embassy and

49 βασιλέως scripsi [βασιλεῖ codd. βασιλικὸν βασιλέα ψεῦδεσθαι (sc. χρῆναι) Gordon (1960 p.203 n.60) πρέπειν post ψεῦδεσθαι add. Niebuhr 57 δῶρα scripsi [de Boor corruptelam indicat δῶρα παρὰ Ῥ. δέξασθαι βουλόμενος Müller 70 ὃ Niebuhr [ὡς codd. 76-77 γενόμενον σύμβουλον de Boor [γενομένου συμβόλου edd.

ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἀποκρίσεως εἰρημένα ἀφῆγησάμενοι τῆς
 ἐπαρόδου εἰχόμεθα. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου παρεγερόμεθα, 85
 μεταβελῆσθαι μὲν ὤομεθα τὸν Βέριχον τῆς ὀργῆς· ὃς δὲ τῆς
 ἀγρίας οὐκ ἐπελέληστο φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφορὰς ἐχώρει καὶ ἐν
 κατηγορία ἐποιεῖτο τὸν Μαξιμῖον, ὡς ἔφησεν εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν
 διαβάς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον καὶ τὸν Ἄσπαρα ἄνδρας στρατηγούς μηδε-
 μίαν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἔχων μοῖραν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀλιγωρία τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς 90
 ἐποιήσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἐλέγξας κουφότητα.

Liber IV

15

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ἀναξεύξαντα δὲ τὸν Βιγίλαν εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ ἐν οἷς τὸν
 Ἀττήλαν τόποις διατρίβειν συνέβησεν ἀφικόμενον περιστάντες εἶχον
 οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι βάρβαροι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἅπερ τῷ
 Ἐδέκωνι ἐκόμιζεν, ἀφείλοντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν 5
 ἦγον, καὶ ἀνηρωτᾶτο, ὅτου χάριν τοσοῦτον φέροι χρυσίον, ἔφη οικείας
 τε καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων προνοίας ἕνεκα, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδεία τροφῶν ἢ
 ἵππων σπάνει ἢ καὶ τῶν φορτηγῶν ὑποζυγίων ὑπὸ τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκ-
 δαπανηθέντων ὁδοῦ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας σπουδῆς·
 παρεσκευασθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αἰχμαλώτων ὦνῆν, πολλῶν κατὰ 10
 τὴν Ῥωμαίων δεηθέντων αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἴκους προσήκοντας λύσασθαι.
 καὶ ὁ Ἀττήλας· ἀλλ' οὔτι, ἔφη, σὺ πονηρὸν θηρίον, τὸν Βιγίλαν
 λέγων, τὴν δίκην σοφιζόμενος λήσεις, οὐδὲ ἔσται σοι πρόφασις ἰκανὴ
 εἰς τὸ τὴν κόλασιν διαφυγεῖν, μελζονος μὲν τῆς σῆς δαπάνης παρα-
 σκευῆς σοι χρημάτων ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἵππων καὶ ὑπο-
 ζυγίων ὠνηθησομένων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λύσεως, ἣν σὺν 15
 Μαξιμῖνῳ παρ' ἐμὲ ἀφικόμενῳ ποιεῖν ἀπηγόρευσα.

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν υἱὸν (ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Βιγίλα τότε πρῶτον εἰς
 τὴν βαρβάρων ἠκολουθηκῶς χώραν) ξίφει καταβληθῆναι παρεκε-
 λεύσατο, εἰ μὴ φθάσας εἶποι, ὅτι τὰ χρήματα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν
 κομίζει. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα, ἐς 20
 δάκρυά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρμούς ἐτράπη καὶ ἀνεβόα τὴν δίκην ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 φέρειν τὸ ξίφος, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν νέον τὸν ἀδικοῦντα οὐδέν. καὶ μηδὲν
 μελλήσας τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐδέκωνι καὶ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ
 μελετηθέντα ἔλεγεν, συνεχῶς δὲ εἰς ἰκεσίας τρεπόμενος, ὥστε αὐτὸν
 μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, διαφεθῆναι δὲ τὸν παῖδα. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττήλας ἀπὸ 25
 τῶν Ἐδέκωνι εἰρημένων μηδὲν διεψεύσθαι τὸν Βιγίλαν ἐν δεσμοῖς
 εἶναι προσέταπεν, οὐ πρότερον λύσειν ἀπειλήσας, πρὶν ἢ τὸν παῖδα

then continued our return journey. When we reached Constantinople,
 we thought Berichus had put off his anger, but he had not shed his
 savage nature. He came into dispute with us and accused Maximinus of
 saying, when he crossed into Scythia, that the generals Areobindus and
 Aspar carried no weight with the Emperor and of pouring contempt
 upon their achievements by arguing that they were unreliable bar-
 barians.⁹²

Book IV

15

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

When Vigilas had returned to Scythia and reached the district
 where Attila was staying, barbarians who had been readied for this
 purpose surrounded and detained him and took away the money which
 he was bringing for Edeco. When they brought him before Attila and
 he was asked for what reason he was carrying so much gold, he replied
 that it was for the purposes of himself and those with him, so that they
 would not fail to achieve the object of the embassy through lack of
 supplies or inadequacy of the horses and baggage animals which had
 been exhausted by the long journey. Moreover, money had been
 supplied to him to purchase captives, since many in Roman territory
 had begged him to ransom their relatives. Then Attila, calling Vigilas
 a “worthless beast”, said, “You will escape justice no longer with your
 tricks. Your excuses will not be enough for you to avoid punishment.
 Your supply of money is more than you need to buy provisions for
 yourself, and horses, and baggage animals, and to ransom the captives,
 which I forbade you to do when you came to me with Maximinus.”

Saying this he ordered that Vigilas' son, who on that occasion
 had accompanied his father to the land of the barbarians for the first
 time, be struck down with a sword unless Vigilas first told why and
 for what purpose he was bringing the money. When Vigilas saw his
 son facing death, he burst into tears and lamentations and called upon
 justice to use the sword on him, not upon an innocent youth. Without
 hesitation he described what had been planned by himself, Edeco, the
 eunuch and the Emperor, all the time begging that he be put to death
 and his son be sent away. When Attila knew from what Edeco had told
 him that Vigilas was not lying, he ordered him to be put in chains and
 promised that he would not free him until he sent his son back and

ἐκπέμψας ἑτέρας αὐτῶ ν' χρυσοῦ λίτρας ὑπὲρ τῶν σφετέρων κομίσοι λυτῶν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐδέδετο, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπαγήει. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Ἦσλαν ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντινίου. 30

2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

Ἵτι φωραθέντα τὸν Βιγίλαν ἐπιβουλευόμενον τῷ Ἀττήλα, καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὰς ἑκατὸν λίτρας τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσάριου τοῦ εὐνοῦχου σταλείσας ἀφελόμενος, παρευθὺ ἔπεμπε Ὀρέστην καὶ Ἦσλαν ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντινίου ἐντειλάμενος τὸν μὲν Ὀρέστην τὸ βαλλάντιον, ἐν ᾧ περ ἐμβεβλήκει Βιγίλας τὸ χρυσοῦν Ἐδέκωνι 5
δοθησόμενον, τῷ σφετέρῳ περιθέντα τραχήλῳ ἔλθειν τε παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ τῷ εὐνοῦχῳ ἀνερωτᾶν, εἴ γε αὐτὸ ἐπιγνώσκοιεν, τὸν δὲ Ἦσλαν λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος εὐ μὲν γεγονότος εἶναι πατρὸς τὸν Θεοδοσίον παιδα, εὐ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν φύντα καὶ τὸν 10
πατέρα Μουνδιούχου διαδεξάμενον διαφυλάξει τὴν εὐγένειαν· ταύτης δε τὸν Θεοδοσίον ἐκπεπτωκότα δουλεύειν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ὑφιστάμενον. οὐ δίκαιον οὖν ποιεῖ τῷ βελτίονι καὶ δν αὐτῷ ἢ τύχη δεσπότην ἀνέδειξεν ὡς πονηρὸς οἰκέτης λαθριδίως ἐπιτιθέμενος. οὐ λύσει οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων, εἰ 15
μὴ γε τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐκπέμψοι πρὸς κόλασιν.

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντινίου παρεγένοντο· σὺνηρέθη δὲ τὸν Χρυσάριον ἐξαιτεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνος. Μαξιμίνου γὰρ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀπαγγείλαντος χρῆναι βασιλέα πληροῦν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ τὴν γυναῖκα δίδοναι, ἣν 20
οὐδαμῶς παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου βουλὴν ἑτέρῳ κατεγγυηθῆναι οἷόν τε ἦν (ἢ γὰρ ἂν ὁ τολμήσας ἐκδεδώκει δίκας, ἢ τοιαῦτα τὰ βασιλέως ἐστίν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τῶν σφετέρων κρατεῖν οἰκετῶν, καθ' ὧν συμμαχίαν, εἴ γε βούλοιο, ἔτοιμον εἶναι παρασχεῖν), ἐδήχθη τε ὁ Θεοδοσίος τὸν θυμὸν καὶ δημοσίαν τὴν τῆς κόρης οὐσίαν ποιεῖ.

3 ἀφελόμενος Classen [ἀφελόμενου codd. 5 τὸ post χρυσοῦν add. Dindorf

3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

Ἵτι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων Ἀττήλα τε καὶ Ζήνωνος αἰτούμενος ὁ Χρυσάριος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καθεστήκει. πάντων δὲ αὐτῷ εὐνοίαν τε καὶ σπουδὴν συνεισφερόντων, ἐδόκει παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρεσβεῦσθαι Ἀνατόλιον καὶ Νόμον, τὸν μὲν Ἀνατόλιον τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἄρχοντα 5
τελῶν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τῆς ἐκείνου εἰρήνης προθέμενον, τὸν δὲ Νόμον τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις σὺν ἐκείνῳ καταλεγόμενον, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναβεβήκασι πάσας. σὺν ἐπέμπετο δὲ Ἀνατολίῳ Νόμος οὐ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς τύχης μόνον, ἀλλὰ

6 ἀρχὴν EMP [τμήν B (ἀρχὴν in mg.) et edd.

brought another fifty pounds of gold to pay for his own ransom. Vigilas was bound, and the son returned to Roman territory, and Attila also sent Orestes and Esclas to Constantinople.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

When Attila had seized Vigilas, who was discovered plotting against him, and the hundred pounds of gold which had been sent by Chrysaphius the eunuch,⁹³ he immediately sent Orestes and Esclas to Constantinople. He ordered Orestes to go before the Emperor wearing around his neck the bag in which Vigilas had placed the gold to be given to Edeco. He was to show him and the eunuch the bag and to ask if they recognised it. Esclas was then to say directly that Theodosius was the son of a nobly-born father, and Attila, too, was of noble descent, having succeeded his father, Mundiuch.⁹⁴ But whereas he had preserved his noble lineage, Theodosius had fallen from his and was Attila's slave, bound to the payment of tribute. Therefore, in attacking him covertly like a worthless slave, he was acting unjustly towards his better, whom fortune had made his master. As a result, Attila declared, he would not absolve Theodosius from blame for the crime against himself unless he handed over the eunuch for punishment.

These men, then, came to Constantinople for this purpose; and it also happened that Zeno was seeking Chrysaphius. For Maximinus had reported Attila's declaration that the Emperor ought to fulfil his promise and give Constantius his wife, who could not have been betrothed to another without the Emperor's consent: either the man who had dared to do this would have already paid the penalty, or the Emperor's affairs were in such a state that he could not control his own servants, against whom, should he wish it, Attila was ready to make an alliance. Mortified by this, Theodosius confiscated the girl's property.⁹⁵

3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

Being sought by both Attila and Zeno, Chrysaphius was in dire straits. Since all unanimously gave him their goodwill and support,⁹⁶ it was decided that Anatolius and Nomus should go as ambassadors to Attila. Anatolius, who had fixed the terms of peace with Attila, was master of the soldiers in the presence, and Nomus had been master of the offices and was, like Anatolius, one of the patricians (who are senior to all other ranks).⁹⁷ Nomus was sent with Anatolius not only because of his high rank, but also because he was friendly towards

ὡς καὶ τῷ Χρυσαιφίῳ εὐνοῦς ὦν καὶ φιλοτιμία τοῦ βαρβάρου περι-
 εσόμενος· ὅτι γὰρ μάλιστα προσῆν αὐτῷ τὸ μὴ φείδεσθαι χρημάτων 10
 τὸ παρὸν διαθεῖναι ἐσπουδακότι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐστέλλοντο τὸν Ἀττή-
 λαν ἀπάξοντες τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ ταῖς συντάξεσι δια-
 φυλάττεω πείσοντας, λέγοντες δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ κατεγγυη-
 θήσεται γυνὴ οὐ μείων τῆς Σατορνίλου γένει τε καὶ περιουσίᾳ· 15
 ἐκείνην γὰρ μὴ βεβουλήσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ κατὰ νόμον γήμασθαι· οὐ
 γὰρ θέμις παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἄκουσαν γυναῖκα κατεγγυᾶσθαι ἀνδρὶ.
 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ βαρβάρῳ χρυσίον ὥστε αὐτὸν μειλιχ-
 θέντα ἀπαχθῆναι τοῦ θυμοῦ.

4. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5)

Ὅτι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀνατόλιον καὶ Νόμον τὸν Ἰστρον περαιω-
 θέντες ἄχρις τοῦ Δρέγκωνος λεγομένου ποταμοῦ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν
 διέβησαν. αἰδοῖ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Ἀττήλας ὥστε μὴ τῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ
 ἐπιτρίβεσθαι διαστήματι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς 5
 ἐποιήσατο ἔντευξιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὑπερηφάνως διαλεχθεὶς ὑπήχθη
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν δώρων, καὶ λόγοις προσήνεσι μαλαχθεὶς φυλάττεω
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπώμνητο συνθήκαις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ
 τῆς τῷ Ἰστροῦ ὀριζομένης Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ τοῦ πράγματα ἔτι
 παρέχων περὶ φυγάδων βασιλεῖ, εἰ μὴ γε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐθις ἐτέρους 10
 καταφεύγοντας παρ' αὐτοῦ δέξοντο. ἠφίει δὲ καὶ Βιγίλαν τὰς ν' τοῦ
 χρυσοῦ λίτρας δεξάμενος· ταύτας γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκεκομῖκει ὁ παῖς σὺν
 τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν διαβάς· καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἄνευ
 λύτρων ἀφῆκε πλείστους Ἀνατολίῳ καὶ Νόμῳ χαριζόμενος. δωρη-
 σάμενος δὲ καὶ ἵππους αὐτοῖς καὶ θηρίων δорάς, αἷς οἱ βασιλῆες κοσ-
 μοῦνται Σκύθαι, ἀπέπεμπε συμπέμψας καὶ τὸν Κωνσταντίον ὥστε 15
 αὐτῷ βασιλέα ἐς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὡς δὲ ἐπανήλθον οἱ
 πρέσβεις καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ τε παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ τε παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου
 διεξήλθον, κατεγγυᾶται τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ γυνὴ γαμετῆ Ἀρματίου
 γενομένη παιδὸς Πλίνθου τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγήσαντος καὶ
 τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος. συνεβεβήκει δὲ τὸν Ἀρμάτον ἐς τὴν 20
 Λιβύων διαβάντα ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Αὐσοριανούς μάχῃ εὐημερήσαι μὲν ἐν
 τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους πολέμῳ, νοσήσαντα δὲ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον.
 οὐδὲ τὴν γαμετὴν καὶ γένει καὶ περιουσίᾳ διαπρέπουσαν ἔπεισεν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ γήμασθαι. οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀττήλαν
 λυθέντων διαφορῶν, ὁ Θεόδοσιος ἐδεδίει μήποτε καὶ Ζήνων τυ- 25
 ραννίδι ἐπιθήσεται.
 (Cf. *Suda* A 2107)

Chrysaphius and would prevail over the barbarian with his generosity,
 for when he was keen to settle a matter he was unsparing with his
 money. These men were sent to turn Attila from his anger and persuade
 him to keep the peace on the terms agreed, and to tell him that a wife
 would be betrothed to Constantius not at all inferior to the daughter
 of Saturnilus in background or wealth. Saturnilus' daughter had been
 unwilling and had been married to another according to the law, since
 amongst the Romans it was not right to betroth a woman to a man
 against her will. The eunuch, too, sent gold to the barbarian to mollify
 him and turn him from his anger.

4. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5)

Anatolius and Nomus and their party crossed the Danube and
 travelled into Scythia as far as the river called the Drecon. Out of
 regard for these men Attila came to meet them at that place in order
 that they not be worn out by the length of the journey. At first Attila
 negotiated arrogantly, but he was overwhelmed by the number of their
 gifts and mollified by their words of appeasement. He swore that he
 would keep the peace on the same terms, that he would withdraw from
 the Roman territory bordering the Danube and that he would cease to
 press the matter of the fugitives with the Emperor providing the Ro-
 mans did not again receive other fugitives who fled from him. He also
 freed Vigilas, having received the fifty pounds of gold which his son,
 who had crossed to Scythia with the ambassadors, had brought. Further-
 more, he freed a large number of prisoners without ransom, gratifying
 Anatolius and Nomus. Having given them gifts of horses and skins of
 wild animals, with which the Scythian kings adorn themselves, he dis-
 missed them and sent along with them Constantius in order that the
 Emperor might fulfil his promise to him. When the ambassadors had
 returned and had reported everything discussed by themselves and by
 the barbarian, to Constantius a woman was betrothed who had been the
 wife of Armatus, the son of Plinthas who had been a Roman general
 and had held the consulship.⁹⁸ Armatus had been serving in Libya
 during the fighting with the Ausorians⁹⁹ and had distinguished himself
 in that war, but had fallen ill and died. The Emperor persuaded his
 wife, who was distinguished by both birth and wealth, to marry Con-
 stantius. When he had settled the differences with Attila in this manner,
 Theodosius feared that Zeno would at some time attempt usurpation.
 (Cf. *Suda* A 2107)

5. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 198 = *Exc. de Ins.* 83)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου Χρυσάφιος διώκει τὰ πάντα, τὰ πάντων ἀρπάξων καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων μισούμενος. τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀττίλας πράξαω τὴν Κωνσταντίου προβαλλόμενος αἴτησιν, ἣν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς Σατορνίλου θυγατρὸς ἤτει, ἐπανίσταται τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον Χρυσάφιον ἐκδοθῆναι οἱ παρεκελεύετο, ὡς φωραθέντα τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς. ἐντεῦθεν πάλω Ἀνατόλιος καὶ Νόμος πρὸς τὸν Ἀττίλαν παραγίνονται, καὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν δώροις ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς κατὰ τοῦ εὐνοῦχου ὀργῆς.

16

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

Ὅτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωνα ἐχαλέπαυεν. ἐδέδκει γὰρ μήποτε καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπίθηται, ἀκωδύνου αὐτῷ γενομένης τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. ὅπερ ἔτι μάλιστα ἐξετάραττεν αὐτόν. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι ῥαδίως νέμων συγγνώμην, χαλεπὸς τε καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος ἦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τυραννίδα μελετησάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλείας ἀξίων νομισθέντων, καὶ σφας ἐκποδῶν ποιῶν διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει τρόπον. καὶ πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένους προσώποις καὶ Βαύδωνα καὶ Δανίηλον ὡς τυραννίδι ἐπιθεμένους ἐξέβαλεν. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῖνυν προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν Ζήνωνα ἀμύνασθαι ἐσπουδακῶς τῆς προτέρας εἶχετο βουλῆς, ὥστε διαβῆναι μὲν τὸν Μαξιμίον εἰς τὴν Ἰσαυρόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν, στεῖλαι δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω δύναμιν τὴν τὸν Ζήνωνα παρασησομένην· καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ δεδογμένων οὐκ ἀρίστατο· μείζονος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκταράξαντος φόβου, τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀνεβάλετο.

2 γενομένης scripsi [γενέσθαι codd. γενέσθαι μελλούσης Müller 7 Βαύδωνα Müller {Βανδωνα codd.

17

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

Ἦκε γὰρ τις ἀγγέλλων τὸν Ἀττίλαν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιθέσθαι βασιλείας, Ὀνωρίας τῆς Βαλεντιανοῦ ἀδελφῆς ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένης αὐτόν. ἡ γὰρ Ὀνωρία τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ αὐτῆ ἐχομένη σκήπτρων Εὐγενίῳ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν αὐτῆς ἔχοντι πραγμάτων ἤλω ἐς λαθραίων ἐρχομένη λέχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμαρτήματι ἀνῆρέθη μὲν ἐκείνος, ἡ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐλαθεῖσα Ἐρκουλάνῳ κατεγγυᾶται, ἀνδρὶ ὑπατικῷ καὶ τρόπων εὖ ἔχοντι, ὡς μήτε πρὸς βασιλείαν μήτε πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ὑποτοπεῖσθαι. ἐν

4 αὐτῆ P

5. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 198 = *Exc. de Ins.* 83)

During the reign of Theodosius Chrysaphius controlled everything, seizing the possessions of all and being hated by all. Then Attila, using as his excuse the demand which Constantius had made of him concerning the daughter of Saturnilus, began again to be hostile to the Roman state and demanded that the eunuch Chrysaphius be handed over to him on the ground that he had been discovered in a plot against him.¹⁰⁰ Thereupon Anatolius and Nomus again came to him and by gifts persuaded him to lay aside his anger against the eunuch.

16

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

The younger Theodosius was angry with Zeno. For he feared that on some occasion he would attempt usurpation, when the attack brought no danger to himself. This disturbed Theodosius very greatly. Although he readily gave forgiveness to all other misdemeanours, he was harsh and unappeasable not only towards those who attempted usurpation but even to those who were held worthy to be Emperor, and he moved by every means to eliminate them. In addition to the persons mentioned he banished Baudo and Daniel on the ground that they were aiming at usurpation. For the same reason in his eagerness to forestall Zeno he kept to his earlier plan. Therefore, Maximinus crossed to Isauropolis and seized the districts there beforehand, and Theodosius also sent a force to the East to subdue Zeno. He did not abandon his designs, but he postponed his preparations when a greater fear distracted him.¹⁰¹

17

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

For a messenger arrived [at Constantinople] with the news that Attila was preparing hostilities against the rulers of Rome, since Honoria, Valentinian's sister, had summoned him to her assistance. Honoria, who herself had the symbols of royal authority, was caught in a clandestine affair with a certain Eugenius, who was in charge of her affairs. He was executed for the crime, and she was deprived of her royal authority and betrothed to Herculanus, a man of consular rank and of such good character that he was suspected of designs neither on kingship nor on revolution. She brought the business to an

συμφορᾷ δὲ καὶ ἀνία δευτῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν Ἰάκωθον εὐνοῦχον ἐκπέμπει τῷ, ὥστε ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτῇ τιμω- 10
ρήσαι τῷ γάμῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ δακτύλιον ἔπεμψε πιστουμένη τὸν
βάρβαρον. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκεύαζεν ἑαυτὸν χωρεῖν κατὰ τῆς τῶν
ἐσπερίων βασιλείας, ἐβουλεύετο δὲ ὅπως τὸν Ἀέτιον προκαταλάβοι·
μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἰ μὴ γε ἐκεῖνον ποιήσοιτο
ἐκποδῶν. 15

Ταῦτα τοῖνυν Θεοδοσίος μεμαθηκῶς ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Βαλεν-
τιανῷ τὴν Ὀνωρίαν ἐκπέμπεω τῷ Ἀττήλα. καὶ ὁ μὲν συλλαβὼν τὸν
Ἰάκωθον ἅπαντα διηρεύνησε καὶ μετὰ πολλοῦς τοῦ σώματος
αἰκισμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτιμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. Ὀνωρίαν δὲ τὴν
ἀδελφὴν Βαλεντιανῶς τῇ μητρὶ δῶρον ἔδωκε πολλὰ αἰτησαμένη 20
αὐτήν. οὕτως μὲν οὖν Ὀνωρία τότε τῆς . . . ἀπελύετο.
(Cf. *Suda* O 404; *Jordanes Get.* 42,223-24 = *Fr.* 22,1; *Rom.* 328;
Theophanes Chron. a.m. 5943 = *Fr.* 21,3)

13 ἐβουλεύετο Müller [ἐβούλετο codd. 21 lac. indicavit Cramer

Liber V

18

(Evagrius *HE* 2,1)

Μαρκιανὸς τοῖνυν, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ μὴν καὶ Πρίσκῳ
ιστόρηται τῷ ῥήτορι, ἦν μὲν Θραξ γένος, ἀνδρὸς στρατιωτικοῦ παῖς·
ὅς γε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βιοτῆς μεταλαχεῖν ἐπιγόμενος πρὸς τὴν
Φιλιππούπολιν τὰς ὁρμὰς ἔσχευε, ἐνθα καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἐδύνατο
συντετάχθαι τάγμασιν. ἀνὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν τεθέαται νεοσφαγὲς σῶμα 5
ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρριμμένον· ὧ παρεστῶς, ἦν γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα πανάριστος καὶ
ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φιλανθρωπότητος, ᾗ κτεῖρε τὸ γεγονός, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ
τὴν πορείαν ἐπέιχε τῶν εἰκότων μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
τινες τοῦτο τεθέανται, ταῖς ἐν τῇ Φιλιππουπόλει προσήγγελλον
ἀρχαῖς· αἱ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς μαιφονίας 10
ἀνηρώτων. καὶ δὴ τῶν στοχασμῶν καὶ τῶν εἰκότων πλέον τῆς
ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἐσχηκῶν, τὸν φόνον τε τάνδρος ἀναω-
μένου καὶ μαιφόνου γε ποῦν μέλλοντος ἀποτίσσειν, θεία τις ἐξαπίνης
ῥοπή τὸν μαιφόνον παραδίδωσιν· ὅς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποθέμενος ποινήν
τοῦ δράματος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ Μαρκιανῷ χαρίζεται. οὕτω παρα- 15
δόξως σωθεὶς ἐν τῷ αὐτόθι στρατιωτικῶν τελῶν ἀρκενεῖται,
ἐν αὐτῷ παραγγέλλεω βουλόμενος. οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσαντες
μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον εἰκότως τεκμηράμενοι ἥδιστα

2 τὸ ante γένος add. V 7 ἐπὶ πολὺ [μικρὸν τι Nicephorus 9 προήγγελλον B

unfortunate and disastrous state by sending the eunuch Hyacinthus to
Attila offering him money to avenge her marriage. In addition to this
she also sent her ring as her pledge to the barbarian. He was preparing
himself to go against the western Empire and was planning how he
might first capture Aetius, since he thought that he would not achieve
his object unless he eliminated him.

When Theodosius learned this, he sent to Valentinian to hand
Honorina over to Attila. But Valentinian arrested Hyacinthus and
carried out a thorough investigation of the matter. After inflicting
many tortures upon him, he ordered him decapitated. He gave Honorina,
his sister, as a gift to her mother, after the latter had made many re-
quests for her. In this manner at the time Honorina escaped. . . .¹⁰²
(Cf. *Suda* O 404; *Jordanes Get.* 42,223-24 = *Fr.* 22,1; *Rom.* 328;
Theophanes Chron. a.m. 5943 = *Fr.* 21,3)

Book V

18

(Evagrius *HE* 2,1)

Marcian, as many writers, and especially the rhetor Priscus, report,
was a Thracian and the son of a military man. He was eager to follow
the same career and was making his way to Philippopolis, where he
could enrol in the forces. On his way he saw a corpse which had been
recently slain and thrown onto the ground. Since he was an altogether
good man and especially kindly, when he came to the body, he grieved
at what had happened and, wishing to give it the proper rites, made
a considerable¹⁰³ break in his journey to do so. Some persons saw this
and reported it to the authorities in Philippopolis. They arrested
Marcian and were interrogating him about the murder. Inference from
the rites that he had performed carried more weight than his true
account, and, despite his denials of the murder, he was about to pay
the penalty for the killing when suddenly divine intervention revealed
the murderer. He was executed as punishment for his action and so
saved Marcian's neck. Having been thus unexpectedly saved, Marcian
approached one of the regiments there, wishing to be enrolled in it.
They were impressed by the man and, judging that he would probably
be a strong and most estimable soldier, gladly accepted him and enrolled

προσδέχονται, καὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλέγουσιν, οὐτὶ ἔσχατον, ὡς ὁ
στρατιωτικὸς ἐθέλει νόμος, ἐς δὲ τῶν βαθμῶν ἄρτι τετελευτηκότος
ἀνδρός (Αὐγουστος ὄνομα τούτῳ), Μαρκιανὸν τὸν καὶ Αὐγουστον ἐς
τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐγγράψαντες, ὡς φθάσαι τοῦνομα τὴν προσηγο-
ρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων, τὸ καλεῖσθαι Αὐγουστοὶ μετὰ τῆς
ἀλουργίδος περιβαλλομένων· ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνασχομένου τοῦ ὀνόματος
ἐπ' αὐτῷ χωρὶς τῆς ἀξίας μῆναι, μηδ' αὐτὸν πάλιν τῆς ἀξίας ἕτερον
ὄνομα ζητησάσης εἰς σεμνολόγημα, ὥστε κύριον καὶ προσηγορικόν
τὸ αὐτὸ καθεστάναι, διὰ μιᾶς κλήσεως τῆς τε ἀξιώσεως τῆς τε
προσηγορίας σημαυωμένων. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 15,1)

21 τὸν καὶ [ὡς Bidez

[19]

[(*Suda* A 3803)

Ἄρδαβούριος, υἱὸς Ἄσπαρος, γενναῖος τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τοὺς τὴν
Θράκην πολλάκις καταδραμόντας βαρβάρους εὐρώστως ἀποκρουσά-
μενος. τούτῳ οὖν γέρας ἀριστείων ὁ βασιλεὺς Μαρκιανὸς παρέσχετο
τὴν ἕω στρατοπεδάρχίαν. καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ταύτην ὁ στρα-
τηγὸς πρὸς ἄνεσιν ἐτρέπη καὶ ῥαστώνῃν θηλυδριώτῳ. ἔχαιρε γὰρ
μίμοις καὶ θαυματοποιῶσι καὶ πᾶσι σκηνοῖς ἀθύρμασι, καὶ τοῖς
τοιούτοις διημερεύων αἰσχροῖς ἡλόγει πάντων τῶν πρὸς εὐκλειαν
τεώντων. Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως χρηστοῦ μὲν γεγονότος,
θάπτου δὲ ἐκβεβιωκότος, αὐτοκελευστῶ γνῶμη Ἄσπαρ Λέοντα διά-
δοχον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.]

6 σκηῶν V

20

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 7)

Ὅτι ὡς ἠγγέλθη τῷ Ἀττίλῳ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐς τὰ κατὰ τὴν
ἕω Ῥωμαϊκὰ παρεληλυθέναι βασιλεία μετὰ τὴν Θεοδοσίου τελευτήν,
ἠγγέλθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ὀνωρίας περὶ γεγενημένα, πρὸς μὲν
τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων ἔστειλε τοὺς διαλεξομένους
μηδὲν Ὀνωρίαν πλημμελεῖσθαι, ἣν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς γάμον κατενεγύησε·
τιμωρήσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολάβῃ σκῆπτρα.
ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξῆς Ῥωμαίους τῶν ταχθέντων φόρων
ἔνεκα. ἀπράκτων δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπανελθόντων
πρέσβων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀπεκρίναντο Ὀνωρίαν αὐτῷ ἐς
γάμον ἐλθεῖν μήτε δύνασθαι ἐκδεδομένην ἀνδρὶ· σκῆπτρον δὲ αὐτῇ
μὴ ἀρεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ θηλειῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρρένων ἢ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς

him not at the bottom of the scale, as military regulations require,
but in the place of a soldier recently dead, whose name was Augustus.
They entered Marcian also as Augustus on the roll, and thus his name
anticipated the title of our Emperors, who are hailed as Augustus while
they are being clothed in the purple. For it is not acceptable that the
Emperor bear the title without the rank, nor again does the rank
require any other title to confer dignity upon it. As a result, the power
and the title are conferred together, and the rank and the title are
comprehended by this one word.¹⁰⁴

(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 15,1)

[19]

[(*Suda* A 3803)

Ardabur, the son of Aspar, a man of noble spirit who stoutly
beat off the barbarians who frequently overran Thrace. As a reward
for his prowess the Emperor Marcian made him general of the East.
Since he received this office in time of peace, the general turned to
self-indulgence and effeminate leisure. He amused himself with mimes
and conjurers and stage spectacles, and, spending his days in such
shameful pursuits, he took no thought at all for things that would
bring him glory. Marcian, having proven himself a good Emperor,
quickly passed away, and Aspar on his own initiative made Leo his
successor.]¹⁰⁵

20

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 7)

When it was announced to Attila that Marcian had become
Roman Emperor of the East after the death of Theodosius, what had
happened in the case of Honoria was also reported to him. To the ruler
of the western Romans he sent envoys to declare that Honoria, whom
he had engaged to himself, should not be wronged at all and that, if
she did not receive the sceptre of sovereignty, he would avenge her.
He also sent to the eastern Romans over the appointed tribute. From
both his envoys returned without achieving anything. The western
Romans replied that Honoria could not come to him in marriage since
she had been given to another and that she had no right to the sceptre
since the rule of the Roman state belonged not to females but to males.

βασιλείας ἀρχή. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἔω ἔφασαν οὐχ ὑποστήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ
 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, ἣν ὁ Θεοδοσίος ἔταξεν· καὶ ἠσυχάζοντι μὲν δῶρα
 δώσσειν, πόλεμον δὲ ἀπειλοῦντι ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρας ἐπάξεν τῆς αὐτοῦ μὴ
 λειπομένους δυνάμεως. ἐμερίζετο οὖν τὴν γνώμην καὶ διηπόρει 15
 ποίους πρότερον ἐπιθήσεται, καὶ ἔχευ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς τέως ἐπὶ
 τὸν μείζονα τρέπεσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν στρατεῦσθαι,
 τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ μὴ μόνον πρὸς Ἰταλιώτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Γότθους
 καὶ Φράγγους ἐσομένης, πρὸς μὲν Ἰταλιώτας ὥστε τὴν Ὀνωρίαν
 μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων λαβεῖν, πρὸς δὲ Γότθους χάριω Γεζερίχω 20
 κατατιθέμενον.

15 τῇ γνώμῃ de Boor

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 36,184)

Huius ergo mentem ad vastationem orbis paratam comperiens
 Gyzericus, rex Vandalorum, quem paulo ante memoravimus, multis
 muneribus ad Vesegotharum bella precipitat, metuens, ne Theo-
 doricus Vesegotharum rex filiae suae ulcisceretur iniuriam, quae
 Hunericus Gyzerici filio iuncta prius quidem tanto coniugio laeta-
 retur, sed postea, ut erat ille et in sua pignora truculentus, ob sus-
 picionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, naribus abscisam
 truncatamque auribus, spolians decore naturali, patri suo ad Gallias
 remiserat, ut turpe funus miseranda semper offerret et crudelitas,
 qua etiam moverentur externi, vindictam patris efficacius impetraret. 5
 10

1 urbis XYZ 10 imparet B

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 8)

Ὅτι τῷ Ἀττήλῃ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Φράγγους πολέμου πρόρασις ἡ
 τοῦ σφῶν βασιλέως τελευταία καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐκείνου παιδῶν
 διαφορὰ, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μὲν Ἀττήλαν, τοῦ δὲ νεωτέρου Ἀέτιον ἐπὶ
 συμμαχία ἐπάγεσθαι ἐγνωκότος· ὃν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην εἶδομεν πρεσ-
 βευόμενον μῆπω ἰούλου ἀρχόμενον, ξανθὸν τὴν κόμην τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 περικεχυμένην διὰ μέγεθος ὤμοις. θετὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀέτιος ποιη-
 σάμενος παιδα καὶ πλεῖστα δῶρα δοὺς ἅμα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐπὶ φιλία
 τε καὶ ὁμαιχμία ἀπέπεμψεν. τούτων ἔνεκα ὁ Ἀττήλας τὴν ἐκστρα-
 τεῖαν ποιούμενος αὐθις τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἄνδρας ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
 ἔπεμπεν ὥστε τὴν Ὀνωρίαν ἐκδιδόναι· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἠρμοσμένην 10
 πρὸς γάμον, τεκμήριον ποιούμενος τὸν παρ' αὐτῆς πεμφθέντα
 δακτύλιον, ὃν καὶ ἐπίδειχθησόμενον ἐστάλκει· παραχωρεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ
 τὸν Βαλεντιανὸν καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσεως τῆς βασιλείας μέρος, ὡς καὶ τῆς

4-5 πρεσβευόμενοι Niebuhr 6 περικεχυμένον Bekker

The eastern Romans said that they would not consent to pay the
 tribute agreed by Theodosius and that if he kept the peace they would
 give him gifts, but if he threatened war they would bring against him
 men and weaponry equal to his own forces. Attila was undecided and
 at a loss as to whom he should attack first, but it seemed best for him
 first to undertake the greater war and march against the West. For there
 he would be fighting against not only the Italians, but also the Goths
 and the Franks — against the Italians to secure Honoria and her wealth
 and against the Goths in order to please Gaiseric.

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 36,184)

When Gaiseric, the king of the Vandals whom I have mentioned
 shortly before, learned that Attila's mind was set upon laying waste the
 world, with many gifts he urged him on to war against the Visigoths,
 since he feared lest Theodorid, the king of the Visigoths, would avenge
 the injury to his daughter. She had been married to Huneric, Gaiseric's
 son, and was at first happy in such a marriage. But because he was
 hostile towards his family, on the mere suspicion of preparing poison
 for him he had her ears and nose cut off and sent her back to her father
 in Gaul, her natural beauty ruined. Thus the wretched woman con-
 tinually offered a terrible sight, and the act of cruelty, which moved
 even strangers, strongly urged her father to avenge her.¹⁰⁶

3. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 8)

Attila's excuse for war against the Franks was the death of their
 king and dissension between his sons over the sovereignty.¹⁰⁷ The elder
 decided to bring in Attila as his ally, the younger Aetius. The latter we
 saw when he was on an embassy to Rome. His first beard had not yet
 begun to grow, and his yellow hair was so long that it poured over
 his shoulders. Aetius had made him his adopted son and, along with
 the Emperor, had given him many gifts and sent him away as a friend
 and an ally.¹⁰⁸

Attila, who was making his expedition for these reasons, again
 sent men of his court to Italy that Honoria might be handed over. He
 claimed that she had been betrothed to him and as proof sent the
 ring which she had despatched to him in order that it might be shown.
 He said also that Valentinian should resign to him half of his empire,

Ἵνωρίας διαδεξαμένης μὲν παρὰ πατρός τὴν ἀρχήν, ταύτης δὲ τῆ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀφαιρεθείσαν πλεονεξία. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐσπέριοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς
 προτέρας ἐχόμενοι γνώμης πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δεδογμένων
 ὑπήκουον, εἶχετο μᾶλλον τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς πᾶν τὸ τῶν
 μαχίμων ἀγείρων πλήθος.

21

1. (*Chron. Pasch.* pp.587f.)

Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου καὶ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ Αὐγουστῶν
 ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Ῥώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττίλας ὁ ἐκ
 τοῦ γένους τῶν Γηπέδων Οὐννων, ἔχων πλήθος μυριάδων πολλῶν.
 καὶ ἐδήλωσεν διὰ Γότθου ἐνὸς πρεσβευτοῦ Οὐαλεντιανῶ βασιλεῖ
 Ῥώμης, Ἐκέλευσέ σοι δι' ἐμοῦ ὁ δεσπότης μου καὶ δεσπότης σου
 Ἀττίλας ἵνα εὐτρεπίσης αὐτῷ παλάτιον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ
 βασιλεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐδήλωσεν δι' ἐνὸς Γότθου
 πρεσβευτοῦ. καὶ ἀκηκοὺς Ἀέτιος ὁ πρῶτος συγκλητικὸς Ῥώμης τὴν
 ὑπερβάλλουσαν τόλμαν τῆς ἀπονενομημένης ἀποκρίσεως Ἀττίλα,
 ἀπήλθε πρὸς Ἀλλάριχον εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας, ὄντα ἐχθρὸν Ῥώμης διὰ
 Ἵνωρίων, καὶ προετρέψατο αὐτὸν ἅμα αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀττίλα, ἐπειδὴ
 ἀπώλεσεν πόλεις πολλὰς τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐπιρρίψαντες
 αὐτῷ, ὥς ἔστω ἠπληκκευμένος πλησίον τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ,
 ἔκοψαν αὐτοῦ χιλιάδας πολλὰς· εἰς δὲ τὴν συμβολὴν ὁ Ἀλλάριχος
 πληγὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ σαγίττας τελευτᾷ. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀττίλας
 τελευτᾷ καταφορᾷ αἵματος διὰ τῶν ῥινῶν ἐνεχθεὶς νυκτὸς μετὰ
 Οὐννας παλλακίδος αὐτοῦ καθεύδων, ἥτις κόρη καὶ ὑπενόηθη ὅτι
 αὐτὴ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν· περὶ οὗ πολέμου συνεγράψατο ὁ σοφώτατος
 Πρίσκοσ ὁ Θράξ.

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* pp.358f.)

6 παλάτιον P παλάτιον V

[2. (*Theophanes Chron. a.m.* 5943)

Ἵ δὲ Ἀττίλας ἐπανίσταται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι . . . <τῷ βασιλεῖ>
 Ῥώμης Οὐαλεντιανῶ, διότι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν
 οἰκίαν ἀδελφὴν Ἵνωρίαν· καὶ ἐλθὼν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀδρηγίας,
 συμπλακεῖς Ἀετίῳ, τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἠττηθεὶς, πλείσ-
 τους ἀποβαλὼν τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ Λίγυν ποταμὸν ὑπέστρεψε
 κατησχυμμένος.]

1 τῷ βασιλεῖ addidi 3 οικίαν b [ιδίαν xyz 4 καὶ ante συμπλακεῖς habent
 xyz

since Honoria had received the sovereignty of it from her father and
 had been deprived of it by her brother's greed. When the Romans
 maintained their earlier position and rejected all of his proposals,
 Attila pressed on more eagerly with his preparations for war and
 mustered all of his fighting force.

21

1. (*Chron. Pasch.* pp.587f.)

During the reigns of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian,
 Attila, of the race of the Gepid Huns, marched against Rome and
 Constantinople, having an army of many tens of thousands. Through
 a Gothic envoy he declared to the Emperor Valentinian, "Through me
 Attila, my lord and yours, has ordered you to make ready the palace for
 him". Likewise, through a Gothic envoy he sent the same message to
 the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople. When Aetius, the leader of
 the Roman senate, heard the overbearing insolence of the reply¹⁰⁹ which
 Attila had made, he went off to Gaul to Alaric,¹¹⁰ who was an enemy of
 Rome on account of Honorius, and made him his ally against Attila,
 since the latter had destroyed many cities of the Roman Empire. They
 suddenly fell upon him while he was encamped near to the river Danube
 and slaughtered many thousands of his men. In the fighting Alaric was
 struck by an arrow and killed. Similarly, Attila too was carried off by a
 haemorrhage from the nose as he was sleeping with his Hunnic con-
 cubine, as a result of which the girl was suspected of his murder. The
 most wise Priscus the Thracian wrote about this war.¹¹¹
 (Cf. Malalas *Chron.* pp.358f.)

[2. (*Theophanes Chron. a.m.* 5943)

Attila attacked the Emperors . . . Valentinian, <the Emperor>
 of Rome, because he had not given him his sister Honoria in marriage.
 He advanced as far as the city of Orleans where he met Aetius, the
 general of the Romans. Having been defeated with the loss of a large
 part of his force by the river Ligeus, he beat a dishonourable retreat.]

equites in eo loco, quo erat positus, in modum circensium cursibus
ambientes, facta eius cantu funereo tali ordine referebant.

“Praecipuus Hunnorum rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzuc,
fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante se potentia solus
Scythica et Germanica regna possedit nec non utraque Romani urbis
imperia captis civitatibus terruit et, ne praedae reliqua subderentur,
placatus praecibus annum vectigal accepit: cumque haec omnia
proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hostium, non fraude suorum,
sed gente incolume inter gaudia laetus sine sensu doloris occubuit.
quis ergo hunc exitum putet, quem nullus aestimat vindicandum?”

Postquam talibus lamentis est defletus, stravam super tumultum
eius quam appellant ipsi ingenti commessatione concelebrant, et
contraria invicem sibi copulantes luctu funereo mixto gaudio
explicabant, noctuque secreto cadaver terra reconditum coopercula
primum auro, secundum argento, tertium ferri rigore communiunt,
significantes tali argumento potentissimo regi omnia convenisse:
ferrum, quod gentes edomuit, aurum et argentum, quod ornatum rei
publicae utriusque acceperit. addunt arma hostium caedibus ad-
quisita, faleras vario gemmarum fulgore praetiosas et diversi generis
insignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus. et, ut tantis divitiis humana
curiositas arceretur, operi deputatos detestabili mercede trucidarunt,
emersitque momentanea mos sepelientibus cum sepulto.]

34 dicat exitum OB 36 celebrant B 38 explicabant OBXY [celebrabant
AHPVL 44 aulicum [aliquid OB

2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

‘Ο δὲ Ἀττίλας εὐτρεπίζετο πολεμῆσαι Μαρκιανῶ μὴ ἀνεχο-
μένῳ τὸν φόρον αὐτῶ παρασχέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου ταχθέντα.
μεταξὺ δὲ κόρης εὐπρεποῦς τιῶς ἐρασθεὶς καὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν γάμον
ἐπιτελῶν οἰνωθεὶς τε σφόδρα καὶ ὕπνῳ βαρηθεὶς, αἵματος ἀθρόου
διὰ ῥωῶν τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνεχθέντος, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. τὴν δὲ
τοσαύτην αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν οἱ παῖδες τούτου διαδεξάμενοι καὶ στασι-
άσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαρθεύονται.

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* 14 p.359; *Chron. Pasch.* p.558 = *Fr.* 21,1)

3 αὐτὴν [αὐτῆ f αὐτῆς m 4 ἀθρόου c 5 ῥωός y

[25]

[(Jordanes *Get.* 50,259-63)

Talibus peractis, ut solent animi iuvenum ambitu potentiae
concitari, inter successores Attilae de regno orta contentio est, et

2 contio HPV

of the whole Hunnic race rode around in a circle, as if at the circus
games, and recited his deeds in a funeral chant as follows.

“Chief king of the Huns, Attila, son of Mundzuc, lord of the
bravest peoples, who possessed alone the sovereignty of Scythia and
Germany with power unheard of before him and who terrorised both
empires of the city of Rome by capturing their cities and, placated by
their prayers, accepted a yearly tribute lest he plunder the rest. When
he had achieved all these things through his good fortune, he died not
by an enemy’s wound or through treachery of his followers, but pain-
lessly while his people was safe and happy amidst his pleasures. Who,
then, shall call this a death, which no one thinks needs be avenged?”

When they had bewailed him with such lamentations, over his
tomb they celebrated with great revelry what they call a *strava* and
abandoned themselves to a mixture of joy and funereal grief, displaying
both extremes of emotion. They committed his body to the earth in
the secrecy of night and bound his coffins, the first with gold, the
second with silver and the third with the strength of iron, demon-
strating by this means that all three metals were appropriate for the
most powerful king of all: iron because he had subdued nations, gold
and silver because he had taken the valuables of both Empires. They
added the arms of enemies won in combat, trappings gleaming with
various precious stones and ornaments of various types, the marks of
royal glory. Moreover, in order that such great riches be kept safe from
human curiosity, those to whom the task was delegated they rewarded
abominably by killing them. Thus, sudden death engulfed both the one
who was buried and those who buried him.]¹¹⁶

2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

Attila prepared to make war upon Marcian, who refused to pay
the tribute which Theodosius had agreed. Meanwhile he fell in love with
a beautiful girl. In the midst of his marriage celebrations, when he was
drunk and heavy with sleep, a haemorrhage through his nostrils and
mouth killed him. His sons inherited his great empire, came to war with
one another and were destroyed.¹¹⁷

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* 14 p.359; *Chron. Pasch.* p.558 = *Fr.* 21,1)

[25]

[(Jordanes *Get.* 50,259-63)

When these [funeral rites] had been completed, Attila’s successors
began to fight over his kingdom (for the minds of the young are usually

dum inconsulti imperare cupiunt cuncti, omnes simul imperium
 perdidērunt. sic frequenter regna gravat copia quam inopia suc-
 cessorum. nam filii Attilae, quorum per licentiam libidinis pene
 5 populus fuit, gentes sibi dividi aequa sorte poscebant, ut ad instar
 familiae bellicosi reges cum populis mitterentur in sortem. quod ut
 Gepidarum rex conperit Ardarichus, indignatus de tot gentibus velut
 vilissimorum mancipiorum condicione tractari, contra filios Attilae
 primus insurgit inlatumque serviendi pudore secuta felicitate de-
 10 tersit, nec solum suam gentem, sed et ceteras qui pariter prae-
 mebantur sua discessione absolvit, quia facile omnes adpetunt, quod
 pro cunctorum utilitate temptatur. in mutuuum igitur armantur
 exitium bellumque committitur in Pannonia iuxta flumen, cui
 nomen est Nedao. illic concursus factus est gentium variarum, quas
 15 Attila in sua tenuerat ditione. dividuntur regna cum populis,
 fiuntque ex uno corpore membra diversa, nec quae unius passioni
 conpaterentur, sed quae exciso capite in invicem insanirent; quae
 numquam contra se pares invenerant, nisi ipsi mutuis se vulneribus
 sauciantes se ipsos discernerent fortissimae nationes. nam ibi ad-
 20 mirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cernere erat contis pugnan-
 tem Gothum, ense furentem Gepida, in vulnere suo Rugum tela
 frangentem, Suavum pede, Hunnum sagitta praesumere, Alanum
 gravi, Herulum levi armatura aciem strui. post multos ergo gravesque
 conflictos favit Gepidis inopinata victoria. nam xxx fere milia tam
 25 Hunnorum quam aliarum gentium, quae Hunnis ferebant auxilium,
 Ardarici gladius conspiratioque peremit. in quo proelio filius Attilae
 maior natu nomine Ellac occiditur, quem tantum parens super
 ceteros amasse perhibebatur, ut eum cunctis diversisque liberis suis
 in regno preferret; sed non fuit vota patris fortuna consentiens. nam
 30 post multas hostium cedes sic viriliter eum constat peremptum, ut
 tam gloriosum superstis pater optasset interitum. reliqui vero ger-
 mani eius eo occiso fugantur iuxta litus Pontici maris, ubi prius
 Gothos sedisse descripsimus.

Cesserunt itaque Hunni, quibus cedere putabatur universitas.
 adeo discidium perniciose res est, ut divisi corruerent, qui adunatis
 viribus territabant. haec causa Ardarici regis Gepidarum felix affuit
 diversis nationibus, qui Hunnorum regimini inviti famulabantur,
 eorumque diu maestissimos animos ad hilaritatem libertatis votivam

fired with ambition for power), and while they all were mindlessly
 eager to rule, they together destroyed his empire.¹¹⁸ For the sons of
 Attila, who because of his lust themselves amounted almost to a people,
 sought to divide the tribes equally amongst themselves and to allot war-
 like kings and peoples like household servants. When Ardaric, the king
 of the Gepids, learned this, he became enraged that so many peoples
 were being treated like the lowest of slaves and began the revolt against
 the sons of Attila. Success attended him, and he erased the stain of
 servitude that was upon him. Moreover, through his revolt he freed not
 only his own people but also the others who were equally oppressed;
 for all readily strive for what is undertaken for the common good. They
 took up arms against the destruction that faced them all and met in
 battle in Pannonia near to the river named Nedao. There the various
 peoples over whom Attila held sway clashed. The kingdoms and the
 peoples were split asunder, and a united body became various limbs
 which did not act together under one impulse but raged independently
 now that the head was removed. Whenever the bravest of nations found
 their equals ranged against them they wounded each other and tore
 themselves to pieces. There, I think, a remarkable spectacle took place,
 where the Goth fought with his pike, the Gepid raged with his sword,
 the Rugian broke the weapons in his own wound, the Suavian was on
 foot, the Hun fought with his arrows, the Alan formed his heavy-armed
 battle line, the Herul his light-armed one. After much heavy fighting,
 victory unexpectedly went to the Gepids. For the sword and the
 alliance of Ardaric destroyed almost thirty thousand of the Huns and
 those who were assisting them. In this battle was killed Attila's eldest
 son, Ellac, whom his father is said to have loved so much more than the
 rest that he preferred him to all his various children in his kingdom. But
 fortune did not consent to the father's wish. It is known that after
 killing many of the enemy, he died fighting so bravely that, had his
 father been alive, he would have wished for an end so glorious. When he
 was killed the rest of his brothers fled near to the coast of the Black
 Sea, where, as we have said, the Goths earlier had their homes.

Thus ended the Huns, before whom it was thought the whole
 world would fall. So ruinous a thing is dissension, that those who terri-
 fied the world when united in their strength, perished when divided.
 The cause of Ardaric, the king of the Gepids, was fortunate for those
 who chafed at their subjection to the rule of the Huns, and it raised
 their spirits, long most downcast, to the joyous hope of freedom.

4 plus *ante* copia B 6 etiam *pro* aequa XYZ 7 quod ut [quod dum B
 (quodum O) 12 quia [quam OB quod [quae A 17 compassioni A
 22 suo Rugum [suorum cuncta B 24 instrui O (instruere B) 28 parens
 [pater OB 29 liberis [filiis OB