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## PROCOPIUS

V



# PROCOPIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

V

HISTORY OF THE WARS,  
BOOKS VII (*continued*) AND VIII



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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
HISTORY OF THE WARS—	
VII.—THE GOTHIC WAR ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	1
VIII.—THE GOTHIC WAR ( <i>continued</i> ) . . . . .	149
INDEX . . . . .	421



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS :  
BOOK VII

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)



# ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

## ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

### ΧΧΧVI

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἅπαν ἐπὶ Ῥώμην τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε, καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος εἰς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος τρισχιλίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος, οὕσπερ ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ καταστησάμενος Διογένην αὐτοῖς ἄρχοντα, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἓνα, ἐπέστησεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν τε διαφερόντως καὶ ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. διὸ δὴ χρόνου μῆκος τῇ προσεδρεία ταύτῃ ἐτρίβετο. οἷ τε γὰρ πολιορκούμενοι ἀρετῆς περιουσίᾳ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν ἀξιόμαχοι ὄντες ἐφαίνοντο καὶ Διογένης ἔς τε τὸ ἀκριβὲς τῇ φυλακῇ ἐχρήτο ὡς μή τις κακουργήσων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἴοι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως σῖτον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου σπείρας ἐνδεῖν σφίσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὡς ἤκιστα ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι τειχομαχεῖν ἐγχειρήσαντες καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀποπειράσασθαι ἀπεκρούσθησαν, ἀρετῇ σφᾶς ἀπωσαμένων ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK VII

### THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

#### XXXVI

TOTILA now led his whole army against Rome, and <sup>549</sup> establishing himself there entered upon a siege. But Belisarius had selected three thousand men noted for their valour and appointed them to garrison Rome, placing in command of them Diogenes, one of his own spearmen, a man of unusual discretion and an able warrior. Consequently a long time was consumed in the blockade. For the besieged, on their part, shewed themselves, thanks to their extraordinary valour, a match for the entire Gothic army, while Diogenes was ever keeping a strict watch that no one should approach the wall to damage it; furthermore, he sowed grain in all parts of the city inside the circuit-wall and so brought it about that they had not the least shortage of food. Many times indeed the barbarians attempted to storm the fortifications and make trial of the circuit-wall, but they were always repulsed, being driven back from the wall by the valour of the Romans.

---

<sup>1</sup> Tot Dindorf : ηει V, ιει L.

τοῦ μέντοι Πόρτου κρατήσαντες Ῥώμην κατὰ κράτος ἐπολιόρκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῆδε.

4 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤκοντα εἶδεν, ἄρχοντα πέμπειν ξὺν στρατῶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ Γότθους τε διευοεῖτο καὶ  
5 Τουτίλαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπιτελῆ ταύτην δὴ ἐπεποιήκει τὴν ἔννοϊαν, οἶμαι ἄν, Ῥώμης μὲν ἔτι ὑπ' αὐτῶ οὔσης, σεσωσμένων δέ οἱ τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐπιβεβοηθηκόσιν ἀναμίγνυσθαι δυναμένων, περιέσεσθαι τῶν  
6 ἐναντίων αὐτὸν τῶ πολέμῳ. νῦν δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Λιβέριον ἀπολεξάμενος, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐκ Ῥώμης πατρικίων, ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ἀσχολίας οἱ ἴσως ἐπιγενομένης ἑτέρας τινὸς τὴν προθυμίαν κατέπαυσε.

7 Χρόνου δὲ τῆ Ῥώμης πολιορκία τριβέντος πολλοῦ, τῶν τινὲς Ἰσαύρων, οἱ ἀμφὶ πύλην ἢ Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι φυλακὴν εἶχου (ἅμα μὲν ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν πρὸς βασιλέως σφίσι δεδύσθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Ἰσαύρους ὀρῶντες τοὺς παραδόντας Ῥώμην τὰ πρότερα Γότθοις κεκομψευμένους ἐπὶ μεγάλων τινῶν χρημάτων ὄγκῳ), Τουτίλα λαθραιότατα ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες ὠμολογησαν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδώσειν,  
8 τακτὴ τε ξυνέκειτο ἡμέρα τῆ πράξει. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἡ κυρία, Τουτίλας μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ἐς ποταμὸν Τίβεριν ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν νυκτῶν φυλακῇ δύο πλοῖα μακρὰ καθῆκεν, ἄνδρας ἐνταῦθα χρῆσθαι ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐπισταμένους ἐνθέμενος.  
9 οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλε διὰ μὲν τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐρέσσοντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου

They did, however, capture Portus,<sup>1</sup> and thereafter held Rome under close siege. Such was the course of these events.

As soon as the emperor saw Belisarius returned to Byzantium, he began to make plans for sending another commander with an army against the Goths and Totila. And if he had actually carried out this idea, I believe that, with Rome still under his power, and the soldiers in the city saved for him and enabled to unite with the relieving force from Byzantium, he would have overcome his opponents in the war. But in fact, after first selecting Liberius, one of the patri-  
 eiaus from Rome, and ordering him to make himself ready, he later, perhaps because some other business claimed his attention, lost interest in the matter.

After the siege of Rome had continued for a long time, some of the Isaurians who were keeping guard at the gate which bears the name of Paul the Apostle<sup>2</sup>—men nursing a grievance because for many years nothing had been paid them by the emperor, and observing, at the same time, that those Isaurians who had previously surrendered Rome to the Goths had become the proud possessors of vast sums of money—very secretly opened negotiations with Totila and agreed to hand over the city, and a definite day was appointed for the transaction. So when the appointed day was come, Totila contrived the following plan. He launched in the Tiber River during the first watch of the night two long boats, placing on them men who understood the use of the trumpet. These he commanded to row straight across the Tiber, and when

<sup>1</sup> At the Tiber's mouth.

<sup>2</sup> The Porta Ostiensis. Cf. Book VI. iv. 3.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἄγχιστα ἤκωσι<sup>1</sup> ταῖς σάλπιγξιν ἐνταῦθα ἤχειν  
 10 δυνάμει τῆ πάση· αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Γόθων στρατὸν  
 ἄγχιστα πύλης τῆς εἰρημένης, ἣ Παύλου τοῦ  
 ἀποστόλου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, λαυθάνων τοὺς πολε-  
 11 μίους ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. λογισάμενός τε ὡς ἦν  
 τινες<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄτε ἐν σκότῳ  
 διαλαθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαδράναι οἰοί τε  
 ὦσιν, ἴωσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐς Κεντουκέλλας, ἐπεὶ ὀχύρωμα  
 ἕτερον τῶν τῆδε χωρίων οὐδαμῇ σφίσιν ἐλέλειπτο,  
 ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων ἐνέδραις τισὶ προλοχίζειν ἔγνω  
 τὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸν φέρουσαν, οἷς<sup>4</sup> δὴ ἐπήγγελλε  
 12 τοὺς φεύγοντας διαχρήσασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν  
 τοῖς πλοίοις ὄντες, ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχι ἐγένοντο,  
 ἐχρῶντο ἤδη κατὰ τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ταῖς  
 13 σάλπιγξι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καταπλαγέντες ἐς μέγα  
 τε δέος καὶ θόρυβον καταστάντες ἕξαπιναίως  
 ἀπολιπόντες οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὰ σφέτερα<sup>5</sup> φυλακ-  
 τήρια ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τὴν ἐπιβουλήν  
 14 ἐς τὸ ἐκείνην τεῖχος εἶναι οἰόμενοι. μόνοι τε οἱ  
 προδιδόντες Ἰσαυροὶ ἐπὶ τῆ αὐτῶν φυλακῇ  
 μέιναντες τὰς τε πύλας κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον  
 15 καὶ τῆ πόλει τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέξαντο. καὶ  
 πολὺς μὲν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἐνταῦθα γεγένη-  
 ται φόνος, πολλοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες δι' ἑτέρων πυλῶν  
 ὠχοντο, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Κεντουκέλλας ἰόντες  
 ὑπὸ τε τοῖς ἐνεδρεύουσι γινόμενοι διεφθάρησαν.  
 ὀλίγοι μὲντοι αὐτῶν διέφυγον μόλις, ἐν οἷς καὶ  
 Διογένην πληγέντα φασὶ διασεσῶσθαι.

16 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Παῦλος

<sup>1</sup> ἤκωσι V : ἴκονται L.

<sup>2</sup> ἦν τινες Haury : ἦν τινας V, μή τινες L.

<sup>3</sup> ἴωσιν Haury : om. MSS.

they came close to the circuit-wall to sound the trumpets there with all their might. Meanwhile he himself was holding the Gothic army in readiness close to the above-mentioned gate which bears the name of the Apostle Paul, unobserved by his enemy. And reasoning that, if any of the Roman army should succeed in escaping from the city, as they well might under cover of darkness, they would go to Centumcellae, for no other fortress was left to them anywhere among the towns of that region, he decided to guard the road leading thither by means of some ambuscades of warlike men, to whom he gave instructions to destroy the fugitives. So the men in the boats, upon getting near the city, immediately made use of their trumpets, as they had been instructed to do. Thereupon the Romans were thunderstruck, and falling into great fear and confusion suddenly abandoned for no sufficient reason their several posts and hastened on the run to give assistance at that point, supposing that the attempt was directed against that part of the wall. Thus the Isaurians who were betraying the city remained alone at their post, and they opened the gates at their leisure and received the enemy into the city. And there was great slaughter of those who fell into the hands of the enemy there, though many made off in flight through other gates, but those who went toward Centumcellae<sup>1</sup> got into the ambuscades and perished. However, a few of them did escape with difficulty, Diogenes too, they say, being among them and securing his safety though wounded.

Now there was in the Roman army one named

<sup>1</sup> Modern Civita Vecchia.

<sup>4</sup> οἷς L : διό V.

<sup>5</sup> σφέτερα V : σφέτερα ἕκαστοι L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESARĒA

μὲν ὄνομα, Κίλιξ δὲ γένος, ὃς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα  
 ἐφειστήκει τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, ὕστερον δὲ  
 καταλόγου ἰππικοῦ ἄρχων ἔς τε Ἰταλίαν ἐστρά-  
 τευσε καὶ ξὺν τῷ Διογένει ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης  
 17 φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο. οὗτος ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλίσκο-  
 μένης τότε τῆς πόλεως, ξὺν ἰππεῦσι τετρακοσίοις  
 ἔς τε τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ τάφον ἀνέδραμε καὶ τὴν  
 γέφυραν ἔσχε τὴν ἐς Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν  
 18 νεῶν φέρουσαν. τοῦ δὲ Γότθων στρατοῦ, ὄρθρου  
 τε ὄντος καὶ μέλλοντός τι ὑποφαίνειν ἡμέρας,  
 τούτοις δὴ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντος,  
 ἐνταῦθα ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς πολεμίους<sup>1</sup> ὑφιστά-  
 μενοι τὸ πλεόν ἔσχον· τῶν τε βαρβάρων ἅτε  
 πλήθους τε μεγάλου καὶ στενοχωρίας ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 19 οὔσης πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας  
 εἶδε, κατέπαυσε μὲν αὐτίκα τὴν μάχην, Γότθους  
 δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντικαθεζομένους ἡσυχάζειν  
 ἐκέλευεν, οἰόμενος λιμῷ τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰρήσειν.  
 20 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν Παῦλός τε καὶ οἱ  
 τετρακόσιοι ἀπόσιτοι διαγεγόνασι, τὴν τε νύκτα  
 οὕτως ηὔλισαντο· τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἐβουλεύ-  
 σαντο μὲν σιτίζεσθαι τῶν ἵππων τισίν, ὄκνησις  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ τῆς ἐδωδῆς οὐ ξυνειθισμένῳ διε-  
 κρούσατο<sup>2</sup> μέχρι ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν, καίπερ πιεζο-  
 21 μένους τῷ λιμῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. τότε δὲ πολλὰ  
 λογισάμενοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀλλήλους  
 ἐς εὐτολμίαν παρακαλέσαντες, ἐβουλεύσαντο  
 ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι εὐπρεπεῖ θανάτῳ αὐτίκα δὴ  
 22 μάλα καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον. ὀρμηῆσαι μὲν γὰρ  
 ἔγνωσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου  
 κτεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὅσους ἂν ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ εἴη

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους Haury: τοῖς πολεμίοις MSS.

Paulus, a Cilician by birth, who at first had been in charge of the household of Belisarius, but later went with the army to Italy in command of a cavalry troop, and had been appointed with Diogenes to command the garrison of Rome. This Paulus, during the capture of the city at that time, rushed with four hundred horsemen into the Tomb of Hadrian and seized the bridge leading to the church of the Apostle Peter. And while it was still dawn and a little daylight was about to appear, the Gothic army assailed these men, but they withstood their enemy most vigorously where they were and gained the upper hand; indeed they slew large numbers of the barbarians, seeing they were in a great throng and huddled together. When Totila saw this, he stopped the fighting immediately, and commanded the Goths quietly to blockade their enemy, thinking that he would capture the men by starvation. Consequently Paulus and the four hundred passed that day without food, and bivouacked during the night in the same condition. On the following day, however, they resolved to use some of the horses for food, but a feeling of reluctance owing to the unusual nature of this food prevented them until late afternoon, although exceedingly hard pressed by hunger. At that time, after long deliberation among themselves, and after exhorting one another to boldness, they came to the conclusion that the better course for them was to end their lives then and there by a glorious death. In fact their decision was to make a sudden rush upon their enemy, to kill as many of them as each man could,

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\* διεκρούσατο Maltretus : διεκρούσαντο MSS.



οὕτω τε ἀνδρείως τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν ἅπαντες.<sup>1</sup>  
 23 ἀλλήλους τοίνυν ἑξαπιναίως περιπλακέντες καὶ  
 τῶν προσώπων καταφιλήσαντες τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ  
 ἠσπάζοντο, ὡς ἀπολούμενοι εὐθύς ἅπαντες.  
 24 Ὅπερ κατανοήσας ὁ Τουτίλας ἔδεισε μὴ  
 θανατῶντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ σωτηρίας πέρι ἐλπίδα  
 οὐδεμίαν τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντες ἀνήκεστα ἔργα  
 25 Γότθους δράσωσι. πέμψας οὖν παρ' αὐτοὺς  
 δυοῖν προὔτεινετο αὐτοῖς αἴρεσιν, ὅπως ἢ τοὺς  
 ἵππους ἀφέντες ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενοι,  
 ἀπομόσαντές τε μηκέτι ἐπὶ Γότθους στρατεύεσθαι,  
 κακῶν ἀπαθείς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀπαλλάσσωνται,  
 ἢ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ  
 26 ὁμοίᾳ Γότθοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυστρατεύσωσι. τού-  
 τους Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς λόγους ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν. καὶ  
 τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον εἴλοντο  
 ἅπαντες, ἔπειτα δὲ πεζοὶ μὲν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ  
 ἄνοπλοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αἰσχυρόμενοι, δειμαί-  
 νοντες δὲ μή τισιν ἐνέδραις ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ  
 περιπεπτωκότες διαφθαρεῖεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μεμφό-  
 μενοι, ὅτι δὴ σφίσι χρόνου τὰς συντάξεις πολλοῦ  
 τὸ Ῥωμαίων δημόσιον ὤφειλεν, ἅπαντες ἐθελούσιοι  
 τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι  
 Παῦλός τε καὶ τῶν τις Ἰσαύρων, Μίνδης ὄνομα,  
 Τουτίλα ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἐς Βυζάντιον σφᾶς  
 27 ἐδέοντο στείλαι. παιδᾶς τε γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκας  
 σφίσιν ἐν γῆ τῇ πατρῴᾳ ἔφασκον εἶναι, ὧνπερ  
 28 χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐχ οἰοί τε εἶναι. οὕσπερ ὁ  
 Τουτίλας ἄτε ἀληθιζομένους ἀποδεξάμενος,

<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντες Haury : ἅπαντας MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν V : om. L.



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐφοδίοις τε δωρησάμενος καὶ παραπομπούς  
 ξυμπέμψας ἀφῆκε. καὶ ἄλλοι μέντοι τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ὅσοι καταφυγόντες ἐς τὰ  
 τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰ ἔτυχον, ἐς τριακοσίους ὄντες,  
 τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες Τουτίλα προσεχώρησαν.  
 29 Ῥώμην δὲ οὔτε καθελεῖν οὔτε ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ  
 λοιπὸν Τουτίλας ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ Γότθους τε καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίους τοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ  
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ξυνοικίζειν ἐνταῦθα ἔγνω ἐξ  
 αἰτίας τοιαῦσδε.

### XXXVII

Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον παρὰ τῶν  
 Φράγγων τὸν ἄρχοντα πέμψας, τὴν παιδὰ οἱ  
 2 γυναῖκα ἐδεῖτο γαμετὴν δοῦναι. ὁ δὲ τὴν αἴτησιν  
 ἀπεσεῖσατο, Ἰταλίας αὐτὸν οὔτε εἶναι οὔτε  
 ἔσεσθαι ποτε βασιλέα φάσκων, ὅς γε Ῥώμην  
 ἔλὼν ἔχεσθαι μὲν αὐτῆς οὐδαμῆ ἴσχυσε, μοῖραν  
 δὲ αὐτῆς καθελὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθῆκεν αὐθις.  
 3 διὸ δὴ τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐς αὐτὴν  
 ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε καὶ ἀνοικοδο-  
 μεῖσθαι ὅτι ταχιστα πάντα ἐκέλευεν, ὅσα καθελὼν  
 τε καὶ πυρπολήσας αὐτὸς<sup>3</sup> ἔτυχεν, ἡνίκα Ῥώμην  
 τὸ πρότερον εἶλε· τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς<sup>4</sup> ἐκ τῆς  
 συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας  
 οὔσπερ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐφύλασσε μετεπέμπετο.  
 4 ἐνταῦθά τε ἀγῶνα τὸν ἵππικὸν θεασάμενος,<sup>5</sup> τὴν  
 στρατιὰν ἠτοίμαζε πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ Σικελίαν  
 5 στρατεύσων. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὰ μακρὰ πλοῖα

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς V : τοὺς τε L.

<sup>2</sup> τά V : τά τε L.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτός V : αὐτοῦ L.

after presenting them with travelling money and sending an escort with them. There were others also of the Roman army, those, namely, who had chanced to take refuge in the sanctuaries of the city, about three hundred in number, who received pledges and went over to Totila. As for Rome itself, Totila was unwilling thereafter either to dismantle or to abandon it; instead he decided to establish in residence there both Goths and Romans, not only members of the senate, but also all the others, for the following reason.

### XXXVII

Not long before this Totila had sent to the ruler of the Franks and requested him to give his daughter in marriage. But the Frankish king spurned the request, declaring that Totila neither was nor ever would be king of Italy, seeing that after capturing Rome he had been utterly unable to hold it, but after tearing down a portion of it had let it fall again into the hands of his enemy. Consequently he made haste on the present occasion to convey supplies into the city, and gave orders to rebuild as quickly as possible everything which he himself had pulled down and destroyed by fire when he captured Rome at the previous time; then he summoned the members of the Roman senate and all the others whom he had under guard in Campania. And after witnessing the horse-races there, he made ready his whole army, intending to make an expedition against Sicily. At the same time too he put his four

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<sup>4</sup> τούς V : τούς τε L.

<sup>5</sup> θεασάμενος L : θέμενος V.

τετρακόσια ὡς ἐς ναυμαχίαν ἐν παρασκευῇ  
 ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ στόλον νεῶν μεγάλων τε καὶ πολλῶν  
 ἄγαν, ἄσπερ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐκ τῆς ἐάας ἐνταῦθα  
 σταλείσας αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τε καὶ φορτίοις πάντα  
 6 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔλῶν ἔτυχε. Στέφανόν τε  
 ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευτὴν  
 ἔπεμψε, τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τόνδε καταλύειν αἰτῶν,  
 ἐνσπόνδους δὲ Γότθους ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ  
 αὐτῷ ξυμμαχήσουσιν ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς ἄλλους  
 7 ἰόντι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὔτε τὸν πρεσ-  
 βευτὴν οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν ξυνεχώρησεν οὔτε  
 τινὰ τῶν λεγομένων ἐντροπήν. τὸ παράπαν  
πεποίηται,  
 8 " Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, αὐθις τὰ ἐς τὸν  
 πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ξύμφορον δέ  
 οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, Κεντουκελλῶν ἀποπειρασαμένῳ  
 9 πρότερον οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν<sup>1</sup> ἰέναι. ἦρχε δὲ  
 τότε τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου Διογένης, ὁ  
 Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος, δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων ξὺν  
 10 αὐτῷ ἔχων. καὶ ὁ μὲν Γότθων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ  
 ἐς Κεντουκέλλας ἀφίκοντο, ἄγχιστα τοῦ περι-  
 βόλου ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθί-  
 11 σταντο. πρέσβεις δὲ πέμψας παρὰ Διογένην ὁ  
 Τουτίλας αὐτόν τε προῦκαλεῖτο καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ'  
 αὐτὸν στρατιώτας, ἣν μὲν<sup>2</sup> σφίσι βουλομένοις ἢ  
 μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι  
 12 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. ἐν ἐλπίδι τε παρήνει μηδεμιᾶ  
 ἔχειν, δύναμιν ἑτέραν τινὰ ἐκ βασιλέως σφίσιν  
 13 ἀφίξεσθαι· ἀδύνατον γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸ λοιπὸν  
 εἶναι πόλεμον πρὸς Γότθους τόνδε διενεγκεῖν, εἴ  
 τῳ ἰκανὰ τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ<sup>3</sup> χρόνου τοσοῦτου ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> σικελίαν V : σικελίας L.

hundred war-ships in readiness for sea-fighting, as well as a very considerable fleet of large ships which had been sent thither from the East by the emperor, and which he, during all this time, had had the fortune to capture with both crews and cargoes. He also sent a Roman named Stephanus as an envoy to the emperor, requesting him to put an end to this war and make a treaty with the Goths, with the understanding that they should fight as his allies when he should go against his other enemies. But the Emperor Justinian would not permit the envoy even to come into his presence, nor did he pay the least attention to anything he said.

When Totila heard this, he again set about making preparations for the war. And it seemed to him advisable first to make trial of Centumcellae and then to proceed against Sicily. Now the garrison there was at that time commanded by Diogenes, the guardsman of Belisarius, and he had a sufficient force under him. So the Gothic army, upon reaching Centumcellae, made camp close to the circuit-wall and commenced a siege. And Totila sent envoys to Diogenes and challenged him and his soldiers, if it was their wish to reach a decision by battle with the Goths, to fall to with all speed. He also advised them to entertain no hope whatever that further reinforcements from the emperor would reach them; for Justinian, he said, was unable longer to carry on this war against the Goths, if anyone could base a reasonable judgment upon those things which had

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<sup>2</sup> ἦν μὲν V : καὶ εἰ μὴ L.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ Haury : τὰ μετὰ V : μετὰ L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 14 τῆς Ῥώμης ξυμβάντα.<sup>1</sup> αἵρεσιν οὖν προὔτεινετο<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐλέσθαι ὁποτέραν ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλοιντο, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι,  
 ἢ κακῶν ἀπαθέσιν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλασσομένοις ἐπὶ  
 15 Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Διογένης  
 οὔτε μάχῃ διακρίνεσθαι βουλομένοις σφίσιν  
 αὐτοῖς ἔφασκον εἶναι οὔτε μέντοι ἀναμίγνυσθαι  
 τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, ἐπεὶ παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν  
 τῶν σφετέρων χωρὶς βιοτεύειν οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο.  
 16 πόλιν δέ, ἥσπερ φυλακὴν ἔχουσιν, ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 παρόντι λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ ἐνδοῦναι οὐδαμῆ ἔχειν,  
 ἐπεὶ οὐδέ τις σκῆψις αὐτοῖς, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ  
 βασιλέα στέλλεσθαι βουλομένοις, τανῦν πάρεσ-  
 17 τιν· ἐς χρόνον δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι τινὰ τὴν πράξιν  
 ἐδέοντο, ἐφ' ᾧ βασιλεῖ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ τὰ σφίσι  
 παρόντα σημήνωσιν, οὐδεμιᾶς δὲ μεταξὺ βοηθείας  
 ἐκ βασιλέως ἐνταῦθα ἰούσης οὔτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσ-  
 σοιντο, Γότθοις μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες, οὐκ  
 ἀπροφάσιστον δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησά-  
 18 μενοι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλαν ἤρεσκε, τακτὴν  
 ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο, ἄνδρες δὲ τριάκοντα ἑκατέρωθεν  
 ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ δέδονται ταύτῃ  
 καὶ Γότθοι τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύσαντες ἐπὶ  
 Σικελίας ἐχώρησαν.
- 19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον, οὐ πρότερον  
 διέβησαν τὸν τῆδε πορθμόν, ἕως φρουρίου τοῦ ἐν  
 20 Ῥηγίῳ ἀπεπειράσαντο. ἤρχον δὲ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα

<sup>1</sup> χρόνου τοσούτου—ξυμβάντα V: χρόνον τοσοῦτον δὲ μῆκος ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ξυν L, followed by a lacuna of about one line.

taken place at Rome for such a long period. He accordingly offered them the privilege of choosing whichever of two alternatives they wished, either to mingle with the Gothic army on terms of complete equality, or to depart from the city without suffering harm and betake themselves to Byzantium. But the Romans and Diogenes declared that it was not their wish either to fight a decisive battle or, on the other hand, to mingle with the Gothic army, because they would find it impossible to live apart from their children and their wives. And as for the city over which they were keeping guard, they were quite unable for the present to surrender it with any plausible excuse, since they had, in fact, not even a pretext for doing so at that time, particularly if they wished to present themselves before the emperor; they did, however, beg him to defer the matter for a time, in order that they might during that interval report the situation to the emperor, and in case no relief should come to them from him in the meantime, that then finally they might quit the city; thus they would surrender the city to the Goths, while they, for their part, would not be without justification in leaving it. This was approved by Totila, and a definite day was agreed upon; then thirty men were given as hostages by each side to make this agreement binding, and the Goths broke up the siege and proceeded on the way to Sicily.

But when they came to Rhegium, they did not cross the strait there until they had made trial of the fortress of that city. Now the garrison there was

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<sup>2</sup> αἴρεσιν οὖν προὔτελλετο V: εἰ δ' ὡς ἕκιστα σφίσι ἐν ἡδονῇ ἔστιν, αἴρεσιν προὔτελλετο L.



φυλακτηρίου Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος, οὕσπερ  
 Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν.  
 21 οἷπερ ἐπεὶ πολλούς τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
 εἶχον, τειχομαχοῦντάς τε ἀπεκρούσαντο τοὺς  
 πολεμίους καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες τὸ πλεόν ἐν συμβολῇ  
 22 ἔσχον. ὕστερον μέντοι πλήθει τῶν ἐναντίων  
 παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου  
 23 κατακλεισθέντες ἡσύχαζον. Τουτίλας δὲ μοῖραν  
 μὲν τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε φρουρᾶς  
 ἕνεκα, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ χρόνῳ ὑστέρῳ  
 ἐξαιρήσειν караδοκῶν τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους, ἐς  
 δὲ Ταραντηνοὺς στράτευμα πέμψας τὸ ἐκείνη  
 φρούριον παρεστήσατο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ· καὶ Γότθοι  
 δὲ οὕσπερ ἐλίπετο ἐν Πικηνῶν<sup>1</sup> τῇ χώρᾳ πόλιν  
 Ἀρίμινον τηνικάδε προδοσίᾳ εἶλον.  
 24 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Γερμανὸν  
 τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοκράτορα ἐβούλευσε  
 πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Γότθους τε καὶ Τουτίλαν  
 καταστήσασθαι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπέ-  
 στελλεν εἶναι. ἐπεὶ τε ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγος ἐς  
 Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε, Γότθοι μὲν ἐν φροντίδι μεγάλη  
 ἐγένοντο· δεξιὰ γάρ τις ἢ ἀμφὶ Γερμανῶ δόξα ἐς  
 25 πάντας ἀνθρώπους οὔσα ἐτύγχανεν. εὐέλπιδες  
 δὲ Ῥωμαῖοί τε<sup>3</sup> γεγεννημένοι εὐθύς ἅπαντες καὶ  
 οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ τῷ τε κινδύνῳ καὶ τῇ  
 26 ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντεῖχον. ἀλλὰ  
 βασιλεὺς οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως μεταμαθὼν Λιβέριον  
 ἄνδρα Ῥωμαῖον, οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις  
 ἐμνήσθην, ἐς τὸ ἔργον καταστήσασθαι ἀντὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν πικηνῶν V : ἐς πηγκηνῶν L.

<sup>2</sup> καταστήσασθαι V : καταστήσεσθαι L.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαῖοί τε L : Ῥωμαῖοι V.



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

27 Γερμανοῦ ἔγνω. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρασκευασάμενος  
 ὡς τάχιστα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτίκα ξὺν στρατῷ ἀπο-  
 πλεύσει ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ βασιλεῖ μετέμελεν  
 28 αὐθις, ἤσυχῇ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμενε. τότε δὴ Βῆρος  
 ξὺν ἀνδράσιν οὓς ἀγείρας μαχιμωτάτους ἀμφ'  
 αὐτὸν ἔτυχε Γότθοις τοῖς ἐν Πικηνῷ οὖσιν ἐς  
 χεῖρας ἐλθὼν πόλεως Ῥαβέννης οὐ πολλῷ  
 ἀποθεν, τῶν τε ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλει  
 καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ  
 τούτῳ γενόμενος.

### XXXVIII

Ἰπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον στράτευμα Σκλαβηνῶν  
 οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀγηγεμένοι, ποταμόν  
 τε Ἰστρον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος,  
 διέβησαν, καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ποταμόν Εὐρον εὐθὺς  
 2 διαβάντες δίχα ἐγένοντο. εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν ἀτέρα  
 μὲν συμμορία ὀκτακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους, ἢ δὲ  
 3 δὴ ἑτέρα τοὺς καταλοίπους. ἑκατέροις μὲν οὖν  
 καίπερ<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλων ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐς χεῖρας  
 ἐλθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἐν  
 τε Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ Θραξίν, ἠσσήθησάν τε ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἀπροσδοκῆτου καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ  
 4 δὲ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες οὕτω παρ' ἑκατέρων τῶν  
 βαρβαρικῶν στρατοπέδων, καίπερ ἑλασσόνων  
 παρὰ πολὺ ὄντων, ἀπήλλαξαν, Ἀσβάδῳ ἢ ἑτέρα  
 5 τῶν πολεμίων ξυμμορία ξυνέμιξεν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος  
 ἀνὴρ βασιλέως μὲν Ἰουστινιανοῦ δορυφόρος, ἐπεὶ

<sup>1</sup> καίπερ Haury: καὶ παρ' MSS.

narrative,<sup>1</sup> in place of Germanus. And Liberius did in fact make preparations with all possible speed, and it was expected that he would sail away immediately with an army. But again the emperor changed his mind, and consequently he too remained quiet. It was at this time that Verus with a band of excellent warriors whom he had gathered about him came to an engagement not far from the city of Ravenna with the Goths who were in Picenum, and he not only lost many of his followers but was also killed himself after shewing himself a brave man in the encounter.

### λλλVIII

At about this time an army of Sclaveni<sup>2</sup> amounting to not more than three thousand crossed the Ister River without encountering any opposition, advanced immediately to the Hebrus River,<sup>3</sup> which they crossed with no difficulty, and then split into two parts. Now the one section of them contained eighteen hundred men, while the other comprised the remainder. And although the two sections were thus separated from each other, the commanders of the Roman army, upon engaging with them, both in Illyricum and in Thrace, were defeated unexpectedly, and some of them were killed on the field of battle, while others saved themselves by a disorderly flight. Now after all the generals had fared thus at the hands of the two barbarian armies, though they were far inferior to the Roman forces in number, one section of the enemy engaged with Asbadus. This man was a guard of the Emperor Justinian, since he

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxxvi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. VII. xiv. 22 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Maritza.

ἐς τοὺς Κανδιδάτους καλουμένους τελῶν ἔτυχε,  
 τῶν δὲ ἵππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχεν οὐ ἐν Τζουρουλῶ  
 τῶ ἐν Θράκῃ φρουρίῳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται,  
 6 πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι ὄντες. καὶ αὐτούς<sup>1</sup> οἱ  
 Σκλαβηνοὶ τρεψάμενοι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πλείστους  
 μὲν αἰσχροτάτα φεύγοντας ἔκτειναν, Ἄσβαδον  
 δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐζώγρησαν,  
 ὕστερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς πυρὸς ἐμβεβλημένον φλόγα  
 ἔκαυσαν, ἰμάντας πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ νώτου τοῦ  
 7 ἀνθρώπου ἐκδείραντες. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένοι  
 τὰ χωρία ξύμπαντα, τὰ τε Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν,  
 ἀδεέστερον<sup>2</sup> ἐληΐζοντο, καὶ φρούρια πολλὰ πο-  
 λιορκία ἐκάτεροι εἶλον, οὔτε τειχομαχήσαντες  
 πρότερον, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πεδίου καταβῆναι τολμή-  
 σαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων καταθεῖν  
 8 ἐγκεχειρήκασιν αἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι πώποτε. οὐ  
 μὲν οὐδὲ στρατῶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον φαίνονται  
 διαβεβηκότες ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου, πλήν γε δὴ  
 ἐξ ὅτου μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται.  
 9 Οὗτοι δὲ οἱ τὸν Ἄσβαδον νενικηκότες μέχρι  
 ἐς θάλασσαν ληϊσάμενοι ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα καὶ  
 πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν τειχομαχήσαντες εἶλον,  
 καίπερ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχουσαν, Τόπηρον  
 ὄνομα· ἡ πρώτη μὲν Θρακῶν τῶν παραλίῳν ἐστί,  
 τοῦ δὲ Βυζαντίου διέχει ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν δυοκαίδεκα.  
 10 εἶλον δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε. οἱ μὲν πλείστοι  
 ἐν δυσχωρίαις πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 ἔκρυψαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες ἀμφὶ τὰς πύλας γενό-  
 μενοι αἰὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά εἰσιν ἥλιον, τοὺς ἐν  
 11 ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι Ῥωμαίους ἠνώχλουν. ὑποτοπή-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς K : αὐτόν L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀδεέστερον K : ἀδεῶς ὕστερον L.

served among the *candidati*,<sup>1</sup> as they are called, and he was also commander of the cavalry cohorts which from ancient times have been stationed at Tzurullum,<sup>2</sup> the fortress in Thrace, a numerous body of the best troops. These too the Sclaveni routed with no trouble, and they slew the most of them in a most disgraceful flight; they also captured Asbadus and for the moment made him a prisoner, but afterwards they burned him by casting him into a fire, having first flayed strips from the man's back. Having accomplished these things, they turned to plunder all the towns, both of Thrace and of Illyricum, in comparative security; and both armies captured many fortresses by siege, though they neither had any previous experience in attacking city walls, nor had they dared to come down to the open plain, since these barbarians had never, in fact, even attempted to overrun the land of the Romans. Indeed it appears that they have never in all time crossed the Ister River with an army before the occasion which I have mentioned above.

Then those who had defeated Asbadus plundered everything in order as far as the sea and captured by storm a city on the coast named Topirus,<sup>3</sup> though it had a garrison of soldiers; this is the first of the coast towns of Thrace and is twelve days' journey distant from Byzantium. And they captured it in the following manner. The most of them concealed themselves in the rough ground which lay before the fortifications, while some few went near the gate which is toward the east and began to harass the Romans at the battlements. Then the soldiers keeping

<sup>1</sup> Bodyguards distinguished by a white tunic.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Chorlou.

<sup>3</sup> Opposite Thasos, in the region of modern Kavalla.

σαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ὅσοι τὸ ἐνταῦθα  
φυλακτήριον εἶχον οὐ πλείους. αὐτοὺς ἢ ὅσοι  
καθεωρῶντο εἶναι, ἀνελόμενοι αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα  
12 ἐξίασιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι  
ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι τοῖς  
ἐπιούσιν ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὺς κατωρρωδηκότες ἐς  
ὑπαγωγὴν χωροῦσι· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν  
δίωξιν ἐκπεπτωκότες πόρρω που τοῦ περιβόλου  
13 ἐγένοντο. ἀναστάντες οὖν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν  
κατόπισθεν τε τῶν διωκόντων γενόμενοι ἐσιτητὰ  
14 σφίσιν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκέτι ἐποίουν. ἀνα-  
στρέψαντες δὲ καὶ οἱ φεύγειν δοκοῦντες ἀμφιβό-  
λους ἤδη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πεποίηνται. οὗς δὴ  
ἅπαντας οἱ βάρβαροι διαφθείραντες τῷ περιβόλῳ  
15 προσέβαλον. οἱ δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἰκήτορες τῶν  
στρατιωτῶν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστερημένοι, γίνονται  
μὲν ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιόντας  
16 ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἠμύνοντο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν  
ἔλαιόν τε καὶ πίσσαν ἐπὶ πλείστον θερμήναντες  
τῶν τειχομαχοῦντων κατέχεον, καὶ λίθων βολαῖς  
πανδημεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρώμενοι τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν  
17 κίνδυνον οὐ μακρὰν που ἐγένοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ  
αὐτοὺς πλήθει βελῶν οἱ<sup>1</sup> βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι  
ἐκλιπεῖν τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἠνάγκασαν καὶ κλί-  
μακας τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐρείσαντες κατὰ κράτος τὴν  
18 πόλιν εἶλον. ἄνδρας μὲν οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους  
τε καὶ μυρίους εὐθύς ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν καὶ πάντα  
τὰ χρήματα ἐληΐσαντο, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας  
19 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων πεποίηνται λόγῳ. καίτοι τὰ  
πρότερα οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας ἐφείσαντο, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ

<sup>1</sup> βελῶν οἱ L: βελῶν μακρὰν που ἐγένοντο. οἱ δὲ K.

guard there, supposing that they were no more than those who were seen, immediately seized their arms and one and all sallied forth against them. Whereupon the barbarians began to withdraw to the rear, making it appear to their assailants that they were moving off in retreat because they were thoroughly frightened by them; and the Romans, being drawn into the pursuit, found themselves at a considerable distance from the fortifications. Then the men in ambush rose from their hiding-places and, placing themselves behind the pursuers, made it no longer possible for them to enter the city. Furthermore, those who had seemed to be in flight turned about, and thus the Romans now came to be exposed to attack on two sides. Then the barbarians, after destroying these to the last man, assaulted the fortifications. But the inhabitants of the city, deprived as they were of the support of the soldiers, found themselves in a very difficult situation, yet even so they warded off the assailants as well as the circumstances permitted. And at first they resisted successfully by heating oil and pitch till it was very hot and pouring it down on those who were attacking the wall, and the whole population joined in hurling stones upon them and thus came not very far from repelling the danger. But finally the barbarians overwhelmed them by the multitude of their missiles and forced them to abandon the battlements, whereupon they placed ladders against the fortifications and so captured the city by storm. Then they slew all the men immediately, to the number of fifteen thousand, took all the valuables as plunder, and reduced the children and women to slavery. Before this, however, they had spared no age,



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τε καὶ ἡ συμμορία ἡ ἑτέρα,<sup>1</sup> ἐξ ὅτου δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψαν χώρα, τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἠβηδὸν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινον. ὥσπερ γῆν ἅπασαν, ἥπερ Ἰλλυριῶν τε καὶ Θρακῶν ἐστί, νεκρῶν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀτάφων γενέσθαι.

20 Ἐκτεινον δὲ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας οὔτε ξίφει οὔτε δόρατι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ σκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰσχυρότατα, ὄξεις τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς δειλαίους ἐκάθιζον, τήν τε σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλουτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐνεύροντες ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκατα, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι ἤξιουν.

21 καὶ ξύλα δὲ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τε χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας τῶν ἠλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἶτα ~~ροπάλοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχέστατα~~ παίοντες, ὡς δὴ κύνας ἢ ὄφεις ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίου

22 διέφθειρον. ἄλλους δὲ ξὺν τε βουσί καὶ προβάτοις, ὅσα δὴ ἐπάγεσθαι ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ὡς ἠκιστα εἶχον, ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις καθείρξαντες, οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ ἐνεπίμπρασαν. οὕτω μὲν Σκλα-

23 βηνοὶ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας αἰεὶ ἀνῆρουν. ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ τῆς ἑτέρας συμμορίας, ὥσπερ τῷ τῶν αἱμάτων μεθύοντες πλήθει, ζωγρεῖν τὸ ἐνθένδε ἤξιουν τῶν παραπεπτωκότων τινάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μυριάδας αἰχμαλώτων ἐπαγόμενοι ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησιν ἅπαντες.



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XXXIX

"Τσπερον δὲ Γότθοι τῷ Ῥηγίνων προσέβαλον  
 ὀχυρώματι, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι καρτερώτατα  
 σφᾶς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπεκρούοντο, ἔργα τε ὁ Θουρι-  
 μούθ ἐπεδείκνυτο αἰεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀρετῆς ἄξια.  
 2 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐνδεῖν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις  
 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 εἶασε φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, ὅπως δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι μηδὲν  
 μὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐσκομίζωνται, ἀπορία δὲ τῶν  
 ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον  
 Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ  
 ἐς Σικελίαν διαπορθμευσάμενος τῷ Μεσηνῶν  
 3 προσέβαλε τείχει. καὶ οἱ Δομνεντίολος ὁ  
 Βούζου ἀδελφιδούς, ὅσπερ τῶν τῆδε Ῥωμαίων  
 ἦρχεν, ὑπαντιάσας τε πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ ἐς  
 4 χεῖρας ἐλθὼν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχεν. αὐθις δὲ ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει γενόμενος φυλακῆς τε τῆς ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐπιμελούμενος ἡσυχίαν ἦγε. Γότθοι δέ, μηδενὸς  
 σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος, ἐληΐσαντο Σικελίαν σχεδόν  
 5 τι ὅλην. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥηγίῳ πολιορκου-  
 μένοι, ὧν δὴ Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ἰμέριος ἦρχον,  
 ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα σφᾶς  
 παντάπασιν ἐπελελοίπει,<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸ  
 φρούριον ὁμολογία τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδοσαν.  
 6 "Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσε, στόλον τε ἀγείρας  
 νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐκ καταλόγων  
 πεζῶν ἐν τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος, ἄρχοντά  
 τε Λιβέριον αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος  
 ἐπὶ Σικελίας ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν νῆσον δια-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπελελοίπει Haugy : ἀπολελοίπει K, ἀπελελοίπει L.

## XXXIX

AFTER this the Goths assaulted the fortress of Rhegium, but the besieged continued to defend themselves very vigorously and so repulsed them, and Thurimuth was always conspicuous for the deeds of heroism which he performed in fighting them. But Totila discovered that the besieged were in want of provisions, and so he contented himself with leaving a portion of his army there to keep guard, in order, of course, that the enemy might not carry in anything thereafter, but might be compelled by lack of necessities to surrender themselves and the fortress to the Goths; he himself meanwhile crossed over to Sicily with the rest of the army and delivered an attack on the wall of Messana. And Domnentiolus, the nephew of Buzes, who was in command of the Romans there, encountered him before the fortifications, and in the engagement which followed he was not unsuccessful. But he went back into the city and remained quiet, attending to the guarding of the place. The Goths, however, since no one came out against them, plundered practically the whole of Sicily. And the Romans besieged in Rhegium, commanded by Thurimuth and Himerius, as I have said, seeing their provisions had failed completely, came to terms and surrendered themselves and the fortress to the enemy.

When the emperor heard of these things, he gathered a fleet and embarked on these ships a very considerable army formed from infantry detachments, and appointing Liberius commander over them, ordered him to sail with all speed for Sicily,

- 7 σώσασθαι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄρχοντα τοῦ στόλου καταστησαμένῳ Λιβέριον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα μετέμελεν· ἦν γὰρ ἐσχατογέρον τε ὁ ἀνὴρ μάλιστα καὶ ἀμελέτητος πολεμίων ἔργων.
- 8 Ἄρταβάνῃ τε ἀφείς τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐγκλήματα πάντα καὶ στρατηγὸν καταλόγων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης καταστησάμενος ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθύς ἔπεμψε, στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ παρασχόμενος, ἐπιστείλας δὲ τὸν ξὺν τῷ Λιβερίῳ παραλαβεῖν στόλον, ἐπεὶ Λιβέριον ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο.
- 9 αὐτοκράτορα δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους πολέμου Γερμανὸν κατεστήσατο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνεψιόν. ὧ δὴ στράτευμα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ἔδωκε, χρήματα δὲ λόγου ἄξια παρασχόμενος στρατιὰν ἐπέστειλεν ἔκ τε Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείραντι<sup>1</sup> οὕτω δὴ στέλλεσθαι
- 10 σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολλῇ. καὶ οἱ Φιλημούθ τε τὸν Ἐρουλον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν αὐτοῦ μὲν Γερμανοῦ κηδεστήν, Βιταλιανοῦ δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦν (στρατηγὸς γὰρ ὢν τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς καταλόγων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε) ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι<sup>2</sup> ἐπήγγελλε.
- 11 Τότε δὴ Γερμανὸν φιλοτιμία πολλή τις ἔσχε Γότθων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἀναδήσασθαι, ὅπως οἱ Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀνασώσασθαι περιέσται
- 12 τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. Στότζα γὰρ τετυραννηκότος ἐν γε Λιβύῃ τὰ πρότερα καὶ τὸ Λιβύης κράτος βεβαιότατα ἤδη ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐκ βασιλέως σταλεις καὶ μάχῃ τοὺς στασιώτας παρὰ δόξαν νικήσας τὴν τε τυραννίδα κατέπαυσε καὶ Λιβύην

<sup>1</sup> ἀγείραντι K: ἀγείραντα L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγαγέσθαι K: ἀπαγαγέσθαι L.

and to put forth all his power to save the island. But he very speedily repented having appointed Liberius commander of the fleet; for he was an extremely old man and without experience in deeds of war. Then he absolved Artabanes from all the charges against him,<sup>1</sup> and appointing him General of the forces in Thrace straightway sent him to Sicily, providing him with an army of no great size but instructing him to take over the fleet commanded by Liberius, since he was summoning Liberius to Byzantium. But as commander-in-chief in the war against Totila and the Goths he appointed Germanus, his own nephew. To him he gave an army of no great size, but he provided him with a considerable amount of money and directed him to gather a very formidable army from Thrace and Illyricum and then to set forth with great speed for Italy. And he further instructed him to take with him to Italy both Philemuth the Erulian with his troops and his own son-in-law John the nephew of Vitalian; for John, as General of the forces in Illyricum, was stationed there.

Then a great ambition took possession of Germanus to achieve for himself the overthrow of the Goths, in order that it might be his fortune to recover for the Roman empire both Libya and Italy. For in the case of Libya, at any rate, he had been sent there by the emperor at the time when Stotzas had established his tyranny and was already holding the power of Libya most securely, and he had exceeded all expectations by defeating the rebels in battle, put an end to the tyranny, and once more recovered

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the palace plot, VII. xxxii.

13 αὐθις ἀνεσώσατο τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ὥσπερ μοι  
 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. καὶ νῦν δὲ  
 τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἐληλα-  
 κότων ἐς ὃ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, μέγα δὴ  
 14 ἐνθένδε περιβαλέσθαι κλέος ἐβούλετο ἄτε δὴ καὶ  
 αὐτὴν ἰσχύσας βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ  
 πρῶτα μὲν (ἐτετελευτήκει γάρ οἱ πολλῶ πρό-  
 τερον ἢ γυνὴ Πασσάρα ὄνομα) Ματασοῦνθαν ἐν  
 γαμετῆς ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ, τὴν Ἀμαλασοῦνθης  
 15 τῆς Θευδερίχου θυγατρὸς παῖδα, Οὐιππίγιδος ἤδη  
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἤλπιζε γάρ, ἦν ξὺν  
 αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἢ γυνὴ εἶη,<sup>1</sup> αἰσχύνεσθαι,  
 ὡς τὸ εἰκός, Γότθους ὄπλα ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνελέσθαι,  
 ἀναμνησθέντας τῆς Θευδερίχου τε καὶ Ἀτα-  
 16 λαρίχου ἀρχῆς. ἔπειτα δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα τὰ  
 μὲν ἐκ βασιλέως, τὰ δὲ πλείω οἴκοθεν οὐδεμιᾷ  
 φειδοῖ προϊέμενος στρατιὰν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου  
 πολλὴν ἀνδρῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἀγεῖραι δι' ὀλίγου  
 17 εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσε. Ῥωμαῖοί τε γάρ, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ  
 τὰ πολέμια, τῶν ἀρχόντων πολλοὺς ὧν δὴ δο-  
 ρυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ ἦσαν, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ  
 πεποιημένοι, Γερμανῶ εἶποντο, ἔκ τε Βυζαντίου  
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν οὐδέν  
 τι ἦσσαν, Ἰουστίνου τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ, τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ παίδων, πολλὴν ἐνδειξαμένων περὶ ταῦτα  
 18 σπουδῆν, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπαγαγόμενος ἀπιῶν  
 ᾤχετο. τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ καταλόγων ἰππικῶν οἱ  
 ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἴδρυντο, δόντος βασιλέως, ξυνέ-  
 19 λεξε. καὶ βάρβαροι πολλοὶ οἵπερ ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν  
 Ἰστρον διατριβὴν εἶχον, κατὰ κλέος τοῦ Γερμα-

<sup>1</sup> εἶη K : ἴη L.

Libya for the Roman empire, as I have recounted in the preceding narrative.<sup>1</sup> And now that the affairs of Italy had come to such a pass as I have just described, he naturally wished to win for himself great glory in that field, by showing himself able to recover this too for the emperor. Now his first move, made possible by the fact that his wife, who was named Passara, had died long before, was to marry Matasuntha, the daughter of Amalasantha and granddaughter of Theoderic, since Vittigis had already passed from the world. For he cherished the hope that, if the woman should be with him in the army, the Goths would probably be ashamed to take up arms against her, calling to mind the rule of Theoderic and Atalaric. Then, by expending great sums of money, part of which was provided by the emperor, but most of which he furnished unstintingly from his own resources, he easily succeeded, contrary to expectation, in raising a great army of very warlike men in a short space of time. For among the Romans, on the one hand, the experienced fighters in many cases ignored the officers to whom they belonged as spearmen and guards and followed Germanus; these came not only from Byzantium, but also from the towns of Thrace and Illyricum as well, his sons Justinus and Justinian having displayed great zeal in this matter—for he had taken them also on his departure. He also enrolled some from the cavalry detachments which were stationed in Thrace, with the emperor's permission. The barbarians also, on the other hand, who had their homes near the Ister River kept coming in great numbers, attracted by the fame of

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. xvi, xvii.



20 νοῦ ἤκοντες καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι,  
 ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἄλλοι τε  
 βάρβαροι ἐκ πάσης ἀγειρόμενοι ξυνέρρεον γῆς.  
 καὶ ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος ὀπλίτας  
 χιλίους ἐν παράσκευῇ πεποιημένος αὐτίκα δὴ  
 μάλα ὑπέσχετο πέμψειν.

21 Τούτων δὴ καὶ πλειοτέρων ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 ἀγγελλομένων, οἷα δὴ ἐξεργάζεσθαι εἴωθεν ἐς  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπεια προϊούσα ἢ φήμη, Γότθοι ἅμα  
 μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἔδεισαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀπόρῳ ἐγένοντο,  
 εἰ σφίσιν ἐς γένος τὸ Θευδερίχου πολεμητέα  
 22 εἶη. στρατιῶται δὲ Ῥωμαίων, ὅσοι Γότθοις  
 ἐτύγχανον ἀκούσιοι<sup>2</sup> ξυστρατεύοντες, ἀγγελον  
 πέμψαντες Γερμανῷ σημαίνειν ἐκέλευον ὡς,  
 ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ γεγόμενον αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup>  
 ἴδοιεν, ἐνστρατοπεδευομένην τε τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 στρατιάν, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι μελλήσαντες ξὺν  
 23 ἐκείνοις τετάξονται πάντως. οἷς δὴ ἅπασι  
 θαρσήσαντες οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἐν τε  
 Ῥαβέννη καὶ εἴ που ἄλλη πόλις σφίσι λε-  
 λειφθαι τετύχηκεν, εὐέλπιδες ἰσχυρότατα γε-  
 γεννημένοι, τὰ χωρία βασιλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς  
 24 φυλάσσειν ἠξίου. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ξὺν τῷ  
 Βήρῳ τὰ πρότερα ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἠσσημένοι τε τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ διέφυγόν τε καὶ σκεδαννύμενοι  
 περιήεσαν, ὅπη ἐκάστῳ τετύχηκεν, ἐπειδὴ ὁδῷ  
 ἰέναι Γερμανὸν ἤκουσαν, ἀθρόοι ἐν Ἰστρίᾳ  
 γεγεννημένοι, ἐνταῦθά τε τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο  
 προσδεχόμενοι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.

<sup>1</sup> ἅμα μὲν Haury: δὲ ἅμα τε K, τε ἅμα L



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25 Τότε δὴ ὁ Τουτίλας, ἡμέρα γὰρ ἢ ξυγκειμένη  
 αὐτῷ τε καὶ Διογένει ἀμφὶ Κεντουκέλλαις εἰσ-  
 τήκει, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευέν οἱ κατὰ  
 26 τὰ ξυγκείμενα τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι. Διογένης  
 δὲ τούτου δὴ κύριος ἔφασκεν αὐτὸς οὐκέτι εἶναι  
 ἀκηκοέναι γὰρ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου  
 τὸν Γερμανὸν καταστήναί τε καὶ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ  
 27 οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ὁμήρων βουλομένῳ  
 οἱ αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> εἶναι τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους ἀπολαβεῖν,  
 τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Γόθων σφίσι δεδομένους ἀπο-  
 28 τινύναι. τοὺς τε<sup>2</sup> σταλέντας ἀποπεμψάμενος  
 τοῦ τῆς πόλεως φυλακτηρίου ἐπεμελεῖτο, Γερ-  
 μανὸν τε καὶ τὸ ξὺν αὐτῷ караδοκῶν στρα-  
 29 τευμα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῆδε, καὶ ὁ  
 χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος  
 ἐτελείτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος  
 ξυνέγραψε.

XL

Γερμανοῦ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν Σαρδικῇ, τῇ  
 Ἰλλυριῶν πόλει, ἀγείραντός τε καὶ διέποντος,  
 ἅπαντά τε ἰσχυρότατα ἐξαρτυομένου τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευήν, Σκλαβηνῶν ὄμιλος  
 ὅσος οὐπω πρότερον ἀφίκετο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν  
 γῆν. Ἰστρον τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἀμφὶ Νάϊσον  
 2 ἦλθον. ὧν δὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀποσκεδασθέντας  
 μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, πλανωμένους δὲ καὶ κατὰ  
 μόνας περιούντας τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τῶν τινὲς  
 Ῥωμαίων καταλαβόντες τε καὶ ξυνδήσαντες ἀνε-

<sup>1</sup> βουλομένῳ οἱ αὐτῷ: βουλομένῳ αὐτῷ Herwerden: βου-  
 λευομένων οἱ αὐτῷ K: βουλευόμενον οἱ αὐτῷ L.

Just at this time Totila sent to Centumcellae (for the time agreed upon by him and Diogenes as touching this town had arrived), and commanded Diogenes to surrender the city in accordance with the agreement. Diogenes, however, said that he personally no longer had authority to do this; for he had heard that Germanns had been appointed commander-in-chief to carry on that war, and was not far away with his army. And he added that, in regard to the hostages, it was his desire to receive back, on the one hand, their own, and, on the other, to return those furnished by the Goths. Then, after dismissing the messengers, he turned his attention to the defence of the city, expecting Germanns and the army with him. Such was the course of these events; and the winter drew to its close, and the fifteenth year ended in this war, the history of 550 which Procopius has written.

## XL

BUT while Germanus was collecting and organizing his army in Sardice,<sup>1</sup> the city of Illyricum, and making all the necessary preparations for war with the greatest thoroughness, a throng of Sclaveni such as never before was known arrived on Roman soil, having crossed the Ister River and come to the vicinity of Naïssus.<sup>2</sup> Now some few of these had scattered from their army and, wandering about the country there alone, were captured by certain of the Romans and made prisoners; and the Romans

<sup>1</sup> Modern Sofia.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Nish.

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<sup>2</sup> τοὺς τε Κ: οὕτω τοὺς Ἰ.

πυνθύνοντο ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα οὗτος δὴ ὁ τῶν  
 Σκλαβηνῶν στρατὸς καὶ ὃ τι κατεργασόμενοι  
 3 διέβησαν ποταμὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρίσαντο  
 ὡς Θεσσαλονίκην τε αὐτὴν καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἀμφ'  
 αὐτὴν πολιορκίᾳ ἐξαιρήσοντες ἤκοιεν.<sup>1</sup> ἄπερ  
 ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν, ἄγαν τε ξυνεταράχθη καὶ  
 πρὸς Γερμανὸν εὐθὺς ἔγραψεν, ὁδὸν μὲν ἐν τῷ  
 παραυτίκα τὴν ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν ἀναβαλέσθαι, Θεσσα-  
 λονίκη δὲ καὶ πόλεσι ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀμῦναι, καὶ τὴν  
 Σκλαβηνῶν ἔφοδον ὅση δύναμις ἀποκρούσασθαι.  
 καὶ Γερμανὸς μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα διατριβὴν εἶχε.

4 Σκλαβηνοὶ δὲ γνόντες διαρρήδην πρὸς τῶν  
 αἰχμαλώτων Γερμανὸν ἐν Σαρδικῇ εἶναι ἐς δέος  
 5 ἦλθον· μέγα γὰρ ὄνομα ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε.  
 ἠνίκα Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Γερμανοῦ θεῖος τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν εἶχεν, Ἄνται, οἱ Σκλαβηνῶν ἀγχιστα  
 ᾤκηνται, Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες στρατῷ  
 6 μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἐτύγ-  
 χανε δὲ Γερμανὸν βασιλεὺς Θράκης ὅλης στρα-  
 τηγὸν καταστησάμενος οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον.  
 ὃς δὴ ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθων τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ  
 κατὰ κράτος τε μάχῃ νικήσας σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντας  
 ἔκτεινε, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὁ  
 Γερμανὸς ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαφερόντως  
 ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους περιεβάλετο.  
 7 δειμαίνοντες οὖν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται,  
 Σκλαβηνοί, ἅμα δὲ καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιολογωτάτην  
 αὐτὸν ἐπάγεσθαι οἰόμενοι ἅτε πρὸς βασιλέως  
 στελλόμενον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὁδοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαιρήσοντες ἤκοιεν: ἐξαιρήσοντες ἴκοιεν K: ἐξαιρήσεσθαι  
 σχοῖεν L.

questioned them as to why this particular army of the Sclaveni had crossed the Ister and what they had in mind to accomplish. And they stoutly declared that they had come with the intention of capturing by siege both Thessalonice<sup>1</sup> itself and the cities around it. When the emperor heard this, he was greatly agitated and straightway wrote to Germanus directing him to postpone for the moment his expedition to Italy and defend Thessalonice and the other cities, and to repel the invasion of the Sclaveni with all his power. So Germanus, for his part, was devoting himself to this problem.

But the Sclaveni, upon learning definitely from their captives that Germanus was in Sardice, began to be afraid; for Germanus had a great reputation among these particular barbarians for the following reason. During the reign of Justinian, the uncle of Germanus, the Antae, who dwell close to the Sclaveni, had crossed the Ister River with a great army and invaded the Roman domain. Now the emperor had not long before this, as it happened, appointed Germanus General of all Thrace. He accordingly engaged with the hostile army, defeated them decisively in battle, and killed practically all of them; and Germanus, as a result of this achievement, had covered himself with great glory in the estimation of all men, including these same barbarians. Consequently, on account of their dread of him, as I have said, and also because they supposed that he was conducting a very formidable force, seeing that he was being sent by the emperor against Totila and the Goths, the Sclaveni immediately turned

<sup>1</sup> Modern Salonica.

μὲν εὐθύς τῆς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἀπέσχοντο, ἐς δὲ τὸ πεδίου καταβῆναι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ ξύμπαντα τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἰλλυριῶν διαμείψαντες ἐν  
8 Δαλματία ἐγένοντο. ὧν δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφροντιστήσας πάσῃ ἐπήγγελλε τῇ στρατιᾷ ξυσκευάζεσθαι, ὡς ἡμέραιν δυοῖν ὕστερον ὁδοῦ ἐνθένδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀρξόμενος.

9 Ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέπεσε τύχη νοσήσαντι ἐξαπιναίως τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι. εὐθυωρόν<sup>1</sup> τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείος τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἐν μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ στρατηγὸς τε ἄριστος καὶ αὐτουργὸς δεξιός, ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασι<sup>2</sup> τά τε νόμιμα καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον βεβαιότατα φυλάσσειν ἐξεπιστάμενος, δικάσας μὲν ὀρθότατα πάντων μάλιστα, χρήματα δὲ τοῖς δεομένοις ἅπασι δεδανεικῶς μεγάλα καὶ τόκον οὐδ' ὅσον λόγῳ κεκομισμένος πρὸς αὐτῶν πώποτε, ἐν Παλατίῳ μὲν καὶ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐμβριθέστατός τε καὶ σοβαρὸς ἄγαν, ἐστιάτωρ δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν οἴκοι ἠδύς τε καὶ ἐλευθέριος καὶ ἐπίχαρις, οὐδέ τι ἐν Παλατίῳ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὅση δύναμις ξυγχωρῶν, οὐδὲ στασιώταις τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῆς βουλήσεως ἢ τῆς ὀμιλίας μεταλαχῶν πώποτε, καίπερ καὶ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει πολλῶν ἐς τοῦτο ἀτοπίας ἐληλακότων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε κεχώρηκε.

10 Βασιλεὺς δὲ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιώδυνος γεγονὼς Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευε, τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ μὲν

<sup>1</sup> εὐθυωρόν Dindorf: εὐθυωρός K, εὐθύωρός L.

<sup>2</sup> πράγμασι L: γράμμασι K.

aside from their march on Thessalonice and no longer dared to descend to the plain, but they crossed over all the mountain ranges of Illyricum and so came into Dalmatia. Germanus, accordingly, paid no further attention to them and issued orders to the entire army to prepare for marching, intending to commence the journey thence to Italy two days later.

But by some chance it so befell that he was taken sick and abruptly reached the term of life. Thus did Germanus suddenly pass away, a man endowed with the finest qualities and remarkable for his activity; for in war, on the one hand, he was not only a most able general, but was also resourceful and independent in action, while in peace and prosperity, on the other hand, he well understood how to uphold with all firmness both the laws and the institutions of the state. As a judge he was conspicuously upright, while in private life he made loans of large sums of money to all who requested it, never so much as speaking of taking interest from them. Both in the palace and in the market-place he was a man of very impressive personality and exceedingly serious demeanour, while in his daily home life he was a pleasant, open-hearted, and charming host. He would not permit, as far as his strength allowed, any offence in the palace against established laws, nor did he ever share either in the purpose or in the conversations of the conspirators in Byzantium, though many even of those in power went so far in their unnatural conduct. Such then was the course of these events.

The emperor was deeply moved by this misfortune, and commanded John, the nephew of Vitalian and



ἀδελφιδούν, Γερμανοῦ δὲ γαμβρόν, ξὺν Ἰου-  
 στινιανῶ θατέρῳ τοῖν Γερμανοῦ παίδειν τῶ  
 11 στρατῶ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠγήσασθαι. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ Δαλματίας ἤεσαν, ὡς ἐν Σάλωσι  
 διαχειμάσοντας, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατα σφίσιν ᾤοντο  
 εἶναι τηνικάδε τοῦ καιροῦ περιοῦσι τὴν τοῦ  
 κόλπου περίοδον ἐς Ἰταλίαν κομίζεσθαι· δια-  
 πορθμεύεσθαι γὰρ νηῶν σφίσιν οὐ παρουσῶν  
 12 ἀμήχανα ἦν. Λιβέριος δέ, οὐπω τι πεπυσμένος  
 ὢν περ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῶ στόλῳ τούτῳ μετέμελε,  
 Συρακούσαις προσέσχε πολιορκουμέναις πρὸς  
 13 τῶν πολεμίων. βιασάμενός τε τοὺς ταύτη βαρ-  
 βάρους ἐς τε τὸν λιμένα κατήρε καὶ παντὶ τῶ  
 στόλῳ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. καὶ  
 14 Ἀρταβάνης δὲ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον ἐν Κεφαλωνίᾳ  
 γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Λιβέριον ἤδη ἐν-  
 θένδε ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ Σικελίας κεχωρηκένοι  
 ἔγνω, ἄρας ἐνθένδε πέλαγος αὐτίκα τὸ Ἀδρια-  
 15 τικὸν καλούμενον διέβη. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλαβρῶν  
 ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, χειμῶνός οἱ ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος  
 καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σκληροῦ τε ὑπεράγαν ὄντος  
 καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσιν ἰόντος, οὕτως ἀπάσας  
 διασκεδάνυσθαι τὰς ναῦς ξυνηνέχθη, ὡς δοκεῖν  
 16 ὅτι δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ ἐς τὴν Καλαβρίαν ἐξενεχθεῖσαι  
 ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. οὐκ ἦν δὲ οὕτως,  
 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ πνεύματος ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ διω-  
 θούμεναι ἀνέστρεφόν τε βιαζόμεναι ὑπερφυῶς  
 καὶ αὐθις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις δέ, ὅπῃ παρατύχη, ἢ διεφθάρθαι ἢ δια-  
 17 σεσῶσθαι τετύχηκε. ναῦς δὲ μία, ἐν ἣ ἔπλει  
 Ἀρταβάνης αὐτός, τοῦ ἰστοῦ οἱ ἐν τῶ σάλῳ  
 τούτῳ ἀπόκοπέντος, ἐς τοσόνδε κινδύνου ἐλθοῦσα,



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πρὸς τε τοῦ ῥοθίου φερομένη καὶ τῷ κλύδωνι ἐπισπομένη<sup>1</sup> Μελίτη προσέσχε τῇ νήσῳ. οὕτω μὲν Ἀρταβάνην διασεσῶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκῆτου ξυνέπεσε.

18 Λιβέριος δὲ οὔτε τοῖς πολιορκουῖσιν ἐπεξιέναι ἢ μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἷός τε ὦν διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σφίσιν ἅτε πολλοῖς οὔσιν ἐς πλείω χρόνον οὐδαμῇ διαρκούντων, ἄρας ἐνθένδε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἐς Πάνορμον ἀπεχώρησε.

19 Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ Γότθοι σχεδὸν τι ἅπαντα ληϊσάμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ Σικελίας χωρία ἵππων μὲν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ ζώων ἄλλων μέγα τι χρήμα, σῖτον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καρπούς ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς νήσου μετενεγκόντες καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα, μεγάλα κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὴν τε νήσον ἐξαπιναίως ἐξέλιπον καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέστρεφον, τρόπῳ ὀρμώμενοι τοιῶδε.

20 τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων, Σπῖνον ὄνομα, ἐκ Σπολιτίου ὀρμώμενόν οἱ αὐτῷ παρέδρον οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον

21 καταστησάμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν. οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἐν πόλει Κατάνη, ἀτειχίστῳ οὔσῃ, διατριβὴν εἶχε. τύχη τέ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέβη ὑπὸ τοῖς πολε-

22 μίοις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. ὃν δὴ ῥύεσθαι ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπειγόμενος τῶν τινὰ ἐπιφανῶν γυναῖκα, αἰχμάλωτον οὔσαν, ἀφεῖναι Ῥωμαίοις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἤθελε.

23 γυναῖκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουσαν ἀνταλλάξασθαι ἀνδρὸς τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίστω-

24 ρος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. δείσας οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ μὴ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθαρείη, ὠμολόγησε Ῥωμαίοις

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισπομένη Dindorf: ἐπισπωμένη MSS.

by the surge and followed the swell until it came to land at the island of Melita.<sup>1</sup> Thus did it come about contrary to expectation that Artabanus was saved.

Liberius now found himself unable to make sallies against the besiegers or to fight a decisive battle against them, while at the same time their provisions could not possibly suffice for any considerable time, seeing they were a large force, and so he set sail from there with his troops, and, eluding the enemy, withdrew to Panormus.

Totila and the Goths, meanwhile, had plundered practically the whole land of Sicily; they had collected as booty a vast number of horses and other animals, and had stripped the island of grain and all its other crops; these, together with all the treasure, which amounted to a great sum indeed, they loaded on their ships, and then suddenly abandoned the island and returned to Italy, being impelled to do so for the following reason. Not long before this, as it happened, Totila had appointed one of the Romans, Spinus by name, a native of Spolitium, to be his personal adviser. This man was staying in Catana, which was an unwallied town. And, by some chance, it came about that he fell into the hands of the enemy there. Now Totila, being eager to rescue this man, wished to release to the Romans in his stead a notable's wife who was his prisoner. But the Romans would not consent to accept a woman in exchange for a man holding the position of quaestor, as it is called. The man consequently became fearful that he would be destroyed while in hostile hands, and so promised the Romans that he would

<sup>1</sup> Modern Meleda.

25 αὐτίκα Γουτίλαν ἀναπείσειν Σικελίας μὲν ἀπα-  
 νίστασθαι, παντὶ δὲ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἐς  
 Ἰταλίαν διαπορθμεύσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄρκοις  
 αὐτὸν σφίσιν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ κατα-  
 ληφθέντα Γότθοις ἀπέδοσαν, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 26 γυναῖκα κεκομισμένοι. ὁ δὲ Γουτίλα ἐς ὄψιν  
 ἤκων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ Γότθους  
 ἔφασκε Σικελίαν ληϊσαμένους σχεδὸν τι ὄλην  
 ὀλίγων τινῶν φρουρίων διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχειν.  
 27 ἔναγχος γὰρ ἰσχυρίζετο ἀκηκοέναι, ἥνίκα παρὰ  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐτύγχανεν ὢν, Γερμανὸν μὲν τὸν  
 βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι,  
 Ἰωάννην δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ κηδεστήν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν  
 τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα παντὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ συλ-  
 λεγέντι στρατῷ εἶναι μὲν ἤδη ἐν Δαλματία, εὐθὺ  
 δὲ Λιγουρίας αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ξυσκευαζομένους  
 ἐνθένδε χωρήσειν, ἐφ' ᾧ δ' ἡ Γότθων ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς  
 παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσουσι καὶ  
 χρήματα ληΐσονται πάντα, οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ὑπαν-  
 τιάζειν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ξὺν τοῖς  
 28 οἰκείοις διαχειμάζοντας. ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων περιε-  
 σόμεθα, Σικελίας αὐθις ἅμα ἠρι ἀρχομένῳ  
 παρέσται ἡμῖν ἀδεέστερον ἐπιβήσεσθαι πολέμιον  
 29 οὐδὲν ἐν νῶ ἔχουσι. ταύτῃ ὁ Γουτίλας τῇ ὑπο-  
 θήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς φρουροὺς μὲν ἐν ὀχυρώμασι  
 τέτρασιν εἴασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξύμπασαν τὴν λείαν  
 ἐπαγόμενος παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν  
 διεπορθμεύσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῆδε.  
 30 Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφικόμενοι  
 ἐς Δαλματίαν ἐν Σάλωσι<sup>1</sup> διαχειμάζειν ἔγνωσαν,  
 ἐνθένδε μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν εὐθὺ Ῥαβέν-

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Σάλωσι L: εἰς σάλωνας K.

persuade Totila to depart immediately from Sicily and cross over to Italy with the whole Gothic army. So they first bound him over by oaths to carry out this promise and then gave him up to the Goths, receiving the woman in return. He then went before Totila and asserted that the Goths were not consulting their own interests, now that they had plundered practically the whole of Sicily, in remaining there for a few insignificant fortresses. For he declared that he had recently heard, while he was among the enemy, that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had passed from the world, and that John, his son-in-law, and Justinian, his son, with the whole army collected by Germanus were already in Dalmatia and would move on from there, after completing their preparations in the briefest time, straight for Liguria, in order, obviously, to descend suddenly upon the Goths and make slaves of their women and children and to plunder all their valuables; and it would be better for the Goths, he said, to be there to meet them, passing the winter meanwhile in safety in company with their families. "For," he went on, "if we overcome that army, it will be possible for us at the opening of spring to renew our operations against Sicily free from anxiety and with no thought of an enemy in our minds." Totila was convinced by this suggestion, and so, leaving guards in four strongholds, he himself, taking with him the entire booty, crossed over with all the rest of the army to Italy. Such was the course of these events.

Now John and the emperor's army, upon reaching Dalmatia, decided to pass the winter in Salones, purposing to march from there straight for Ravenna

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 31 νης ὁδῷ ἰέναι διανοούμενοι. Σκλαβηνοὶ δέ, οἳ τε  
 τὰ πρότερα ἐν γῆ τῆ βασιλέως γενόμενοι, ὥσπερ  
 μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, καὶ ἄλλοι οὐ πολλῷ  
 ὕστερον Ἰστρον ποταμὸν διαβάντες καὶ τοῖς  
 προτέροις ἀναμιχθέντες, κατέθεον ἐν πολλῇ  
 32 ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. καὶ τινες μὲν ἐν  
 ὑποψίᾳ εἶχον ὡς Τουτίλας τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας ἐπιπέμψει  
 τοῖς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις, ὅπως δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀδύνατα  
 εἶη τὸν πρὸς Γότθους πόλεμον ἀσχολία τῆ ἐς τού-  
 33 τους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους εὐ διοικήσασθαι. εἴτε  
 δὲ Τουτίλα χαριζόμενοι εἴτε ἄκλητοι Σκλαβηνοὶ  
 ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. ἐς τρία μέντοι  
 τέλη σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι  
 ἀνήκεστα ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῆ ὅλη ἔργα εἰργάσαντο,  
 οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληϊζόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία,  
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ διαχειμάζοντες οὐδέν  
 34 τε δεδιότες πολέμιον. ὕστερον δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς  
 βασιλεὺς στρατιὰν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἔπεμψεν, ἧς ἄλλοι τε καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ  
 Ἀράτιος καὶ Ναζάρης ἡγοῦντο καὶ Ἰουστίνος ὁ  
 Γερμανοῦ παῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν  
 35 ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. ἐπιστάτην δὲ Σχολαστικὸν  
 ἐφ' ἅπασι κατεστήσατο, τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ  
 εὐνούχων ἓνα.
- 36 Οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς μοῖραν τῶν βαρβάρων κατα-  
 λιμβάνουσιν ἀμφὶ Ἀδριανούπολιν, ἥπερ ἐπὶ  
 Θράκης ἐν μεσογείοις κεῖται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν  
 37 Βυζαντίου διέχουσα. καὶ πρόσω μὲν χωρεῖν οἱ  
 βάρβαροι οὐκέτι εἶχον· λείαν γὰρ ἐπήγοντο

<sup>1</sup> Modern Edirne or Adrianople.

after the winter season. But the Sclaveni now reappeared, both those who had previously come into the emperor's land, as I have recounted above, and others who had crossed the Ister not long afterwards and joined the first, and they began to overrun the Roman domain with complete freedom. And some indeed entertained the suspicion that Totila had bribed these very barbarians with large gifts of money and so set them upon the Romans there, with the definite purpose of making it impossible for the emperor to manage the war against the Goths well because of his preoccupation with these barbarians. But as to whether the Sclaveni were conferring a favour upon Totila, or whether they came there without invitation, I am unable to say. These barbarians did, in any case, divide themselves into three groups and wrought irreparable damage in all Europe, not merely plundering that country by sudden raids, but actually spending the winter as if in their own land and having no fear of the enemy. Afterwards, however, the Emperor Justinian sent a very considerable army against them, which was led by a number of commanders, including Constantianus, Aratius, Nazares, Justinus the son of Germanus and John who bore the epithet of the Glutton. But he placed in supreme command over them all Scholasticus, one of the eunuchs of the palace.

This army came upon a part of the barbarians near Adrianopolis,<sup>1</sup> which is situated in the interior of Thrace, five days' journey distant from Byzantium. And the barbarians were unable to proceed further; for they were taking with them a booty which



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ζῴων ἄλλων καὶ πάντων χρη-  
 33 μάτων ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσονα. μένοντες δὲ αὐτοῦ  
 ἠπείγοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, τούτου  
 δὴ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς αἴσθησιν ὡς ἤκιστα παρεχόμενοι. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ  
 ταύτη ἀνέχει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ οὐ πολλῷ  
 39 ἄποθεν. χρόνου δὲ σφίσι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προσε-  
 δρεία τριβομένου συχνοῦ ἤσχαλλόν τε οἱ στρα-  
 τιῶται καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, τοῖς στρατηγοῖς  
 ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ξύμπαντα  
 εὔπορα ἔχοντες ἅτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ  
 ἄρχοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας περιορῶσι τῶν ἀναγ-  
 καίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένους καὶ οὐ βούλονται  
 40 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. οἷς δὴ οἱ στρα-  
 τηγοὶ ἀναγκασθέντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυνέμιξαν.  
 καὶ γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ μάχη, ἡσσῶνται δὲ κατὰ  
 41 κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι. ἔνθα δὴ στρατιῶται μὲν πολλοί  
 τε καὶ ἄριστοι θνήσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ παρ'  
 ὀλίγον ἐλθόντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι ξύν  
 τοῖς καταλοίποις μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν,  
 42 ὡς πη ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. καὶ Κωνσταντια-  
 νοῦ δὲ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι εἶλον, τοῦ τε  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν τραπόμενοι  
 43 πρόσω ἐχώρουν. καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλου-  
 μένην ἐληΐζοντο κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἀδήωτον ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λείαν αὐτοὺς  
 πολλήν τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρεῖν ξυνηνέχθη· οὕτω δὲ  
 50



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

χώραν πολλήν ληϊζόμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὰ μακρὰ τείχη  
 ἀφίκοντο, ἄπερ ὀλίγω πλέον ἢ ἡμέρας ὁδὸν  
 44 Βυζαντίου διέχει. οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ Ῥω-  
 μαίων στρατὸς τούτοις δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς βαρ-  
 βάροις, μοῖρα τε αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες τινὶ καὶ  
 45 ἐξαπιναίως ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες ἐτρέψαντο. καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, Ῥωμαίων  
 δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μέγα τι διεσώσαντο χρῆμα,  
 τό τε Κωνσταντιανοῦ σημείον εὐρόντες ἀνείλοντο.  
 οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ βάρβαροι ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ ἐπ'  
 οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Forty milestones," as stated by Procopius, *On the Buildings*, IV. 9. The modern line of defence, passing

wide expanse of country and came as far as the long walls, which are a little more than one day's journey<sup>1</sup> distant from Byzantium. But not long afterwards the Roman army, in following up these barbarians, came upon a portion of their force, engaged with them suddenly, and turned them to flight. And they not only slew many of the enemy, but also rescued a vast number of Roman captives, and they also found and recovered the standard of Constantianus. But the rest of the barbarians departed on the homeward way with the other booty.

through Chataldja, is about ten miles nearer the city. The ancient wall, like the modern line, extended from the shore of the Black Sea to that of the Sea of Marmara, a distance of twenty-eight miles, cutting off the end of the peninsula on which Byzantium stood.



**HISTORY OF THE WARS**  
**BOOK VIII**

**THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)**

# ΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΟΓΔΟΥΣ

## I

“Οσα μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδέ μοι δεδιήγηται, τῆδε  
ξυγγέγραπται ἤπερ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ χωρίων  
ἐφ’ ὧν δὴ ἔργα τὰ πολέμα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι  
διελόντι τε καὶ ἄρμοσαμένῳ τοὺς λόγους, οἵπερ  
ἤδη ἐξενεχθέντες πανταχόθι δεδήλωνται τῆς  
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκέτι μοι τρόπῳ  
2 τῷ εἰρημένῳ ξυγκείσεται. γράμμασι γὰρ τοῖς  
ἐς τὸ πᾶν δεδηλωμένοις οὐκέτι εἶχον τὰ ἐπιγινό-  
μενα ἐναρμόζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅσα κατὰ τοὺς  
πολέμους τούσδε γεγονέναι ξυνέβη, ἔτι<sup>1</sup> μέντοι  
καὶ ἐς τὸ Μήδων γένος, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν  
λόγους ἐξήνεγκα, ἐν τῷδέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ πάντα  
γεγράψεται, ἱστορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐπάναγκες ποικί-  
λην ξυγκείσθαι.

3 Ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὅσα ξυνέβη<sup>2</sup> ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τέταρτον  
ἔτος τῆς πενταετηρίδος ἐκεχειρίας ἢ Ῥωμαίοις  
ἐγεγόνει καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι  
δεδιήγηται λόγοις· τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ  
Μηδικῆς στρατιᾶς πολὺς ὄμιλος ἐς γῆν τὴν  
4 Κολχίδα ἐσέβαλον. οἷσπερ ἐφειστήκει Πέρσης  
ἀνὴρ, Χοριάνης ὄνομα, πολέμων ἐσάγαν πολλῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι Maltretus: ἐπί MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσα ξυνέβη L: om. K.

# HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK VIII

## THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*),

### I

THE narrative which I have written up to this point has been composed, as far as possible, on the principle of separating the material into parts which relate severally to the countries in which the different wars took place, and these parts have already been published and have appeared in every corner of the Roman empire. But from this point onward I shall no longer follow this principle of arrangement. For after my writings had appeared before the public, I was no longer able to add to each the events which happened afterwards, but all the later developments in these wars, and in the war against Persia as well, now that I have published the previous parts, will be written down in full in this present narrative, and thus the record which I shall make of these events will of necessity be composite.

Now all that took place up to the fourth year of the five-year truce which was made between the Romans and the Persians has already been recounted by me in the previous books.<sup>1</sup> But in the succeeding year a Persian army in vast numbers invaded the land of Colchis. In command of this army was a Persian, Chorianes by name, a man of wide experience

<sup>1</sup> Books I and II.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἔμπειρος, καὶ αὐτῷ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι τοῦ  
 5 Ἰαλανῶν γένους πολλοὶ εἶποντο. οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς  
 ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο εἰς χώραν τῆς Λαζικῆς ἢ ἐπικαλεῖ-  
 ται Μοχήρησις, ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ στρατοπέδενσάμενοι  
 6 ἔμενον. ῥεῖ δέ πη ἐνταῦθα ποταμὸς Ἰππις, οὐ  
 μέγας οὐδὲ ναυσίπορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ  
 ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς ἐσβατός, οὐ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν  
 χάρακα ἐποίησαντο, οὐ παρὰ τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ  
 κατὰ πολὺ ἄποθεν.

7 Ὅπως δὲ τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγόμενοις ἐκδηλατὰ  
 ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς χωρία ἔσται ὅσα τε γένη ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἴδρυνται, καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφανῶν  
 σφίσιν ὥσπερ οἱ σκιαμαχοῦντες διαλέγεσθαι  
 ἀναγκάζονται, οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι  
 ἀναγράψασθαι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὄντινα δὴ  
 τρόπον ἄνθρωποι οἰκοῦσι τὸν Εὐξεινον καλού-  
 μενον Πόντον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντι μὲν ὡς καὶ τῶν  
 παλαιότερων τισὶ γέγραπται ταῦτα, οἰομένῳ δὲ  
 8 οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῖς πάντα εἰρῆσθαι. ὧν<sup>1</sup>  
 γέ τινες Τραπεζουντίων ὁμόρους ἢ Σάνους<sup>2</sup>  
 ἔφασαν, οἱ τανῦν Τζάνοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ἢ Κόλ-  
 χους εἶναι, Λαζοὺς ἑτέρους καλέσαντες οἱ καὶ νῦν  
 ἐπὶ τούτου προσαγορεύονται τοῦ ὀνόματος.  
 9 καίτοι ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. Τζάνοι μὲν γὰρ  
 τῆς παραλίας ὡς ἀπωτάτω ὄντες προσοικοῦσι  
 τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ καὶ ὄρη πολλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ὧν K : οἷς L.

<sup>2</sup> Τραπεζουντίων ὁμόρους ἢ Σάνους Haury : τραπεζῶν ὁμόρους  
 ἦσαν οὗς K : ὁμόρους λαζῶν τζανούς L.



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

μεταξὺ ἀποκρέματαί, λίαν τε ἄβατα καὶ ὄλως  
 κρημνώδη, χώρα τε πολλὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐς  
 αἰὲ οὔσα καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι καὶ λόφοι  
 ὑλώδεις καὶ σήραγγες ἀδιέξοδοι, οἷς δὴ ἅπασιν μὴ  
 10 ἐπιθαλάσσιοι εἶναι διείργονται Τζάνοι. Κόλχους  
 δὲ οὐχ<sup>1</sup> οἶόν τέ ἐστι μὴ τοὺς Λαζοὺς εἶναι, ἐπεὶ  
 παρὰ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ᾠκηνται· τὸ δὲ ὄνομα  
 μόνον οἱ Κόλχοι, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπων ἔθνη καὶ  
 πολλὰ ἕτερα, τανῦν ἐς τὸ Λαζῶν μεταβέβληνται.  
 11 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ μέγας αἰὼν μετὰ τοὺς ἐκεῖνα  
 ἀναγραψαμένους ἐπιγενόμενος αἰεὶ τε συννεω-  
 τερίζων τοῖς πράγμασι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν καθεστώ-  
 των τὰ πρότερα νεοχμῶσαι ἴσχυσεν, ἐθνῶν τε  
 μεταστάσεσι καὶ ἀρχόντων καὶ ὀνομάτων δια-  
 12 δοχαῖς. ἄπερ <sup>τιοι</sup> διαμετρήσασθαι ἀναγκαιό-  
 τατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, οὐ τὰ μυθώδη περὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀπαγγέλλουσι ἢ ἄλλως ἀρχαῖα, οὐδὲ ὅπη ποτὲ  
 Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου δεθῆναι τὸν Προμηθεῖα  
 13 ποιηταὶ λέγουσι· μύθου γὰρ ἱστορίαν παρὰ πολὺ  
 κεχωρίσθαι οἶμαι.<sup>2</sup> ἄλλ' ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεξιόντι  
 τά τε ὀνόματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα, ὅσα δὴ τανῦν  
ἐπιχωριάζει τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων ἐκάστῳ.

## II

Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Πόντος ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ Βυζαν-  
 τίου καὶ Καλχηδόνης, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐς Κόλχων τὴν

> <sup>1</sup> οὐχ om. MSS. : οὐχ οἶόν τέ ἐστι μὴ οὐ conjectured by  
 Comparetti.

which are thoroughly impassable and altogether precipitous, and there is an extensive area always devoid of human habitation, cañons from which it is impossible to climb out, forested heights, and impassable chasms—all these prevent the Tzani from being on the sea. In the second place, it is impossible that the Lazi should not be the Colchians, because they inhabit the banks of the Phasis River; and the Colchians have merely changed their name at the present time to Lazi, just as nations of men and many other things do. But apart from this, a long period of time has elapsed since these accounts were written, and has brought about constant changes along with the march of events, with the result that many of the conditions which formerly obtained have been replaced by new conditions, because of the migration of nations and successive changes of rulers and of names. These things it has seemed to me very necessary to investigate, not relating the mythological tales about them nor other antiquated material, nor even telling in what part of the Euxine Sea the poets say Prometheus was bound (for I consider that history is very widely separated from mythology), but stating accurately and in order both the names of each of those places and the facts that apply to them at the present day.

## II

THIS Pontus, then, begins from Byzantium and Calchedon and ends at the land of the Colchians.

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<sup>2</sup> *οἰμαί* L : *εἶναι* K.

2 γῆν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι Βιθυνοὶ τε  
καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν ἐχόμενοι Ὀνωριάται καὶ Παφλα-  
γόνες ᾠκηνται, οἱ δὴ ἄλλα τε χωρία καὶ Ἡρά-  
κλειάν τε καὶ Ἀμαστριν ἐπιθαλασσίας πόλεις  
ἔχουσι, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦς οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλού-  
μενοι μέχρι ἐς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν καὶ τὰ ταύ-  
της ὄρια. ἐνταῦθα πολίσματά τε ἄλλα ἐπι-  
θαλασσίδια καὶ Σινώπη τε καὶ Ἀμισὸς οἰκεῖται,  
Ἀμισοῦ δὲ ἄγχιστα τό τε Θεμίσκουρον καλού-  
μενον καὶ Θερμῶδων ποταμὸς ἐστίν, οὗ δὴ τὸ  
τῶν Ἀμαζόνων στρατόπεδον γεγενῆσθαι φασιν.  
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν Ἀμαζόνων γεγράφεται μοι οὐ  
3 πολλῶ ὄπισθεν. Τραπεζουντίων δὲ τὰ ὄρια  
διήκει ἐς τε κώμην Σουσοῦρμενα καὶ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον  
καλούμενον χωρίον, ὅπερ Τραπεζουντίων διέχει  
δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς παραλίας ἐς Λαζικὴν  
4 ἴοντι. Τραπεζοῦντος δέ μοι ἐπιμνησθέντι οὐ  
παριτέον τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ τῆδε ξυμβαῖνον.  
τὸ γὰρ μέλι ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς περὶ Τραπεζοῦντα  
χωρίοις πικρὸν γίνεται, ἐνταῦθα μόνον στασιαζο-  
5 μένης τῆς ἀμφ' αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> δόξης. τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν  
χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰ Τζανικῆς ὄρη πάντα ἀνέχει,  
ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτῶν Ἀρμένιοι Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι  
ᾠκηνται.

6 Ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν Τζανικῶν ὄρων κάτεισι  
ποταμὸς Βόας ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐς τε λόχμας  
παμπληθεῖς ἰὼν καὶ χώραν λοφώδη<sup>2</sup> περιερχό-  
μενος φέρεται μὲν ἄγχιστα τῶν Λαζικῆς χωρίων,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτό K : αὐτῶ L.

<sup>2</sup> λοφώδη K : ὑλώδη L.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Eregli and Amasra.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Trabuzun.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Sinob and Samsun.

And as one sails into it, the land on the right is inhabited by the Bithynians, and next after them by the Honoriatæ and the Paphlagonians, who have, besides other towns, the coast cities of Heraclea and Amastris;<sup>1</sup> beyond them are the people called Pontici as far as the city of Trapezus<sup>2</sup> and its boundaries. In that region are a number of towns on the coast, among which are Sinope and Amisus,<sup>3</sup> and close to Amisus is the town called Themiscyra<sup>4</sup> and the river Thermodon,<sup>5</sup> where they say the army of the Amazons originated. But concerning the Amazons I shall write a little later. From here the territory of the Trapezuntines extends to the village of Susurmena and the place called Rhizæum,<sup>6</sup> which is two days' journey distant from Trapezus as one goes toward Lazica along the coast. But now that I have mentioned Trapezus, I must not omit the very strange thing which takes place there; for the honey which is produced in all the places around Trapezus is bitter,<sup>7</sup> this being the only place where it is at variance with its established reputation.<sup>8</sup> On the right of these places rise all the mountains of Tzanica, and beyond them are the Armenians, who are subject to the Romans.

Now from these mountains of Tzanica the Boas River<sup>9</sup> descends, a stream which, after passing into innumerable jungles and traversing a mountainous region, flows along by the land of Lazica and

<sup>1</sup> Modern Terme.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Terme Tschai.

<sup>3</sup> Modern Sürmene and Rize.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* IV. viii. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Hor. *A. P.* 375 notes that Sardinian honey was "pessimi saporis."

<sup>6</sup> Modern Tcharukh Su.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

- ποιεῖται δὲ τὰς ἐκβολὰς εἰς τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον Πόντον, οὐ μέντοι Βόας καλούμενος.
- 7 ἐπεὶ δὲ γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐγγὺς ἴκηται, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα μεθίησι τοῦτο, ἑτέρας δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε προσηγορίας μεταλαγχάνει, ἐκ τῶν οἱ ἐπιγινόμενων ὄνομα κτώμενος.
- 8 Ἀκαμψιν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὲ κάμψαι αὐτὸν τῇ θαλάσσει ἀναμιχθέντα ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ ξὺν ῥύμῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ ὀξύτητι τοῦ ῥοῦ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται, ταραχὴν τοῦ ῥοθίου πολλὴν ἐπίπροσθεν ἐργαζόμενος, ὥστε ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰὼν ἄπορον ποιεῖται τὸν ταύτης διάπλουν· οἳ τε ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Πόντου, εἴτε Λαζικῆς εὐθὺ πλέοντες εἴτε καὶ ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες, οὐκέτι ἐξῆς διαπλεῖν δύνανται.
- 9 κάμψαι<sup>1</sup> γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν ῥοῦ οὐδ' ἀμῆ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτῳ μὲν ἀναγόμενοι τοῦ ἐκείνη πελάγους, ἐπὶ μέσον δέ που τὸν Πόντον ἰόντες, οὕτω δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκβολῆς δύνανται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Βόαν τοιαῦτά ἐστι.
- 10 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον αὐτονόμων ἀνθρώπων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, οἳ δὲ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν μεταξὺ ὄκηνται. καὶ κώμη τις, Ἀθηναί ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖται, οὐχ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ἀποικοί, ὥσπερ τινὲς οἴονται, τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο, ἀλλὰ γυνή τις Ἀθηναία ὄνομα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις κυρία ἐγεγόνει τῆς χώρας, ἥσπερ ὁ τάφος ἐνταῦθα καὶ εἰς ἐμέ ἐστι.

<sup>1</sup> κάμψαι L: καλύψαι K.

empties into the Euxine Sea, as it is called, but no longer keeping the name of Boas. --For when it gets near the sea it loses this name and thereafter bears another, which it acquires from the character which it now displays. This name which the natives apply to it for the rest of its course is Acampsis, and they so name it, obviously, because it is impossible to force a way through it<sup>1</sup> after it has entered the sea, since it discharges its stream with such force and swiftness, causing a great disturbance of the water before it, that it goes out for a very great distance into the sea and makes it impossible to coast along at that point. And those who are navigating in that part of the Pontus, whether sailing toward Lazica or even putting out from there, are not able to hold a straight course in their voyage; for they are quite-unable to push through the river's current, but they must needs put out to a very great distance into the sea there, going somewhere near the middle of the Pontus, and only in this way can they escape the force of the river's discharge. So much, then, may be said regarding the Boas River.

Beyond Rhizaeum there is found a territory occupied by independent peoples, who live between the Romans and the Lazi. And there is a certain village there named Athenae,<sup>2</sup> not, as some suppose, because colonists from Athens settled there, but because a certain woman named Atheneaea in early times ruled over the land, and the tomb of this

<sup>1</sup> Literally "bend it." Procopius takes the name to mean ἀκαμπτος, "unbent" or "unbending," which it certainly does not mean; his explanation is doubtless fanciful.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Atina.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

11 μετὰ δὲ Ἀθήνας Ἀρχαβίς τε οἰκεῖται καὶ  
 Ἀψαροῦς, πόλις ἀρχαία, ἣ τοῦ Ῥιζαίου διέχει  
 12 ὁδῶ ἡμερῶν τριῶν μάλιστα. αὕτη Ἀψυρτος τὸ  
 παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ὁμώνυμος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ  
 τὸ πάθος γεγενημένη. ἐνταῦθα γάρ φασιν οἱ  
 ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Μηδείας τε καὶ Ἰά-  
 σονος τὸν Ἀψυρτον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι,  
 καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ χωρίον λαβεῖν.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀπέθνησκε, τὸ δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 13 ὠνομάζετο. ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἄγαν μετὰ ταῦτα  
 ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀναρίθμοις  
 διαδοχαῖς ἐνακμάσας αὐτὸς διαφθεῖραι μὲν  
 τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιβολὴν ἴσχυσεν ἐξ  
 ὧν τὸ ὄνομα ξύγκειται τοῦτο, ἐς δὲ τὸν νῦν  
 φαινόμενον τρόπον μεταρρυθμῆσαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν προση-  
 14 γορίαν τῷ τόπῳ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀψύρτου καὶ  
 τάφος ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν  
 ἐστίν. αὕτη πόλις ἦν τὸ παλαιὸν πολυάνθρωπος,  
 καὶ τείχους μὲν αὐτὴν περιέβαλε μέγα τι χρῆμα,  
 θεάτρῳ δὲ καὶ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκαλλωπίζετο καὶ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἅπασιν οἷσπερ πόλεως μέγεθος δείκνυσθαι  
 εἶωθε. νῦν δὲ δὴ αὐτῶν ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπολέλειπται,  
 ὅτι μὴ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη.  
 15 Ὡστὲ εἰκότως θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις τῶν Κόλχους  
 φημένων Τραπεζουντίοις ὁμόρους<sup>2</sup> εἶναι. ταύτη  
 μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὸ δέρας ξὺν τῇ Μηδείᾳ συλήσας  
 Ἰάσων οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ πάτρια ἦθη  
 φυγῶν φαίνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἔμπαλι ἐπὶ Φᾶσίν τε  
 16 ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐνδοτάτω βαρβάρους. λέγουσι  
 μὲν οὖν ὡς κατὰ τοὺς Τραιᾶνου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων

<sup>1</sup> μεταρρυθμῆσαι : μεταριθμῆσαι MSS., μεταρρυθμίσαι Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> Τραπεζουντίοις ὁμόρους K: τραπεζουντίων ἰσομόρους L.



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αὐτοκράτορος . χρόνους κατάλογοι . Ῥωμαίων  
στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ μέχρι ἐς Λαζούς  
17 καὶ Σαγίνας ἴδρυντο. τὰ δὲ νῦν ἄνθρωποι ἐνταῦθα  
οἰκοῦσιν οὔτε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τοῦ Λαζῶν  
βασιλέως κατήκοι ὄντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι  
Χριστιανοῖς οὔσιν οἱ Λαζῶν ἐπίσκοποι τοὺς  
18 ἱερεῖς καθίστανται σφίσι. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνσπονδοί  
τε καὶ φίλοι ἀμφοτέροις ἐθέλοντες<sup>1</sup> εἶναι, τοὺς<sup>2</sup>  
ἐξ ἑκατέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἑτέρους αἰεὶ στελλομένους  
παραπέμψειν διηνεκῶς ὠμολόγησαν· ὁ δὲ φαί-  
19 νονται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ δρῶντες. ἀκάτοις γὰρ ἰδίαις  
τοὺς παρὰ θατέρου βασιλέως ἐς τὸν ἕτερον  
στελλομένους ἀγγέλους ναυτιλλόμενοι παραπέμ-  
πουσι. φόρου μέντοι ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῆ γεγένηται  
20 ἐς τόδε, τοῦ χρόνου. τούτων δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐν  
δεξιᾷ ὄρη τε· λίαν ἀπότομα· ἀποκρέματα καὶ  
χώρα ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει· καὶ αὐτῆς  
ὑπερθεν οἱ Περσαρμένιοι καλούμενοι ᾤκηνται,  
καὶ Ἀρμένιοι οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοί εἰσι μέχρι ἐς  
τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὄρους διήκοντες.

21 Ἐκ δὲ Ἀψαροῦντος πόλεως ἐς Πέτραν τε  
πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Λαζῶν ὄρους, οὗ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὁ  
Εὐξείνος Πόντος, μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδός. ἀπολή-  
γων δὲ ὁ Πόντος ἐνταῦθα μηνοειδῆ τίθεται τὴν  
22 ἀκτὴν· καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς τούτου διάπλους  
ἐς πεντήκοντά τε· καὶ πεντακοσίους μάλιστα  
σταδίους διήκει, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὀπισθεν ξύμπαντα  
23 Λαζική τέ ἐστι· καὶ ὠνόμασται. μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς  
κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν Σκυμνία τε καὶ Σουανία  
ἐστί. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη Λαζῶν κατήκοα τυγχάνει  
ὄντα. καὶ ἄρχοντας μὲν οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐθέλοντες K : ἐθέλουσιν L.

Roman soldiers were stationed there and as far as the Lazi and Saginae. But at the present time people live there who are neither subjects of the Romans nor of the king of the Lazi, except indeed that the bishops of the Lazi appoint their priests, seeing they are Christians. And wishing, as they do, to live in peace and friendship with both peoples, they have made a permanent agreement to provide an escort for those who from time to time travel from the one country to the other ; and it appears that they have been doing this even down to my time. For they escort the messengers despatched from the one king to the other, sailing in boats of their own. However, they have become in no way tributary down to the present time. On the right of these places very abrupt mountains tower overhead and a barren land extends to an indefinite distance. And beyond this the so-called Persarmenians dwell, as well as the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, extending as far as the confines of Iberia.<sup>1</sup>

From the city of Apsarus to Petra and the boundary of Lazica, where the Euxine Sea reaches its limit, is a journey of one day. Now as this sea comes to an end here, its coast takes the form of a crescent. And the distance across this crescent amounts to about five hundred and fifty stades,<sup>2</sup> while the entire country behind it is Lazica and is known under this name. Behind them in the interior are Scymnia and Suamia ; these nations happen to be subjects of the Lazi. Indeed, although these peoples do have

<sup>1</sup> Roughly modern Georgia, south of the Caucasus.

<sup>2</sup> About 63 miles.

ὁμογενῶν τινὰς ἔχουσιν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 τινὶ ἐπιγένηται ἢ τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου; ἕτερον  
 αὐτοῖς ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τοῦ Λαζῶν βασι-  
 24 λέως ἐς αἰεὶ εἴθισται. ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐκ  
πλαγίου μὲν παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν Ἰβηρίαν  
 Μέσχοι Ἰβήρων ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοοι ὄκηνται,  
 25 τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες. ὄρη δὲ τὰ Μέσχων οὐ  
 σκληρὰ οὐδὲ καρπῶν ἄφορὰ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐθηνού-  
 σιν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ Μέσχοι γεωργοὶ  
 δεξιοὶ καὶ ἀμπελῶνες τυγχάνουσιν ἐκεῖ ὄντες.<sup>1</sup>  
 26 ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ ὄρη ἐπίκεινται ἄγαν τε  
 καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατα. καὶ ταῦτα <sup>ὕψηλά</sup> μὲν  
 ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκει· ὀπισθεν δὲ  
 αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον Ἰβηρία ἐστί, μέχρι  
 ἐς Περσᾶρμενίους διήκουσα.  
 27 Διὰ δὲ τῶν ὄρων ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Φᾶσις  
 ποταμὸς κᾶτεισιν, ἐκ τῶν Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενος  
 καὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μηνοειδὲς τοῦ Πόντου ἐκβάλ-  
 28 λει. ταύτῃ τε ἡπειρον ἑκατέραν αὐτὸν διορίζειν  
 τινὲς οἴονται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κατιόντος  
 τοῦ ῥοῦ Ἀσία ἐστί, τὰ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐρώπη  
 29 ὠνόμασται. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης  
 μοῖραν ξύμπαντα Λαζῶν τὰ οἰκία ξυμβαίνει  
 εἶναι, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ οὔτε πόλισμα<sup>2</sup> οὔτε ἄλλο  
 τι ὀχύρωμα οὔτε κώμην τινὰ λόγου ἀξίαν Λαζοὶ  
 ἔχουσι, πλην· γε δὴ ὅτι Πέτραν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνταῦθα  
 30 ἐδείμαντο πρότερον. κατὰ ταύτην δὲ πού τὴν<sup>3</sup>  
 Λαζικῆς μοῖραν ἀπέκειτο, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι  
 λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ δέρας ἐκεῖνο, οὔπερ ἔνεκα οἱ

<sup>1</sup> δεξιοὶ—ὄντες : δεξιοί. καὶ ἀμπελῶνες τυγχάνουσιν ἐκεῖσε K : δεξιοὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐς ἀμπελῶνας τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες L.

<sup>2</sup> πόλισμα : πτόλισμα K : πόλισμα τι L.

<sup>3</sup> πού τὴν : πού τῆς K : τὴν L.

magistrates of their own blood, still, whenever any of the magistrates reaches the end of his life, it is always customary for another one to be appointed in his place by the king of the Lazi. At the side of this land and bordering upon Iberia proper for the most part dwell the Meschi, who have been from ancient times subjects of the Iberians, having their dwellings on the mountains. But the mountains of the Meschi are not rough nor unproductive of crops, but they abound in all good things, since the Meschi, for their part, are skilful farmers and there are actually vineyards in their country. However, this land is hemmed in by mountains which are very lofty and covered by forests so that they are exceedingly difficult to pass through. And these mountains extend as far as the Caucasus, while behind them toward the east is Iberia, extending as far as Persarmenia.

Now through the mountains which rise here the Phasis River emerges, having its source in the Caucasus and its mouth at the middle of the crescent of the Pontus. Because of this some consider that it forms the boundary between the two continents; for the land on the left as one goes down this stream is Asia, but that on the right is named Europe. Now it so happens that all the habitations of the Lazi are on the European side, while on the opposite side there is neither fortress nor stronghold nor any village of consequence held by the Lazi, except indeed the city of Petra which the Romans built there in earlier times. It was somewhere in this part of Lazica, as the inhabitants say, that the famous fleece was placed for safe keeping, that fleece on account of which, as the

ποιηταὶ τὴν Ἀργὸν ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι μυθολογοῦσι.  
 λέγουσι δὲ ταῦτα, ἐμὴν γνώμην, ἀληθιζόμενοι  
 31 ἤκιστα. οὐ γὰρ ἄν, οἶμαι, λαθὼν τὸν Αἰήτην  
 Ἰάσων ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάσσετο ξὺν τῇ Μηδεΐα· τὸ  
 δέρας ἔχων, εἰ μὴ τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 τῶν Κόλχων οἰκία τοῦ χωρίου διείργετο Φάσιδι  
 ποταμῶ, ἵνα δὴ τὸ δέρας ἐκεῖνο κείσθαι· ξυνέ-  
 βαιεν, ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ παραδηλοῦσιν οἱ  
 32 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγραφάμενοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φᾶσις  
 τῆδε φερόμενος, ἠπέρ μοι δεδιήγηται, ἐς αὐτόν  
 που λήγοντα ἐκβάλλει<sup>1</sup> τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον.  
 τοῦ δὲ μνηοειδοῦς κατὰ μὲν τὴν μίαν ἀρχήν, ἢ  
 τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, Πέτρα ἢ πόλις ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα,  
 ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῇ κατὰ τὴν τῆς  
 33 Εὐρώπης μοῖραν Ἀψιλίων ἢ χώρα ἐστί· Λαζῶν  
 δὲ κατήκοοί εἰσι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ γεγόνασιν ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἀψίλιοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ξύμπαντα  
 ἔθνη ὧν περ ἐμνήσθην<sup>2</sup> ἐς τόδε τοῦ λόγου.

### III

Ταύτης δὲ τῆς χώρας καθύπερθεν ὄρος τὸ  
 Καυκάσιόν ἐστι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ Καύκασος,  
 ἐς τοσόνδε ὕψος<sup>3</sup> ἀνέχει, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τῶν μὲν  
 ὑπερβολῶν οὔτε ὄμβρους οὔτε νιφετοὺς ἐπιψαύειν  
 ποτέ· τῶν γὰρ νεφελῶν αὐτὰς ἀπασῶν καθυ-  
 περτέρας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τὰ δὲ μέσα μέχρι τῶν  
 2 ἐσχάτων χιόνων ἔμπλεα διηνεκές ἐστί. καὶ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ οἱ πρόποδες ὑψηλοὶ ἐσάγαν τυγχάνουσιν  
 ὄντες, οὐδέν τι καταδεέστεροι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι

<sup>1</sup> ἐκβάλλει K : ἐμβάλλει L

poets tell the tale, the Argo was fashioned. But in saying this they are, in my opinion, not telling the truth at all. For I think that Jason would not have eluded Aetes and got away from there with the fleece in company with Medea, unless both the palace and the other dwellings of the Colchians had been separated by the Phasis River from the place in which that fleece was lying; indeed the poets who have recorded the story imply that this was the case. So the Phasis, flowing as I have said, empties into the Euxine Sea approximately at the very point where it comes to an end. Now at the one end of the crescent, that, namely, which is in Asia, was the city of Petra, while on the opposite coast which forms a part of Europe the territory is held by the Apsilii; these Apsilii are subjects of the Lazi and have been Christians from ancient times, just as all the other nations which I have mentioned up to this point in my narrative.

### III

ABOVE and beyond this country are the mountains of the Caucasus. This mountain range which composes the Caucasus rises to such a great height that its summits are in fact never touched either by rain or by snow; for they are indeed above all clouds. But the middle slopes are continually filled with snow down to the very base. And from this it may be inferred that the foothills are extremely high, being in no way inferior to the

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<sup>2</sup> ἐμνήσθην K: ἐπεμνήσθην L.

<sup>3</sup> ὕψος K: ὕψους L.



3 τοῖς ἄλλοις σκοπέλων. τῶν δὲ τοῦ Καυκασίου  
 ὄρους προπόδων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τε βορρᾶν ἄνεμον  
 καὶ ἥλιον δύνοντα τετραμμένοι ἔς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς  
 καὶ Θράκας διήκουσιν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τε ἀνίσχοντα  
 ἥλιον καὶ ἄνεμον νότον ἔς τὰς διεξόδους<sup>1</sup> ἐξικ-  
 νοῦνται αὐτὰς αἰ τὰ τῆδε ὠκημένα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη  
 ἔς γῆν τὴν τε Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἄγουσιν.  
 4 ὧν περ ἄτερα μὲν Ἰζοῦρ ἐπικέκληται, ἡ δὲ δὴ  
 ἑτέρα Πύλη ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κασπία ἐκλήθη. ταύτην  
 δὲ τὴν χώραν ἡ ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου ἄχρι ἔς  
 τὰς Κασπίας κατατείνει Πύλας Ἀλανοὶ ἔχουσιν,  
 αὐτόνομον ἔθνος, οἱ δὴ καὶ Πέρσαις τὰ πολλὰ  
 ξυμμαχοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ ἄλλους πολε-  
 μίους στρατεύουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ  
 Καυκασίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.  
 5 Οὐννοι δέ, οἱ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλούμενοι,<sup>2</sup> ἐνταῦθα  
 ὠκηνται καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη. ἐνθένδε  
 μὲν τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ὠρμησθαί<sup>3</sup> φασιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ  
 τὸ Θεμίσκουρον καὶ ποταμὸν τὸν Θερμώδοντα  
 ἐν στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ἡπέρ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται,  
 6 οὗ δὴ πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι Ἀμισός ἐστι. τανῦν  
 δὲ οὐδαμῆ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος χωρίων  
 Ἀμαζόνων τις μνήμη ἢ ὄνομα διασώζεται, καίτοι  
 καὶ Στράβωνι καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ λόγοι ἀμφ' αὐταῖς  
 7 πολλοὶ εἴρηνται. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦσι μάλιστα  
 πάντων τά γε κατὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ξὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ

<sup>1</sup> διεξόδους L: ἐξόδους K.

<sup>2</sup> Σάβειροι ἐπικ.: σάβειροι ἐπικαλούμενοι K: καὶ σάβειροι  
 καλούμενοι L.

<sup>3</sup> ὠρμησθαί Hoeschel: ὀρμεῖσθαί MSS.

<sup>1</sup> An obviously absurd statement. Procopius perhaps  
 thinks of the Haemus Range (modern Balkans) as a con-



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λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι ἔφασαν οὐ πώποτε γένος  
 γυναικῶν ἀνδρείων<sup>1</sup> γεγονέναι, οὐδ' ἐν<sup>2</sup> ὄρει  
 μόνῳ τῷ Καυκασίῳ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν  
θεσμῶν τῶν οἰκείων ἐξίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ βάρ-  
 βάρους ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν χωρίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ  
 ξὺν γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν  
 στρατεῦσαι, στρατόπεδόν τε ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν  
 Θερμώδοντα ποιησαμένους ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὰς  
 γυναῖκας ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ γῆν τῆς Ἀσίας  
 τὴν πολλὴν καταθέοντας, ὑπαντιασάντων σφίσι  
 τῶν τῆδε ὠκημένων, ἅπαντας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφα-  
 νισθῆναι, οὐδένα τε αὐτῶν τὸ παράπαν ἐπανήκειν  
 ἐς τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ χάρακμα, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 ταύτας δὴ τὰς γυναῖκας, δέει τῶν περιοίκων  
 καὶ ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων<sup>3</sup> ἀναγκασθείσας, τό-  
 τε ἀρρενωπὸν ἀμφιέσασθαι οὔτι ἐθελουσίας καὶ  
 ἀνελομένας τὴν πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ στρατο-  
 πέδῳ ἀπολελειμμένην τῶν ὄπλων σκευήν, καὶ  
 ταύτῃ ἐξοπλισαμένας<sup>4</sup> ὡς ἄριστα ἔργα ἀνδρείᾳ<sup>5</sup>  
 ξὺν ἀρετῇ ἐπιδείξασθαι, διωθουμένης ἐς τοῦτο  
 αὐτὰς τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἕως δὴ ἀπάσαις διαφθαρῆναι  
 8 ξυνέπεσε. ταῦτα δὲ ὧδέ πη γεγονέναι καὶ ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς Ἀμαζόνας στρατεύσασθαι καὶ  
 αὐτὸς οἶομαι, τεκμηριούμενος οἷς δὴ καὶ χρόνῳ  
 9 τῷ κατ' ἐμὲ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτη-  
 δεύματα μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀπογόνους παραπεμπό-  
 μενα τῶν προγεγενημένων τῆς φύσεως ἴνδαλμα  
 10 γίνεται. Οὔννων τοίνυν καταδραμόντων πολ-  
 λάκις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, τοῖς τε ὑπαντιάσασιν  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, τινὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πεσεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρείων K : ἀνδρείον L.

<sup>2</sup> οὐδ' ἐν Haury : οὐδέ MSS.

have stated that there never was a race of women endowed with the qualities of men and that human nature did not depart from its established norm in the mountains of the Caucasus alone; but the fact was that barbarians from these regions together with their own women made an invasion of Asia with a great army, established a camp at the river Thermodon, and left their women there; then, while they themselves were overrunning the greater part of the land of Asia, they were encountered by the inhabitants of the land and utterly destroyed, and not a man of them returned to the women's encampment; and thereafter these women, through fear of the people dwelling round about and constrained by the failure of their supplies, put on manly valour, not at all of their own will, and, taking up the equipment of arms and armour left by the men in the camp and arming themselves in excellent fashion with this, they made a display of manly valour, being driven to do so by sheer necessity, until they were all destroyed. That this is about what happened and that the Amazons did make an expedition with their husbands, I too believe, basing my judgment on what has actually taken place in my time. For customs which are handed down to remote descendants give a picture of the character of former generations. I mean this, that on many occasions when Huns have made raids into the Roman domain and have engaged in battle with those who encountered them, some, of

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<sup>3</sup> ἐπιτηδείων K : ἀναγκαίων L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐξοπλισμένους MSS. : ἐξοπλισμένους editors.

<sup>5</sup> ἀνδρεία : ἀνδρίας K : τὰ ἀνδρεία L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐνταῦθα τετύχηκε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ῥωμαῖοι διερευνώμενοι τῶν πεπτωκότων τὰ σώματα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν αὐτοῖς εὔρον.
- 11 ἄλλο μέντοι γυναικῶν στρύτευμα οὐδαμῆ τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπιχωρίαζον ἐφάνη. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα γεγενῆσθαι πώποτε ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.
- 12 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀψιλίους τε καὶ τοῦ μηνοειδοῦς τὴν ἑτέραν ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβασγοὶ ᾤκηνται, ἄχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκοντες. οἱ δὲ Ἀβασγοὶ Λαζῶν μὲν κατήκοοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν,
- 13 ἄρχοντας δὲ ὁμογενεῖς δύο ἐσαεὶ εἶχον. ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἴδρυτο.
- 14 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μέχρι μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ ἄλση τε καὶ ὕλας ἐσέβοντο· θεοὺς γὰρ τὰ δένδρα βαρ-
- 15 βάρῳ τινὶ ἀφελείᾳ ὑπώπτευον εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν ἀρχόντων τὰ δεινότατα διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἔπασχον. ἄμφω γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὅσους ἂν παῖδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει ἀγαθοὺς τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ἴδοιεν, τούτους δὴ ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες εὐνούχους τε ἀπεργαζόμενοι ἀπεδίδοντο ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλο-
- 16 μένοις χρημάτων μεγάλων. τοὺς τε αὐτῶν πατέρας ἔκτεινον<sup>1</sup> εὐθύς, τοῦ μὴ αὐτῶν τινὰς τίσασθαι ποτε τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας ἀδικίας τὸν βυσιλέα

<sup>1</sup> ἔκτεινον L: ἔθνον K.

course, have fallen there, and after the departure of the barbarians the Romans, in searching the bodies of the fallen have actually found women among them. No other army of women, however, has made its appearance in any locality of Asia or Europe. On the other hand, we have no tradition that the mountains of the Caucasus were ever devoid of men. Concerning the Amazons then let this suffice.

Beyond the Apsilii and the other end<sup>1</sup> of the crescent the Abasgi dwell along the coast, and their country extends as far as the mountains of the Caucasus. Now the Abasgi have been from ancient times subjects of the Lazi, but they have always had two rulers of their own blood. One of these resided in the western part of their country, the other in the eastern part. And these barbarians even down to my time have worshipped groves and forests; for with a sort of barbarian simplicity they supposed the trees were gods. But they have suffered most cruelly at the hands of their rulers owing to the excessive avarice displayed by them. For both their kings used to take such boys of this nation as they noted having comely features and fine bodies, and dragging them away from their parents without the least hesitation they would make them eunuchs and then sell them at high prices to any persons in Roman territory who wished to buy them. They also killed the fathers of these boys immediately; in order to prevent any of them from attempting at some time to exact vengeance from the king for the wrong done their boys, and also

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the northern end.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐγχειριεῖν, μηδὲ ὑπόπτους αὐτοῖς τῶν κατηκόων  
 τινὰς ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἢ τε τῶν υἱέων εὐμορφία  
 17 σφίσιν ἐς τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπεκρίνετο· διεφθείροντο  
 γὰρ οἱ ταλαίπωροι, παίδων θανάσιμον δεδυστυ-  
 χηκότες εὐπρέπειαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐν  
 Ῥωμαίοις εὐνούχων οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα  
 ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ γένος Ἀβασγοὶ ἐτύγχανον  
 ὄντες.

18 Ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος  
 ἅπαντα Ἀβασγοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον τετύχηκε  
 19 μεταμπίσχεσθαι. τά τε γὰρ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα  
 εἴλοντο καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν  
 τινὰ ἐκ Παλατίου εὐνούχων<sup>1</sup> στείλας, Ἀβασγὸν  
 γένος, Εὐφρατᾶν ὄνομα, τοῖς αὐτῶν βασιλεῦσι  
 διαρρήδην ἀπέειπε<sup>2</sup> μηδένα τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ ἔθνει τὴν ἀρρενωπίαν ἀποψιλοῦσθαι, σιδήρῳ  
 βιαζομένης τῆς φύσεως. ὁ δὲ ἄσμενοι Ἀβασγοὶ  
 20 ἤκουσαν, καὶ τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐπι-  
 τάξει<sup>3</sup> θαρροῦντες ἤδη τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο σθένει  
 παντὶ διεκώλυον. ἐδεδίει γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος  
 21 μὴ ποτὲ παιδίου πατὴρ εὐπρεποῦς γένηται. τότε  
 δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερὸν τῆς θεοτόκου  
 ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς οἰκοδομησάμενος, ἱερεῖς τε αὐτοῖς  
 καταστησάμενος, διεπράξατο ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς ἤθη  
 τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι, τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς  
 ἄμφω Ἀβασγοὶ καθελόντες αὐτίκα ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ  
 βιοτεύειν ἐδόκουν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ἐχώρησε.

<sup>1</sup> εὐνούχων K : εὐνούχων L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπέειπε K : ἐπέειπε L.

that there might be in the country no subjects suspected by the kings. And thus the physical beauty of their sons was resulting in their destruction; for the poor wretches were being destroyed through the misfortune of fatal comeliness in their children. And it was in consequence of this that the most of the eunuchs among the Romans, and particularly at the emperor's court, happened to be Abasgi by birth.

But during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian the Abasgi have changed everything and adopted a more civilised standard of life. For not only have they espoused the Christian doctrine, but the Emperor Justinian also sent them one of the eunuchs from the palace, an Abasgius by birth named Euphratas, and through him commanded their kings in explicit terms to mutilate no male thereafter in this nation by doing violence to nature with the knife. This the Abasgi heard gladly, and taking courage now because of the decree of the Roman emperor they began to strive with all their might to put an end to this practice. For each one of them had to dread that at some time he would become the father of a comely child. It was at that same time that the Emperor Justinian also built a sanctuary of the Virgin in their land, and appointed priests for them, and thus brought it about that they learned thoroughly all the observances of the Christians; and the Abasgi immediately dethroned both their kings and seemed to be living in a state of freedom. Thus then did these things take place.

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\* ἐπιτάξει K : διατάξει L.



IV

Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἀβασγῶν ὄρους κατὰ μὲν ὄρος  
 τὸ Καυκάσιον Βροῦχοι ᾤκηνται, Ἀβασγῶν τε  
 καὶ Ἀλανῶν μεταξύ ὄντες, κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν  
 2 Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου Ζήχοι ἴδρυνται. τοῖς δὲ  
 δὴ Ζήχοις κατὰ μὲν<sup>1</sup> παλαιὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτο-  
 κράτωρ βασιλέα καθίστη, τὸ δὲ νῦν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν  
 3 Ῥωμαίοις ἐπακούουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. μετὰ  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς Σαγίνας μὲν οἰκοῦσι, μοῖραν δὲ αὐτῶν  
 4 τῆς παραλίας Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔσχον. φρού-  
 ριά τε δειμάμενοι ἐπιθαλασσίδια δύο, Σεβαστό-  
 πολὶν τε καὶ Πιτιοῦντα, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὀδῶ ἀλλή-  
 λωιν διέχοντα, φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν τὸ  
 5 ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστήσαντο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερα  
 κατάλογοι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς  
 ἀκτῆς πάντα χωρία ἐκ τῶν Τραπεζοῦντος ὀρίων  
 ἄχρι ἐς τοὺς Σαγίνας εἶχον, ἡπὲρ μοι εἴρηται·  
 νῦν δὲ μόνα τὰ δύο ταῦτα φρούρια ἐλέλειπτο  
 σφίσιν, οὐ δὴ τὰ φυλακτήρια καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον,  
 ἐπειδὴ Χοσρόης, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, Λαζῶν  
 αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγαγομένων ἐς τὴν Πέτραν, στράτευμα  
 Περσῶν ἐνταῦθα στέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, τοὺς  
 τε τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα καθέξοντας καὶ καθιζησο-  
 6 μένους ἐν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίοις. ἄπερ ἐπεὶ  
 οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται προμαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν,  
 προτερήσαντες τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὰ  
 τείχη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες ἔς τε τὰς ἀκάτους  
 μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐσβάντες ἐς ἡπειρον εὐθὺς τὴν  
 ἀντιπέρας καὶ Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν ἐχώρησαν,

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ μὲν K : μὲν τό L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ζημιώσαντες μὲν τῇ τῶν φρουρίων διαφθορᾷ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, κέρδος δὲ αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup> πορισάμενοι μέγα, ὅτι δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς οὐ γέγονασιν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἄπρακτοι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν Πέτραν ἀνέστρεφον Πέρσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

- 7 Ὑπὲρ δὲ Σαγίνας Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ ἴδρυνται. τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν Εὐλυσία μὲν ἡ χώρα ὠνόμασται, βάρβαροι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄνθρωποι τά τε παράλια καὶ τὴν μεσόγειον ἔχουσι, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν καλουμένην Λίμνην καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν, ὃς δὴ  
8 ἐς τὴν Λίμνην ἐσβάλλει. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Λίμνη ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται. ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ ταύτη ὠκηνταὶ Κιμμεριοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, τανῦν δὲ  
9 Οὐτίγουροι καλοῦνται. καὶ αὐτῶν καθύπερθεν ἐς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἔθνη τὰ Ἐντῶν ἄμετρα ἴδρυνται. παρὰ δὲ τὸν χῶρον αὐτὸν ὅθεν ἡ τῆς Λίμνης ἐκβολὴ ἄρχεται, Γότθοι οἱ Τετραξίται καλούμενοι ὠκηνταὶ, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν νόμιμα σεβόμενοι περιστέλλουσιν οὐδενὸς  
10 ἤσσον. (Τάναϊν δὲ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν ταύτην, ἥπερ<sup>2</sup> ἐκ Λίμνης ἀρξαμένη<sup>3</sup> τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντου διήκει, ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν, ὡς φασιν, εἴκοσιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄνεμον ὃς ἐνθένδε πνεῖ Ταναίτην προσαγορεύου-  
11 σιν.) εἴτε δὲ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης ἐγένοντό ποτε οἱ Γότθοι οὗτοι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ Haury: αὐτοί MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἥπερ transposed by Haury from immediately before διήκει below.

while they did penalize the Roman empire by the destruction of the fortresses, they at the same time gained for it a great advantage in that the enemy did not become masters of the land. For as a result of their action the Persians returned baffled to Petra. Thus then did this take place.

Above the Saginae are settled numerous Hunnic tribes. And from there onward the country has received the name of Eulysia, and barbarian peoples hold both the coast and the interior of this land, as far as the so-called Maeotic Lake<sup>1</sup> and the Tanais River<sup>2</sup> which empties into the lake. And this lake has its outlet at the coast of the Euxine Sea. Now the people who are settled there were named in ancient times Cimmerians, but now they are called Utigurs. And above them to the north the countless tribes of the Antae are settled. But beside the exact point where the outlet of the lake commences dwell the Goths who are called Tetraxitae, a people who are not very numerous, but they reverence and observe the rites of the Christians as carefully as any people do. (The inhabitants indeed give the name Tanais also to this outlet which starts from the Maeotic Lake and extends to the Euxine Sea, a distance, they say, of twenty days' journey. And they also call the wind which blows from there the "Tanaitis.") Now as to whether these Goths were once of the Arian belief, as the other Gothic nations are, or whether the faith as practised by them has shewn some other peculiarity, I am unable to say, for

<sup>1</sup> Modern Sea of Azov.

<sup>2</sup> Modern Don.

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<sup>3</sup> ἀρξαμένη Harry: ἀρξάμενοι MSS., ἀρξαμένην editors, Christ.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA .

ἤσκητο, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀφελεία<sup>1</sup> τε τανῦν καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη πολλῇ τιμῶσι τὴν δόξαν.

21 Οὗτοι ὀλίγω πρότερον (λέγω δέ, ἡνίκα πρῶτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχὴν) πρέσβεις τέτταρας ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψαν, ἐπίσκοπον σφίσι τινὰ δεόμενοι δοῦναι· ἐπεὶ ὅστις μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱερεὺς ἦν τετελευτήκει οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον, ἔγνωσαν δὲ ὡς καὶ Ἀβασγοῖς ἱερέα βασιλεὺς πέμψειε· καὶ αὐτοῖς προθυμότατα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπι-  
13 τελῇ ποιήσας τὴν δέησιν ἀπεπέμψατο. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις οὗτοι δέει Οὔννων τῶν Οὔτιγούρων ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανές, αὐτηκόων πολλῶν ὄντων, ἀποστοματίζοντες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἤκοιεν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ βασιλεῖ ἠγγειλαν, ὡς λαθραιότατα δὲ<sup>2</sup> ξυγγενόμενοι ἅπαντα φράζουσιν, ὅσα συνοίσειν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἔμελλε, ξυγκρουομένων ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων βαρβάρων. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον οἱ Τετραξίται καὶ ὄθεν ἀναστάντες ἐνταῦθα ιδρύσαντο, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

V

Πάλαι μὲν Οὔννων, τῶν τότε Κιμμερίων καλούμένων, πολὺς τις ὄμιλος τὰ χωρία ταῦτα ἐνέμοντο ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην, βασιλεὺς τε εἰς  
2 ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. καὶ ποτέ τις αὐτῶν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' ἀφελεία Maltretus : ἀλλὰ φιλία MSS.

<sup>2</sup> δέ Haury : γε K : τε L.

they themselves are entirely ignorant on this subject, but at the present time they honour the faith in a spirit of complete simplicity and with no vain questionings.

This people a short time ago (when, namely, the Emperor Justinian was in the twenty-first year<sup>1</sup> of his reign) sent four envoys to Byzantium, begging him to give them a bishop; for the one who had been their priest had died not long before and they had learned that the emperor had actually sent a priest to the Abasgi; and the Emperor Justinian very willingly complied with their request before dismissing them. Now these envoys were moved by fear of the Utigur Huns in making the public declaration of the object of their coming—for there were many who heard their speeches—and so they made no statement whatever to the emperor openly except regarding the matter of the priest, but meeting him with the greatest possible secrecy, they declared everything, shewing how it would benefit the Roman empire if the barbarians who were their neighbours should be always on hostile terms with one another. Now as to the manner in which the Tetraxitæ settled there and whence they migrated, I shall now proceed to tell.

## V

IN ancient times a vast throng of the Huns who were then called Cimmerians ranged over this region which I have just mentioned, and one king had authority over them all. And at one time the

<sup>1</sup> 548 A.D.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀρχὴν ἔσχευ, ὧ δὴ παῖδες ἐγένοντο δύο, ἄτερος  
 μὲν Οὐτιγοῦρ ὄνομα, Κουτριγοῦρ δὲ ὁ ἕτερος.  
 3 οἷπερ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖν ὁ πατὴρ τὸν βίον συνε-  
 μετρήσατο, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν ἄμφω ἐν σφίσιν<sup>1</sup>  
 αὐτοῖς διεδάσαντο<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐπώνυμίαν τοῖς  
 4 ἀρχομένοις αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Οὐτίγουροι,  
 οἱ δὲ Κουτρίγουροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζονται. οὗτοι  
 μὲν ἅπαντες τῆδε ὤκηντο,<sup>3</sup> κοινὰ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτη-  
 δεύματα ξύμπαντα ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι δὲ  
 ἀνθρώποις οἱ δὴ τῆς τε Λίμνης καὶ τῆς ἐνθένδε  
 ἐκροῆς ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴδρυντο, ἐπεὶ οὔτε  
 διέβαινόν ποτε τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα οὔτε διαβατὰ  
 εἶναι ὑπώπτευον, πρὸς τὰ εὐκολώτατα περίφοβοι  
 ὄντες, τῷ μηδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι αὐτῶν πώποτε,  
 ἀλλ' ἀμελέτητοι τῆς διαβάσεως παντάπασιν  
 εἶναι.

5 Λίμνην δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν καὶ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 ἐκβολὴν ὑπερβάντι εὐθύς μὲν ἐς αὐτὴν που τὴν  
 ταύτης ἀκτὴν οἱ Τετραξῖται καλούμενοι Γότθοι  
 τὸ παλαιὸν ὤκηντο, ὧν ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως·  
 πολλῷ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποθεν Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐισί-  
 γοτθοὶ καὶ Βανδίλοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Γοθρικὰ γένη  
 6 ξύμπαντα ἴδρυντο. οἱ δὴ καὶ Σκύθαι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄνω χρόνοις ἐπεκαλοῦντο, ἐπεὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη  
 ἄπερ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία εἶχον, Σκυθικὰ μὲν ἐπὶ  
 κοινῆς ὀνομάζεται, ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτῶν Σαυρομάται ἢ  
 Μελάγχλαινοι, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐπεκαλοῦντο.

7 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, φασίν, εἶπερ ὁ λόγος  
 ὑγιῆς ἐστὶ, τῶν μὲν Κιμμερίων νεανίας τινὰς ἐν  
 κύνηγεσίῳ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἔλαφον δὲ μίαν πρὸς  
 αὐτῶν φεύγουσαν ἐς τὰ ὕδατα ἐσπηδῆσαι ταῦτα.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν σφίσιν Hoeschel : ἐς σφίσιν K, σφίσιν L.

power was secured by a certain man to whom two sons were born, one of whom was named Utigur and the other Cutrigur. These two sons, when their father came to the end of his life, divided the power between them, and each gave his own name to his subjects; for the one group has been called Utigurs and the other Cutrigurs even to my time. All these now continued to live in this region, associating freely in all the business of life, but not mingling with the people who were settled on the other side of the lake and its outlet; for they never crossed these waters at any time nor did they suspect that they could be crossed, being fearful of that which was really easy, simply because they had never even attempted to cross them, and they remained utterly ignorant of the possibility.

Now beyond the Maeotic Lake and the outlet flowing from it the first people were the Goths called Tetraxitae, whom I have just mentioned, who in ancient times lived close along the shore of this strait; but the Goths and the Visigoths and Vandals were located far away from them as were other Gothic nations. These Tetraxitae were called also Scythians in ancient times, because all the nations who held these regions are called in general Scythians, while a few of them had an additional designation such as Sauromatae or Melanchlaenae or something else.

But as time went on, they say (if, indeed, the story is sound), some youths of the Cimmerians were engaged in hunting, and a single doe which was fleeing before them leaped into these waters. And the

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<sup>2</sup> διεδάσαντο K: διεσώσαντο L.

<sup>3</sup> ἔκηντο Dindorf: ἔκηνται MSS.



- 8 τούς τε νεανίας, εἴτε φιλοτιμία· εἴτε φιλονεικία  
 τινὶ ἐχομένους, ἢ καί τι δαιμόνιον αὐτοὺς κατη-  
 νάγκασε, τῇ ἐλάφῳ ἐπισπένθαι ταύτῃ, μηχανῇ  
 τε μεθίεσθαι αὐτῆς οὐδεμιᾶ, ἕως ξὺν αὐτῇ ἐς τὴν  
 9 ἀντιπέρας ἀκτὴν ἴκοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν διωκόμενον  
 ὅ τι ποτ' ἦν εὐθὺς ἀφανισθῆναι. (δοκεῖν<sup>1</sup> γάρ  
 μοι<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἐνταῦθα ἐφάνη, ὅτι  
 μὴ τοῦ<sup>3</sup> γενέσθαι κακῶς τοῖς τῆδε ὠκημένοις  
 βαρβάροις) τοὺς δὲ νεανίας τοῦ μὲν κυνηγεσίου  
 ἀποτυχεῖν, μάχης δὲ ἀφορμὴν καὶ λείας εὐρέσθαι.  
 10 ἐς ἣθη γὰρ τὰ πάτρια ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντες  
 ἔνδηλα πᾶσι Κιμμερίοις πεποίηνται ὅτι δὴ ταῦτα  
 βατὰ σφίσι τὰ ὕδατα εἶη. ἀνελόμενοι οὖν  
 αὐτίκα τὰ ὄπλα πανδημεῖ τε διαβάντες ἐγένοντο  
 μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ,  
 Βανδίων μὲν ἤδη ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντων ἐπὶ τε  
 Λιβύης ἰδρυσάμενων, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ δὲ Οὐισιγόθων  
 11 οἰκησαμένων. Γότθοις οὖν τοῖς ἐς τὰ τῆδε  
 ὠκημένοις πεδία ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπεσόντες πολλοὺς  
 μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτρέψαντο ἅπαν-  
 12 τας. ὅσοι τε αὐτοὺς<sup>4</sup> διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ξὺν  
 παισὶ τε καὶ γυναίξιν ἐνθένδε ἀναστάντες ἀπέ-  
 λιπον μὲν τὰ πάτρια ἣθη, διαπορθμευσάμενοι δὲ  
 ποταμὸν Ἰστρου ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο.  
 13 Καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς ταύτῃ ὠκημένους δεινὰ  
 ἔδρασαν, μετὰ δὲ δόντος βασιλέως ὠκήσαντο ἐς  
 τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, καὶ τὰ μὲν ξυνεμάχουν  
 Ῥωμαίοις, τὰς τε συντάξεις ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι  
 στρατιῶται πρὸς βασιλέως κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν

<sup>1</sup> Haury: δοκεῖ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> μοι MSS.: μοι ὡς editors.

<sup>3</sup> μὴ τοῦ Maltretus: μὴ MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἔτος καὶ φοιδεράτοι ἐπικληθέντες· οὕτω γὰρ  
 αὐτοὺς τότε<sup>1</sup> Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλεσαν Ῥωμαῖοι,  
 ἐκεῖνο, οἶμαι, παραδηλοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ ἡσση-  
 μένοι αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ξυνθή-  
 14 καις τισὶν ἔνσπονδοὶ ἐγένοντο σφίσι· φοίδεραι  
 γὰρ Λατῖνοι τὰς ἐν πολέμῳ καλοῦσι ξυνθήκας,  
 ἡπὲρ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωται λόγοις·  
 τὰ δὲ καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς διέφερον οὐδενὶ  
 λόγῳ, ἕως ᾧχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς Ἰταλίαν, Θεου-  
 δερίχου ἡγουμένου σφίσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν  
 Γότθων τῆδε κεχώρηκεν.  
 15 Οὕνοι δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν κτείναντες, τοὺς δέ,  
 ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐξαναστήσαντες τὴν χώραν ἔσχον.  
 καὶ αὐτῶν Κουτρίγουροι μὲν παῖδάς τε καὶ  
 γυναῖκας μεταπεμψάμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαντο,  
 16 οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ᾧκηνται. καὶ δῶρα μὲν πολλὰ  
 πρὸς βασιλέως ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κομίζονται, καὶ ὡς  
 δὲ διαβαίνοντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον καταθέουσιν  
 17 ἔσαεὶ τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, ἔνσπονδοὶ τε καὶ  
 πολέμιοι Ῥωμαίοις ὄντες. Οὐτίγουροι δὲ ξὺν  
 τῷ ἡγουμένῳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίζοντο, μόνοι τὸ  
 18 λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα καθιζησόμενοι. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ  
 Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, Γότθοις  
 ἐνταῦθα τοῖς Τετραξίταις καλουμένοις ἐνέτυχον.  
 19 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα φραζάμενοι ταῖς ἀσπίσιν οἱ  
 Γότθοι ἀντικρὺ τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι  
 ἔστησαν, σθένει τε τῷ σφετέρῳ καὶ χωρίου ἰσχυῖ  
 θαρσοῦντες· αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀλκιμώτατοι ἀπάντων  
 20 εἰσὶ τῶν τῆδε βαρβάρων. καὶ ἡ πρώτη τῆς  
 Μαιώτιδος ἐκροή, οὐ δὴ τότε οἱ Τετραξίται  
 Γότθοι ἴδρυντο, ἐν κόλπῳ ξυνιοῦσα μηνοειδεῖ,

<sup>1</sup> τότε K: τῆ L.

called "foederati"; for so the Romans at that time called them in the Latin tongue, meaning to shew, I suppose, that the Goths had not been defeated by them in war, but had come into peaceful relations with them on the basis of some treaty; for the Latins call treaties in war "foedera," as I have explained in the previous narrative;<sup>1</sup> but during the rest of the time they were actually waging war against the Romans for no good reason, until they went off to Italy under the leadership of Theoderic. Thus then did the Goths fare.

But the Huns, after killing some of them and driving out the others, as stated, took possession of the land. And the Cutrigurs, on the one hand, summoned their children and wives and settled there in the very place where they have dwelt even to my time. And although they receive from the emperor many gifts every year, they still cross the Ister River continually and overrun the emperor's land, being both at peace and at war with the Romans. The Utigurs, however, departed homeward with their leader, being destined to live alone in that land thereafter. Now when these Huns came near the Maeotic Lake, they chanced upon the Goths there who are called Tetraxitae. And at first the Goths formed a barrier with their shields and made a stand against their assailants in their own defence, trusting both in their own strength and the advantage of their position; for they are the most stalwart of all the barbarians of that region. Now the head of the outlet of the Maeotic Lake, where the Tetraxitae Goths were then settled, forms a crescent-shaped

<sup>1</sup> Book I. xi. 4. See also note on Book III. xi. 3.

περιβαλοῦσά τε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον,  
 μίαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἴσοδον οὐ λίαν εὐρείαν<sup>1</sup> τοῖς  
 21 ἐπιούσι παρείχετο. ὕστερον δὲ (οὔτε γὰρ Οὐννοι  
 χρόνον τινὰ τρίβεσθαι σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα ἤθελον, οἷ  
 τε Γότθοι τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ὀμίλῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ  
ἀνθέξειν οὐδαμῆ ἠλπιζον) ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις  
 ξυνίασιν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀναμιχθέντες κοινῆ ποιήσονται  
 τὴν διάβασιν, καὶ οἱ Γότθοι ἰδρύσονται μὲν ἐν  
 τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ παρ' αὐτὴν τῆς ἐκβολῆς  
 μάλιστα τὴν ἀκτὴν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τανῦν ἴδρυνται,  
 φίλοι δὲ καὶ ξύμμαχοι τὸ λοιπὸν Οὐτιγούροις  
 ὄντες ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα  
 22 βιώσονται τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οἶδε  
 οἱ Γότθοι τῆδε ἰδρύσαντο καὶ τῶν Κουτριγούρων,  
 ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν γῆ τῇ  
 ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> θάτερα τῆς Λίμνης οὔσῃ μόνοι Οὐτίγουροι  
 τὴν χώραν ἔσχον, πράγματα Ῥωμαίοις ὡς ἠκιστα  
 παρεχόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ᾤκηνται,  
 ἀλλ' ἔθνεσι πολλοῖς διειργόμενοι μεταξὺ οὔσιν  
 ἀκουσίῳ ἀπραγμοσύνη ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχονται.  
 23 Ὑπερβάντι δὲ Λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ  
 ποταμὸν Τάναϊν ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν τῶν τῆδε  
 πεδίων Κουτρίγουροι Οὐννοι, ἠπέρ μοι ἐρρήθη,  
 ᾤκήσαντο· μετὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς Σκύθαι τε καὶ Ταῦροι  
 ξύμπασαν ἔχουσι τὴν ταύτην χώραν, ἥσπερ μοῖρά  
 τις Ταυρικὴ καὶ νῦν ἐπικαλεῖται, ἵνα δὴ καὶ τῆς  
 Ἄρτέμιδος τὸν νεῶν γεγονέναι φασίν, οὐπέρ ποτε  
 24 ἢ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἰφιγένεια προὔστη. καίτοι  
 Ἀρμένιοι ἐν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς Κελεσηνῇ καλου-  
 μένῃ<sup>3</sup> χώρα τὸν νεῶν τοῦτον γεγονέναι φασὶ

<sup>1</sup> εὐρείαν L: εὐρεῖν ἄν K.      <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ θάτερα L: ἀπροθατέρα K.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρμένιοι—καλουμένη L: σκύθας τε τῇ K.



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Σκύθας τε τηνικάδε ξύμπαντας καλείσθαι τοὺς  
 ἐνταῦθα ἀνθρώπους, τεκμηριούμενοι τοῖς ἀμφί  
 τε Ὀρέστη καὶ πόλει Κομάνη δεδιηγημένοις μοι  
 25 ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ λόγου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων  
 λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστί·  
 πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐτέρωθι γεγενημένων, ἴσως δὲ  
 καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυμπεπτωκότων, ἄνθρωποι προσ-  
 ποιεῖσθαι φιλοῦσιν ὡς πάτρια ἦθη, ἀγανακ-  
 τοῦντες, ἣν μὴ τῇ δοκῆσει τῇ αὐτῶν ἅπαντες  
 ἔπωνται.

26 Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ταῦτα πόλις θαλασσία  
 οἰκεῖται, Βόσπορος ὄνομα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος  
 27 γενομένη οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. ἐκ δὲ Βοσπόρου  
 πόλεως ἐς πόλιν Χερσῶνα ἴοντι, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ἐν  
 τῇ παραλίᾳ, Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ κατήκοος  
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστί, βάρβαροι, Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, τὰ  
 28 μεταξὺ ἅπαντα ἔχουσι. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολίσματα  
 δύο ἀγχοῦ Χερσῶνος, Κῆποί τε καὶ Φανάγουρις  
 καλούμενα, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ  
 ἐς-ἐμὲ ἦν. ἅπερ οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν βαρβάρων  
 τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἐλόντες τινὲς ἐς ἔδαφος κα-  
 29 θεῖλον. ἐκ δὲ Χερσῶνος πόλεως ἐς τὰς ἐκβολὰς  
 ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσιν,  
 ὁδὸς μὲν ἐστὶν ἡμερῶν δέκα, βάρβαροι δὲ τὰ  
 30 ἐκείνη ξύμπαντα ἔχουσι. Ἰστρος δὲ ποταμὸς  
 ἐξ ὀρέων<sup>1</sup> μὲν τῶν Κελτικῶν ρεῖ, περιῶν δὲ  
 τὰς Ἰταλίας ἐσχατίας, φερόμενός τε ἐπὶ τὰ<sup>2</sup>  
 Δακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία,  
 ἐκβάλλει ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον. τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε  
 ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
 βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα.

<sup>1</sup> ὀρέων L: ὀρίων K.

were called Scythians, citing as evidence the story of Orestes and the city of Comana related by me in that part of my narrative.<sup>1</sup> But as regards these matters, let each one speak according to his wish; for many things which happened elsewhere, or which, perhaps, never really happened at all, men are wont to appropriate to their own country, being indignant if all do not follow their opinion.

Beyond these nations there is an inhabited city on the coast, Bosphorus by name, which became subject to the Romans not long ago. From the city of Bosphorus to the city of Cherson,<sup>2</sup> which is situated on the coast and has likewise been subject to the Romans from of old, all between is held by barbarians, Hunnic nations. And two other towns near Cherson, named Capi and Phanaguris, have been subject to the Romans from ancient times and even to my day. But these not long ago were captured by some of the neighbouring barbarians and razed to the ground. From the city of Cherson to the mouth of the Ister River, which is also called the Danube, is a journey of ten days, and barbarians hold that whole region. Now the Ister River rises in the Celtic mountains,<sup>3</sup> skirts the boundaries of Italy, flows into the lands of Dacia, Illyricum, and Thrace, and finally empties into the Euxine Sea. From that point all the territory as far as Byzantium is under the sway of the Roman emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Book I. xvii. 13-20.

<sup>2</sup> Chersonnesus; near modern Sevastopol.

<sup>3</sup> The Alps.

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<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὰ L: ἐπί τε K

<sup>3</sup> τὰ—χωρία L: τῶν—χωρίων K.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 31 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου περίοδος ἐκ Καλχηδόνας μέχρι ἐς Βυζάντιον ταύτη πη ἔχει.
- 32 ἐς ὅσον δὲ ἡ περίοδος ἦδε διήκει, ἅπαντα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, βαρβάρων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ὠκημένων ἐνταῦθα τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπιμιξίας τε Ῥωμαίοις παρ' αὐτῶν τινάς, ὅτι μὴ ὅσα κατὰ πρεσβείαν, ἴσως οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς πρότερον ταῦτα ἐγκεχειρηκόσι διαμετρήσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τι συμβαίνει εἰρησθαι.
- 33 ἐκεῖνο μέντοι διαφανὲς ἐστίν, ὡς Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνας ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, δυοῖν καὶ πεντήκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστίν<sup>1</sup> εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ· ὃ δὴ οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τεκμηριούμενος φαίη ἂν τις καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τοῦ Πόντου μοῖραν μέτρου τοῦδε εἶναι οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν.

VI

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμεθα ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἀναγράψασθαι οὐ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα δὴ ἀμφὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> δεινοί. λέγουσι μὲν γάρ τινες αὐτῶν τὰ ἠπείρω ταῦτα διορίζειν ποταμὸν Τάναϊν, ἀπισχυριζόμενοι μὲν χρῆναι τὰς τομὰς φυσικὰς εἶναι, τεκμηριούμενοι δὲ ὡς ἡ μὲν θάλασσα προῖουσα ἐκ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐώαν φέρεται<sup>2</sup> μοῖραν, ποταμὸς δὲ Τάναις ἐκ τῶν ἀρκτώων φερόμενος ἐς ἄνεμον νότον μεταξὺ ταῖν ἠπείροιν χωρεῖ·

<sup>1</sup> ἐστίν MSS. : om. editors.

<sup>2</sup> φέρεται K : στέλλεσθαι L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἔμπαλιν δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Νεῖλον ἐκ μεσημβρίας  
 ἰόντα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης  
 3 μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ ὑπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς  
 ἰόντες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον ἰσχυρίζονται εἶναι.  
 λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς τὰ μὲν ἠπείρω ταῦτα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ὃ τε ἐν Γαδεύροις διορίζει πορθμὸς ὑπ' Ὀκεανοῦ  
 ἐξιὼν καὶ ἡ προῖουσα ἐνθένδε θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐν δεξιᾷ  
 Λιβύη τε καὶ Ἀσία ὠνόμασται, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ  
 πάντα Εὐρώπη ἐκλήθη μέχρι που ἐς λήγοντα τὸν  
 Εὐξεινον καλούμενον Πόντον.

4 Τούτων δὲ δὴ τοιούτων ὄντων ὁ μὲν Τάναϊς  
 ποταμὸς ἐν γῆ τῆς Εὐρώπης τικτόμενος ἐκβάλλει  
 ἐς Λίμνην τὴν Μαιώτιδα, ἡ δὲ Λίμνη ἐς τὸν  
 Εὐξεινον Πόντον τὰς ἐκβολὰς ποιεῖται οὔτε  
 λήγοντα οὔτε μὴν κατὰ μέσον, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρόσω.  
 5 τὰ δὲ<sup>1</sup> εὐώνυμα τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου τῆ τῆς  
 Ἀσίας λογίζεται μοῖρα. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ποτα-  
 μὸς Τάναϊς ἐξ ὀρέων τῶν Ῥιπαίων καλουμένων  
 ἔξεισιν, ἅπερ ἐν γῆ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐστίν, ὥσπερ καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ οἱ ταῦτα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀναγραφάμενοι  
 6 ὁμολογοῦσι. τούτων δὲ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὀρῶν τὸν  
 Ὀκεανὸν ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥιπαίων ὑμνοῦνται εἶναι. τὰ  
 τοίνυν αὐτῶν τε καὶ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ ὀπισθεν  
 7 ξύμπαντα Εὐρωπαϊα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἐπάναγκες εἶναι.  
 πόθεν οὖν ἄρα ποτὲ ἄρχεται ἠπειρον ἑκατέραν  
 διορίζειν ὁ Τάναϊς οὐ ράδιον εἶναι εἰπεῖν. ἦν δέ  
 τινα ποταμὸν διορίζειν ἄμφω τὰ ἠπείρω λεκτέον,  
 8 οὗτος δὴ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Φᾶσις ἂν εἴη. καταντικρὺ

<sup>1</sup> τὰ δὲ L: εἶναι δὲ τὰ εὐμήχανα τὰ K.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Cadiz; the Strait of Gibraltar

continents; similarly, they say, the Egyptian Nile proceeds in the opposite direction from the south to the north and flows between Asia and Libya. On the other hand, others taking issue directly with them maintain that their reasoning is not sound. For they say that these two continents are divided originally by the strait at Gadir,<sup>1</sup> which issues from the ocean, and by the sea which extends from that point, and that the land on the right of the strait and the sea received the names of Libya and Asia, while everything on the left was called Europe approximately as far as the end of the so-called Euxine Sea.

But on this hypothesis the Tanais River rises within the limits of Europe and empties into the Maeotic Lake, which in turn discharges its waters into the Euxine Sea neither at its end nor even at its middle, but actually beyond it.<sup>2</sup> Yet the land on the left of this same sea is counted<sup>3</sup> as a portion of Asia. But apart from this the river Tanais rises in the so-called Rhipaeian mountains, which are in the land of Europe, as, in fact, those who have written of these matters from ancient times agree. Now the Ocean is very far removed<sup>4</sup> from these Rhipaeian mountains; consequently all the land beyond them and the Tanais River in both directions<sup>5</sup> must necessarily be European. Just at what point, then, the Tanais River begins to divide the two continents it is not easy to say. But if any river must be said to divide the two continents, that river would surely be the Phasis. For it flows

<sup>2</sup> That is, well within the boundaries of Europe.

<sup>3</sup> By the supporters of the former view.

<sup>4</sup> To the north.

<sup>5</sup> East and west.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

γὰρ πορθμοῦ τοῦ ἐν Γαδεύροις φερόμενος<sup>1</sup> ταῖν ἠπείροιν κατὰ μέσον χωρεῖ, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν πορθμὸς ἐξ Ὀκεανοῦ ἐξιὼν θάλασσαν τήνδε ἀπεργαζόμενος τὰ ἠπείρω ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔχει, ὁ δὲ Φᾶσις κατ' αὐτόν που λήγοντα μάλιστα ἰὼν τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον ἐς τοῦ μνηοειδοῦς τὰ μέσα ἐκβάλλει, τὴν τῆς γῆς ἐκτομὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης 9 διαφανῶς ἐκδεχόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐκάτεροι προτεινόμενοι διαμάχονται.

Ὡς δὲ οὐ μόνος ὁ πρότερος λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος, ὄνπερ ἀρτίως ἐλέγομεν, μήκει τε χρόνου κεκόμψευται καὶ ἀνδρῶν τινῶν παλαιοτάτων δόξῃ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, ἐκεῖνο εἰδῶς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄνθρωποι ἅπαντες, ἣν τινος φθάσῃ λόγου ἀρχαίου πεποιημένοι τὴν μάθησιν, οὐκέτι ἐθέλουσι τῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ζητήσῃ ἐμφιλοχωροῦντες ταλαιπωρεῖν, οὐδὲ νεωτέραν τινὰ μεταμαθεῖν ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν παλαιότερον ὑγιές τε δοκεῖ καὶ ἔντιμον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς εὐκαταφρόνητον νομίζεται 10 εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ γελοιῶδες χωρεῖ.<sup>2</sup> πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τανῦν οὐ περὶ νοερῶν ἢ νοητῶν τινὸς ἢ ἀφανῶν ἄλλως γίγνεται ζήτησις, ἀλλὰ περὶ<sup>3</sup> ποταμοῦ τε καὶ χώρας· ἅπερ ὁ χρόνος οὔτε 11 ἀμείβειν οὔτε πη ἀποκρύψασθαι ἴσχυσεν. ἢ τε γὰρ πείρα ἐγγὺς καὶ ἡ ὄψις ἐς μαρτυρίαν ἰκανωτάτη, οὐδέν τε παρεμποδισθήσεσθαι οἶμαι

<sup>1</sup> φερομενος K : φαινόμενος L.



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- 12 τοῖς τὸ ἀληθὲς εὐρέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. ὁ  
 τοῖνυν Ἀλικαρνασεὺς Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τῶν  
 ἱστοριῶν τετάρτῃ φησὶ μίαν μὲν εἶναι τὴν γῆν  
 ξύμπασαν, νομίζεσθαι δὲ εἰς μοίρας τε καὶ  
 13 Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην.<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐτῶν Λιβύης μὲν  
 καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Νεῖλον τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ποταμὸν  
 μεταξὺ φέρεσθαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Ἀσίαν τε καὶ  
 Εὐρώπην διορίζει τὸν Κόλχον Φᾶσιν. εἰδὼς δὲ  
 14 τινὰς ἀμφὶ Τανάϊδι ποταμῷ ταῦτα οἶεσθαι, καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐν ὑστέρῳ ἐπέειπε. καὶ μοι οὐκ ἀπὸ  
 καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι αὐτὰ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ἡροδότου τὰ  
 γράμματα τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεῖναι ὧδέ <sup>πη</sup> ἔχοντα·  
 “Οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ<sup>3</sup> μιῇ εὐούσῃ  
 γῆ ὀνόματα τριφάσια κέαται, ἐπωνυμίην<sup>4</sup> ἔχοντα  
 γυναικῶν, καὶ ὀρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε. ὁ  
 Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος.  
 15 οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην<sup>5</sup> καὶ  
 πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσιν.” ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ  
 τραγωδοποιὸς Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ τῷ Λυο-  
 μένῳ εὐθύς ἀρχόμενος τῆς τραγωδίας τὸν ποταμὸν  
 Φᾶσιν τέρμονα καλεῖ γῆς τε τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς  
 Εὐρώπης.
- 16 Κἀκεῖνο δέ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἰρήσεται, ὡς  
 τούτων δὴ τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφῶν οἱ μὲν τὴν  
 Μαιῶτιν οἴονται Λίμνην ἀπεργάζεσθαι τὸν  
 Εὐξείνου Πόντου, καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ,  
 τὸ δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Λίμνης χωρεῖν, μητέρα τε διὰ  
 17 τοῦτο τοῦ Πόντου καλεῖσθαι τὴν Λίμνην. ταῦτά

<sup>1</sup> εὐρώπην K : εὐρώπην φημί L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτά K : αὐτοῦ L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ MSS. : ἐπ' ὅτε Herodotus.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπωνυμίην MSS. : ἐπωνυμίας Herodotus.

to discover the truth. To proceed, then, Herodotus of Halicarnassus in the Fourth Book of his *History* says that the entire earth is one, but is considered to be divided into three parts, having three separate titles, Libya, Asia, and Europe. And between two of them, on the one hand, Libya and Asia namely, flows the Egyptian Nile, while Asia and Europe, on the other hand, are divided by the Colchian Phasis. But knowing as he did that some thought that the Tanais River performed this function, he mentioned this view also afterwards. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to insert in my narrative the actual language of Herodotus, which is as follows.<sup>1</sup> “Nor am I able to conjecture for what reason it is that, though the earth is one, three names are applied to it which are women’s names. And its lines of division have been established as the Egyptian Nile and the Colchian Phasis. But others name the Tanais River, which empties into the Maeotic Lake and the Cimmerian Strait.”<sup>2</sup> Also the tragic poet Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Unbound*, at the very beginning of the tragedy, calls the Phasis River the limit of the land of both Asia and Europe.<sup>3</sup>

At this point I shall also mention the fact that some of those who are versed in such matters think that the Maeotic Lake forms the Euxine Sea, and that it spreads out from this lake partly to the right and partly to the left, this being the reason why the lake is called the mother of the Pontus. And they

<sup>1</sup> Book IV. 45.

<sup>2</sup> The Cimmerian Bosphorus. Mod. Strait of Yenikale.

<sup>3</sup> *Frag.* 106, preserved by Arrian, *Voyage in the Euxine*, 99. 22.

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<sup>5</sup> Μαιήτην Herodotus: μαιῶτιν MSS.



- τέ φασι τεκμηριούμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ καλου-  
 μένου Ἰεροῦ ἢ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Πόντου ἐκροὴ ἐπὶ  
 Βυζαντίου καθάπερ τις ποταμὸς κάτεισι, καὶ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πέρας εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ Πόντου οἴονται.  
 18 οἱ δὲ τοῦ λόγου κατηγοροῦντες ἀποφαίνουσιν ὅτι  
 δὴ μία τις ἐξ Ὀκεανοῦ ξύμπασα ἢ θάλασσα  
 οὔσα καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐτέρωθι ἀπολήγουσα ἐς γῆν  
 τὴν Λαζῶν κατατείνει, πλήν γε εἰ μὴ τις, φασί,  
 τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι διάλλασσον ἐτερότητα εἶπη,  
ὅτι δὴ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἢ θάλασσα Πόντος ὠνό-  
 μασται.  
 19 Εἰ δὲ τὰ ρεύματα ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροῦ καλουμένου  
 κάτεισιν<sup>1</sup> ἐς Βυζάντιον, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα.  
 τὰ γὰρ ἐν πορθμοῖς ἅπασι ξυμπίπτοντα πάθη  
 οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φαίνεται εἶκοντα, οὐδέ τις αὐτὰ  
 20 φράσαι πώποτε ἰκανὸς γεγονεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ  
 Σταγειρίτης Ἀριστοτέλης, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς  
 μάλιστα, ἐν Χαλκίδι τῇ τῆς<sup>2</sup> Εὐβοίας τούτου  
 δὴ ἔνεκα γεγονώς, κατανοῶν τε τὸν ταύτη  
 πορθμόν, ὄνπερ Εὐριπον ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ λόγον  
 τὸν φυσικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διερευνᾶσθαι βουλό-  
 μενος, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ὄντινα τρόπον ἐνίστε μὲν τὰ  
 τοῦ πορθμοῦ τούτου ρεύματα ἐκ δυσμῶν φέρεται,  
ἐνίστε δὲ ἐξ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα  
 πλεῖν τὰ πλοῖα ξύμπαντα ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει.  
 ἦν δέ ποτε τοῦ ῥοῦ ἐξ ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου ἰόντος,  
 ἀρξαμένων τε τῶν ναυτῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐνθένδε ξὺν τῇ τοῦ  
 ῥοθίου ἐπιρροῇ ναυτίλλεσθαι, ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀπ'  
 ἐναντίας αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup> τὸ ρεῦμα ἶη, ὅπερ πολλάκις

<sup>1</sup> κάτεισιν Dindorf: ἐξίασιν K, κατίασιν L.

<sup>2</sup> Χαλκίδι τῇ τῆς: σχολῇ ἐπί L.

<sup>3</sup> ναυτῶν L: αὐτῶν K.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐνταῦθα φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, ἀναστρέφει μὲν τὰ  
 πλοῖα ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἔνθεν ὄρμηται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα  
 ἐκ δυσμῶν ἐπὶ θάτερα πλεῖ, καίπερ αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 ἀνέμων τινὸς ὡς ἤκιστα ἐπιπνεύσαντος, ἀλλὰ  
γαλήνης τε βαθείας τινὸς καὶ νηνεμίας ἐνταῦθα  
 οὔσης, ταῦτα ὁ Σταγειρίτης ἐννοῶν τε καὶ ἀνα-  
 κυκλῶν ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος, δυσθανατῶν ἐπὶ  
 21 ξυννοία<sup>1</sup> ἀφίκετο<sup>2</sup> ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου. οὐ  
 μὴν ἀλλὰ<sup>3</sup> κὰν τῷ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Σικελίαν  
 διείργοντι πορθμῷ πολλὰ τῷ παραλόγῳ γίνεσθαι  
 πέφυκε. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλου-  
 22 μένου πελάγους τὸ ρεῦμα ἐκεῖσε ἰέναι. καίτοι  
 ἐξ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γαδείρων ἢ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 πρόοδος γίνεται. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰλιγγοὶ ἐξαπιναίως  
 ἐνταῦθα συχνοὶ ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης  
 23 αἰτίας τὰς ναῦς διαχρῶνται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ  
 ποιηταὶ λέγουσι πρὸς τῆς Χαρύβδεως ροφείσθαι  
 τὰ πλοῖα, ὅσα ἂν τύχη τηνικάδε ὄντα ἐν τῷ  
 24 πορθμῷ τούτῳ. οὗτοι δὲ ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα  
 οἴονται τὰ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ἐν πάσι συμβαί-  
 νοντα τοῖς πορθμοῖς, ἐκ τῆς ἀγχιστα οὔσης  
 ἐκατέρωθεν ἠπείρου συμβαίνειν· βιαζόμενον γάρ  
 φασὶ τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ ῥόθιον ἐς ἀτόπους τινὰς  
 καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσας ἀνάγκας χωρεῖν.  
 25 Ὡστε εἰ καὶ ὁ ῥοῦς ἐκ τοῦ Ἱεροῦ καλουμένου  
 ἐς Βυζάντιον δοκεῖ φέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τις τὴν τε  
 θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἀπολήγειν  
 26 ἰσχυρίσαιτο ἐνταῦθα εἰκότως. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 στερρᾶς τινὸς ὁ λόγος ὅδε φύσεως ἔστηκεν, ἀλλ'

<sup>1</sup> ξυννοία Hoeschel : σοφίας K, ξυνοία L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφίκετο K : ἤει L.

<sup>3</sup> οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ L : ἐπεὶ K.

many a time, it immediately turns these boats back in the direction from which they have started, while the other boats sail from the west to the opposite end, even though no wind has blown upon them in the least but deep calm prevails there with all winds absent; all this the Stagirite observed and pondered for a long time, until he worried himself to death with anxious thought and so reached the term of his life. But this is not an isolated case, for in the strait also which separates Italy from Sicily nature plays many strange tricks. For it appears that the current runs into this strait from the sea called the Adriatic, and this in spite of the fact that the forward movement of the sea takes place from the ocean and Gadir. But there are also numerous whirlpools which appear there suddenly from no cause apparent to us and destroy the ships. It is on account of this that the poets say that the boats are gulped down by Charybdis, when any chance to be in this strait at such a time. But the advocates of the second view<sup>1</sup> think that all these exceedingly strange phenomena which present themselves in all straits come about in consequence of the two sides coming very close to each other; for the water, they say, being constrained by the limited space, is subject to some strange and unaccountable compulsion.

Consequently, if the current does actually seem to flow from the place called Hieron to Byzantium, no one could reasonably maintain that the sea<sup>2</sup> and the Euxine end at that point. For this view rests upon no solid basis of nature, but here again the

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in par. 18 ff., above.

<sup>2</sup> The Mediterranean, or, more accurately, the Sea of Marmara.

ἡ στενοχωρία κἀνταῦθα νικάτω. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ  
 27 παντάπασι τὸ τοιοῦτον ταύτη πη ἔχει. λέγουσι  
 γὰρ οἱ ἀσπαλιεῖς τῶν τῆδε χωρίων ὡς οὐχ ὅλος  
 δὴ εὐθύ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ὁ ῥοῦς κάτεισιν,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ'  
 αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν ἄνω, ἅπερ ἡμῖν διαφανῆ ἐστί,  
 κατὰ ταῦτα ἰέναι ξυμβαίνει, τὰ μέντοι ἔνερθεν,  
 ἵνα δὴ ἄβυσσός ἐστί τε καὶ ὠνόμασται, τὴν  
 ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄνω διαρρήδην χωρεῖν, ἔμπαλιν τε  
 28 τοῦ φαινομένου ἔσαιε φέρεσθαι. ταῦτά τοι,  
 ἐπειδὴν ἄγραν μετιόντες ἰχθύων τὰ λίνα ἐνταῦθά  
 πη ἀπορρίψωσι, ταῦτα δὲ αἰεὶ τῷ ρεύματι  
 βιαζόμενα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν φέρεσθαι.  
 29 Ἐν δὲ Λαζικῇ πανταχόθεν ἡ γῆ τῆς θαλάσσης  
 ἀποκρουομένη<sup>2</sup> τὴν πρόοδον καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἀναχαιτίζουσα  
 τὸν αὐτῆς δρόμον, πρῶτόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀπολή-  
 γειν αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δη-  
 30 λονότι τὰ ὄρια σφίσι τῆδε θεμένου. ἀπτομένη<sup>4</sup>  
 γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος οὔτε πρόσω  
 χωρεῖ οὔτε πη ἐς ὕψος ἐπαίρεται μεῖζον, καίπερ  
 πανταχόθεν αἰεὶ περιρρομένη ποταμῶν ἐκβουλαῖς  
 ἀναρίθμων τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶν ἄγαν, ἀλλ' ἀνα-  
 ποδίζουσα ὀπίσω ἐπάνεισιν αὐθις καὶ μέτρον  
 διαριθμουμένη τὸ ταύτης ἴδιον, διασώζει τὸν ἐξ  
 αὐτῆς ὄρον, ὥσπερ τινὰ δειμαίνουσα νόμον,  
 ἀνάγκη τε τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφυγγο-  
μένη μή τι τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐκβᾶσα φανείη.  
 31 τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτὰς οὐκ  
 ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίου ξυμβαίνει

<sup>1</sup> κάτεισιν L: ἀπεισιν K.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποκρουομένη MSS.: ἀποκρούει μὲν Scaliger, ἀποκρούει Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ K: om. L.



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

κεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων γινωσκέτω τε καὶ λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ αὐτῷ φίλον.

### VII

“Οτου δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔνεκα Λαζικῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχεν ἤδη μὲν πρόσθεν μοι ἐρρήθη· ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ Πέρσας μάλιστα πάντων ἐς τοῦτο ἤνεγκεν, ἐνταῦθα δηλώσω, ὅτι δὴ καὶ χώραν τήνδε περιηγησάμενος ξύμπασαν  
 2 σαφῆ τὸν περὶ τούτου πεποίηκα λόγον. πολλάκις οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χοσρόου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόντες<sup>1</sup> ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐκ εὐδιήγητα μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπήνεγκαν πάθη, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αὐτοῖς δὲ ὄφελος οὐδ’ ὀτιοῦν ἀπενεγκάμενοις ἐνθένδε τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι προσκεκακῶσθαι<sup>2</sup> ξυνέπεσε· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀποβεβληκότες αἰεὶ ἀπηλλάσσοντο ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς  
 3 γῆς. διὸ δὴ ἐς ἤθη ἐπανιόντες τὰ πάτρια Χοσρόη ὡς λαθραιότατα ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ διαφθορέα τοῦ  
 4 Περσῶν γένους αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλουν. καὶ ποτε καὶ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπανήκοντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθα πάθεσιν ἔτυχον ὠμιληκότες ἀνηκέστοις τισί, ξυστήσεσθαι τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔμελλον καὶ διαχρήσεσθαι<sup>3</sup> θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ, εἰ μὴ προμαθῶν ἐφυλάξατο, θωπεία πολλῇ τοὺς ἐν σφίσι λογι-  
 5 μωτάτους περιελθῶν. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπολο-

<sup>1</sup> ἐμβαλόντες L: ἰκβαλόντες K.

<sup>2</sup> προσκεκακῶσθαι Haugy: πρόσθεν κεκακῶσθαι K, πρὸς δὲ κεκακῶσθαι L.

<sup>3</sup> διαχρήσεσθαι Maltretus: διαχρήσασθαι MSS.

its side. But concerning these matters let each man form his decision and speak as he wishes.

VII

Now the reason why Chosroes was eager to get possession of Lazica has already been stated by me in a previous passage,<sup>1</sup> but that particular consideration which above everything else impelled him and the Persians to desire this I shall here set forth, now that I have given a description of this whole country and so made clear my statement of this matter. Many times these barbarians, under the leadership of Chosroes, had invaded the Roman domain with a mighty army, and while they had inflicted upon their enemy sufferings not easy to describe, as has been told by me in the books on this subject,<sup>2</sup> still they gained from these invasions no advantage whatsoever and had also to bear the loss of both treasure and lives: for they always departed from the Roman domain having lost many men. Consequently, after they had returned to their own land, they would very privately rail against Chosroes and call him the destroyer of the Persian nation. And on one such occasion when they had returned from Lazica, seeing that they had suffered terrible losses there, they were actually on the point of combining openly against him and doing away with him by a most cruel death, and would have done so had he not learned in advance and guarded against it by winning over the most notable of them by assiduous wheedling. As a

<sup>1</sup> Book II. xxviii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Books I and II.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

γεῖσθαι τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐθέλων μέγα τι ὄφελος  
Περσῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐκπορίζεσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε.

Πόλει γοῦν Δάρας αὐτίκα ἐγκεχειρηκῶς  
ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐς  
ἀπόγνωσίν τε τῆς τοῦ χωρίου ἐπικρατήσεως  
6 παντάπασιν ἦλθεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς  
ἐξαιρήσειν τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχεν,<sup>1</sup> οὕτω φυλασσομένων  
τῶν ἐκείνη φρουρῶν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πολιορκῶν  
7 μηχανῇ τινὶ περιέσεσθαι αὐτῶν ἠλπιζε. τά τε  
γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσαεὶ ἐν πόλει Δάρας  
διαρκῶς<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶν ἐξεπίτηδες ἀποκείμενα, ὅπως δὴ  
ἐς μέγα τι χρόνου διαρκέσειε μῆκος, καὶ πηγὴ  
ἀγχιστά πη φυομένη ἐν χώρῳ κρημνώδει ποτα-  
μὸν ἀπεργάζεται μέγαν ὅσπερ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺ  
φέρεται, οὐ δυναμένων (τῶν ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐφιε-  
μένων) ἐτέρωσέ πη αὐτὸν ἀποτρέπειν ἢ τρόπῳ τῷ  
8 ἄλλῳ διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν  
δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς<sup>3</sup> γένηται, τὴν τε πόλιν  
περιῶν ξύμπασαν καὶ τὰς ταύτη δεξαμενὰς  
ἐμπλησάμενος εἶτα ἔξεισιν, ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ τε τοῦ  
περιβόλου ἐς χάος ἐμπεσῶν ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ὅπη  
9 ποτὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἐκδίδωσιν οὐδενὶ γέγονε φανερὸν  
ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χάος οὐκ ἐπὶ  
παλαιοῦ γεγονὸς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ πολλῷ  
ἕστερον ἢ τὴν πόλιν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς  
ἐδείματο ταύτην ἢ φύσις αὐτὸ τοῦ<sup>4</sup> χωρίου  
ἀπαυτοματίσασα ἔθετο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει  
τοῖς προσεδρεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας  
πιέζεσθαι ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ.

<sup>1</sup> εἶχεν MSS. : ἐλπίδα εἶχεν conjectured by Haury.

<sup>2</sup> διαρκῶς K : διηνεκῶς L.

<sup>3</sup> ἐντός Maltretus : εὐθύ K : εὐθύς L.



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10 Ταύτης οὖν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀποτυχῶν ὁ  
 Χοσρόης τῆς πείρας ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθεν ὡς, ἣν καὶ  
 πόλιν οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἐτέραν τινὰ παραστήσασθαι  
 δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλὰ καθίζεσθαι οὐ μὴ ποτε οἷός  
 11 τε εἶη ἐν μέσῳ Ῥωμαίων, ὀχυρωμάτων τοῖς  
 Ἀντιόχειαν γὰρ τούτου δὴ εἵνεκα ἐς ἔδαφος  
 καθελῶν ἠνίκα ἐξεῖλεν,<sup>1</sup> ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ Ῥωμαίων  
 τῆς γῆς. διὸ δὴ μετεωρισθεὶς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ  
 μακροτέρας ἐλπίδος ὠχεῖτο, διερευνώμενος ἀμή-  
 12 χανα ἔργα. ἀκοῇ γὰρ ἔχων ὄντινα τρόπον ἐπὶ  
 ἀριστερᾷ Πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου οὗτοι δὴ βάρβαροι<sup>2</sup>  
 οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ὤκηνται Λίμνην ἀδεῶς<sup>3</sup>  
 κατατρέχουσι Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν,<sup>4</sup> οὕτω καὶ  
 Πέρσαις Λαζικὴν ἔχουσι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ δυνατὰ  
 ἔσεσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἠνίκα ἂν βουλομένοις ἦ, εὐθὺς  
 Βυζαντίου ἰέναι, οὐδαμῆ διαπορθμευόμενοις τὴν  
 13 θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα βαρβαρικὰ ἔθνη  
 ἃ ταύτη ἰδρυται ἐσαεὶ δρῶσι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν  
 Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι μεταποιοῦνται. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν  
 τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποίησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

VIII

Χοριάνης μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰππιν. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ταῦτα Γουβάζης τε, ὁ Κόλχων βασιλεύς,  
 ἔμαθε καὶ Δαγισθαῖος, ὅσπερ ἠγείτο τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐπίκοινα βουλευσάμενοι ἤγον

<sup>1</sup> ἐς ἔδαφος καθελῶν, ἠνίκα ἐξεῖλεν K : ἐξελῶν L.

<sup>2</sup> βάρβαροι οἱ Comparetti : βάρβαροι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀδεῶς Comparetti : καὶ ἀδεῶς MSS.

So Chosroes, having failed in this attempt, as I have said, came to the conclusion that, even if he should be able to gain some other Roman city, he would still never be able to establish himself in the midst of the Romans while many strongholds were left behind in the hands of his enemy. Indeed it was for this reason that he razed Antioch to the ground when he captured it and so departed from Roman soil. Consequently his thoughts soared aloft and were carried toward more distant hopes as he sought after impossible things. For having learned by report how those barbarians on the left of the Euxine Sea who dwell about the Maeotic Lake overrun fearlessly the Roman domain, he kept saying that it would be possible for the Persians, if they held Lazica, to go, whenever they wished, straight to Byzantium with no trouble and without crossing the sea at all, just as the other barbarian nations who are settled in that region are constantly doing. For this reason, then, the Persians are trying to gain Lazica. But I shall return to the point where I made this digression from the narrative.<sup>1</sup>

## VIII

CHORIANES, then, and the Median army had made their camp near the Hippis River. And when Gubazes, the Colchian king, and Dagisthaeus, who commanded the Roman army, learned this, they

<sup>1</sup> Chap. i. 7.

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<sup>1</sup> ἀδεῶς—γῆν L: om. K.

ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν  
 2 στράτευμα. γενόμενοί τε Ἴππιδος τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι τὰ  
 παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον, πότερα μένουσί τε  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ δεχομένοις ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους σφίσιν  
 ἰτέον, ὅπως δὴ θάρσους τοῦ σφετέρου ποιησά-  
 μενοι ἐπίδειξιν Πέρσαις, ἔνδηλά τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
 καταστησάμενοι ὡς καταφρονήματι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἴωσι, τῆς τε ξυμβολῆς αὐτῆς ἄρχοντες<sup>1</sup> δουλῶσαι  
 τῶν ἀνθισταμένων τὸ φρόνημα ἱκανοὶ εἶεν. ἐπειδὴ  
 3 τε ἡ γνώμη ἐνίκα τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρα-  
 καλούντων, ὤρμηντο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐθύς ἅπαντες.  
 ἐνταῦθα Λαζοὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυντάσσεσθαι οὐκέτι  
 ἠξίου, προτεινόμενοι ὅτι δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὔτε  
 πατρίδος οὔτε τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων προκινδυ-  
 νεύοντες ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται, αὐτοῖς δὲ  
 ὑπὲρ τε παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ γῆς τῆς  
 πατρῴας ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν· ὥστε καὶ γυναῖκας  
 4 τὰς σφετέρας ἐρυθριῶεν, εἰ σφίσι πρὸς τῶν  
 ἐναντίων ξυμβαίη κρατεῖσθαι. ταύτη δὴ τῇ  
 ἀνάγκῃ τὴν οὐκ οὔσαν αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴν αὐτοσχε-  
 5 διάσειν ὑπώπτειον. πρῶτοί τε αὐτοὶ κατὰ μόνας  
 ὤργων τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε ἰέναι, ὅπως αὐτοὺς  
 μὴ ξυνταράξωσιν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐχ  
 ὅμοια σφίσι ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον προθυμούμενοι.  
 6 ταῦτα νεανιευσαμένων Λαζῶν περιχαρῆς ὁ  
 Γουβάξης γενόμενος μικρὸν τε ἄποθεν Ῥωμαίων  
 αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλέσας τοιάδε παρεκελεύσατο.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς ἄρχοντες K : αὐτοὶ ἄρχονται καὶ L.



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7 “ Παραίνεσιν μὲν ἐς εὐψυχίαν ὀρμῶσαν οὐκ  
οἶδα εἴ τινα δεῖ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ποιεῖσθαι.  
οἷς γὰρ ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκη τὴν προθυμίαν  
ἀνίστησι, παρακελεύσεως ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς προσδεῖν  
οἶομαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχη-  
8 κεν. ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν γὰρ καὶ παίδων καὶ γῆς  
τῆς πατρῴας καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ  
κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμῖν ἐπίασι Πέρσαι.  
9 τοῖς δέ τι ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βιαζο-  
μένοις οὐδεὶς τῶν πάντων παραχωρεῖ, ὑπερ-  
μάχεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τῶν προσηκόντων ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς  
10 φύσεως. οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε δὲ ὡς Πέρσαις<sup>3</sup> τὴν  
πλεονεξίαν οὐδὲν ἴστησιν, ἐν ἐξουσία γεγονόσι<sup>4</sup>  
τοῦ δύνασθαι, οὐδὲ ἄρξουσι μόνον ἡμῶν ἢ τάξουσι  
φόρους ἢ τὰ ἄλλα κατηκόους ποιήσονται, εἴ τι  
μὴ ἐπιλελήσμεθα ὧν Χοσρόης ἐγκεχείρηκεν ἐφ’  
ἡμῖν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, ἣν νῦν περιέσονται  
11 ἡμῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἄχρι τοῦ λόγου  
προιέτω μοι τὰ τῆς Περσῶν πείρας, μηδὲ διαλι-  
πέτω τὸ Λαζῶν ὄνομα. οὐ χαλεπὸς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες,  
ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς Μήδους ἀγὼν, πολλάκις αὐτοῖς καὶ  
ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθοῦσι καὶ ὑπερβαλλομένοις τῇ μάχῃ.  
12 τῷ γὰρ ξυνειθισμένῳ τὸ δύσκολον οὐδαμῇ  
πάρεστι, προδαπανηθείσης τῆς τοῦ ἔργου ταλαι-  
πωρίας μελέτη καὶ πείρα. ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε νενικημένων ἐν  
ξυμβολαῖς καὶ οὐχ ὁμοίως θρασυνομένων ἡμᾶς<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἴ τινα δεῖ: ὅτι δὴ K.

ὑπερμάχεσθαι Haury: ἐπεὶ μάχεσθαι K, ἐπιμάχεσθαι L.

Πέρσαις Maltretus: περσῶν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> γεγονόσι L: om. K.

<sup>5</sup> ἡμᾶς L: ἡμῶν K, ἡμῖν Scaliger.

“Fellow-men, I know not whether it is necessary to address any exhortation to you to impel you to be of good courage. For those men whose enthusiasm is upheld by the necessity of circumstances would, I think, need no further exhortation, and this is the case with us, in the present crisis at any rate. For it is your women and children and your ancestral land, and, to speak plainly, your all, which is involved in this danger, for it is to secure these that the Persians are coming upon us. For no one in the whole world gives way to those who are seeking by violence to rob him of any of his possessions, for nature compels him to fight for his property. And you are not ignorant that nothing stops the avarice of the Persians when they have come to have power in their grasp, and if at the present time they prevail over us in the war, they will not stop with simply ruling us or imposing taxes or treating us in other matters as subjects,—a statement which we can test by our own memory of what Chosroes attempted upon us not long ago. But let me not even so much as mention the experience we have had with the Persians, and let not the name of the Lazi come to an end. And the struggle against the Medes, my fellow-men, is not a hard one for us who have many times grappled with them and prevailed over them in the fight. For a task which has become thoroughly familiar entails no difficulty whatever, the necessary labour having been previously expended in practice and experience. Consequently we shall be obliged because of this fact actually to despise the enemy as having been defeated in previous combats and having no such ground for courage as you have. For when



- 13 δεήσει. φρόνημα γὰρ δουλωθὲν ἅπαξ παλινδρο-  
μεῖν ἤκιστα εἴωθε. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκλογιζόμενοι  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁμόσε  
 χωρεῖτε.”
- 14 Τοσαῦτα Γουβάζης εἰπὼν ἐξῆγε τὸ Λαζῶν  
 στράτευμα, καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε. πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ  
 Λαζῶν ἵππεῖς τεταγμένοι ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἦσαν,  
 ὄπισθεν δὲ οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀπωτάτω,
- 15 ἢ Ῥωμαίων ἵππος αὐτοῖς εἶπετο. τούτων δὲ δὴ  
 τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἠγοῦντο Φιλήγαγός τε, Γήπαις  
 γένος, δραστήριος ἀνὴρ, καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος,  
 διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, Θωμᾶ υἱός,  
 ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, οὐ δὴ κὰν τοῖς
- 16 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην. ἐν ὑστέρω δὲ  
 Γουβάζης τε ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ Δαγισθαῖος  
 ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων πε-  
 ζοῖς εἶποντο, λογισάμενοι ὡς, εἰ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι  
 τραπήναι ξυμβαίη, ἐς αὐτοὺς ῥᾶστα σωθήσονται.
- 17 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαζοὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ  
 ἐτάξαντο, Χοριάνης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν χιλίους τῶν  
 οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπολεξάμενος τεθωρακισμένους τε  
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοπλισμένους ὡς ἄριστα, πρόσω  
 ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ  
 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὄπισθεν ἦει, φυλακτῆριον ὀλίγων
- 18 τινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. προτερήσασα  
 δὲ ἢ Λαζῶν ἵππος ἀτιμάζει τὰς ἐπαγγελίας οἷς  
 ἔδρασεν, ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων διαβαλοῦσα τὰς πρόσθεν
- 19 ἐλπίδας. τοῖς γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων προδρόμοις  
 ἐντετυχηκότες ἐξαπιναίως οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Book II. xxx. 4.



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αὐτῶν ὄψιν, τρέψαντες αὐτίκα τοὺς ἵππους,  
 κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἐπειγόμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἀνεμίγνυντο, ἐς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀπα-  
 ξιοῦντες καταφυγεῖν οἷς δὴ ξυντάσσεσθαι τὰ  
 20 πρότερα ὄκνουν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων  
 ἀγχιστα ἴκοντο, χειρῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα οὐδέτεροι<sup>2</sup>  
 ἦρχον οὐδὲ ξυνέμισγον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐναντίων  
 ἑκάτεροι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἀνεπόδιζον, ὑποχωρούντων  
 δὲ ἐπεβάτευον, ἐς τε ὑπαγωγὰς καὶ παλινδιώξεις  
 καὶ ἀγχιστρόφους μεταβολὰς πολὺν τινα κατέ-  
 τριψαν χρόνον.

21 Ἦν δέ τις Ἀρταβάνης ὄνομα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, Περσαρμένιος γένος, ὅσπερ ἐς  
 Ἀρμενίους τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους πολλῷ  
 πρότερον ἀπηντομοληκῶς ἔτυχεν, οὐχ ἀπλῶς,  
 ἀλλὰ φόνῳ Περσῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν  
 μαχίμων Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς πίστιν πεποιοη-  
 22 μένος ἐχέγγυον. Βαλεριανῷ γὰρ τότε στρατη-  
 γοῦντι ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθων ἄνδρας  
 πεντήκοντα Ῥωμαίους οἱ αὐτῷ διδόναι ἐδεῖτο  
 τυχῶν τε ὧνπερ ἐβούλετο, ἐς φρουρίον ἐν  
 23 Περσαρμενίοις κείμενον ἦει. οὐ δὴ ἑκατὸν τε καὶ  
 εἴκοσι<sup>3</sup> Περσῶν φυλακτῆριον ὑπὸ<sup>4</sup> τῷ φρουρίῳ  
 αὐτὸν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐδέξαντο, οὐπω ἔνδηλον  
 ὄντα ὅτι δὴ μεταπορευθεῖς τὴν πολιτείαν νεωτε-  
 24 ρίζει. ὁ δὲ τοὺς τε εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν κτείνας καὶ  
 ξύμπαντα ληισάμενος τὰ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ χρήματα,  
 μεγάλα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα, παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν καὶ τὸ  
 Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἦλθε,<sup>5</sup> πιστός τε σφίσιν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειγόμενοι L: ἐπιγινόμενοι K.

<sup>2</sup> πρότερα οὐδέτεροι: πρότερα οὐδ' ἕτεροι K, πρῶτα οὐδέτεροι L.

<sup>3</sup> εἴκοσιν K: εἴκοσι ἦν Comparetti.

wheeled their horses and began to gallop back to the rear in complete disorder; and pressing onward they mingled with the Romans, not declining to take refuge with the very men beside whom they had previously been unwilling to array themselves. But when the two forces came close to each other, neither side at first opened the attack or joined battle, but each army drew back as their opponents advanced and in turn followed them as they retired, and they consumed much time in retreats and counter-pursuits and swiftly executed changes of front.

But there was a certain Artabanes in that Roman army, a Persarmenian<sup>1</sup> by birth, who had, as it happened, deserted long before to the Armenians who are subjects of the Romans, not as a simple deserter however, but by the slaughter of one hundred and twenty Persian warriors he had given the Romans a pledge of his loyalty to them. For he had come before Valerian, who at that time was a general in Armenia and requested him to give him fifty Romans; and upon getting what he wished he proceeded to a fortress situated in Persarmenia. There a garrison of one hundred and twenty Persians received him with his company into the fortress, it not being as yet clear that he had changed his allegiance and gone over to the enemy. He then slew the hundred and twenty men and plundered all the money in the fortress—and there was an enormous quantity of it—and so came to Valerian and the Roman army, and having thus proved

<sup>1</sup> Persarmenia was the portion of Armenia subject to Persia.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπό L : ὑπέρ K, οἵπερ Comparetti.      <sup>3</sup> ἦλθε K : ἦει L.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φανείς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ξυνε-  
 25 στρατεύειν. οὗτος Ἀρταβάνης ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
 μάχῃ δύο ξὺν αὐτῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν  
 ἐπαγόμενος ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἐγένετο, οὐ δὴ ἀφίκοντο  
 26 καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινές. ἐφ' οὓς Ἀρταβάνης  
 ὀρμήσας, τῶν Περσῶν ἓνα, ψυχῆς τε ἀρετῇ καὶ  
 σώματος ἀλκῇ ἐπιεικῶς μέγαν, τῷ δόρατι εὐθὺς  
 ἔκτεινεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ρίψας προσουδίξει  
 27 χαμαί. τῶν δέ τις βαρβάρων παρὰ τῷ πεπτω-  
 κότι ἐστὼς ξίφει κατὰ κόρρης τὸν Ἀρταβάνην  
 ἐπάταξεν οὐ καιρίαν πληγὴν. ἄτερός τε τῶν τῷ  
 Ἀρταβάνῃ ἐπισπομένων, Γότθος γένος, τοῦτον δὴ  
 τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν χεῖρα ἔτι ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου  
 κεφαλῇ ἔχοντα, κατὰ λαγόνα ἐπιτυχὼν τὴν  
 28 εὐώνυμον διεχρήσατο. καὶ οἱ χίλιοι τοῖς ξυμπε-  
 πτωκόσιν ἐκπεπληγμένοι ὀπίσω ἐχώρουν, τὸν τε  
 Χοριάνην σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν  
 στρατῷ ἔμενον καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀνεμίγνυντο  
 σφίσιν.

29 Ἦδη δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον  
 πεζοὶ ἐς ἵππεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἡ  
 30 μάχη ἐν χερσὶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἦν. τότε δὴ  
 Φιλήγαγός τε καὶ Ἰωάννης, ἐλύσσους εἶναι ἡ  
 ἐνεγκεῖν ἐπιούσαν τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἵππου  
 οἰόμενοι, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ ἀπέγνωσαν<sup>1</sup> τὴν Λαζῶν  
 δύναμιν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἀποθορόντες ταῦτό  
 ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς  
 31 ἅπαντας. ἐς φάλαγγά τε ὡς βαθυτάτην ταξά-  
 μενοι πεζοὶ μετωπηδὸν ἀντίοι τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, τὰ δόρατα ἐπανατεινόμενοι  
 32 σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι γένων-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέγνωσαν K : ἐπέγνωσαν L.



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ται (οὔτε γὰρ ἐπιδραμεῖν πεζοῖς γε οὔσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐδύναντο οὔτε αὐτῶν ξυνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα οἰοί τε ἦσαν) ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἵπποι ταῖς τε τῶν δοράτων αἰχμαῖς καὶ τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαίτιζον, ἐπὶ τὰ τόξα ἔβλεπον ἅπαντες, ἐλπίδι θαρσοῦντες ὡς πλήθει βελῶν ῥᾶστα τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς φυγὴν τρέψονται.

33 καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν Λαζοῖς ἅπασι ταῦτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίουν. ἑκατέρωθεν τε συχνὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύματα ἦει, ἕκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον.

34 Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἄλανοὶ μάλιστα συνεχῆ τὰ βέλη πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀφίεσαν. ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τὰ πολλὰ τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἀσπίδας ξυνέβαινε ἀποκρούεσθαι.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ Χοριάνη τῷ Περσῶν

35 ἄρχοντι βεβληῆσθαι ξυνέβη. ὑφ' ὅτου μέντοι οὗτος ἀνὴρ βληθείη, φανερὸν οὔδενὶ γέγονε· τύχη γάρ τινι<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ ὀμίλου ἰὼν ὁ ἄτρακτος ἐς τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν αὐχένα παγείς εὐθυωρὸν αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, ἐνός τε θανάτῳ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τε μάχη ἐκλίθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἡ νίκη

36 ἐχώρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ στόμα πεσὼν ἔκειτο, δρόμῳ δὲ πολλῷ ἐπὶ τὸ χανάκωμα οἱ βάρβαροι ἦεσαν, οἳ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν τοῖς Λαζοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες αἰρήσειν αὐτοβοεῖ τὸ τῶν ἐναν-

37 τίων στρατόπεδον. ἀλλὰ τις τῶν Ἄλανων εὐψυχίας<sup>3</sup> πέρι καὶ σώματος ἰσχύος<sup>4</sup> εὖ ἦκων,<sup>5</sup> τοξεύειν τε συχνὰ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα διαφερόντως ἐξεπιστάμενος, ἐς τοῦ χάρακος τὴν εἴσοδον στενο-

<sup>1</sup> τὰς Haury : ἐς τὰς MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τύχη γάρ τινι K : ἐπεὶ οὕτω πως L.

were neither able to charge their opponents, who were now on foot, nor could they break up their phalanx, because the horses, annoyed by the points of the spears and the clashing of the shields, balked; and so they all resorted to their bows, emboldened by the hope that by a multitude of missiles they would very easily turn their enemy to flight. The Romans likewise and all the Lazi began to do exactly the same thing. So from each side the arrows were flying in great numbers into both armies, and on both sides many men were falling. Now the Persians and Alani were discharging their missiles in a practically continuous stream and much faster than their opponents. However, the Roman shields checked the most of them.

In the course of this battle Chorienes, the commander of the Persians, happened to be hit. But by whom this man was wounded was not clear to anyone; for some chance guided the shaft as it came out of a crowded mass of men, fastened itself in the man's neck, and killed him outright, and by one man's death the battle was inclined and victory fell to the Romans. For as he fell from his horse to the ground on his face and lay there, the barbarians went in a wild rush to their stockade, while the Romans with the Lazi followed upon their heels and slew many, hoping to capture with one rush the camp of their opponents. But one of the Alani, who was a man of great courage and bodily strength and who knew unusually well how to shoot rapidly to either side, took his stand at the entrance of the

<sup>3</sup> εἰψυχίας Haury: ἐς εὐψυχίας MSS.

<sup>4</sup> εἰψυχίας—ἰσχύος K: εὐψυχίαν σώματος ἰσχύϊ L.

<sup>5</sup> εὐ ἦκων Dindorf: ἦκων MSS.



38 τάτην οὖσαν εἰστήκει, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐπιούσι  
 39 παρὰ δόξαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγίνετο. Ἰωάννης δέ,  
 ὁ τοῦ Θωμᾶ παῖς, μόνος ὡς ἀγχοτάτω παρ'  
 αὐτὸν ἦκων ἔξαπιναίως τὸν ἄνθρωπον δόρατι  
 ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῦ  
 στρατοπέδου ἐκράτησαν. καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ  
 ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη, ὡς ἐκάστῳ  
 δυνατὰ γέγονεν. αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ  
 ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα γενομένη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.  
 καὶ ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν στρατιὰ τοὺς ἐν Πέτρα  
 φρουροὺς τῷ τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πλήθει καὶ πᾶσι  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιρρώσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

IX

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Λαζοὶ  
 Δαγισθαῖον ἐς βασιλέα διέβαλλον, ἐς Βυζάντιον  
 ἦκοντες,<sup>1</sup> προδοσίαν τε καὶ μηδισμόν ἐπιφέροντες.  
 2 Πέρσαις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀναπεισθέντα οὐ  
 βεβουλῆσθαι καταπεπτωκότος τοῦ Πέτρας περι-  
 βόλου ἐπιβατεῦσαι, τοὺς τε πολεμίους θυλάκους  
 μεταξὺ ψάμμου ἐμπλησαμένους καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς  
 ἐπιβολὰς ἀντὶ λίθων ποιησαμένους τοῦ περιβόλου  
 3 ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ταύτη κρατύνασθαι. ἔλεγόν  
 τε ὡς Δαγισθαῖος, εἴτε χρήμασιν εἴτε ὀλιγωρίᾳ  
 ἐς τοῦτο ἠγμένος, τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐς ἕτερόν τινα  
 χρόνον ἀπέθετο, καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν  
 ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μεθῆκεν, ἧς γε οὐκέτι ἀντι-  
 4 λαβέσθαι οἶός τε ἐγεγόνει. αὐτὸν οὖν βασι-  
 λεὺς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι καθείρξας ἐτήρει· Βέσσαν

<sup>1</sup> ἦκοντες L : ἦκοντα K.



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δέ, ἐξ Ἰταλίας οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἤκοντα,  
στρατηγὸν Ἀρμενίων καταστησάμενος ἐς Λαζικὴν  
πέμπει, ἄρχειν ἐπαγγείλας τοῦ ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων  
5 στρατοῦ. οὐ δὴ καὶ Βενίλος, ὁ Βούζου ἀδελφός,  
ξὺν στρατῶ ἤδη σταλεῖς ἔτυχε καὶ Ὀδόναχός τε  
καὶ ὁ Βάβας ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Οὐλίγαγος Ἐρουλος  
γενος.

6 Ὁ τε Ναβέδης ἐσβαλὼν ἐς Λαζικὴν στρατῶ  
ἄλλο μὲν τι λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, Ἀβασγοῖς  
δὲ ἀποστᾶσιν ἀπὸ τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Λαζῶν ἐπι-  
χωριάσας τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, παῖδας τῶν ἐν  
σφίσι λογίμων ἐξήκοντα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ πρὸς  
7 αὐτῶν ἔλαβε. (τότε δὲ ποιούμενος ὁ Ναβέδης  
ὁδοῦ πάρεργον, καὶ Θεοδώραν Ὀψίτη ξυνοι-  
κήσαν (ὅς ἐγεγόνει Γουβάζου μὲν θεῖος, Λαζῶν  
δὲ βασιλεὺς) εὐρῶν ἐν Ἀψιλίοις εἶλεν, ἔς τε τὰ  
8 Περσῶν ἤθη ἀπήνεγκε. Ῥωμαία δὲ γένος ἡ  
γυνὴ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παλαιοῦ οἱ Λαζῶν  
βασιλεῖς ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμποντες βασιλέως τε  
γνώμη ξυνιόντες ἐς κῆδός τισι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
συγκλήτου βουλῆς γυναῖκας ἐνθένδε γαμετὰς  
9 ἐκομίζοντο. καὶ Γουβάζης ἀμέλει Ῥωμαίας  
γυναικὸς ἐγεγόνει γένος.<sup>1</sup>) ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα οἱ  
Ἀβασγοὶ οὗτοι ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.  
10 Ἐπειδὴ βασιλεῖς τοὺς σφετέρους καθεῖλον,  
ἠπέρ μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται, στρατιῶται Ῥω-  
μαίων πρὸς βασιλέως στελλόμενοι ἐπεχωρίαζόν-  
τε αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι  
11 τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν χώραν ἠξίου, καινὰ τε  
αὐτοῖς ἄττα ἐπέταττον. οἷσπερ Ἀβασγοὶ βιαιο-  
τέροις οὔσιν ἀτεχνῶς ἠχθοντο. δείσαντες οὖν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> γένος K: γόνος L.

Bessas, who had returned not long before from Italy, General of Armenia and sent him to Lazica with instructions to command the Roman army there. Venilus, the brother of Buzes, had also been sent there already with an army, as well as Odonachus, Babas from Thrace, and Uligagus of the Eruli.

Now Nabedes had invaded Lazica with an army, but he accomplished nothing of consequence beyond spending some time with this army among the Abasgi, who had revolted from the Romans and Lazi, and taking from them sixty children of their notables as hostages. It was at that time that Nabedes as an incident of his journey captured Theodora, the consort of Opsites (he was uncle of Gubazes and king of the Lazi), finding her among the Apsilii, and he carried her off to the land of Persia. Now this woman happened to be a Roman by birth, for the kings of the Lazi from ancient times had been sending to Byzantium, and, with the consent of the emperor, arranging marriages with some of the senators and taking home their wives from there. In fact Gubazes was sprung from a Roman family on his mother's side. But the reason why these Abasgi turned to revolt I shall now set forth.

When they had removed from power their own kings, as has been told by me above,<sup>1</sup> Roman soldiers sent by the emperor began to be quartered among them very generally, and they sought to annex the land to the Roman empire, imposing certain new regulations upon them. But because these were rather severe the Abasgi became exceedingly wroth. Fearing, consequently, that they would be mere

<sup>1</sup> Chap. iii. 21.

Ῥωμαίων δούλοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσονται, τοὺς ἄρχον-  
 τας αὐθις κατεστήσαντο σφίσιν Ὀψίτην μὲν  
 ὄνομα ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον,  
 12 Σκεπαρνᾶν δὲ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ἐς ἀγαθῶν  
 γὰρ ἐκπεπτωκότες ἀπόγνωσιν τὰ πρότερον δόξαντα  
 σφίσι μοχθηρὰ εἶναι τῶν ἐπιγενομένων ἅτε πονη-  
 ροτέρων ὄντων, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἀντηλλάσσοντο,  
 δύνάμιν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες  
 Πέρσαις ὡς λαθραιότατα προσεχώρησαν. ἅπερ  
 ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, Βέσσαν  
 ἐκέλευε στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 13 στείλαι.<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ πολλοὺς ἀπολεξάμενος τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας  
 αὐτοῖς Οὐλίγαγόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ  
 υἱόν, αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς ναυσὶν ἔπεμ-  
 ψεν.<sup>3</sup> ἐτύγχανε δὲ ἄτερος μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀβασγοῖς  
 ἡγουμένων, Σκεπαρνᾶς ὄνομα, ἐν Πέρσαις τινὰ  
 14 διατριβὴν ἔχων· μετὰ πεμπτος γὰρ ὀλίγω πρότε-  
 ρον παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφῆκτο.<sup>4</sup> ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων μαθὼν ἔφοδον, τοὺς τε Ἀβασγοὺς  
 ἅπαντας ἠγειρε καὶ ὑπαντιάζειν διὰ σπουδῆς  
 εἶχεν.  
 15 Ἔστι δὲ χῶρος μετὰ τοὺς Ἀψιλίας ὄρους ἐν  
 τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἀβασγίαν εἰσόδῳ τοιόσδε· ὄρος  
 ὑψηλὸν ἐκ τῶν Καυκασίων ἀρχόμενον καὶ κατὰ  
 βραχὺ ἐλασσούμενον τε καὶ ὑπολήγον ὥσπερ  
 τις κλίμαξ κατατείνει καὶ τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸν Εὐ-  
 16 ξεινον Πόντον. καὶ φρούριον μὲν ἐχυρώτατόν  
 τε καὶ μεγέθους πέρι ἀξιολογώτατον ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
 Ἀβασγοὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου

<sup>1</sup> ἄξιον: om. K, ἄξιον ἐπαγόμενον L.



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17. ἐδείκνυτο. οὐ δὴ καταφεύγοντες ἐκκρούουσιν αἰεὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐδαμῆ ἐχόντων τὴν δυσχωρίαν βιάζεσθαι. μία δὲ εἴσοδος εἰσάγουσά ἐστιν ἔς τε τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο καὶ ἔς τὴν ἄλλην Ἀβασγῶν χώραν, ἥπερ ἀνδράσι σύνδυο ἐρχομένοις ἀπόρευτος τυγχάνει οὔσα.
18. μηχανὴ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ὅτι μὴ κατ' ἀνδρα καὶ μόλις πεζεύοντα ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. τῆς τε ἀτραποῦ ταύτης ὑπέρκειται φάραγξ ἐσάγαν σκληρὰ ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου διήκουσα μέχρι ἔς τὴν
19. θάλασσαν. φέρεται δὲ καὶ προσηγορίαν τῆς φάραγγος ἀξίαν ὁ χῶρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἐλληνίζοντες οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι τὰ Τραχέα<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν.
20. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στόλος μεταξύ ὀρίων τῶν τε Ἀβασγῶν καὶ Ἀψιλίων κατέπλευσεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ καὶ Οὐλίγαγος ἔς τὴν γῆν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποβιβάσαντες πεζῇ ἐχώρουν, οἳ τε ναῦται ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἀπάσαις παρὰ τὴν ἠϊόνα
21. τῷ στρατῷ εἶποντο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν Τραχέων ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐξωπλισμένους τε ὀρῶσιν Ἀβασγούς ἅπαντας καὶ τῆς ἀτραποῦ ὑπερθεν ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην κατὰ τὴν φάραγγα ὅλην ἐν τάξει ἐστῶτας, ἀμηχανία τε πολλῇ εἶχοντο θέσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὰ σφίσι παρόντα οὐδαμῆ ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐν αὐτῷ πολλὰ λογισάμενος Ἰωάννης ἄκεσίην
22. τινα τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρε. τὸν γὰρ Οὐλίγαγον ξὺν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐάσας αὐτὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαγόμενος τὰς ἀκάτους ἐπλήρου. ἐρέσσοντές τε χῶρον τὸν τῶν Τραχέων περιῆλθόν τε καὶ διέβησαν ὅλον καὶ κατὰ νώτου τῶν
23. πολεμίων ταύτη ἐγένοντο. ἄραντες οὖν τὰ σημεῖα ἔς αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. Ἀβασγοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους

Here they always take refuge and repel the inroads of their enemies, who are in no way able to storm the difficult position. Indeed there is only one path leading to this fortress and to the rest of the land of the Abasgi, and this happens to be impassable for men marching by twos. For there is no possibility of getting along there except in single file and on foot, and that with difficulty. Above this path rises the side of an exceedingly rough gorge which extends from the fortress to the sea. And the place bears a name worthy of the gorge, for the inhabitants call it Trachea,<sup>1</sup> using a Greek word.

So the Roman fleet put in between the boundaries of the Abasgi and Apsilii, and John and Uligagus disembarked their troops and proceeded on foot, while the sailors followed the army along the coast with all the boats. And when they came close to Trachea, they beheld the entire force of the Abasgi fully armed and standing in order along the whole gorge above the path which I have just mentioned, whereupon they fell into great perplexity because they were quite unable to handle the situation before them, until John, after reasoning long with himself, discovered a remedy for the trouble. For leaving Uligagus there with the half of the army, he himself took the others and manned the boats. And by rowing they rounded the place where Trachea was and passed it entirely and thus got in the rear of the enemy. Thereupon the Romans raised their standards and advanced. The Abasgi, then,

<sup>1</sup> "Rugged."

---

<sup>1</sup> οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι τὰ τραχέα· L: οὕτω δὴ K.

<sup>2</sup> θέσθαι K: ὄπη θέσθαι L.



σφίσιν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐγκειμένους ἰδόντες ἐς ἄλκην  
 μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν ἐφύλασσαν,  
 ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν δὲ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ τραπόμενοι  
 πρόσω ἐχώρουν,<sup>1</sup> οὕτω τῷ δέει καὶ τῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἀμηχανία συμποδιζόμενοι ὥστε οὔτε τὴν πατρίαν  
 σφίσι δυσχωρίαν ἔτι διαγινώσκειν ἐδύναντο οὔτε  
 24 πη εὐπετῶς ἐνθένδε ἵεσαι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπισπόμενοί τε καὶ καταλαβόντες  
 πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. δρόμῳ τε ξὺν τοῖς φεύγουσιν  
 ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενοι ἀνακεκλιμένης ἔτι  
 ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῆς ταύτης πυλίδος· οἱ γὰρ φύ-  
 λακες ἐπιθεῖναι τὰς θύρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ  
 25 τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔτι ἐδέχοντο. τῶν τε φυγόντων  
 τοῖς διώκουσιν ἀναμιχθέντων ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας  
 ἵενται ἅπαντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπιθυμία τοῦ σώζεσθαι,  
 26 οἱ δὲ τοῦ τὸ φρούριον ἐξελεῖν. ἀνακεκλιμένας  
 οὖν τὰς πύλας εὐρόντες συνεισέβαλον<sup>3</sup> ἐς ταύτας  
 ἀλλήλοις. οἱ γὰρ πυλωροὶ οὔτε διακρίνειν ἀπὸ  
 τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀβασγοὺς εἶχον οὔτε τὰς  
 πύλας ὑπερβιαζομένου τοῦ ὀμίλου ἐπιτιθέσθαι.  
 27 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀβασγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ  
 περιβόλου γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἠλίσκοντο,  
 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων κεκρατηκέσαι οἰόμενοι  
 28 πόνῳ δυσκολωτέρῳ ἐνταῦθα ὀμίλου. τῶν γὰρ  
 οἰκιῶν συχνῶν τε οὐσῶν καὶ οὐ λίαν διεχουσῶν  
 ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρόπον τείχους πανταχόθεν  
 συμπεφραγμένων, Ἀβασγοὶ ἐς αὐτὰς ἀναβάντες  
 καὶ σθένει παντὶ ἀμυνόμενοι, τοὺς πολεμίους  
 κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔβαλλον, πόνῳ<sup>4</sup> καὶ φόβῳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πρόσω ἐχώρουν L: προσεχώρουν K.    <sup>2</sup> εἶχον K: ἰσχυρον L.

<sup>3</sup> εὐρόντες συνεισέβαλον K: ὀρώντες ξυνεισέβαλλον L.

<sup>4</sup> πόνῳ K: δέει L.



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τῷ ἐς παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἑλέω καὶ τῇ  
 ἐνθένδε ἀπορία ἐχόμενοι, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ἐμπρῆσαι  
 29 τὰς οἰκίας ἐς ἔννοϊαν ἦλθε. πῦρ τοίνυν αὐταῖς  
 πανταχόθεν ἀνάψαντες τοῦ ἀγῶνος παντάπασι  
 τούτου ἐκράτησαν. Ὀψίτης μὲν οὖν, ὁ τῶν  
 Ἀβασγῶν ἄρχων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ φυγεῖν  
 ἴσχυσεν, ἕς τε Οὐννοὺς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους καὶ  
 30 ὄρος τὸ Καυκάσιον ἀνεχώρησε. τοῖς δὲ δὴ  
 ἄλλοις ἢ ξὺν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐξηνθρακωμένοις τε-  
τεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη, ἢ ὑπὸ ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων  
 γεγονέναι χερσίν. ἐζώγησαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ  
 τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων γυναῖκας ξὺν γόνῳ παντί,  
 τοῦ τε φρουρίου τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος  
 καθεῖλον καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔρημον κατεστήσαντο  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. Ἀβασγοῖς μὲν οὖν τὰ  
 τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ἐν δὲ  
 Ἀψιλίοις ἐγένετο τάδε.

X

Ἀψίλιοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατήκοι Λαζῶν  
 τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. ἔστι δέ τι φρούριον ἐν  
 ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐχυρὸν μάλιστα· Τζιβιλὴν  
 2 αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. τῶν δὲ τισὶ ἐν  
 Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Τερδέτης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ εἶχε  
 τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ ἔθνει, Γουβάζη τῷ τῶν Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ  
 προσκεκρουκῶς τε καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχων, Πέρσαις  
 ὠμολόγησε λάθρα τοῦτο δὴ ἐνδώσειν τὸ φρού-  
 ριον, στρατεύμᾳ τε Περσῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐπὶ  
 3 ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει ἐς Ἀψιλίαν ἦει. καὶ ἐπεὶ

terror and with pity for their children and women, and consequently overcome with despair, until it occurred to the Romans to fire the houses. They accordingly set fire to them on all sides, and thus were completely victorious in this struggle. Now Opsites, the ruler of the Abasgi, succeeded in making his escape with only a few men, and withdrew to the neighbouring Huns and the Caucasus mountains. But the others were either charred and burned to ashes with their houses or fell into the hands of their enemy. The Romans also captured the women of their rulers with all their offspring, razed the defences of the fortress to the ground, and rendered the land desolate to a great distance. For the Abasgi, then, this was the result of their revolution. But among the Apsilii the following took place.

## X

THE Apsilii have been subjects of the Lazi from ancient times. Now there is in this country an exceedingly strong fortress which the natives call Tzibile. But one among the notables of the Lazi, Terdetes by name, who held the office of "magister,"<sup>1</sup> as it is called, in this nation, had had a falling out with Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, and was hostile to him; accordingly he secretly promised the Persians to hand over this particular fortress to them, and he came into Apsilia leading an army of Persians to accomplish this object. Then, when they came

<sup>1</sup> A military title equivalent to "General."

ἄγχιστα τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προτερήσας αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις οἱ Λαζοῖς ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτη ἔχοντες ἀπιστεῖν τῷ Λαζῶν ἄρχοντι οὐδαμῆ εἶχον, οὐδεμιᾶ ἐς αὐτὸν ὑποψία ἐχόμενοι. οὕτω τε ἀφικόμενον τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα τῷ φρουρίῳ 4 ὁ Τερδέτης ἐδέξατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μῆδοι οὐ Λαζικὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀψιλίαν ἔχεσθαι τότε πρὸς αὐτῶν ᾤοντο. οὔτε δὲ<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε Λαζοὶ ἀσχολία τῇ ἀμφὶ Πέτρα τε καὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ πιεζόμενοι Ἀψιλίοις ἐπαμύνειν ἔσχον.

5 Ἦν δέ τις γυνὴ τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίου, Ἀψιλία γένος, τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς μάλιστα. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐκτόπως ἐρασθεῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐξαπιναίως ὁ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατεύματος ἄρχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πειρᾶν ἤρξατο, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπεὶ οἱ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδὲν προὔχῳρει, βιάζεσθαι μελλήσει αὐτὴν οὐδεμιᾶ 6 ἐνεχείρησεν. οἷς δὴ ὀξύθυμοι οἱ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, αὐτὸν τε νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεληλυθότας ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε, παρανάλωμα τῆς τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐπιθυμίας γεγεννημένους, καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔσχεν αὐτός. Ἀψιλιοὶ τε Κόλχων διὰ τοῦτο ἀπέστησαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ σφᾶς πρὸς Περσῶν κακουμένους<sup>3</sup> προσποιεῖσθαι οὐδαμῆ ἤθελον.<sup>4</sup> 7 ἀλλὰ Γουβάζης Ῥωμαίων χιλίους καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Θωμᾶ υἱόν, οὐπερ ἔναγχος ἐπεμνήσθην, ἐπ'

<sup>1</sup> δὲ MSS. : Haury would prefer γάρ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρασθεῖς K : ὑπεραρασθεῖς L.

<sup>3</sup> κακουμένους K : καλουμένους L.



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αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν· ὅσπερ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ τιθασ-  
σεύων ἐπαγαγέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ ἔσχε καὶ Λαζῶν  
κατηκόους κατεστήσατο αὐθις. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
ἀμφὶ τε Ἀψιλίοις καὶ Τζιβιλῆ τῷ φρουρίῳ  
τῆδε ἐχώρησεν.

- 8 Ὑπὸ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον Χοσρόη ξυνέβη  
μηδὲ τὸν γόνον τῆ ἀπανθρωπία τῆ αὐτοῦ ἀνέ-  
παφον μεῖναι.<sup>1</sup> τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων ὁ πρεσβύ-  
τατος Ἀνασώζαδος ὄνομα (δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τῆ  
Περσῶν φωνῆ ἀθανατίζων) προσκεκρουκῶς αὐτῷ  
ἔτυχεν, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ τῆ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρα-  
νομία ἐξαμαρτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοῦ πατρὸς  
ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐς εὐνήν συνιών. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
πρῶτα φυγῆ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὁ Χοσρόης ἐζη-  
9 μίωσεν. ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Οὐαζαῖνη χώρα,  
ἀγαθὴ μάλιστα, οὗ δὴ πόλις Βηλαπατῶν κα-  
λουμένη οἰκεῖται, ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Κτησιφῶντος  
10 διέχουσα. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπαγγείλαντος<sup>2</sup>  
Ἀνασώζαδος οὗτος διατριβὴν εἶχε.

- Τότε δὲ τῷ Χοσρόη χαλεπώτατα νοσῆσαι  
ξυνέβη, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφα-  
νισθῆναι· νοσώδης γὰρ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης φύσει.  
11 (ἀμέλει καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς πανταχόθεν πολλάκις  
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Τριβοῦνος ὁ  
12 ἰατρὸς ἦν, Παλαιστῆνος γένος. ὁ δὲ Τριβοῦνος  
οὗτος λόγιος μὲν ἦν καὶ τὰ ἐς τέχνην τὴν  
ἰατρικὴν οὐδενὸς ἤσσω, ἄλλως δὲ σώφρων τε  
καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας ἐς ἄκρον ἦκων.  
13 καὶ ποτε Χοσρόην κακῶς τοῦ σώματος ἔχοντα  
ἰασάμενος ἀπηλλάγη ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας,

<sup>1</sup> μεῖναι K: εἶναι L.

recently mentioned, against them; this man succeeded, after long efforts at conciliation, in winning them over without a fight and made them once more subjects of the Lazi. Such was the story of the Apsilii and the fortress of Tzibile.

At about this time it came about that Chosroes through his inhumanity did not remain unscathed even as regards his own offspring. For the eldest of his sons named Anasozadus (this means in the Persian tongue "Immortal") chanced to have a falling out with him, having been guilty of many breaches of conduct, and in particular having consorted with the wives of his father without the least hesitation. At first then Chosroes punished his son by banishment. Now there is a certain land in Persia called Vazaine, an exceedingly good country, in which the city named Belapaton is situated, seven days' journey distant from Ctesiphon. There at the command of his father this Anasozadus was living.

But at that time it so fell out that Chosroes became very violently ill, so that it was actually said that he had passed from the world; for Chosroes was by nature of a sickly disposition. Certain it is that he often gathered around him physicians from all parts, among whom was the physician Tribunus, a Palestinian by birth. This Tribunus was a man of great learning and inferior to none in medical skill, and was furthermore a temperate and God-fearing man of the highest worth. On one occasion he had cured Chosroes of a serious illness, and when he departed from the land of the Persians, he carried

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<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγγείλαντος Herwerden: ἀπαγγείλαντος MSS.



δῶρα πολλά τε καὶ λόγου ἄξια πρὸς τοῦ  
 14 ἀνθρώπου κεκομισμένος. ἠνίκα τοίνυν ἡ ταύ-  
 τῆς<sup>1</sup> προτέρα ἐκεχειρία ἐγένετο, Ἰουστινιανὸν  
 βασιλέα Χοσρόης τὸν ἰατρὸν τοῦτον συνδια-  
 τησόμενον αὐτῷ ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἤτησε δοῦναι. τῆς  
 τέ οἱ αἰτήσεως<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτελεσθείσης, ὥσπερ μοι  
 ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Τριβοῦνον ὁ  
 15 Χοσρόης αἰτεῖσθαι ὅτου ἂν δέηται. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο  
 οὐδὲν ἤτει τῶν πάντων χρημάτων ἢ ὥστε οἱ  
 Ῥωμαίων τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς<sup>3</sup> Χοσρόην  
 16 ἀφείναι. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄλλους τε τρισχιλίους ἀφῆκε  
 καὶ ὅσους πρὸς ὄνομα ἐξητήσατο ἐν τοῖς αἰχμα-  
 λώτοις λογίμους ὄντας, κλέος τε μέγα ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἔργου τούτου ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὁ Τριβοῦνος  
 ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. )  
 17 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀνασώζαδος τὰ Χοσρόη τῷ πατρὶ  
 ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ ξυμπεσόντα ἔγνω, τῆς βασιλείας  
 18 ἐπιβατεύων, νεώτερα πράγματα ἔπρασσε. τοῦ  
 τε πατρός οἱ ραΐσαντος, οὐδὲν τι ἤσσον τήν τε  
 πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀποστήσας καὶ ὄπλα ἀντάρας ἐς  
 19 τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζων ἦει. ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης  
 ἀκούσας στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Φάβριζον  
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε. νικήσας οὖν τῇ μάχῃ ὁ  
 Φάβριζος ὑποχείριόν τε τὸν Ἀνασώζαδον πε-  
 ποιημένος παρὰ Χοσρόην οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον  
 20 ἤνεγκε. καὶ ὅς τοὺς τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 ἐλωβήσατο, οὐ τὰς ὄψεις ἀφελόμενος, ἀλλὰ  
βλέφαρά τε ἄνω καὶ κάτω ἀκοσμία πολλῇ  
 21 αντιστρέψας. περόνην γὰρ σιδηρὰν πυρακτώσας  
 τινὰ καὶ ταύτη μύοντοιν τοῖν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀφ-  
 θαλμοῖν τὰ ἔξω χρίσας, οὕτω δὴ τῶν βλεφάρων

<sup>1</sup> ταύτης MSS. : ταύτη editors.



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22 τὸν κόσμον λωβήσασθαι<sup>1</sup> ἔσχε. ταῦτα δὲ Χοσρόης τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἐποίει μόνον, ὅπως ἂν τῷ παιδὶ ἀναστέλληται ἢ ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔλπις. ἄνδρα γὰρ λώβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι βασιλέα καθίστασθαι Πέρσαις, ὥσπερ κὰν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

XI

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ἀνασωζάδῳ τὰ τε τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ τρόπου ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· τὸ δὲ πέμπτον  
 2 ἔτος τῆς ἐκεχειρίας διήνυστο, καὶ Πέτρον μὲν ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔστειλεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐῷ  
 3 παντάπασι διοικήσονται.<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔψεσθαί οἱ ἄνδρα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν ταῦτα διαθησόμενον, ὅπη ἑκατέροις  
 4 ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. Ἰσδιγούσναν τε αὐθις οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἔπεμψεν, ὄφρυάζοντά τε καὶ ἀλαζονεῖα τινὶ ἀμυθήτῳ ἐχόμενον, οὐ δὴ ὅ τε τῦφος καὶ τὸ φύσημα φορητὸν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων  
 5 οὐδενὶ ἔδοξεν. ἐπήγετο δὲ τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἐπομένων τε καὶ θεραπευόντων<sup>3</sup> πάμπολυ πλῆθος. εἴκασεν ἂν  
 6 τις ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἰέναι. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δύο τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογιμωτάτων, οἱ δὴ καὶ διαδήματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν χρυσᾶ  
 7 ἐφόρουν. ἔδακνέ τε τοὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀνθρώπους,

<sup>1</sup> λωβήσασθαι L: βιάζεσθαι K.

<sup>2</sup> διοικήσονται: διοικήσονται KH, διοικήσεται L.

they were shut, thus marring the beauty of the lids. Now Chosroes did this with only one end in view, that his son's hope of achieving the royal power might be frustrated. For the law does not permit a man who has a disfigurement to become king over the Persians, as has been stated by me in the preceding narrative also.<sup>1</sup>

## XI

As for Anasozadus, then, his fortune and his character brought him to this. And when the fifth year of the truce had now come to an end, the Emperor Justinian sent Petrus, a patrician and holding the office of "Magister," to Chosroes, in order that they might arrange in every detail the treaty for the settlement of the East. But Chosroes sent him away, promising that after no long time he would be followed by the man who would arrange these matters in a manner advantageous to both parties. And not long afterwards he sent Isdigousnas for the second time, a man of pretentious demeanour and filled with a kind of unspeakable villainy, whose pompous puffing and blowing no one of the Romans could bear. And he brought with him his wife and daughters and his brother, and was followed by a huge throng of retainers. One would have supposed that the good men were going out for battle. In his company also were two of the most notable men among the Persians, who actually wore golden diadems on their heads. And it irritated the people

<sup>1</sup> Book I. xi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> θεραπευόντων K: θεραπόντων LW.

ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὐ κατὰ  
πρεσβευτήν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον φιλοφρο-  
σύνης τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας ἠξίωσε.

- 8 Βραδύκιος μέντοι ξὺν αὐτῶ ἐς Βυζάντιον  
οὐκέτι ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ Χοσρόην φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐξ  
ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαι, ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ  
ἐπενεγκόντα, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ὁμοτράπεζος τῷ  
9 Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ γέγονεν. “οὐ γὰρ ἄν,” ἔφη,  
“ἐρμηνεύς γε ὢν ἐς τοῦτο ἀξιώματος πρὸς βασι-  
λέως ἀφίκετο, εἰ μὴ καταπροδοὺς ἔτυχε τὰ  
Περσῶν πράγματα.” τινὲς δὲ τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν  
αὐτὸν διαβαλεῖν φασὶν, ὡς λάθρα Ῥωμαίοις ἐς  
10 λόγους ἔλθοι. τὰ δὲ πρῶτα ὁ πρεσβευτῆς οὗτος  
βασιλεῖ ἐντυχὼν οὐ μικρὸν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ, οὐ  
μέγα εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ ἠτιᾶτο Ῥωμαίους<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὴν  
ἐκεχειρίαν ἠδικηκέναι, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς  
τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδους Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐν  
σπονδαῖς λυμήνασθαι φάσκων, ἄλλα τε οὐκ  
ἀξιόλογα ἐπιφέρων<sup>2</sup> ἐγκλήματα, ὧνπέρ μοι  
ἐπιμνησθῆναι οὐτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι.<sup>3</sup>
- 11 Ἐν μὲν οὖν Βυζαντίῳ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο.  
Βέσσας δὲ παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Πέτρας  
ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν<sup>4</sup>  
ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυσσον, ἵνα δὴ καὶ Δαγισθαῖος  
τὰ πρότερα τὴν διώρυχα πεποιημένος τὸν περίβο-  
λον ταύτῃ καθεῖλεν. ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ἐς τὸν  
12 αὐτὸν χῶρον ὄρυσσον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. οἱ τὴν  
πόλιν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταύτην δειμάμενοι, ἐπὶ πέτρας  
μὲν ἔθεντο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαίους Hoeschel : ῥωμαίοις MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιφέρων W : φέρων KL.

<sup>3</sup> οὐτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι : οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον W.



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13 θεμέλια, ἐνιαχῆ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ χώματος αὐτὰ  
 ξυνέβαινε κείσθαι. ἦν δέ τις τοῦ τείχους μοῖρα  
 εἰς τῆς πόλεως τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οὐ λίαν εὐρεία,  
 ἧς δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς σκληρᾶς τε  
 14 καὶ ἀμηχάνου<sup>1</sup> τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ θεμέλια ἐτεκ-  
 τήναντο. ταύτην τοίνυν τὴν μοῖραν Δαγισθαῖός  
 τε τὰ πρότερα καὶ τανῦν Βέσσας διώρυσσον  
 ὁμοίως, οὐκ ἐφείσης<sup>2</sup> τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως  
 σφίσι περαιτέρω ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς διώρυχος  
 μῆκος συμμετρούσης τε αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρυτανευού-  
 σης εἰκότως.  
 15 Ἦνίκα οὖν Πέρσαι μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπα-  
 γωγὴν τὸ καταπεπτωκὸς τοῦτο τοῦ τείχους  
 ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ἤθελον, οὐ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα  
 τὴν οἰκοδομίαν πεποίηνται, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 16 κάχληκος, τοῦ κενωθέντα ἐμπλησάμενοι χώρον  
 δοκοῦς παχείας αὐτοῦ ὑπερθευ ἔθεντο, ἄσπερ  
 ἐνδελεχέστατα ξύσαντες ὁμαλὰς τε παντάπασι  
 καταστησάμενοι ἔξευξαν μὲν εἰς ἀλλήλας εἰς  
 μέγα τι εὖρος, κρηπίδα δὲ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ θεμε-  
 λίων ποιησάμενοι τοῦ περιβόλου καθύπερθεν  
 αὐτῶν ἐτεκτήναντο τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμπείρως.  
 17 ὅπερ οὐ ξυνέντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνερθεν τῶν θεμελίων  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διώρυχα ᾤοντο. καὶ τὸν χώρον  
 κενώσαντες ὅλον ἐκ τῶν δοκῶν ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην  
 ἀρτίως ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς γῆς τὸν μὲν περίβολον  
 κατασεῖσαι κατὰ πολὺ ἴσχυσαν, μοῖρά τε αὐτοῦ  
 ἐξαπιναίως κατεπεπτώκει, οὐ μέντοι οὔτε πη ἐπὶ  
 θάτερα τὸ πεπτωκὸς τοῦτο ἐκλίθη οὔτε τις αὐτῶ  
 τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολὴ ξυνεταράχθη, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνὲς

<sup>1</sup> ἀμηχάνου L : ἀμηχάνου ὀρύσσεσθαι K.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφείσης Suidas : ἀφείσης K, ἐνδιδούσης L.

most part upon rock, but here and there they were allowed to rest upon earth. And there was such a portion of the wall on the west side of the city of no great extent, on either side of which they had constructed the foundations of the circuit-wall upon hard, unyielding rock. This was the portion which Dagisthaeus on the previous occasion and now Bessas likewise undermined, the character of the ground not permitting them to go further, but quite naturally determining the length of the trench for them and controlling it naturally.

Consequently when the Persians, after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus, wished to build up this part of the wall which had fallen down, they did not follow the previous plan in its construction, but did as follows. Filling the excavated space with gravel, they laid upon it heavy timbers which they had planed very thoroughly, making them entirely smooth, and then they bound them together so as to cover a wide space; these then they used as a base instead of foundation stones, and upon them they skilfully carried out the construction of the circuit-wall. This was not understood by the Romans and they thought they were making their ditch under the foundations. But by excavating the entire space under the timbers which I have just mentioned and carrying their work across most of the ground they did succeed in damaging the wall seriously, and a portion of it had actually dropped down suddenly, but nevertheless this fallen part did not incline at all to either side nor was one of the courses of stone deranged, but the whole section

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<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς Suidas : αὐτοῦς K, αὐτό L.



ὄλον εὐθείᾳ τινὶ καταβάσει, ὥσπερ ἐκ μηχανῆς,  
 ἐς τὸν κενωθέντα χῶρον καταβὰν ἔστη, καὶ τὴν  
 οἰκείαν ἐφύλασσε χώραν, οὐκ ἐς ὕψος ὅσον τὰ  
 18 πρότερα, ἀλλ' ἐς τι<sup>1</sup> ἦσσαν. κενωθέντος οὖν  
 παντὸς τοῦ τῶν δοκῶν ἔνερθεν χώρου ὑφιζάνειν  
 αὐτὰς ἐνταῦθα ξὺν τῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς οἰκοδομίᾳ  
 πάσῃ ξυνέβη.

19 Τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδ' ὡς ἐσβατὸν ἐγεγόνει τὸ  
 τεῖχος. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Περσῶν ὄμιλος, ἡνίκα πολὺς  
 ξὺν τῷ Μερμερόῃ ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε, μέγα τι χρῆμα  
 τῇ πρόσθεν οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐνθέμενοι ὑψηλὸν ἐσάγαν  
 20 τὸν περίβολον ἐτεκτήναντο. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν  
 ἐπειδὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ κατασεισθὲν αὐθις  
 ἔστηκός, εἶδον, διηποροῦντό τε καὶ ἀμηχανία  
 21 πολλῇ εἶχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ διορύσσειν ἔτι ἠδύναντο,  
 ἐς τοῦτο ἀποκεκριμένης<sup>2</sup> τῆς κατώρυχος σφίσι,  
 κριῶ τε χρῆσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 ἀνάντει ἐτειχομάχουν, ἢ δὲ μηχανὴ αὕτη ἐφέλ-  
 κεσθαι οὐχ οἷα τέ ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀμαλῶ  
 τε καὶ λίαν ὑπτίῳ.

22 Τύχῃ δὲ τινὶ ξυνεκύρησεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατῷ εἶναι βαρβάρων τῶν Σαβείρων ὀλίγους  
 23 τινὰς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. οἱ Σάβειροι ἔθνος μὲν  
 ἐστιν Οὐννικόν, ὠκηνται δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ Καυκάσια  
 ὄρη, πάμπολυ πλῆθος μὲν ἐσάγαν ὄντες, ἐς  
 24 ἀρχὰς δὲ πολλὰς ἐπιεικῶς διηρημένοι. τούτων  
 δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ μὲν τινὲς εἰσι τῷ Ῥωμαίων  
 αὐτοκράτορι, οἱ δὲ τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ γνώριμοι. τοῖν τε βασιλέοιν ἑκάτερος  
 χρυσίον εἰώθει τακτὸν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνσπόνδοις  
 προῖεσθαι, οὐκ ἐπέτειον μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα ἂν ἐς  
 25 τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἢ χρεῖα ἐνάγοι. τότε οὖν Ἴου-



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στινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν Σαβείρων τοὺς οἱ  
ἐπιτηδεῖους ἐς τὴν ὀμαιχμίαν παρακαλῶν ἔστειλέ  
26 τινὰ τὸν τὰ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοὺς κομιοῦντα. ὁ  
δὲ (πολεμίων γὰρ μεταξὺ ὄντων ἐς ὄρη τὰ  
Καυκάσια ἵεναι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ  
χρήματα ἐπαγόμενος οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν) ἀφικνεῖται  
μὲν παρά τε τὸν Βέσσαν καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων  
στρατόπεδον, ὅπερ ἐς τὴν Πέτρας πολιορκίαν  
καθίστατο, παρὰ δὲ τοὺς Σαβείρους πέμψας  
ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν τινὰς ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς τὰ  
χρήματα ληψομένους παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκειν, οἳ τε  
βάρβαροι τρεῖς ἀπολεξάμενοι τῶν ἐν σφίσιν  
ἀρχόντων, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικὴν εὐθὺς  
ἔπεμψαν· οἱ δὲ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ξὺν τῷ  
Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς τήνδε τὴν τειχομαχίαν  
κατέστησαν.

27 Οὗτοι ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους εἶδον ἀπογνόντας τε  
καὶ ἀπορουμένους τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι<sup>1</sup>, μηχανὴν τινα  
ἐπετεχνήσαντο, οἷα οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Περσῶν  
τινί, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε·  
καίτοι τεχνιτῶν μὲν πολὺς ὄμιλος ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ  
28 πολιτεία γέγονέ τε αἰεὶ καὶ τανῦν ἔστιν. ἐς  
χρείαν δὲ πολλάκις ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα κατέστη-  
σαν τῆς μηχανῆς ἑκάτεροι ταύτης, ἐς ἐρύματα  
τειχομαχοῦντες ἐν χωρίοις σκληροῖς καὶ δυσβάτοις  
τισὶ κείμενα· ἀλλ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα  
τοῦτο γεγένηται ὅπερ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις  
τανῦν γέγονεν· οὕτως αἰεὶ προϊόντι τῷ χρόνῳ  
συννεωτερίζει τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἐπινοίας  
29 φιλεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ φύσις. κριὸν γὰρ αὐτο-  
σχεδιάζουσιν οἱ Σάβειροι οὗτοι, οὐχ ἢπερ εἰώθει,  
30 ἀλλὰ καινουργήσαντες ἐτέρῳ τῷ τρόπῳ. οὐ γὰρ

ingly, the Emperor Justinian, by way of inviting those of the Sabiri who were friendly to him to a fighting alliance, had sent a man who was to convey the money to them. But this man, seeing that, with enemies between, he could in no wise travel in safety into the Caucasus region, particularly when carrying money, went only as far as Bessas and the Roman army that was engaged in besieging Petra, and from there he sent to the Sabiri, bidding some of them who were to receive the money to come to him with all speed; whereupon the Sabiri selected three of their leading men and straightway sent them with a small escort into Lazica. These, then, were the men who, upon arriving there, had entered into the attack on the wall with the Roman army.

Now when these Sabiri saw that the Romans were in despair and at a loss how to handle the situation, they devised a contrivance, such as had never been conceived by anyone else of the Romans or of the Persians since men have existed, although there have always been and now are great numbers of engineers in both countries. And though both nations have often been in need of this device throughout their history, in storming the walls of fortresses situated on any rough and difficult ground, yet not to a single one of them has come this idea which now occurred to these barbarians. Thus as time goes on human ingenuity is ever wont to keep pace with it by discovering new devices. For these Sabiri improvised a ram, not in the customary form, but using a new method which was their innovation. They did not

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<sup>1</sup> ἀπογνόντας—θέσθαι K: ἀπογνόντας, ἐς τειχομαχίαν κατέστησαν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ῥωμαίων ἀπορουμένων καὶ μὴ ἔχόντων εὖ αὐτοῖς τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι σάβειροι L.

δοκοὺς ἐς τὴν μηχανὴν ταύτην, οὐκ ὀρθάς, οὐκ ἐγκαρσίας ἐμβέβληνται, ἀλλὰ ῥάβδους παχείας τινὰς ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδέοντες, καὶ αὐτὰς ἀντὶ τῶν δοκῶν πανταχόθι ἐναρμοσάμενοι, βύρσαις τε τὴν μηχανὴν καλύψαντες ὅλην τὸ τοῦ κριοῦ διεσώσαντο σχῆμα, μίαν δοκὸν μόνην, ἥπερ εἴθισται, κατὰ μέσσην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀλύσειν ἀναρτήσαντες χαλαραῖς τισίν, ἥσπερ τὸ ἄκρον ὄξυ γεγενημένον καὶ σιδήρῳ περικαλυφθὲν ὥσπερ βέλους ἀκίς ἔμελλε συχνὰ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι.

31 οὕτω δὲ κούφην τὴν μηχανὴν ἀπειργάσαντο, ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτὴν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἔνδον ὄντων ἐφέλκεσθαι ἢ διωθεῖσθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' ἄνδρες τεσσαράκοντα, οἱ καὶ τὴν δοκὸν ἀνασύρειν τε καὶ κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐμβάλλεσθαι ἔμελλον, ἔνδον τῆς μηχανῆς ὄντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βυρσῶν καλυπτόμενοι ἔφερον τὸν κριὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

32 Τρεῖς μὲν οὗτοι οἱ βάρβαροι μηχανὰς τοιαύτας εἰργάσαντο, τὰς δοκοὺς ξὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ ἐκ τῶν κριῶν ἀφελόμενοι, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐφέλκειν ὑποδύντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστην οὐχ ἦσσους ἢ κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεχθέντες ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ τείχους ἔθεντο.

33 ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ μηχανῆς ἐκάστης ἕτεροι ἴσταντο, τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κράνεσι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κεκαλυμμένοι καὶ κοντοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡνπερ τὰ ἄκρα σιδηρίοις ἀγκιστροειδέσιν ἐρήρειστο, τούτου δὴ παρεσκευασμένων<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα,<sup>2</sup> ὅπως, ἐπειδὴν ἢ τοῦ κριοῦ ἐς τὸν περίβολον ἐμβολὴ ξυγγέη τὰς τῶν λίθων ἐπιβολάς, τούτοις δὴ τοῖς



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34 κοντοῖς περιαιρεῖν τε τοὺς ξυγχεομένους τῶν λίθων  
καὶ ἀπορρίπτειν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν  
ἔργου εἶχοντο καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἤδη συχναῖς ταῖς  
ἐμβολαῖς κατεσεῖετο, οἱ δὲ τῶν μηχανῶν ἐφ'  
ἐκάτερα ὄντες τοῖς ἀγκιστροειδέσι κοντοῖς τῶν  
λίθων τοὺς ξυνταρασσομένους ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν  
οἰκοδομίαν ξυγθήκης ἐρρίπτουν, ἀλώσεσθαί τε ἡ  
πόλις αὐτίκα <sup>δ</sup> μάλα ἐπίδοξος ἦν.

35 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπενόουν τάδε. ξύλινον πύργον,  
ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ παρεσκεύαστο, καθύ-  
περθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτίθεντο, ἀνδρῶν ἔμπλεων  
τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχιμωτάτων, ἤλοις τε σιδηροῖς  
καὶ θώραξι τὰς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα  
36 περιβαλόντων. ἀγγεῖα δὲ θείου τε καὶ ἀσφάλτου  
ἐμπλησάμενοι καὶ φαρμάκου ὅπερ Μῆδοι μὲν  
νάφθαν καλοῦσιν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Μηδείας ἔλαιον,  
πυρί τε ταῦτα ὑψάψαντες ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς τῶν  
κριῶν ἔβαλλον, ἄσπερ ὀλίγου ἐμπιπράναι πάσας  
37 ἐδέησαν.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οἱ. παρὰ ταύτας, ὥσπερ μοι  
ἐρρήθη, εστωτες, τοῖς κοντοῖς, ὡνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην  
ἀρτίως, ἐνδελεχέστατα περιαιροῦντες τὰ βυλ-  
λόμενα καὶ περικαθαίροντες, ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος  
38 ἐκ τῶν μηχανῶν εὐθύς ἐρρίπτουν. οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ  
δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀνθέξειν ὑπώπτειον· τὸ  
γὰρ πῦρ οὐ προσψαύσειεν ἐνεπίμπρα αὐτίκα, εἰ  
μὴ εὐθυωρὸν ἀποβληθείη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσ-  
σετο τῆδε.

39 Βέσσας δὲ αὐτὸς τεθωρακισμένος καὶ ἅπαν  
ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα κλίμακας πολλὰς ἐς τὸ  
40 πεπτωκὸς τοῦ τεύχους προῆγε. καὶ λόγῳ τοσοῦ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐδέησαν Haury: ἐδέησεν MSS.

poles to loosen and pull down such stones as were dislodged. So the Romans set to work and the wall was already being shaken by frequent blows, while those who were on both sides of the engines, using their hooked poles, were pulling down the stones as they were dislodged from their setting in the masonry, and it seemed certain that the city would be captured instantly.

But the Persians hit on the following plan. They placed on the top of the circuit-wall a wooden tower which had been made ready by them long before, filling it with their most warlike men, who had their heads and the rest of their bodies protected by iron nails and corselets. And they had filled pots with sulphur and bitumen and the substance which the Persians call "naphtha"<sup>1</sup> and the Greeks "Medea's oil," and they now set fire to these and commenced to throw them upon the sheds of the rams, and they came within a little of burning them all. But the men standing beside them, as I have said, by means of the poles which I have just mentioned kept removing these missiles with the greatest determination and clearing them off, so that they hurled everything down to the ground from the engines as soon as it fell. But they could not expect to hold out long in this work; for the fire kindled instantly whatever it touched, unless it was immediately thrown off. Such then was the course of events here.

But Bessas, who had himself donned his corselet and put his whole army under arms, began to move forward many ladders to the part of the wall which had sunk. And after stirring their courage with a

<sup>1</sup> Bitumen and naphtha were Persian products.



τον παραθαρρύνας, ὅσον μὴ ἀμβλῦναι τοῦ και-  
 ροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἔργοις τῆς παρακελεύσεως τὰ  
 λοιπὰ ἐνειμεν. ἀνὴρ γὰρ πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα  
 γεγυῶς ἐτῶν καὶ παντάπασιν ~~ἔξωρος~~ ὦν ἤδη  
 41 πρῶτος ἐπέβη τῆς κλίμακος. ἐνταῦθα μάχη καὶ  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπίδειξις γίνεται Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις  
 οἷαν ἔγωγε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οὐδαμῆ οἶμαι  
 42 ξυνενεχθῆναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ βαρβάρων πλῆθος εἰς  
 δισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους ξυνήει, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐς  
 43 ἑξακισχιλίους ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκα-  
 τέρωθεν ὅσοι οὐ διεφθάρησαν τραυματῖαι σχεδόν  
 τι <sup>γεγύνασι</sup> πάντες, ὀλίγοις τε λίαν ἐπ' ἀθώοις  
 τοῖς σώμασι περιεῖναι ξυνέβη. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν  
 τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἐβιάζοντο δυνάμει τῆ πάση, Πέρσαι  
 44 δὲ αὐτοὺς πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπεκρούοντο. ἀμφοτέρω-  
 θεν δὲ κτεινομένων πολλῶν οὐ μακρὰν που  
 ἐγένοντο τοῦ ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον Πέρσαι.  
 ὠθισμοῦ γὰρ πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν κλιμάκων ὑπερ-  
 βολῇ γεγενημένου ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων συχνοὶ ἅτε  
 πολεμίοις καθύπερθεν οὔσι μαχόμενοι ἔθνησκον  
 καὶ Βέσσας ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πεσῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 45 ἔκειτο. καὶ τότε δὴ κραυγῆς ἐξαισίας πρὸς  
 ἀμφοτέρων γεγενημένης οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι παντα-  
 χόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔβαλον, οἱ δὲ δορυ-  
 φόροι ξυνέστησάν τε σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ  
 κράνη μὲν ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἔχοντες, θώρακας  
 δὲ ἀμπεχόμενοι πάντες, ἔτι μέντοι καθύπερθεν  
 ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραξάμενοι καὶ ἐν χρῶ ξυνιόντες  
 ἀλλήλοις, ὀροφῆς αὐτῷ σχῆμα ἐποίουν καὶ τὸν τε  
 στρατηγὸν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἔκρυψαν καὶ τὰ  
 46 βαλλόμενα παντὶ σθένει ἀπεκρούοντο. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πεσῶν K: ἐκπεσῶν L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πάταγος μὲν τῶν αἰὲ πεμπομένων κὰν ταῖς  
 ἀσπίσιν τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄπλοις ἀποκαυλιζο-  
 μένων πολὺς ἐγεγόνει, κραυγῇ δὲ καὶ ἄσθματι  
 47 καὶ τάλαιπωρία ἕκαστος εἶχετο. Ῥωμαῖοί τε  
 ἅπαντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἀμύνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες  
 ἔβαλλον<sup>1</sup> ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρὸν,  
 καὶ ταύτη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέστελλον.

48 Τότε δὴ ὁ Βέσσας (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξανίστασθαι εἶχε,  
 τῆς ὀπλίσεως ἀνιστατούσης, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ  
 σώματός οἱ οὐκ εὐσταλοῦς ὄντος, ἦν γὰρ οὗτος  
 ἀνὴρ εὐσαρκός τε καί, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐσχατογέρων)  
 οὐκ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐξέπεσε, καίπερ ἐς τοσοῦτον  
 κινδύνου ἦκων, ἀλλὰ βουλευεταί τι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνι-  
 δίου ὧπερ<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα  
 49 διασώσασθαι ἔσχε. τοῖς γὰρ δορυφόροις ἐπέ-  
 στελλε σύρειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκ ποδὸς καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω  
 50 τοῦ τείχους ἐφέλκειν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.  
 καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἔσυρον, οἱ<sup>3</sup> δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὑπεχώ-  
 ρουν, τὰς μὲν ἀσπίδας ὑπερθεν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔχον-  
 τες, τοσαύτην δὲ ποιούμενοι βάδισιν ὅσον ἐκεῖνος  
 ἐσύρετο, ὡς μὴ ἀπαρακάλυπτος γεγωνὸς πρὸς τῶν  
 51 πολεμίων βληθείη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Βέσσας ἐν τῷ ἀσφα-  
 λειῖ ἐγεγόνει, ἐξανίστατό τε καὶ παρακελευσάμενος  
 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦει, τῆς τε κλίμακος ἐπιβατεύσας  
 52 αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν ὤρμητο. ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι πάντες ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεδείκ-  
 νυντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια. περίφοβοί τε γενόμενοι  
 Πέρσαι καιρὸν σφίσι τινὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους διδόναι  
 ἤτουν, ὅπως συσκευασάμενοι ἀπαλλάσσωνται  
 53 τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες. Βέσσας δὲ δολώσεις αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλλον L: ἔβαλον K.

<sup>2</sup> ὧπερ: ὅπερ K.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ—ἔσυρον, οἱ K: αὐτὸν μὲν ἔσυρον. καὶ αὐτοί L.

the missiles which were thrown continually and blunted on the shields and other armour, and at the same time each man was shouting and panting and exerting himself to the utmost. Meanwhile all the Romans, in their eagerness to defend their general, were shooting at the wall, stopping not for an instant, seeking thus to check the enemy.

In this crisis Bessas distinguished himself; though he could not get on his feet on account of the impediment of his armour and also because his body was not nimble (for this man was fleshy and, as said, very old), still he did not yield to helpless despair, even when he had come into such great danger, but formed a plan on the spur of the moment by which he succeeded in saving both himself and the Roman cause. For he directed his bodyguards to drag him by the foot and thus pull him very far from the wall, and they carried out this order. And so, while some were dragging him, others were retreating with him, holding their shields above him and toward each other, and walking at the same speed as he was being dragged, so that he might not, through becoming uncovered, be hit by the enemy. Then as soon as Bessas had reached safety, he got on his feet, and urging his men forward went toward the wall, and setting foot on the ladder once more made haste to mount it. And all the Romans following behind him made a display of real heroism against the enemy. Then the Persians became terrified and begged their opponents to give them some time, in order that they might pack up and get out of the way when they handed over the city. But Bessas suspected

ἐπιτεχνάσασθαι<sup>1</sup> ὑποτοπάζων, ὅπως μεταξύ κρατύνωνται τὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὀχύρωμα, τὴν μὲν ξυμβολὴν καταπαύειν ἔφη οὐχ οἷός τε εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ βουλομένους αὐτῷ ξυγγενέσθαι, τῶν στρατοπέδων μαχομένων, οὐδέν τι ἤσσου εἰς ἑτέραν τινὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἶναί τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν, δείξας τι<sup>2</sup> χωρίου αὐτοῖς.

54 Τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τὸν λόγον γίνεται μὲν αὐθις καρτερά τις μάχη καὶ ὠθισμὸς πολὺς, ἔτι δὲ ἀγχωμάλου τῆς ξυμβολῆς οὔσης ξυνηνέχθη τὸ τείχος ἑτέρωθι, οὐπερ διορύξαντες Ῥωμαῖοι πρότερον ἔτυχον, ἐξαπιναίως καταπεσεῖν. ἐνταῦθα  
55 οὖν πολλοὶ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ξυνέρρεον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πλήθει τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες, καίπερ δίχα διηρημένοι, πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον βάλλοντές τε καὶ ὠθοῦντες καρτερώ-  
56 τατα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνέκειντο. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι ὁμοίως ἀντεῖχον, ἑκατέρωθι βιαζόμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαιρεθεῖσα ἢ ὀλιγανθρωπία ἐς ἄμφω τὰ μέρη  
57 διαφανῆς ἦν. οὕτω δὲ πονουμένων<sup>3</sup> ἀμφοτέρων ἔτι τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ οὔτε Περσῶν ἀποκρούεσθαι δυναμένων ἐγκειμένους σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαίων βιάζεσθαι παντάπασι τὴν εἴσοδον οἷων τε ὄντων, νεανίας ἀνὴρ, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱὸς ὄνπερ ἐπὶ κλησιν ἐκάλουν Γούζην, τὰ μὲν καταπεπτωκότα τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ὠθισμοὺς εἶασεν, Ἀρμενίων δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτεχνάσασθαι K : ὑποτεχνᾶσθαι L.

<sup>2</sup> τι Braun : τό MSS.

<sup>3</sup> πονουμένων K : ποιουμένων L.



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τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενος ὀλίγους τινὰς διὰ  
 τοῦ κρημνωδούς, ἥπερ ἅπαντες τὴν πόλιν ἀιάλω-  
 τον εἶναι ὑπώπτειον, βιασάμενος ἀνέβη τοὺς  
 58 ταύτη φρουρούς. κατὰ τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις γενόμενος  
 ἓνα Περσῶν τῶν τῆδε ἀμυνομένων, ὅσπερ μαχιμώ-  
 τατος ἐδόκει εἶναι, δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. ἐσβατόν τε  
 Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

59 Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ξυλίνῳ ἐστήκεσαν  
 μέγα τι χρῆμα τῶν πυρφόρων ἀγγείων ὑψῆσαν,  
 ὅπως τῶν βαλλομένων τῷ περιόντι καταφλέξαι  
 αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς μηχανάς οἰοί τε ὦσιν, οὐ  
 δυναμένων τῶν ἀμυνομένων ἅπαντα τοῖς κοντοῖς  
 60 διωθεῖσθαι.<sup>1</sup> πνεῦμα δὲ νότου σκληρόν τε καὶ  
 ὑπερφύες ἄγαν ἐξαπιναίως ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς  
 ξὺν πολλῷ πατάγῳ ἐπιπесόν, τῶν τοῦ πύργου  
 61 σανίδων ἀμηγέπη μιᾶς ἤψατο. οὐ ξυνιέντων δὲ  
 αὐτίκα τῶν ἐνταῦθα Περσῶν (πόνῳ γὰρ καὶ  
 θορύβῳ καὶ δέει καὶ ταραχῇ ἀμέτρῳ εἶχοντο  
 ἅπαντες, ἥ τε ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς παρηρεῖτο τὴν  
 αἴσθησιν) ἡ φλόξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη τῷ τε τῆς  
 Μηδείας ἐπωνύμῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἷσπερ ἄλλοις ἐξήρ-  
 τυτο τὸν πύργον ὅλον καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα  
 62 ἐνέπρησεν. ἐξηνθρακωμένοι τε ἅπαντες ἔπεσον,  
 οἱ μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου, οἱ δὲ τούτου<sup>2</sup> ἐκτός,  
 ἵνα δὴ αἶ τε μηχαναὶ καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὰς Ῥωμαῖοι  
 ἐστήκεσαν· οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσοι  
 δὴ ἐς τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ καταπεπτωκότα ἐμάχοντο,  
 ἐνδιδόντων σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τε ὀλιγωρίαν  
 ἐμπέπτωκότων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καὶ  
 κατ' ἄκρας ἡ Πέτρα ἐάλω.

63 Τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν ἐς πεντακοσίους ἐς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> διωθεῖσθαι L : διαθεῖσθαι K.

<sup>2</sup> τούτου K : που L.

precipice, where all considered the city to be impregnable, having overpowered the guards at that point. Then, after getting on the parapet, he slew with his spear one of the Persian defenders there, who appeared to be the most warlike. In this manner an entry was made possible for the Romans.

Now the Persians who were posted in the wooden tower had kindled a huge number of fire-bearing pots, in order that they might be able by the very number of their missiles to burn up the engines, men and all, their defenders being unable to push them all aside with their poles. But suddenly there sprang up from the south a wind of extraordinary violence and blew against them with a great roar, and in some way or other it set fire to one of the planks of the tower. But the Persians there did not immediately comprehend this, for they were every man of them working and shouting immoderately, being filled with fear and in the midst of wild confusion, and the urgency of the moment had robbed them of their senses; so the flame rising little by little, fed by the oil which bears Medea's name and all the other things with which the tower was supplied, consumed the whole tower and the Persians who were in it. These were all burned to death, and their charred bodies fell, some inside the wall, others outside where the engines stood with the Romans about them. Then the other Romans also who were fighting at the fallen part of the wall, since the enemy were giving way before them in utter despair and strove no longer to resist, got inside the fortifications, and Petra was captured completely.

So about five hundred of the Persians ran up



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀκρόπολιν ἀναδραμόντες καὶ τὸ ἐκείνη καταλα-  
 βόντες ὀχύρωμα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
 Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅσους οὐκ ἔκτειναν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ,  
 ἐζώγησαν ἅπαντας ἐς τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτακοσίους  
 64 μάλιστα ὄντας. καὶ αὐτῶν ὀκτῶ μὲν καὶ δέκα  
 ἀκραιφνεῖς εὖρον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες τραυ-  
 ματῖαι ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων  
 πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Θωμᾶ υἱός,  
 λίθῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσόδῳ  
 πρὸς τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων βληθεὶς ἔργα τε θαυ-  
 μαστὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιδειξάμενος.

## XII

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων τοὺς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καταλαβόντας<sup>1</sup>  
 πολιορκοῦντες λόγους προὔφερον, τὴν τε σωτηρίαν  
 αὐτοῖς προτεινόμενοι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν ὑπὲρ  
 τούτων ὁμολογοῦντες, ταύτη Πέρσας παραδο-  
 2 κοῦντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ  
 αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους ἐς ἀντίστασιν  
 εἶδον, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνθέξειν τῇ ταλαι-  
 πωρίᾳ οἰόμενοι, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀρετὴν θανατῶντες.  
 3 Βέσσας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀποστηῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων  
 ἀντικαταστήσαί τε ἐς τὴν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπι-  
 θυμίαν, τῶν τινὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὡς  
 πλησιαίτατα αὐτοῖς ἵεναι κελεύει παραίνεσίν τε  
 τινα ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιήσασθαι, δηλώσας  
 ὅσα δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν βούλοιο.

4 Καὶ ὅς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· “ Τί  
 πεπονθότες ἐφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὦ βέλτιστοι Πέρσαι,



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τὸν ὄλεθρον διατείνεσθε τοῦτον, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τὰ  
θανάσιμα σπουδῇ ἀλογίστῳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τὰ  
ἐπιτηδεύματα διαφανῶς ἀτιμάζοντες; οὐ γάρ  
ἐστὶν ἀνδρείον<sup>1</sup> τὸ τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἀντιστατεῖν,  
οὐδὲ ξυνετὸν<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι τοῖς κεκρατηκό-  
σιν ὑπέικειν· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄδοξον (τὸ τύχῃ τῇ παρούσῃ  
5 ἐπομένους βιῶναι.) ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὐδὲ ἀγαθῆς  
τινὸς ἐλπίδος τυχοῦσα τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐκφεύγει  
δικαίως, ἣν καὶ τῶν ἔργων περιβάλληται τὰ  
αἰσχρότατα· κακῶ γὰρ τῶ ἀμηχάνῳ τὸ σύγγνωμον  
6 ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. μὴ τοίνυν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν ἐν  
προὔπτῳ ζηλοῦτε κινδύνῳ, μηδὲ τῆς σωτηρίας  
τὴν ἀλαζονείαν ἀλλάξασθε, ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε ὡς  
ἀναβιώσεσθαι μὲν τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀδύνατον,  
οἱ δὲ περιόντες καὶ χρόνῳ διαχρήσονται<sup>3</sup> σφᾶς  
αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, ἣν γε τοῦτο κρεῖσσον εἶναι δοκῆ.  
7 βουλευσασθε οὖν τὴν ὑστάτην βουλήν καὶ περι-  
σκοπεῖσθε τὰ ξύμφορα, ἐκεῖνο εἰδότες,<sup>4</sup> ὡς ταῦτα  
ἂν τῶν βουλευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα εἶη ἐν οἷς τὸ  
μεταμέλειν τοῖς βουλευσαμένοις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἔσται.  
8 ὡς ἡμεῖς γε ὑμᾶς καὶ ζυγομαχοῦντας οἰκτείρομεν  
καὶ θανατώντων φειδόμεθα καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον  
ἐνδιαθρυπτομένους τε καὶ βλακεύοντας ἐλεεῖν  
9 ἀξιοῦμεν, ἣ Ῥωμαίοις Χριστιανοῖς νόμος. ἄλλο  
τε ὑμῖν περιέσται<sup>5</sup> οὐδέν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τὴν  
πολιτείαν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω μεταβαλόντες Ἰου-  
στινιανὸν ἀντὶ Χοσρόου κύριον ἔχετε· ὑπὲρ γὰρ  
τούτων ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δώσειν ὁμολογοῦμεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρείον L: ἀνδρείων K.

<sup>2</sup> ξυνετὸν L: ξυνετῶν K.

<sup>3</sup> διαχρήσονται K: διαθήσονται L.

<sup>4</sup> εἰδότες L: ἰδόντες K.

come over you that you are stubbornly holding to this course of destruction, bending your energies with unreasonable zeal to accomplish a certain death and conspicuously dishonouring the practice of valour? For it is not a manly thing to array oneself against the inevitable, nor a wise thing to refuse to bow to those who have won the mastery; nor, on the other hand, is it inglorious to live by falling in with the situation chance has brought. For man, in the grip of necessity which is relieved by no hope of rescue, is thereby justly acquitted of the charge of dishonour, even if he is involved in the most shameful actions; for evil, when it is unavoidable, is naturally followed by forgiveness. Do not, therefore, emulate madmen in the midst of obvious danger, and do not barter your safety for wanton folly, but rather call to mind that it is impossible for the dead to come to life, while the living can destroy themselves at a later time, if indeed this seems best. Make, then, your final deliberation and consider well your interests, recalling the fact that those decisions would be the best in which reversal shall still be within the power of those who have made the decision. For we on our part do pity you, though you are fighting against your own friends, and spare you when you are courting death, and we expect, as is customary for Christian Romans, to feel compassion for you though you throw life to the winds, and look upon it as a trivial matter. And the result for you will be simply this, that by shifting your citizenship for the better you will have Justinian instead of Chosroes as master; in-

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ὑμῖν περιέσται K : ὑμῖν περιοῦσι προσέσται L.

- 10 μὴ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαχρήσησθε, παρὸν  
 σώζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τοῖς  
 δεινοῖς· ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ παράπαν ὀνήσει, ἐπεὶ οὐκ  
 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ θανατᾶν τοῦτό γε.
- 11 γενναῖος δὲ ὅς ἂν ἐγκαρτερῇ τὰ δεινότατα, ἤνικα  
 τι προσδοκᾷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον. οὐ γὰρ  
 ἐπαινοῦσι τὴν ἐκούσιον τελευτὴν ἄνθρωποι, ἔνθα  
 δὴ τις ἐπίκειται κρείσσων τῷ κατ' αὐτὴν κινδύνῳ  
 ἐλπίς, ἀλλὰ βίου<sup>1</sup> μὲν καταστροφή ἄχρηστος<sup>2</sup>  
 ἄνοια προπετής, τὸ δὲ εἰς θάνατον ἀνόητον  
 θράσος τοῦ δραστηρίου πρόσχημα οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς
- 12 τοῖς γε σώφροσιν εἶναι δοκεῖ. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο  
 ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρή, μὴ τι δόξητε καὶ εἰς τὸ θεῖον  
ἀγνωμονεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπολεῖν<sup>3</sup> ἐβούλετο, ὧ  
 ἄνδρες, ὑμᾶς, οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, παραδεδώκει τοῖς
- 13 διασώζειν ἐφιεμένοις· τὰ μὲν οὖν παρ' ἡμῶν  
 τοιαῦτά ἐστι, βουλευέσεσθε<sup>4</sup> δὲ ὑμεῖς δηλονότι  
 ὧνπερ ἀξίοις ὑμῖν συμβαίνει εἶναι.”
- 14 Ἡ μὲν παραίνεσις ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ  
 τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ ὅσον ἀκοῇ δέχεσθαι ἤθελον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐθελοκωφοῦντες ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαίοιεν προ-
- 15 σεποιοῦντο. καὶ τότε, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευσα-  
 μένου, Ῥωμαῖοι πῦρ τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐμβέβληνται,  
 τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐνδώσειν τὰ σώματα σφίσι τοὺς
- 16 πολεμίους οἰόμενοι. τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἐπὶ μέγα  
 χωρούσης οἱ βάρβαροι, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς ἐν  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄντος, ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὅτι δὴ σφίσιν  
 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τετεφρῶσθαι συμβήσεται, ἐλπίδα

<sup>1</sup> βίου K : βίαιος L.

<sup>2</sup> ἄχρηστος K : ἄχρηστος καὶ L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολεῖν Hoeschel : ἀπολλύειν Herwerden, ἀπόλλειν MSS.

<sup>4</sup> βουλευέσεσθε Dindorf : βουλευσοισθε K, βουλεύσησθε L.



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- οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ εἰδότες καθ' ὃ τι σωθή-  
 σονται ἀμυνόμενοι, οὐδ' ὡς ὑποχείριοι τοῖς πολε-  
 μίοις γενέσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῇ ἀκροπόλει  
 εὐθὺς ἅπαντες, θαυμάζοντος τὰ ποιούμενα τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, καταφλεγόμενοι διεφθάρησαν.
- 17 δι' ὅσης τε<sup>1</sup> σπουδῆς ὁ Χοσρόης Λαζικὴν ἤγε  
 τηνικάδε φανερόν γέγονεν· ὅς γε στρατιώτας μὲν  
 τοὺς πάντων λογιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐν τῷ  
 τῆς Πέτρας κατεστήσατο φυλακτηρίῳ, ὅπλα δὲ  
 κατέθετο τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε ληϊσαμένων  
 αὐτὰ Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτῃ ἐκάστῳ πέντε ἀνδρῶν  
 ἐπιβαλεῖν σκευήν, καίτοι κὰν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
- 18 πολλὰ καυθῆναι ξυνέβη. εὖρηται δὲ καὶ σίτου  
 καὶ τεταριχευμένων κρεῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα δὴ ἔμελλε πενταετὲς  
 19 τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις πᾶσιν ἐπαρκέσειν. οἶνον δὲ  
 οὐκ ἔτυχον ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι Πέρσαι, πλήν  
 20 γε ὅτι τὸν τε ὀξίνην καὶ διαρκῆ κύαμον. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ ἐπίρρεον ἐνταῦθα  
 Ῥωμαῖοι εὗρον, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι  
 διηποροῦντο, ἕως τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τοῖς  
 κρυφίοις ὀχετοῖς ἔμαθον. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν  
 αὐτίκα δηλώσω.
- 21 Ἦνίκα Πέτραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐλὼν τῆδε τὸ  
 φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι  
 προσεδρεύσουσι μὲν αὐτῇ μηχανῇ πάσῃ, εὐθὺς δὲ  
 διελεῖν τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ  
 22 ἐγχειρήσουσιν, ἐπενόει· τοιάδε. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ  
 ὕδωρ ὅπερ ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήγετο ἐς τρεῖς διελὼν  
 μοίρας κατώρυχά τε βαθεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενος,

<sup>1</sup> δι' ὅσης τε K : διέσεισέ τε (followed by a lacuna of three words) L.

any possibility of saving themselves by fighting, still even in that situation would not consent to fall into the power of their enemy, but they were immediately burned to death, every man of them, together with the acropolis, while the Roman army marvelled at what was taking place. And at that time it became manifest how much importance Chosroes placed upon Lazica; for he had chosen out the most notable of all his soldiers and assigned them to the garrison of Petra, and deposited there such an abundance of weapons that when the Romans took possession of them as plunder, five men's equipment fell to each soldier, and this too in spite of the fact that many weapons had been burned on the acropolis. There was also found a vast quantity of grain and of cured meat as well as all other provisions, which were indeed sufficient to keep all the besieged adequately supplied for five years. But the Persians had not, as it happened, stored wine there other than sour wine, but they had brought in an ample supply of beans. But when the Romans actually found water there flowing from the aqueduct, they were greatly astonished and perplexed, until they learned the whole truth about the concealed pipes. And I shall now explain what these were.

At the time when Chosroes established the garrison in Petra after capturing it, knowing well as he did that the Romans would assail it with every means in their power, and would straightway attempt without a moment's hesitation to cut the aqueduct, he contrived the following plan. The water which was being carried into the city he divided into three parts and had a very deep trench dug, in which he constructed three pipe-lines, one lying on the very



ὀχετοὺς ἐτέκνηνατο τρεῖς, τὸν ἓνα μὲν κάτω ἐς  
 τῆς κατώρυχος ταύτης τὰ ἔσχατα, κόπρω<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 λίθοις καλύψας ἄχρι ἐς τὰ τῆς κατώρυχος μέσα·  
 ἐνταῦθά τε κρύψας τὸν δεύτερον, ὑπερθεν τὸν  
 τρίτον ἐδείματο, ὑπὲρ γῆς τε ὄντα καὶ ὄρατὸν  
 πᾶσιν· ὥστε τριώροφον κεκρυμμένως<sup>2</sup> τὸν ὀχετὸν  
 23 εἶναι. ὧνπὲρ οὐ ξυνέντες κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς πολιορ-  
 κίας Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν διαφανῆ ὀχετὸν  
 διελόντες, ἐπίπροσθέν τε οὐκ ἐπεξαγαγόντες τὸν  
 ἐπὶ διώρυχι<sup>3</sup> πόνον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἔργου πρὸ τῆς  
 ἐνθένδε ἀπωλείας ἀποπαυσάμενοι, ᾤοντο ἐνδεῖν  
 τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τὸ ὕδωρ, σφαλλούσης αὐτοῖς  
 τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς παρὰ τὸ πονεῖσθαι ὀλιγωρίας.  
 24 τῆς δὲ προσεδρείας μηκυνομένης, τῶν τινὰς  
 πολεμίων λαβόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔμαθον ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ  
 25 τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ὑδρεύεσθαι. κατορύξαντες  
 τοίνυν τὸν χῶρον εὐρίσκουσι τὸν δεύτερον ὀχετὸν  
 ἐνταῦθά πη ὄντα, καὶ τοῦτον διελόντες αὐτίκα  
 ᾤοντο ταύτη πᾶσαν κατειργάσθαι τῶν πολεμίων  
 τὴν δύναμιν, οὐδὲ τοῖς δευτέροις ἐν τῇ ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
 26 διδασκαλία παιδευθέντες τὰ πρότερα.<sup>4</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες ἐπίρρεον, ὥσπερ μοι  
 ἐρρήθη, ἐκ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἶδον, ἐθαύμαζόν  
 27 τε καὶ ἀπορία πολλῇ εἶχοντο. τὸ δὲ γεγονὸς  
 παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκούσαντες, τῆς τε τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς σφετέρας  
 παρὰ τοὺς πόνους ὀλιγωρίας ὀπίσω τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων ἠσθάνοντο.  
 28 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ὁ Βέσσας  
 εὐθύς βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε, τὸν δὲ Πέτρας περίβολον

<sup>1</sup> κόπρω K : κόπρω δὲ αὐτόν L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

29 ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὡς μὴ πράγματα οἱ πολέμιοι  
 σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχονται.<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς  
 ἀποδεδειγμένης<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπήνεσεν ἐς τὰ  
 μάλιστα καὶ τῆς εὐβουλίας, ὅτι δὴ ὅλον καθεῖλε  
 30 τὸ τεῖχος. γέγονεν οὖν ὁ Βέσσας αὐθις οἷς τε  
 εὐημέρησεν οἷς τε ἀρετῆς πεποίηται δήλωσιν ἀπό-  
 31 βλεπτος ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. ἡνίκα μὲν γὰρ  
 ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥώμης φυλακτηρίῳ ἐτέτακτο, ἐλπίδα  
 Ῥωμαῖοι πολλὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχον ἅτε ἀνδρειο-  
 32 τάτῳ<sup>3</sup> διαγεγονότι τὰ πρότερα. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ  
 ἐνταῦθα δεδυστυχηκένοι ξυνέπεσε, Ῥώμης τε  
 οὕτω τοῖς Γότθοις ἀλούσης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, καὶ διεφθαρμένου ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον Ῥωμαίων τοῦ γένους βασιλεὺς  
 μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς οὕτω δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀνα-  
 στρέψαντα στρατηγὸν κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας  
 33 αὐτόν. διέσυρον δὲ τὴν πράξιν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες  
 καὶ τὰ βασίλει βεβουλευμένα ἐχλεύαζον, εἰ τῷ  
 Βέσσα τούτῳ, Γότθων τε ἡσσηθέντι κατὰ κράτος  
 καὶ τυμβογέροντι γεγενημένῳ, πόλεμον τὸν Μηδι-  
 34 κὸν ἐγχειρίσειεν ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς βίου· ἀλλὰ τούτων  
 σχεδὸν τι ἅπασι δεδογμένων, εὐτυχία τε καὶ  
 ἀρετῇ τοιαῦδε τῷ στρατηγῷ τῷδε ξυνηνέχθη  
 χρῆσθαι. οὕτως ἄρα οὐχ ἥπερ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ ῥοπῇ πρυτανεύεται τὰ  
 ἀνθρώπεια, ὃ δὴ τύχην εἰώθασι καλεῖν ἄνθρωποι,  
 οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ταύτη πρόεισι τὰ  
 35 ξυμβαίνοντα ἥπερ<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῖς ἐνδηλα<sup>5</sup> γίνεται. τῷ

<sup>1</sup> παρέχονται Dindorf from a late MS. : παρέχονται MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποδεδειγμένης K : ἀποδεξάμενος L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνδρειοτάτῳ Braun : ἀνδρειότατα MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἥπερ : ἡπερ K : εἴπερ Suidas.

<sup>5</sup> ἐνδηλα MSS. : οὐκ ἐνδηλα Suidas.

the ground in order that the enemy might not again make trouble for them. And the emperor praised him particularly for the valour he had displayed and for his wisdom in tearing down the whole wall. Thus Bessas became once more,<sup>1</sup> both because of the good fortune he had enjoyed and also because of the valour he had displayed, an object of respectful admiration among all men. For previously, when he was appointed to command the garrison of Rome, the Romans had great hopes of him, since before that time he had consistently shewn himself a man of the highest courage. But when it came about that he met with ill fortune there, Rome being captured as it was by the Goths, as I have recounted in the previous narrative,<sup>2</sup> and the race of the Romans being in large part destroyed, still the Emperor Justinian, when he returned after this to Byzantium, appointed him General against the Persians. Now practically everyone bitterly criticized this act and scoffed at the emperor's decision, if he was going to entrust the Medic war to this Bessas in his closing years, after he had been defeated decisively by the Goths and had now become a doddering old man. But although this was the feeling of practically all men, it actually fell out that this general met with the good fortune and displayed the valour which I have described. Thus it is that human affairs proceed not according to the judgment of men, but are subject to the power and authority of God, which men are wont to call fortune, knowing not why in the world events proceed in the manner in which they manifest themselves to them.

<sup>1</sup> He had previously won distinction in the defence of Rome under Belisarius. See Book V.

<sup>2</sup> Book VII. xx.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

γὰρ παραλόγῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι φιλεῖ τὸ τῆς τύχης ὄνομα προσχωρεῖν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς πη ἐκάστῳ φίλον, ταύτῃ δοκεῖτω.

### XIII

Μερμερόης δέ, δείσας μή τι Πέτρα τε καὶ Πέρσαις τοῖς τῆδε ἀπολελειμμένοις φλαῦρον διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ξυμβαίῃ, ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦει, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ὁ καιρὸς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ  
 2 χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνήγε. μεταξὺ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν ἅπαντα τῆς μὲν ὁδοῦ ταύτης τὸ παράπαν ἀπέσχετο, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι δὴ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἄλλο τι χωρίον Λαζοῖς ὅτι  
 3 μὴ τὸ ἐν Πέτρα οὐκ ἦν.<sup>1</sup> ἀναστρέψας δὲ καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα εἰσόδους, ἵνα δὴ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατός ἐστιν, αὐτὸν τε πεζῇ διαμείψας καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ποταμόν, ῥέοντα ὄνομα, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἐκείνη ναυσίπορον ὄντα, τοῦ τε Φάσιδος ἐν δεξιᾷ ταύτῃ γενόμενος ἐπὶ πόλιν, Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὄνομα, ἢ πρώτη τε καὶ μεγίστη ἐν Λαζοῖς ἐστίν, ἐπήγε τὸ στράτευμα.  
 4 ἦσαν δὲ ὀλίγων χωρὶς ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλέφαντες ὀκτὼ εἶποντο. ἐφ' ὧν δὴ ἔμελλον ἰστάμενοι<sup>2</sup> Πέρσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσπερ ἐκ  
 5 πύργων κατὰ κορυφῆς ἐνθένδε βάλλειν. ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν τις Περσῶν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους<sup>3</sup> ταλαιπωρίαν τε καὶ ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀγασθείη, οἳ γε τὴν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα ὁδὸν φέρουσαν, κρημνώδεσί τε νάπαις καὶ δυσχωρίαις λοχμώδεσι

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἦν L: οἰκεῖ K.

<sup>2</sup> ἰστάμενοι K: ἐνιστάμενοι L.

<sup>3</sup> πολέμους MSS.: πόρους Maltretus.



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πανταχόθι ξυνεχομένην, ὕλαις τε οὕτως ἀμφι-  
 λαφέσι καλυπτομένην, ὡς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ  
 δοκεῖν ἀπόρευτον τὰ πρότερα εἶναι, οὕτως ὁμαλῇ  
 κατεστήσαντο ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον τὴν ἵππον αὐτῶν  
 ὄλην πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐνθένδε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
 ἐλεφάντων ὄσους<sup>1</sup> βούλοιντο ἐπαγομένους ταύτη  
 6 στρατεύειν. ἦλθον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμμαχοι  
 Οὐννοὶ ἐκ τῶν Σαβείρων καλουμένων δισχίλιοί  
 7 τε καὶ μύριοι. ἀλλὰ δείσας ὁ Μερμερόης μὴ  
 ἐς πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ὄντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι  
 μήτε τι αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν ἐπαγγέλλοντι ἐθελήσω-  
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καί τι ἀνήκεστον ἐς τὸ Περσῶν  
 στράτευμα δράσωσι, τετρακισχιλίους μὲν ξυστρα-  
 τεύεσθαι σφίσιν εἶασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρήμασι  
 πολλοῖς δωρησάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀφῆκεν  
 ἰέναι.

8 Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς δισχίλιοι μὲν καὶ  
 μύριοι ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν ἀγηγεργμένοι ἐς ταῦτ' ἅπαντες,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει φυλακτηρίῳ  
 τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν, ὧν Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας  
 9 ἦρχον, ἄμφω ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι  
 ἐντὸς τῶν ἐκβολῶν ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐνστρατο-  
 πεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ἐκεῖνο διανοούμενοι, ὥστε  
 ἦν πη ἐπισκῆψῃ ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατός, αὐτοὶ  
 ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι βοηθοῖεν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.

10 ἦρχον δὲ αὐτῶν Βενίλος τε καὶ Οὐλίγαγος· ξυνηὴν  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὐαράζης ὁ Περσαρμένιος, ἄρτι  
 ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἦκων, ᾧ δὴ Τζάνοι ὀκτακόσιοι εἶποντο.

11 Βέσσας γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν Πέτραν εἶλε,  
 πονεῖν μὲν ἔτι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐς δὲ Ποντικούς  
 καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀποχωρήσας ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς ἐνι

<sup>1</sup> ὄσους Hoeschel: ὄσοις MSS.

ground covered with brush, and concealed by forests of wide-spreading trees, so that even for an unencumbered traveller the way had seemed impassable previously, and they made it so smooth that not only did their entire cavalry pass that way with no difficulty, but they also actually marched over that road taking with them as many of their elephants as they wished. And Huns also came to them as allies from the nation of the Sabiri, as they are called, to the number of twelve thousand. But Mermeroes, fearing lest these barbarians, being in such numbers, would not only be altogether unwilling to obey his commands, but would actually do some terrible thing to the Persian army, permitted only four thousand to march with him, while he sent all the rest away to their homes after making them a generous present of money.

Now the Roman army numbered twelve thousand; they were not, however, all concentrated in one place, for there were only three thousand in the garrison at Archaeopolis under command of Odonachus and Babas, both able warriors, while all the rest were waiting in camp on the other side of the Phasis River, having in mind that, if the enemy's army should make an attack at any point, they themselves would move out from there and go to the rescue in full force. These were commanded by Venilus and Uligagus; and Varazes the Persarmenian was also with them, having recently returned from Italy and having eight hundred Tzani under his command. As for Bessas, as soon as he had captured Petra, he was quite unwilling to continue the struggle, but withdrew to the Pontici and the Armenians and was giving the closest possible atten-



μάλιστα τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πόρων, ταύτη  
 τε τῇ σμικρολογία τὰ Ῥωμαίων αὐθις πράγματα  
 12 ἔσφηλεν. εἰ γὰρ εὐθὺς τότε νενικηκώς, ἤπερ μοι  
 εἴρηται, καὶ τὴν Πέτραν ἔλῶν ἐς τὰ Λαζῶν τε  
 καὶ Ἰβήρων ὄρια ἦλθε καὶ τὰς ἐκείνη δυσχωρίας  
 ἐφράξατο, οὐκ ἄν, μοι δοκεῖ, ἔτι Περσῶν στρα-  
 13 τευμα ἐς Λαζικὴν ἦει. νῦν δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος  
 τοῦ πόνου τούτου ὀλιγορήσας μόνον οὐχὶ τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις Λαζικὴν αὐτοχειρὶ παραδέδωκε, τῆς ἐκ  
 14 βασιλέως ὀργῆς ὀλίγα φροντίσας. εἰώθει γὰρ  
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπιχωρεῖν τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς  
 ἄρχουσιν ἀμαρτάνουσι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τε τὴν  
 δίαιταν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 παρανομοῦντες ἠλίσκοντο.  
 15 Ἦν δὲ Λαζῶν φρούρια δύο πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα  
 τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὀρίοις, Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανίς.  
 ἄπερ ἐν δυσχωρίαις κείμενα χαλεπαῖς τισὶ καὶ  
 ὄλως δυσκόλοις δυσπρόσοδα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα  
 16 ἐτύγγχανε. ταῦτα Λαζοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν πόνῳ  
 πολλῶ ἐφρούρουν, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἐδωδύμων  
 τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν φύεται, ἀλλὰ φέροντες ἄνθρω-  
 ποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσεκομίζοντο.  
 17 βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ  
 πολέμου Λαζοὺς ἀναστήσας ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίων  
 18 φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο. οἱ δὲ οὐ  
 πολλῶ ὕστερον, πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ  
 ἀπορίᾳ, τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ  
 μὲν ἐλύμοις ἀποζῆν ὥσπερ οἱ Κόλχοι ἐς πλείω  
 χρόνον, οὐκ εἰωθὸς σφίσιν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἦκιστα εἶχον,  
 Λαζοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι φέροντές

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων K : ἀνὰ τὸν ὤμον L.



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19 τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον. Πέρσαι  
 δὲ αὐτὰ καταλαμβάνοντες ἔσχον, ἔν τε ταῖς σπονδαῖς  
 αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέλαβον τὰς ἀντιδόσεις Βώλου<sup>1</sup>  
 τε τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τοῦ Φαραγγίου<sup>2</sup> πεποιη-  
 μένοι, ὥσπερ μοι ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις  
 20 πάντα ἐρρήθη. Λαζοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὰ φρούρια  
 εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὡς μὴ αὐτὰ Πέρσαι ἐπιτειχίσι-  
 ματα κατὰ σφῶν ἔχοιεν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖν  
 θύτερον, ὅπερ Σκάνδα καλοῦσιν, αὐθις οἰκοδομη-  
 σάμενοι ἔσχον, ὃ τε Μερμερόης ἐπίπροσθεν ἤγε  
 τὸν Μήδων στρατόν.

21 Ἦν δὲ πόλις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, Ῥοδόπολις ὄνομα,  
 ἥπερ ὑψηντίαζε πρώτη τοῖς εἰς τὴν Κολχίδα ἐξ  
 Ἰβηρίας ἐσβάλλουσιν, εὐέφοδος τε καὶ ἐπιμαχω-  
 22 τάτη ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν πολλῶ πρό-  
 τερον δείσαντες Λαζοὶ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον εἰς  
 ἔδαφος καθεῖλον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ἔμαθον,  
 23 εὐθὺ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἤεσαν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μερ-  
 μερόης τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἐνστρα-  
 τοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυ-  
 24 νεν. ἄμεινον γάρ οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι τούτους πρότερον  
 ἐξελόντι οὕτω δὴ εἰς τῆς Ἀρχαιοπόλεως τὴν πο-  
 λιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, ὡς μὴ ὀπισθεν αὐτοὶ ἰόντες  
 25 κακουργήσωσι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. ὡς ἀγχο-  
 τάτῳ δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενος  
 ἠσπάσατο ἐρεσχελῶν τε τοὺς ταύτη Ῥωμαίους,  
 καὶ τι ~~νεανιευσαμένος~~ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα<sup>3</sup>  
 26 ἐπανήξει σφίσι. βουλομένῳ γάρ οἱ αὐτῷ ἔφασκεν  
 εἶναι Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἄλλους προσειπεῖν πρότερον,  
 οἳ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδεύονται ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Βώλου Maltretus: βόλον K, Βώλων L

ing the long journey to bring them all their supplies. Whereupon the Persians occupied and held them, but in the treaty the Romans got them back in exchange for the fortress of Bolum and Pharangium, as I have told in detail in the preceding narrative.<sup>1</sup> The Lazi accordingly razed these fortresses to the ground, in order that the Persians might not hold them as outposts against them. But the Persians rebuilt and held the one of the two which they call Scanda, and Mermeroes led the Medic army forward.

There had been a city in the plain called Rhodopolis, which lay first in the way of those invading Colchis from Iberia, so situated as to be easily accessible and altogether open to attack. For this reason the Lazi had long before, in fear of the Persian invasion, razed it to the ground. When the Persians learned this, they proceeded straight for Archaeopolis. But Mermeroes learned that his enemy was encamped near the mouth of the Phasis River, and he advanced upon them. For it seemed to him better first to capture this force and then to undertake the siege of Archaeopolis, in order that they might not come from the rear and do harm to the Persian army. And he went close by the fortifications of Archaeopolis and gave a mocking salutation to the Romans there, and with something of a swagger said that he would come back to them at the earliest moment. For, said he, he wished to address his greetings to the other Romans first who were encamped near the Phasis River. And the

<sup>1</sup> Book I. xxii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> τε τοῦ—Φαραγγίου L: τε τὸ φρούριον καὶ τὸ φραγγίον K.

<sup>3</sup> μάλα L: μᾶλλον K.

27 οἱ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενοι ἰέναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον  
 ὅπη βούλοιο, ἰσχυρίσαντο μέντοι ὡς, ἦν τοῖς  
 ἐκείνη Ῥωμαίοις ἐντύχη, οὐ μὴ ποτε αὐτοῖς  
 28 ἐπανήξει. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ  
 ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἥσους  
 οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἢ φέρειν τῶν ἐπιόντων τὴν δύναμιν  
 ἐς τὰς σφίσι παρεσκευασμένας ἀκάτους ἐμβάντες  
 ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν διεπορθμεύσαντο ἅπαντες, τῶν  
 σφίσι παρόντων ἐπιτηδείων, ὅσα μὲν διακομίζειν  
 οἰοί τε ἦσαν, ἐν ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐνθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ  
 ἄλλα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμβεβλημένοι, ὅπως μὴ  
 29 αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι τρυφᾶν δύνωνται. γενόμενος  
 οὖν ἐνταῦθα παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὁ Μερμερόης οὐ  
 πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἔρημόν τε παντάπασιν<sup>1</sup> ἰδὼν  
 τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἥσχαλλέ τε καὶ  
 30 ἰπορούμενος ἐδυσφορεῖτο. καύσας τε τὸ Ῥωμαίων  
 χάρακμα καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἀνέστρεφεν αὐτίκα  
 καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ἤγε.

XIV

Κεῖται δὲ Ἀρχαιοπόλις ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς σκλη-  
 ροῦ ἐσάγαν, καὶ ποταμὸς αὐτὴν παραρρεῖ ἐξ  
 ὀρῶν κατιῶν ἄπερ τῆς πόλεως καθύπερθεν ἐστι.  
 2 πύλαι δὲ αὐτῇ αἰ μὲν κάτω εἰσί, φέρουσαι παρὰ  
 τοῦ λόφου τὴν ὑπώρειαν, οὐκ ἀπρόσοδοι μέντοι,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἄνοδον ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου τινὰ ἐς αὐτὰς  
 οὐχ ὀμαλῆ εἶναι· αἰ δὲ ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες  
 ἐξάγουσαι<sup>2</sup> δυσπρόσοδοι ἐσάγαν εἰσί· χῶροι γὰρ  
 λοχμῶδεις πρὸ τούτων τῶν πυλῶν εἰσίν, ἐπὶ  
 3 πλεῖστον διήκοντες. ἐπεὶ τε ὕδατος ἄλλοῦ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> παντάπασιν L: πάντα παντάπασιν K



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τῆδε ὠκημένοις οὐδαμῆ μέτεστι, τείχη δύο ἐν-  
θένδε οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ποτα-  
μὸν ἐτεκτήναντο, ὅπως ἂν σφίσιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ  
τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὕδωρ ἀρύεσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη.

Μερμερόης οὖν παντὶ σθένει τειχομαχεῖν  
ἐνταῦθα σπουδάζων τε καὶ διατεινόμενος ἐποίει  
4 τάδε. πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς Σαβείροις ἐπήγγειλε  
κριοὺς παμπληθεῖς ἐργάζεσθαι, οἷους ἂν φέρειν  
ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων δυνατοὶ εἶεν, ἐπεὶ μηχανὰς  
μὲν τὰς συνειθισμένας τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς Ἀρχαιο-  
πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐπάγεσθαι εἶχε, κατὰ τὸν  
τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα κείμενον, ἠκηκόει δὲ ὅσα τοῖς  
Ῥωμαίων ἐνσπόνδοις Σαβείροις ἀμφὶ τὸ Πέτρας  
τείχος ἐργασθείη οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ τοῖς  
ἐπινενοημένοις ἐπόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς πείρας ὠφέ-  
λειαν μετήει. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ἐποιοῦν.  
5 κριοὺς τε αὐτίκα συχνοὺς ἐτεκτήναντο, ἧπέρ μοι  
ἔναγχος Ῥωμαίοις εἰργάσθαι Σαβείρους ἐρρήθη.  
ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν Δολομίτας καλουμένους κατὰ  
τῆς πόλεως τὰ κρημνώδη στέλλει ἐνοχλεῖν ἐπι-  
στείλας τοὺς ταύτη πολεμίους δυνάμει τῆ πάση.  
6 οἱ δὲ Δολομίται οὗτοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσιν, ὠκη-  
μένοι ἐν Πέρσαις μέσοις, οὐ μὴν κατήκοοι γεγούνασι  
7 βασιλέως τοῦ Περσῶν πώποτε. ἰδρυμένοι γὰρ  
ἐν ὄρεσιν ἀποτόμοις τε καὶ ὄλως ἀβάτοις αὐτό-  
νομοι ὄντες ἐκ παλαιοῦ διαγεγούνασιν ἐς τόδε  
τοῦ χρόνου· μισθαρνοῦντες δὲ αἰεὶ συστρατεύουσι  
8 Πέρσαις ἐπὶ πολεμίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσι. καὶ  
πεζοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἅπαντες, ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα  
φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τρία.

the inhabitants of this city can get no other water, those who built it constructed two walls which extend from the city all the way to the river, in order that it might be possible for them to draw water from it in safety.

Mermeroes, consequently, being eager and determined to assault the wall there with his whole strength, did as follows. He first commanded the Sabiri to build a great number of rams, of the sort which men would be able to carry on their shoulders, because he was quite unable to bring up the customary engines to the circuit-wall of Archaeopolis, lying as it did along the lower slopes of the hill; for he had heard what had been achieved by the Sabiri who were allies of the Romans at the wall of Petra not long before, and he sought by following out the method discovered by them to reap the advantage of their experience. And they carried out his orders, constructing immediately a large number of rams, such as I have said were recently made for the Romans by the Sabiri. Next he sent the Dolomites, as they are called, to the precipitous parts of the city, directing them to harass the enemy there with all their strength. These Dolomites are barbarians who live indeed in the middle of Persia, but have never become subject to the king of the Persians. For their abode is on sheer mountainsides which are altogether inaccessible, and so they have continued to be autonomous from ancient times down to the present day; but they always march with the Persians as mercenaries when they go against their enemies. And they are all foot-soldiers, each man carrying a sword and shield and three javelins in his hand. But they shew extra-



- 9 θεῖν δὲ λίαν ἔν τε τοῖς κρημοῖς καὶ τῶν ὄρων  
 ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς ἐξεπίστανται, ὥσπερ ἐν πεδίῳ  
 10 ὑπτίῳ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μερμερόης αὐτοὺς τῆδε  
 τειχομαχεῖν ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 στρατῷ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς κάτω τοὺς τε κριοὺς καὶ  
 11 τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος ἦει. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 Πέρσαι ξὺν τοῖς Σαβεῖροις ἐς τὸ τεῖχος συχνὰ  
 βάλλοντες, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι καλύψαντες τὸν  
 ταύτη ἀέρα, οὐ μακρὰν που ἐγένοντο ἀναγκάσαι  
 τοὺς ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίους ἐκλιπεῖν τὰς ἐπάλξεις.  
 12 οἱ δὲ Δολομίται τὰ δοράτια ἐκ τῶν κρημνῶν  
 ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐσακοντίζοντες πολλῷ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον τοὺς κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ἐλύπουν.  
 13 πανταχόθι τε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα πονηρά τε  
 καὶ κινδύνων ἔμπλεα ἐγεγόνει, ἔσχατα ἐσχάτων  
 κακὰ πάσχουσι.
- 14 Τότε δὴ Ὀδόναχός τε καὶ Βάβας, εἴτε ἀρετὴν  
 ἐνδεικνύμενοι εἴτε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι  
 βουλόμενοι, ἢ καί τι αὐτοὺς θεῖον ἐκίνησεν,  
 εἶασαν μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινάς, οἷς  
 δὴ ἐπέστελλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τοὺς τειχο-  
 μαχοῦντας ἀμύνασθαι,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πλείστον δὲ  
 ξυγκαλέσαντες βραχεῖάν τινα παρακέλευσιν  
 ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τάδε· “Τὸν μὲν παρόντα  
 κίνδυνον, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, καὶ τὴν περιλα-  
 15 βουσαν ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκην ὁρᾶτε. δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς τού-  
 τοις δὴ τοῖς κακοῖς ὡς ἦκιστα εἶκειν. τοὺς γὰρ  
 εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν σωτηρίας ἐλθόντας τοῦτο ἂν  
 διασώσασθαι δύναίτο μόνον, τὸ μὴ τῆς σωτηρίας  
 ἐφίεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸ διαφθείρεσθαι  
 16 ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔπεσθαι πέφυκε. καὶ τόδε  
 δὲ ὑμᾶς ἐννοεῖν ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς δεήσει, ὡς



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων τῶνδε ἀμυνομένοις τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῖν  
 κείσεται, ἣν καὶ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὡς προθυμότατα  
 17 διενέγκωμεν. μάχη γὰρ ἐκ διεστηκότων ξυνιστα-  
 μένη ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐδενὶ ξυγχωρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐς  
 τὸ τῆς τύχης<sup>2</sup> ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περίσταται κράτος.  
 18 ἣν μέντοι ἢ συμβολῆ ξυσταδὸν γένηται, τὰ τε  
 τῆς προθυμίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον κρατήσῃ καὶ  
 19 μετὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας ἢ νίκη χωρήσῃ. ἄνευ δὲ τού-  
 των εὐημερήσαντες μὲν ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 περιβόλου μαχόμενοι οὐδὲν ἄν τι τῆς εἰημερίας  
 ἀπόναιντο μέγα, ἐπεὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα τοὺς  
 πολεμίους σφίσιν ἀπεῶσθαι συμβαίνει, ἐς δὲ τὴν  
 ὑστεραίαν ὁ κίνδυνος αὐθις ἐν ἀκμῇ γίνεται, καὶ  
 κατὰ μικρὸν δὲ σφαλέντες αὐτοῖς, ὡς τὸ εἶκός,  
 20 συνδιαφθείρονται τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν. ἐκ χειρὸς  
 δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους νενικηκότες ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὴν  
 σωτηρίαν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες  
 ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους προθυμῶς τῇ πάσῃ,  
 τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγόμενοι, εὐέλπιδές  
 τε τῇ προσπεσούσῃ τανῦν ἀπογνώσει γέγευνημένοι.  
 21 τοὺς γὰρ ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας τινὸς ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
 οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντας τὸ θεῖον αἰεὶ διασώζεσθαι μάλιστα  
 εἶωθε."

22 Τοσαῦτα Ὀδόναχος τε καὶ Βάβας παρακε-  
 λευσάμενοι τὰς τε πύλας ἀνέωγον καὶ τὸ στρά-  
 τευμα δρόμῳ ἐξῆγον, ὀλίγων ἀπολελειμμένων  
 23 ἐνταῦθά τινων ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαῶσδε. τῶν τις Λαζῶν  
 τῇ προτεραίᾳ, λόγιμος μὲν ὧν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔθνει,  
 ἐν Ἀρχαιοπόλει δὲ ὤκημένος, ἔπρασε πρὸς  
 24 Μερμερόην ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι προδοσίας πέρι. ὁ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους Haury : τοῖς πολεμίοις MSS.

present stress, that by simply warding off the enemy from this parapet your safety will by no means be firmly established, even though we carry forward the struggle with the greatest zeal. For a battle which is waged between armies standing apart gives no one opportunity to shew himself a brave man, but the issue as a general thing is determined by chance. If, however, the conflict becomes a hand-to-hand struggle, enthusiasm will in most cases prevail, and victory will appear where valour lies. And apart from this, even in the case of success in the conflict, men fighting from the wall would reap no great benefit from this success, because, while they have for the moment succeeded in repulsing the enemy, the danger will again be acute on the morrow, and, on the other hand, if they fail even by a little, they are naturally destroyed along with their defences. But once having conquered their opponents in hand-to-hand combat they will thereafter have their safety assured. Let us then with these thoughts in mind advance against the enemy with all zeal, calling to our aid the assistance from above, and with our hopes raised high by that desperate situation which has now fallen to us. For God is ever wont to save those men above all others who find no hope of safety in themselves."

After Odonachus and Babas had thus encouraged the soldiers, they opened the gates and led the army forth on the run, leaving a few men behind for the following reason. One of the Lazi, who was a man of note in this nation, an inhabitant of Archaeopolis, had on the previous day negotiated with Mermeroes for the betrayal of his native land.

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<sup>2</sup> τύχης Maltretus : ψυχῆς MSS.

οἱ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐπήγγελλε χαρίζεσθαι Πέρσαις, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅπως, ἡνίκα ἐς τειχομαχίαν καθισ- τῶνται, τὰ οἰκία ἐμπρήσῃ λάθρα, ἐνθα<sup>1</sup> ὃ τε σῖτος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπέκειτο.<sup>2</sup>

25 ἐπέστελλε δὲ ταῦτα, δυοῖν γενήσεσθαι τὸ ἕτερον λογισάμενος· ἡ γὰρ Ῥωμαίους περὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο σπουδάζοντάς<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένους ἐνδώσειν σφίσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιβατεύειν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἢ τειχομαχοῦντας ἀποκρούεσθαι βου- λομένους Πέρσας ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκία ἐν ὀλιγῶριά  
26 ποιήσεσθαι<sup>4</sup> καιομένων δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πόνῳ σφᾶς οὐδενὶ πολιορκία ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ Ἀρχαιοπόλιν  
27 ἐξαιρήσειν. τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη ὁ Μερμερόης τούτῳ δὴ τῷ Λαζῶ ταῦτα ἐπέστελλεν· ὁ δὲ οἱ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὠμολόγει ἐπιτελῆ δράσειν, ἡνίκα<sup>5</sup> τὴν τειχομαχίαν ἀκμάζουσαν ἴδῃ,<sup>6</sup> πῦρ ὡς λαθ-  
28 ραιότατα τοῖς δωματίοις τούτοις ἐνάψας.<sup>7</sup> αἰρο- μένην δὲ τὴν φλόγα ἐξαπιναίως Ῥωμαῖοι ἰδόντες ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ πῦρ ἔσβεσαν ἀμηγέπη λυμηνάμενον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν.

29 Ἐμπεσόντες δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἐκπλήξαντες πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἀνταίρειν  
30 τολμῶντας. Πέρσαι γὰρ ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄντας ἐπεξιώναι σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾶ ἔχοντες ἀλλήλων διεστηκότες ὡς ἐς

<sup>1</sup> ἐνθα Haury: ἦν δὲ K, οἷς δὴ L.      <sup>2</sup> ἀπέκειτο L: om. K.

<sup>3</sup> σπουδάζοντας K: σφαδάζοντας L.

<sup>4</sup> ποιήσεσθαι Hoeschel: ποιήσασθαι MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESARIA

- 31 τείχομαχίαν ἐτετάχατο ξὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τοὺς κριοὺς φέροντες ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ τὰ ἐς μάχην ἀπαρύσκειοι, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὰ τόξα ἐντεταμένα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες συσταδὸν ἐγκειμένους τοὺς πολεμίους
- 32 ἀμύνεσθαι μηχανῇ οὐδεμίᾳ εἶχον. οὕτω δὴ κόπτοντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιστροφάδην αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ξυνέβη δὲ, τότε καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἓνα πληγέντα,<sup>1</sup> ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ἢ ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου ξυνταραχθέντα, περιστρέφεσθαι τε οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀναχαιτίζειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιβάτας
- 33 ῥίπτειν, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων τὴν τάξιν ἐκλύειν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἀνεπόδιζον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν αἰεὶ διε-
- 34 χρῶντο. θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις ἐνταῦθα δικαίως, εἰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι καθ' ὃ τι χρὴ ἀποκρούσασθαι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν διὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπίθεσιν, τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, τοῖς παροῦσι δηλονότι ξυνταραχθέντες, ἀπὸ ταῦτομάτου δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα δηλώσω.
- 35 Ἡνίκα Χοσρόης τε καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἐτειχομάχουν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐδέσσης περίβολον, τῶν τις ἐλεφάντων, ἐπιβεβηκότος οἱ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις μαχιμωτάτων, ἀγχοῦ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὅτι δὴ δι' ὀλίγου βιασάμενος τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνη πύργου ἀμυνομένους ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν συχνὰ βαλλομένους
- 36 τὴν πόλιν αἵρήσει.<sup>2</sup> ἐδόκει γάρ τις μηχανῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐλέπολις εἶναι. ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι χοῖρον

<sup>1</sup> πληγέντα K : πληγῆναι L

storming the wall and so were not in battle array. And those who were carrying the rams upon their shoulders were quite naturally both unarmed and unprepared for battle, while the others, with only strung bows in their hands, were entirely unable to ward off an enemy pressing upon them in close array. Thus the Romans, slashing and turning from side to side, kept destroying them. At that moment also it so happened that one of the elephants, because he was wounded, some say, or simply because he became excited, wheeled round out of control and reared up, thus throwing his riders and breaking up the lines of the others. As a result of this the barbarians began to retreat, while the Romans continued without fear to destroy those who from time to time fell in their way. And one might wonder at this point that the Romans, though knowing well by what means they ought to repel a hostile attack by elephants, did none of the necessary things, being obviously confused by the situation, and yet this result was achieved without effort on their part. And what this is I shall now make clear.

When Chosroes and the Medic army were storming the fortifications of Edessa, one of the elephants, mounted by a great number of the most warlike men among the Persians, came close to the circuit-wall and made it seem that in a short space he would overpower the men defending the tower at that point, seeing they were exposed to missiles falling thickly from above, and would thus take the city. For it seemed that this was, in fact, an engine for the capture of cities. The Romans, however, by

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<sup>1</sup> αἰρήσει Hoeschel: αἰρήσειν MSS.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

37 ἐκ τοῦ πύργου ἐπικρεμάσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ-  
 τον διέφυγον. κραυγμὸν<sup>1</sup> γάρ τινα, ὧν, ὡς τὸ  
 εἰκός, ἤρτημένος, ὁ χοῖρος ἐνθένδε ἠφίει, ὄνπερ<sup>2</sup>  
 ὁ ἑλέφας ἀχθόμενος ἀνεχαίτιζε καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ  
 ἀναποδίξων ὀπίσω ἐχώρει. ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὖν ταύτη  
 38 ἐχώρησε. νῦν δὲ τὸ παρειμένον τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
 ὀλιγωρία ἢ τύχη ἐπλήρου. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Ἐδέσσης  
 ἐμνήσθην, οὐ σιωπήσομαι τὸ ἐκείνη τέρας πρὸ  
 39 τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ξυνενεχθέν. ἠνίκα γὰρ ὁ  
 Χοσρόης λύειν ἔμελλε τὰς ἀπεράντους καλου-  
 μένας σπονδὰς, γυνή τις ἐν πόλει βρέφος ἐκύει  
 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῶς ἀνθρωπόμορφον, δύο δέ τοι  
 κεφαλὰς ἔχον. ὁ δὴ τοῖς ἀποβεβηκόσι φανερὸν  
 40 γέγονεν. Ἐδεσσά τε γὰρ καὶ ἡ ἑῷα σχεδόν τι  
 πᾶσα καὶ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον<sup>3</sup> ἢ πολλὴ Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἀρχὴ βασιλεῦσι περιμάχητος δυοῖν γέγονε.  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὄθενπερ  
 ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

41 Τῆς δὲ ταραχῆς οὕτως ἐπιπεσοῦσης τῷ Μήδων  
 στρατῷ, ὅσοι δὴ αὐτῶν ὀπισθεν ἐτετάχατο, τὴν  
 μὲν ταραχὴν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων θεώμενοι, τὸ  
 δὲ ξυμβεβηκὸς οὐδαμῆ πεπυσμένοι, κατωρρώ-  
 δησαν, ἔς τε ὑπάγωγὴν ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ  
 42 ἐτράποντο. ταῦτό δὲ τοῦτο καὶ οἱ Δολομίται  
 παθόντες (ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων, γὰρ μαχόμενοι τὰ  
 ποιούμενα πάντα ἑώρων) αἰσχρὰν τινα φυγὴν  
 43 ἔφευγον, ἣ τε τροπὴ λαμπρὰ<sup>4</sup> ἐγεγόνει. καὶ  
 τετρακισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον,  
 ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τρεῖς τετύχηκεν εἶναι,

<sup>1</sup> κραυγμὸν—εἰκός L: καὶ κραυγῆς γάρ τινος. καὶ ὧν ὡς εἰκός K.

<sup>2</sup> ὄνπερ L: om. K.



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τέσσαρα δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν σημείων Ῥωμαῖοι  
 εἶλον, ἅπερ εὐθὺς ἐς Βυζάντιον βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψαν.  
 44 ἵππους δὲ φασιν αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ ἐς δισ-  
 μυρίους ἀπολωλέναι, οὐ βληθέντας οὐδὲ πλη-  
 γέντας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν μὲν  
 ὁδὸν πορευθέντας, κόπῳ δὲ ὠμιληκότας ἐν ταύτῃ  
 πολλῷ, τροφῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λαζικῇ ἐγένοντο, ὡς  
 ἤκιστα ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντας, οὕτω τε λιμῷ καὶ  
 ἀσθενείᾳ πιεζομένους πολλῇ διεφθάρθαι.  
 45 Ταύτης δὲ τῆς πείρας ὁ Μερμερόης ἀποτυχῶν  
 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Μοχήρησιν ἀπεχώρησεν,  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρχαιοπόλεως ἀποτυχόντες, Λαζικῆς  
 τῆς ἄλλης τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 46 οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον. Ἀρχαιοπόλεως δὲ ἢ Μο-  
 χήρησις ἡμέρας μιᾶς ὁδῷ ἀπέχει, πολλὰς καὶ  
 πολυανθρώπους κώμας ἔχουσα—καὶ γῆς τῆς  
 Κολχίδος αὕτη μάλιστα ἢ ἀρίστη ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ οἶνος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καρποὶ ἀγαθοὶ  
 φύονται, καίτοι τά γε ἄλλα τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐ ταύτη  
 47 ἔχει. ταύτην παραρρεῖ τὴν χώραν ποταμός,  
 Ῥέων ὄνομα, οὐ δὴ καὶ<sup>1</sup> φρούριον ᾧ κοδομήσαντο  
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κόλχοι, οὐπερ ὕστερον αὐτοὶ τὸ  
 πλείστον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ  
 κείμενον ἐσάγαν ὑπτίῳ εὐέφοδον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν  
 48 εἶναι. Κοτιάϊον δὲ τότε τὸ φρούριον ὠνομάζετο  
 τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, νῦν μέντοι Κόταῖς αὐτὸ  
 καλοῦσι Λαζοὶ τῇ τῆς φωνῆς ἀγνοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ  
 ὀνόματος διαφθείροντες ἁρμονίαν. ταῦτα μὲν  
 49 Ἀριανὸς οὕτως ἱστόρησεν. ἕτεροι δὲ φασὶ πόλιν  
 τε γεγονέναι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις τὸ χωρίον

<sup>1</sup> δὴ καὶ K : δὴ τὸ L.

of the commanders, and the Romans captured four of the Persiau standards, which they immediately sent to Byzantium for the emperor. They say, moreover, that not less than twenty thousand of their horses perished, not from wounds inflicted by their enemy's missiles or swords, but because in travelling a great distance they had become utterly exhausted and then had found no sufficiency of fodder since the time they had come into Lazica; and so, they say, under the stress of both starvation and weakness they succumbed.

Having thus failed in this attempt, Mermeroes withdrew with his whole army to Mocheresis; for, even though they had failed of getting Archaeopolis, the Persians still held the mastery of the greater part of the rest of Lazica. Now Mocheresis is one day's journey distant from Archaeopolis, a district which includes many populous villages. And this is really the best land in Colchis; for both wine and the other good things are produced there, though the rest of Lazica, to be sure, is not of such a sort. Along by this district flows a river called Rheon, and on it the Colchians in ancient times built a fortress, but in later times they themselves razed the greater part of it to the ground, because, lying as it did in a very flat plain, it seemed to them easy of access. In those times the fortress was named Coticiaion in the Greek language, but now the Lazi call it Cotais,<sup>1</sup> having corrupted the true sound of the name because of their ignorance of the language. Such is the account given by Arrian.<sup>2</sup> But others say that the place was a city in ancient times and was called

<sup>1</sup> Probably Cytaea, modern Cutais.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is not found in the extant works of Arrian.

καὶ Κοίταιον καλεῖσθαι· ἔνθεν τε τὸν Αἰήτην  
 ὠρμήσθαι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτὸν  
 τε Κοιταῖέα καὶ γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα Κοιταῖδα  
 καλεῖν.

50| Τοῦτο Μερμερόης τανῦν ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, ἐπεὶ οὐδεμίαν παρασκευὴν τοῦ  
 ἔργου εἶχεν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἤδη ἐνέκειτο,  
 ξύλινα τοῦ φρουρίου ὅσα καταπεπτώκει ὡς  
 51 τάχιστα ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. τοῦ δὲ  
 Κόταις ἄγχιστα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατόν ἐστιν,  
 Οὐθιμέρεος ὄνομα· ἐν ᾧ δὴ φυλακτῆριον ἐς τὸ  
 52 ἀκριβὲς οἱ Λαζοὶ εἶχον. μετεῖχον δὲ σφίσι τῆς  
 τοῦ φρουρίου φυλακῆς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται  
 53 ὀλίγοι τινές. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μερμερόης τῷ παντὶ  
 στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, γῆς τε τῆς Κολχίδος  
 τὰ κάλλιστα ἔχων, ἐμπόδιός τε τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
 γινόμενος ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος φρούριον τῶν ἐπιτη-  
 δείων τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἢ ἐς χώραν τὴν τε  
 Σουανίαν καὶ τὴν Σκυμνίαν καλουμένην ἵέναι,  
 54 καίπερ σφίσιν αὐτῆς κατηκόου οὔσης. πολεμίων  
 γὰρ ἐν Μοχηρήσιδι ὄντων, Λαζοῖς τε καὶ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ὁδοῦ ἀποκεκλειῖσθαι τῆς εἰς τὰ ταύτη  
 χωρία ξυμβαίνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐπὶ  
 Λαζικῆς ἐφέρετο τῆδε.

XV

Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Χοσρόου πρεσβευτῆς Ἰσδι-  
 γούσνας ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐς λόγους Ἰουστινιανῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ξυνιῶν πολὺ τι χρόνου κατέτριψε μῆκος.

<sup>1</sup> ὠρμήσθαι Maltretus from an inferior MS. : ὀρμᾶσθαι KL.



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2 πολλά τε διαφιλονεικήσαντες ἐν ὑστάτῳ ξυνέ-  
 βησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ πενταετῇ μὲν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἐν τῇ  
 ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐπικρατεία εἶναι, φοιτῶντας  
 δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἑκατέρωθεν καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐπι-  
 κηρυκευομένους ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ<sup>1</sup> τὰ τε ἀμφὶ  
 Λαζικῇ καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς διάφορα<sup>2</sup> διοικήσασθαι.  
 3 ξυνέκειτο δὲ Πέρσας πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ  
 μὲν τῆς ἐκεχειρίας τῶν πέντε τούτων ἐνιαυτῶν  
 κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ εἴκοσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲ μηνῶν  
 ὀκτωκαίδεκα,<sup>3</sup> οὓς δὴ μετὰ τὴν προτέραν ἐκε-  
 χειρίαν ἐς ταύτην διαδραμεῖν μεταξὺ ἔτυχεν,  
 ἕως ἑκάτεροι παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐπρέσβευον, ἕτερα  
 4 κεντηνάρια ἕξ. ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἔφασκον Πέρσαι  
 καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν σπονδῶν λόγους ξυγκεχωρη-  
 5 κέναι γενέσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴκοσι κεντηνάρια  
 Ἰσδιγούσνας μὲν αὐτόθεν ἡξίου, κομίζεσθαι,  
 βασιλεὺς δὲ ἤθελεν ἐς ἕκαστον ετος τέτταρα  
 δοῦναι, τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα, τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς  
 6 ξυνθήκας Χοσρόην ἐνέχυρον ἔχειν. ὕστερον  
 μέντοι τὸ ξυγκείμενον ἅπαν χρυσίον Ῥωμαῖοι  
 Πέρσαις εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν δασμούς  
 7 ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ αἰσχρὰ  
 ὀνόματα, οὐ τὰ πράγματα, εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἰσχύνεσθαι.  
 8 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Πέρσαις Βερσαβοῦς ὄνομα,  
 λόγιμός τε διαφερόντως· καὶ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ  
 9 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. ὄνπερ ποτὲ Βαλεριανὸς  
 ἐν Ἀρμενίοις παραπεπτωκότα· ἐν ξυμβολῇ δο-  
 ρυάλωτον εἶλεν, ἐς τε Βυζάντιον αὐτίκα βασιλεῖ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ KL: om. W.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ—διάφορα K: τὰς—διαφορὰς L, τὰ W.

<sup>3</sup> ὀκτωκαίδεκα KL: δώδεκα W.

And it was only after long-continued debates that they finally reached an agreement that for five years the truce should be observed in the realms of both sovereigns, while envoys passed back and forth from each country to the other, fearlessly carrying on negotiations for peace during this period until they should settle the points of disagreement regarding both Lazica and the Saracens. It was further agreed that the Persians receive from the Romans for this five-year truce twenty centenaria<sup>1</sup> of gold, and for eighteen months which had elapsed between the expiration of the former truce and the time when they had commenced negotiations with each other in the present case, six centenaria more. For the Persians declared that only on this understanding had they permitted negotiations for the treaty to proceed. Isdigousnas further demanded that he should receive these twenty centenaria on the spot, but the emperor wished to give four each year, his purpose, of course, being that he might have surety that Chosroes would not violate the agreement. Later, however, the Romans gave the Persians outright the entire amount of gold agreed upon, in order not to appear to be paying them tribute each year. For it is the disgraceful name, and not the fact, which men are wont as a general thing to be ashamed of.

Now there was a certain man among the Persians named Bersabus, a person of especial note and a very close friend of King Chosroes. Valerian had once happened upon this man in a battle in Armenia, and he took him prisoner and immediately sent him

<sup>1</sup> See Book III. vi. 2, note.



- 10 ἔπεμψε. καὶ αὐτῷ χρόνος πολὺς φυλασσομένῳ  
 ἐνταῦθα ἐτίβη. βουλομένῳ τε ἦν τῷ Χοσρόῳ  
 χρημάτων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προΐεσθαι πλῆθος, ὅπως  
 τὸν Βερσαβούν ἐπανήκοντα ἴδη ἐς τὰ Περσῶν  
 11 ἦθη. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξαιτησαμένον αὐτὸν Ἰσδι-  
 γούσνα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφῆ-  
 κεν.<sup>1</sup> ἐπηγγέλλετο γὰρ βασιλεῖ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς  
 οὗτος ἀναπείσειν Χοσρόην ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀνα-  
 12 στησαι τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ  
 ἐκεχειρία ἡδὲ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις, πέμπτον  
 τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως  
 13 τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. ταύταις δὲ  
 ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείστοι ἐπιεικῶς  
 ἤχθοντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν δικαίαν τινὰ ἢ ἀλόγιστον  
 ἐποιοῦντο τὴν μέμψιν, οἷά γε τὰ τῶν ἀρχομένων;  
 οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.
- 14 Ἐλεγον δὲ ὅτι δὴ Λαζικῆς βεβαιότατα πρὸς  
 Περσῶν ἀρχομένης<sup>2</sup> αἱ ξυυθῆκαι αὐταὶ γεγό-  
 νασιν, ὡς μή τις πενταετὲς αὐτοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀδεέστερόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον γῆς τῆς  
 Κολχίδος τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον  
 15 ἐνοικεῖν δύνωνται. ὅθεν αὐτοὺς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξε-  
 λάσαι οὐδεμιᾶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἅπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα  
 μηχανῇ<sup>3</sup> ἔξουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐν-  
 θένδε Πέρσαις εὐέφοδον τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσται. ταῦτα  
 οὖν ἀποσκοποῦντες οἱ πολλοὶ ἠσχαλλον καὶ  
 16 δυσφορούμενοι διηποροῦντο· καὶ ὅτι Πέρσαι τὸ  
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν σφίσιν ἐν σπουδῇ γεγονός, δόξαν  
 δὲ οὔτε πολέμῳ κρατήσῃν<sup>4</sup> οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ

<sup>1</sup> ἀφῆκεν W : ἐφῆκεν KL.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρχομένης KL : ἐχομένης W.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδεμιᾶ—μηχανῇ LW : οὐδεμίαν—μηχανήν K.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι, λέγω δέ, ὅπως ἐς δασμοῦ ἀπα-  
 γωγὴν ὑπόφοροι αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσονται, ἰσχυ-  
 ρότατα ἐν τῷ παρόντι τῷ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ὀνόματι  
 17 ἐκρατύναντο. τάξας γὰρ ὁ Χοσρόης Ῥωμαίοις  
 κεντηναρίων ἐπέτειον τεσσάρων δασμόν, οὐπερ  
γλιχόμενος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαφανῆς ἦν, ἐς ἔνδεκα  
 ἔτη τανῦν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἕξ καὶ τεσ-  
 σαράκοντα κεντηνάρια τῇ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας κεκόμισ-  
 ται<sup>1</sup> σκήψει, ὄνομα τῷ δασμῷ τὰς σπονδὰς θέμε-  
 νος, καίπερ ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς μεταξὺ<sup>2</sup> βιαζόμενός τε  
 18 καὶ πολεμῶν, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη. ὡνπερ Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ρύσασθαι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐν ἐλπίδι<sup>3</sup>  
 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾶ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς  
 Πέρσαις ἤσθοντο οὐ κεκρυμμένως γεγεννημένοι.  
 19 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτη ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἰσδιγούσνας δὲ χρήματά τε περιβαλόμενος  
 ὅσα οὐδεὶς πρέσβεων πώποτε, καὶ πάντων, οἶμαι,  
 πλουσιώτατος Περσῶν γεγυνώς ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπε-  
 κομίσθη, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς  
 ἐτετιμήκει τε<sup>4</sup> ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ χρήμασι  
 20 μεγάλοις δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. μόνος δὲ  
 πρέσβεων ἀπάντων οὗτος ἐς πείραν φυλακῆς  
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῷ  
 βάρβαροι εἶποντο πολλοὶ ἐσάγαν ὄντες ἐν πολλῇ  
 ἐξουσία ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος ἐντυγχάνειν  
 τε καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷς ἂν βούλοιντο, καὶ  
 τῆς πόλεως πανταχόσε περιπάτους ποιεῖσθαι,<sup>5</sup>  
 ὠνεῖσθαί τε καὶ ἀποδίδοσθαι ὅσα ἦν βουλομένοις

<sup>1</sup> κεκόμισται LW : κεκόσμηται K.

<sup>2</sup> μεταξύ W : om. KL.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἐλπίδι—οὐδεμιᾶ Haury : ἐλπιδι—οὐδεμιᾶ MSS. : ἐλπίδα  
 —οὐδεμίαν editors.

means,—that is to say, having the Romans subject to the payment of tribute to them—this had been most firmly achieved at the present juncture in the name of an armistice. For Chosroes, by imposing upon the Romans an annual tribute of four centenaria, the very thing he had clearly been bent upon having from the first, has up to the present time in a space of eleven years and six months speciously gathered in forty-six centenaria on the pretext of the armistice, giving to the tribute the name of treaty, although in the meantime he has, as stated, been carrying on a campaign of violence and war in Lazica. From this plight the Romans had not the least hope of rescuing themselves in the future, but they perceived that they had in no hidden sense become tributary to the Persians. Thus were these things done.

But Isdigousnas, in possession of money such as no envoy ever carried, and having become, I suppose, the wealthiest of all the Persians, departed on the homeward way, for the Emperor Justinian had honoured him in a signal manner and presented him with huge sums of money before his dismissal. And this man, unlike all other ambassadors, did not have the experience of being under guard in any sense, but both he himself and all who followed him—and they were an exceedingly numerous company—enjoyed complete freedom for a long period of time in meeting and associating with whom they wished, walking about in every part of the city, buying and selling whatever they

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<sup>4</sup> ἐτετιμήκει τε LW : τετίμηκεν K.

<sup>5</sup> περιπάτους ποιείσθαι KW : περιών L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σφίσι, καὶ ξυμβόλαια ποιεῖσθαι πάντα<sup>1</sup> ἐργασία  
 τε τῇ περὶ ταῦτα<sup>2</sup> ἐνδιατρίβειν ξὺν πάσῃ ἀδείᾳ,  
 καθάπερ ἐν πόλει αὐτῶν ἰδία, Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς  
 οὐδενὸς ἐπομένου ἢ ξυνόντος ὅλως ἢ τηρεῖν  
 ἀξιοῦντος, ἥπερ εἰώθει.

- 21 Ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετύχηκέ τι τῶν οὐπω  
 πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, γεγονότων ξυνε-  
 νεχθῆναι. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἔτους μετόπωρον ἦν, αὐχ-  
μὸς δὲ καὶ πνιγμὸς ὥσπερ θέρους μέσου ἐγένετο  
 θαυμαστὸν ὅσον· ὥστε ἀμέλει ρόδων μὲν πλήθος  
 ἄτε ἦρος ὄντος ἐφύη, τῶν εἰωθότων οὐδενὶ τὸ  
 22 παράπαν διαλασσόντων. καρποὺς δὲ τὰ δέν-  
 δρα σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα νέους τινὰς αὐθις ἤνεγκε,  
 κὰν ταῖς ἀμπέλοις οὐδέν τι ἦσσον ἐγένοντο  
 βότρυες, καίπερ τοῦ τρυγῆτου γεγενημένου ἡμέ-  
 23 ραις ἤδη οὐ πολλαῖς ἐμπροσθεν. οἷς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα  
 δεινοὶ τεκμηριούμενοι προὔλεγον ἀπροσδόκητον  
 μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι, οἱ μὲν ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ τούναντίον.  
 24 ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τι ξυμβεβηκὸς γεγονέναι  
 οἶμαι, νότων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνέμων, ἥπερ εἰώθει,  
 ἐπιπесόντων καὶ θερμῆς ἐνθένδε παρὰ τὰ ξυ-  
 νειθισμένα πολλῆς τε καὶ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς  
 25 ὥρας ἐπιγενομένης τῇ χώρᾳ. εἰ δέ τι, ὥσπερ  
 οὔτοί φασι, καὶ σημαίνει παρὰ δόξαν ἐσόμενον,  
 βεβαιότατα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβησομένων εἰσόμεθα.

<sup>1</sup> πάντα KL: ταῦτα W.

<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα KL: πάντα W.



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XVI

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ τάδε ἀμφὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
 τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐν  
 τούτῳ ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς<sup>1</sup> τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.  
 2 Γουβάζης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίοις εὐνοϊκῶς  
 ἔσχευ, ἐπεὶ οἱ Χοσρόην, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐπιβουλεύειν θάνατον  
 3 ἤσθετο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Λαζῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι  
 ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν δεινὰ  
 πάσχοντες καὶ διαφερόντως τοῖς ἄρχουσι τοῦ  
 στρατοῦ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμῆδιζον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-  
 στον, οὐ τὰ Περσῶν ἀσπαζόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀπαλ-  
 λαξείοντες τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν δυσ-  
 4 χερῶν τὰ τέως μὴ παρόντα αἰρούμενοι. ἦν δέ  
 τις ἐν Λαζοῖς οὐκ ἀφανῆς ἀνὴρ Θεοφόβιος ὄνομα,  
 ὅσπερ τῷ Μερμερόῃ λαθραιότατα ἐς λόγους  
 ξυμμίξας φρούριον ἐνδώσειν τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος  
 5 ὠμολόγησεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις  
 ἐπάρας ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὥρμησε ταύτην, φίλον  
 μὲν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσεσθαι,  
 Πέρσαις δὲ ἀνάγραπτον ἐπ' εὐεργεσία ἐς τὸν  
 πάντα αἰῶνα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δόξῃ τε καὶ πλούτῳ  
 καὶ δυνάμει αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι μέγαν. οἷς δὴ  
 Θεοφόβιος ἐπαρθεὶς πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ  
 ἔργον ἠπείγετο.  
 6 Καὶ ἦν γὰρ οὐδεμία ἐπιμιξία Ῥωμαίοις τε  
 καὶ Λαζοῖς τότε, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Πέρσαις πολλῇ  
 ἐξουσίᾳ πανταχόσε περιήρχοντο τῶν ταύτη

<sup>1</sup> Λαζικῆς Hoeschel: λαζικῆ K: λαζικοῖς L.

<sup>2</sup> χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ L: χοσρόην βασιλέα K.

## XVI

WHILE these negotiations were taking place in Byzantium between the Romans and Persians regarding the treaty, meantime the following took place in Lazica. Gubazes, the king of the Lazi, was well disposed toward the Romans, for he perceived that Chosroes, as I have stated in the previous narrative,<sup>1</sup> was plotting his death. But the most of the other Lazi, being subjected to outrageous treatment at the hands of the Roman soldiers, and being particularly angry with the commanders of the army, began to favour the Medes as a general thing, not because they preferred the cause of the Persians, but because they wished to be rid of the Roman rule and preferred those difficulties which were not for the moment present. Now there was a man of no mean station among the Lazi, Theophobius by name, who conferred very secretly with Mermeroes and promised to put the fortress of Uthimereos into his hands. And he filled the man with great hopes and urged him to accomplish this, declaring that as a result of this deed he would not only be a very close friend of King Chosroes, but would also be inscribed by the Persians as a benefactor for all time, and consequently would become great in renown and in wealth and power. Theophobius was elated by these promises and kept working still more eagerly for the accomplishment of his purpose.

Now there was at that time no free movement of the Romans and Lazi, but, while the Persians were going about everywhere in that country with

<sup>1</sup> Book II. xxix. 2.







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Ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ταῦτα ἤρεσκεν,  
 αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγείς αὐθὶς τε τῷ Μερμε-  
 12 ρόῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἤκων ἅπαντα ἔφραζεν. ὁ δὲ Περσῶν  
 ἄνδρας τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους<sup>1</sup> ἀπολεξάμενος ξὺν  
 αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ Οὐθιμέρεος ἔπεμψε, τὰ τε πιστὰ  
 παρεξομένους ἀμφὶ τε τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ τῇ  
 σωτηρίᾳ τοῖς τῆδε φρουροῖς καὶ τὸ φρούριον  
 13 τοῦτο καθέξοντας. οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι τὸ Οὐ-  
 θιμέρεος φρούριον ἔσχον καὶ Λαζικῆς τὴν ἐπι-  
 14 κράτησιν ἰσχυρότατα ἐκρατύναντο. οὐ μόνην  
 δὲ Λαζικὴν ταύτην<sup>2</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι ὑποχειρίαν πε-  
 ποίηνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σκυμνίαν τε καὶ Σουανίαν,  
 ἐκ δὲ<sup>3</sup> Μοχηρήσιδος ἄχρι ἐς Ἰβηρίαν ἄβατα  
 Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τῷ Λαζῶν βασιλεῖ ξύμπαντα  
 τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο.  
 15 ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι οὔτε  
 Λαζοὶ εἶχον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν  
 ὄρων ἢ τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐτόλμων οὐδέ πη τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις<sup>4</sup> ἐπεξιέναι.

16 Μερμερόης δὲ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐγκειμένης  
 ὥρας ξύλινον μὲν τείχος ἐν Κόταις ἐτεκτήνατο,  
 φρουρὰν τε Περσῶν τῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἦσσον  
 ἢ τρισχιλίων ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἐν τε τῷ  
 17 Οὐθιμέρεος ἄνδρας αὐτάρκεις ἀπολιπών. οἰκο-  
 δομησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Λαζῶν φρούριον,  
 ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σαραπανίν, πρὸς αὐτοῖς μάλιστα  
 τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὀρίοις Λαζικῆς κείμενον, αὐτοῦ  
 18 ἔμενεν. ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Λαζοὺς  
 ἀγείρεσθαι τε μαθὼν καὶ ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς  
 ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι ποταμοῦ Φάσιδος, παντὶ τῷ  
 19 στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γουβάζης  
 τε καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἔμαθον,

The men were delighted with these terms and he immediately departed from the place, and coming again before Mermeroes explained everything. Then Mermeroes selected the most notable men of the Persians and sent them with him to Uthimereos, for the purpose of arranging pledges both for the money and for the lives of the guards of the place and so taking possession of that fortress. Thus did the Persians gain the fortress of Uthimereos and thereby secured the mastery of Lazica most firmly. But not only did the Persians bring this land of Lazica under their sway, but also Scymnia and Suania, and in this way the whole territory from Mocheresis as far as Iberia became inaccessible to the Romans and the king of the Lazi. And neither the Romans nor the Lazi were able to ward off the enemy, for they did not even dare to descend from the mountains or their strongholds, nor to make any advances against the enemy.

Mermeroes, as the winter season came on, built a wooden wall at Cotais and established there a guard of warlike Persians no less than three thousand strong, and he also left a sufficient force of men in Uthimereos. And he also built up the other fortress of the Lazi which they call Sarapanis, situated at the very limit of the territory of Lazica, and remained there. But later, upon learning that the Romans and Lazi were gathering and making camp at the mouth of the Phasis River, he moved against them with his whole army. When Gubazes and the commanders of the Roman army learned this, re-

<sup>1</sup> ἄνδρας τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους K: τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἅπαντας L.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτην L: ταύτη K. <sup>3</sup> ἐκ δὲ Maltretus: ἐκ MSS.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδέ πη τοῖς πολεμίοις L: οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους K.

οὐχ ὑποστάντες τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον διε-  
 λύθησάν τε καὶ διεσώθησαν<sup>1</sup> ὥς πη ἐκάστῳ  
 20 δυνατὰ γέγονεν. ὃ τε Γουβάζης ἀναδραμῶν ἐς  
 τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς διεχείμαζε ξύν τε τοῖς  
 παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
 ἐπιτηδείοις, τῇ μὲν ἀμηχανία τῶν παρόντων  
 κακῶν διαμαχόμενος πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας  
 ἀνάγκην, ἐλπίδι δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐς τὸν μέλ-  
 λοντα χρόνον θαρσῶν, ταύτη τε τὴν τύχην  
 παρηγορῶν τὴν τότε παροῦσαν, οἶά γε τὰ ἀν-  
 21 θρώπεια, καὶ καταδοκῶν τὰ βελτίω. καὶ οἱ  
 ἄλλοι δὲ Λαζοὶ τῇ πρὸς βασιλέα Γουβάζην  
 αἰδοῖ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν οὐδέν τι ἤσσουν  
 ἐν τοῖς σκοπέλοις κατέτριβον, δύσκολον μὲν  
 ἐνταῦθα οὐδέν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων δειμαίνοντες,  
 ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
 χειμῶνα, ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἀμήχανά τε καὶ ὄλως  
 ἀπρόσοδα συμβαίνει εἶναι, λιμῶ δὲ καὶ ψύχει  
 καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ δυσθανατῶντες.

22 Ὁ δὲ Μερμερόης οἰκία τε πολλὰ κατ' ἐξουσίαν  
 ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Μοχήρησιν  
 κώμαις καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πανταχόθι καταστη-  
 σάμενος τῶν τῆδε χωρίων, τῶν τε αὐτομόλων  
 περιπέμπων τινὰς ἐς τῶν ὀρῶν τὰς ἀκρωρείας  
 καὶ τὰ πιστὰ παρεχόμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολ-  
 λούς ἴσχυσεν· οἷς δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπο-  
 ρουμένοις ἐχορήγει συχνὰ καὶ ὡς οἰκείων ἐπε-  
 μελεῖτο, τὰ τε ἄλλα διωκεῖτο ξύν ἀδείᾳ πολλῇ  
 23 ἅτε τῆς, χώρας γεγονὼς κύριος. καὶ πρὸς Γου-  
 βάζην εγραψε τάδε· “ Δύο ταῦτα ρυθμίζει τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις τὸν βίον, δύναμις τε καὶ φρόνησις.  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῷ δυνατῷ περιόντες τῶν πέλας



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αὐτοὶ τε βιοτεύουσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ ὄπη  
 βούλονται τοὺς καταδεεστέρους ἔσαι ἄγουσιν,  
 οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν δεδουλωμένοι τοῖς κρείτ-  
 τοσι, τῷ ξυνετῷ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν ἰώμενοι, θωπεία  
 τοὺς κρατοῦντας μετίασι καὶ οὐδέν τι ἤσσον ἐν  
 τοῖς οἰκείοις βιοῦν δύνανται, πάντων ἀπολαύον-  
 τες<sup>1</sup> τῇ κολακεία ὡνπερ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀ-  
 24 σθένειαν στερεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup> ξυμβαίνει. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ  
 παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἐθνῶν τισὶ σφίσι φέρεται οὕτως,  
 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ ταύτη πη ἔχει, ἀλλὰ  
 ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπασι πανταχόθι γῆς τῆς  
 οἰκουμένης ὡσπερ ἄλλο τι ἐμπέπηγε φύσει.  
 25 καὶ σὺ τοίνυν, ὦ φίλε Γουβάζη, ἦν μὲν οἶει  
 περιέσεσθαι Περσῶν τῷ πολέμῳ, μήτε μέλλε  
 26 μήτε σοι ἐμπόδιον γινέσθω μηδέν.<sup>3</sup> εὐρήσεις γὰρ  
 ἡμᾶς τῆς Λαζικῆς ἔνθα ἂν βούλοιο ὑφισταμένους  
 τε τὴν σὴν ἔφοδον καὶ ἀντιπαραταττομένους  
 ὑπὲρ χώρας τῆσδε ὄση δύναμις· ὥστε παρέσται  
 σοι διαγωνιζομένῳ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.  
 27 εἰ μέντοι ἀδύνατος ὢν<sup>4</sup> Περσῶν τῇ δυνάμει  
 ἀντιτάσσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οἶδας, σὺ δέ, ὦ ἴγαθέ,  
 τὸ δεύτερον διαχείριζε, τὸ γνῶθι σαυτόν, καὶ  
 προσκύνει τὸν σαυτοῦ δεσπότην Χοσρόην ἄτε  
 28 βασιλέα καὶ νενικηκότα καὶ κύριον. αἶτει τέ  
 σοι τῶν πεπραγμένων ἴλεων εἶναι, ὅπως ἂν τὸ  
 λοιπὸν δυνατὸς εἴης τῶν ἐνοχλούντων ἀπηλ-  
 29 λάχθαι κακῶν. ὡς ἔγωγε ἀναδέχομαι βασιλέα  
 Χοσρόην ἴλεῶν τέ σοι γενήσεσθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολαύοντες K : ἀπολάβοντες L.

<sup>2</sup> στερεῖσθαι L : τηρεῖσθαι K.

<sup>3</sup> μήτε σοι—μηδέν K : om. L.

neighbours, both live themselves according to their own desires and also never fail to lead where they wish those less powerful than themselves, while others, though enslaved to the stronger through their weakness, can still remedy their impotence by discretion, and by courting the powerful with flattery are still able to live with their own possessions, enjoying by means of their conciliatory attitude everything of which they are deprived by their weakness. And this does not hold only for some of the nations of men, while it is otherwise in other nations, but one might say that this is implanted in human experience universally in every part of the inhabited world like any other natural characteristic. Do you, accordingly, my dear Gubazes, if you think you are going to overcome the Persians in the war, neither hesitate nor let anything stand in your way. For you will find us in any part of Lazica you may choose ready to meet your attack and prepared in battle-array to fight for this land with all our might; so that in waging a decisive struggle you will have the opportunity to display your valour against us. If, however, even you yourself realize that you are unable to array yourself against the might of the Persians, then do you, good Sir, take the second alternative and 'know thyself,' and bow down before your master Chosroes as king and victor and lord. And beg that he be merciful to you in spite of your acts, in order that you may be able henceforth to escape the evils which harass you. For I personally promise that King Chosroes will be merciful to you and will give

---

<sup>4</sup> εἰ μέντοι ἀδύνατος ὢν K : ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀδύνατος εἶ L.



δώσειν, ὁμήρους σοι παρεχόμενον<sup>1</sup> παῖδας τῶν  
 ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων ἀρχόντων, ὡς τά τε ἄλλα  
 καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν  
 30 τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔξεις. εἰ δέ σοι  
 τούτων οὐδέτερον βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σὺ ἔς  
 τινα ἑτέραν ἀπιῶν χώραν δὸς τοῖς διὰ τὴν σὴν  
 ἀβουλίαν ταλαιπώροις γενομένοις Λαζοῖς ἀνα-  
 πνεῦσαί ποτε καὶ ἀπὸ δυσκόλων τῶν αὐτοῖς  
 ἐγκειμένων ~~ἀνενεγκεῖν~~, μηδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντον  
 ὄλεθρον τόνδε προστρίβεσθαι βούλου ἐπὶ σφα-  
 λερᾶς τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχοῦμενος· λέγω δὲ τῆς  
 31 Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας. οὐ γάρ σοι ~~τιμωρεῖν~~ ποτὲ  
 δυνατοὶ ἔσονται, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡμέραν  
 δεδύνηνται τήνδε.” Μερμερόης μὲν ταῦτα ἔ-  
 32 γραψε. Γουβάζην δὲ οὐδ’ ὡς ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν  
 τοῖς τῶν ὀρῶν ~~κολωνοῖς~~ ἔμενε, καταδοκῶν τὴν  
 ἐκ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίαν καὶ τῷ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην  
 ἔχθει ὡς ἤκιστα ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπόγνωσιν  
 33 ἐγκλίνειν<sup>2</sup> ἐθέλων. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὴν διά-  
 νοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βου-  
 λήματος ἀρμόζονται ~~χρείαν~~, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν τῷ  
 ἀρέσκοντι αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ προσχωροῦσι, καὶ προ-  
 σίενται τὰ ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα, οὐ διασκοπούμενοι  
 μὴ ψευδῆς εἶη, τῷ δὲ λυποῦντι χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες  
 ἀπιστοῦσιν, οὐ διερευνώμενοι μὴ ἀληθῆς εἶη.

XVII

Ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινὲς μοναχῶν  
 ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἤκουτες, γνόντες τε ὡς Ἰουστινιανῷ

<sup>1</sup> ὁμήρους σοι παρεχόμενον K: καὶ ὁμήρους σοι παρέχομαι L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγκλίνειν L: ἐκκλίνειν K.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

βασιλεῖ διὰ σπουδῆς εἶη μηκέτι πρὸς Περσῶν  
 τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἐς βασιλέα  
 γενομένοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ μετάξῃ διοική-  
 σεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ὡμολόγουν, ὡς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ  
 Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου του  
 2 ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσονται· χρόνου  
 γὰρ κατατρίψαι μῆκος ἐν χώρα ὑπὲρ Ἰνδῶν ἔθνη  
 τὰ πολλὰ οὔση, ἥπερ Σηρίνδα ὀνομάζεται, ταύτη  
 τε ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐκμεμαθηκέναι ὅποια ποτὲ  
 μηχανῇ γίνεσθαι τὴν μέταξαν ἐν γῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
 3 δυνατὰ εἶη. ἐνδελεχέστατα δὲ διερευνημένῳ τῷ βα-  
 σιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυθνομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθῆς<sup>2</sup> εἶη  
 ἔφασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκώληκας τινὰς τῆς μετάξης  
 δημιουργοὺς εἶναι, τῆς φύσεως αὐτοῖς διδασκάλου  
 τε οὔσης καὶ διηνεκῶς ἀναγκαζούσης ἐργάζεσθαι.  
 4 ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκώληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακο-  
 μίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν γόνον εὐπορόν  
 τε καὶ ῥάδιον ὄλως. εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκωλήκων  
 5 τῶνδε τὸν γόνον ὡὰ ἐκάστου ἀνάριθμα. ταῦτα  
 δὲ τὰ ὡὰ χρόνῳ πολλῷ τῆς γονῆς ὕστερον κόπρω  
 καλύψαντες ἄνθρωποι ταύτη τε διαρκῇ θερμῆ-  
 6 ναντες χρόνον<sup>3</sup> ζῶα ποιούσι. ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς μεγάλοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρή-  
 σασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι  
 7 τὸν λόγον. οἱ δὲ γενομένοι ἐν Σηρίνδῃ<sup>4</sup> αὐθις τὰ  
 τε ὡὰ μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκώληκας τε  
 αὐτὰ τρόπῳ ὡπερ<sup>5</sup> ἐρρήθη μεταπεφυκέναι δια-  
 πραξάμενοι τρέφουσί τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> διοικήσεσθαι K : διοικήσασθαι L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀληθῆς K : ὑγιῆς L.

<sup>3</sup> διαρκῆ—χρόνον K : διαρκῶς—χρόνῳ L.

<sup>4</sup> Σηρίνδῃ : συρίνδῃ K, Ἰνδία L.

entertained the desire that the Romans should no longer purchase their silk from the Persians, came before the emperor and promised so to settle the silk question that the Romans would no longer purchase this article from their enemies, the Persians, nor indeed from any other nation; for they had, they said, spent a long time in the country situated north of the numerous nations of India—a country called Serinda—and there they had learned accurately by what means it was possible for silk to be produced in the land of the Romans. Whereupon the emperor made very diligent enquiries and asked them many questions to see whether their statements were true, and the monks explained to him that certain worms are the manufacturers of silk, nature being their teacher and compelling them to work continually. And while it was impossible to convey the worms thither<sup>1</sup> alive, it was still practicable and altogether easy to convey their offspring. Now the offspring of these worms, they said, consisted of innumerable eggs from each one. And men bury these eggs, long after the time when they are produced, in dung, and, after thus beating them for a sufficient time, they bring forth the living creatures. After they had thus spoken, the emperor promised to reward them with large gifts and urged them to confirm their account in action. They then once more went to Serinda and brought back the eggs to Byzantium, and in the manner described caused them to be transformed into worms, which they fed on the leaves of the mulberry; and thus

<sup>1</sup> To Byzantium.

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<sup>5</sup> φπερ Hoeschel : ὡσπερ MSS.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστή-  
 8 σαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. τότε μὲν οὖν τά τε  
 κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πρίγματα Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ  
 Πέρσαις καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ μετάξῃ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχε.
- 9 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἀφικόμενος  
 παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν Ἰσδιγούσνας  
 τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελλε. καὶ ὅς τὰ  
 μὲν χρήματα κεκομισμένος τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν μελ-  
 λήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐπεσφράγισε, Λαζικῆς δὲ μεθίεσ-  
 10 θαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι τού-  
 τοις Οὔννων τῶν Σαβείρων ἐταιρισάμενος μέγα  
 τι χρῆμα ξὺν Πέρσαις τισὶ τῷ Μερμερόῃ εὐθύς  
 ἔπεμψεν. ὧ δὴ ἐπέστελλεν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι  
 δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλέφαντάς οἱ  
 πολλοὺς ἔστειλε.
- 11 Μερμερόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Οὔννων  
 στρατῷ ἐκ Μοχηρήσιδος ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ Λαζῶν  
 ὀχυρώματα ἦει, τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐπαγόμενος.
- 12 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ τὰς  
 ἐκβολὰς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ, Μαρτίνου ἡγουμένου  
 σφίσι, χωρίου ἰσχύι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀσφαλέσ-  
 13 τατα κρατυνάμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. ξυνῆν δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ Γουβάζης ὁ Λαζῶν βασιλεύς. οὗτος  
 δὲ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης  
 τινός, οὐδὲν ἄχαρι οὔτε Ῥωμαίων οὔτε Λαζῶν  
 14 τινὰ<sup>1</sup> ἔδρασε. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν  
 φρουρίῳ τῷ μαθὼν τὴν Γουβάζου ἀδελφὴν εἶναι  
 ἐπ' αὐτὸ<sup>2</sup> ἐπήγε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐξαιρήσων

<sup>1</sup> τινὰ K : τινί L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτό K : αὐτῇ L.



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- 15 μηχανῆ πάσῃ. καρτερώτατα δὲ ἀμυνομένων τῶν  
 ταύτῃ φρουρῶν καὶ χωρίου σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης  
 τῆς φύσεως ὀχυρότητι<sup>1</sup> ἄπρακτοι ἐνθένδε ἀπο-  
 κρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν· ἔπειτα  
 16 ἐπὶ Ἀβασγούς σπουδῆ ἴεντο. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν  
 Τζιβιλῆ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες τὴν δίοδον κατα-  
 λαμβάνοντες στενοτάτην τε καὶ κρημνώδη οὔσαν,  
 ἧπέρ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, τὸ παράπαν τε  
 17 ἀδιέξοδον, ἐμπόδιοι σφίσιν ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ οὐκ  
 ἔχων ὁ Μερμερόης καθ' ὃ τι τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους  
 βιάζεται, ὑπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τε  
 Ἀρχαιοπόλιν ὡς πολιορκήσων αὐτίκα ἦει. τοῦ  
 τε περιβόλου ἀποπειρασάμενος, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν  
 18 προὔχῳρει, ἀνέστρεφεν αὐθις. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐπισπόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν  
 δυσχωρίᾳ πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν  
 19 Σαβείρων τὸν ἄρχοντα ξυνηνέχθη πεσεῖν. μάχης  
 τε καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ τῷ νεκρῷ<sup>2</sup> γενομένης ὕστερον  
 Πέρσαι περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς βιασάμενοι τοὺς  
 ἐναντίους ἐτρέψαντο, ἐπὶ τε Κόταις καὶ Μοχή-  
 ρησιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοις τε  
 καὶ Πέρσαις ἐπέπρακτο τῆδε.
- 20 Τὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἅπαντα Ῥωμαίοις εὖ τε  
 καὶ καλῶς καθειστήκει. τῷ γὰρ Ἰωάννῃ, ὄνπερ  
 ἐνταῦθα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν κατε-  
 στήσατο, εὐτυχήματα λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσω  
 21 ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὃς δὴ ἓνα τῶν ἐν Μαυ-  
 ρουσίοις ἀρχόντων ἔταιρισάμενος, Κουτζίναν  
 ὄνομα, τὰ τε πρότερα μάχῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐνίκησε  
 καὶ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Ἰαύδαν,

<sup>1</sup> ὀχυρότητι K: om. L.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ νεκρῷ K: τὸν νεκρὸν L.

at all hazarde. But because the guards of that place offered a most valiant resistance and also because the naturally strong position gave them material assistance, the barbarians were repulsed from the town without accomplishing their purpose and withdrew; whereupon they hastily directed their course against the Abasgi. But the Romans keeping guard in Tzibile seized the pass, which was very narrow and precipitous, as I have stated previously,<sup>1</sup> and quite impossible to force, and thus they blocked their way. Consequently Mermeroes, having no means of dislodging his opponents by force, led his army back and straightway moved on Archaeopolis with the purpose of besieging it. But, upon making trial of the circuit-wall, he met with no success and consequently turned back again. But the Romans followed up the retreating enemy and in a dangerous pass began to slay many of them, among those who fell being, as it chanced, the commander of the Sabiri. And a fierce battle taking place over the corpse, the Persians finally, at dusk, forced back their opponents and routed them, after which they retired to Cotais and Mocheresis. Such then were the fortunes of the Romans and the Persians.

In Libya, on the other hand, affairs had taken an altogether favourable turn for the Romans. For it so fell out that John, whom the Emperor Justinian had appointed General there, met with a number of incredible pieces of good fortune, since after securing the allegiance of one of the Moorish rulers, Cutzinas by name, he first defeated the others in battle, and not long afterwards reduced to subjection

<sup>1</sup> Chap. x. 1, above.



οὐ Μαυρουσίω τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τε καὶ Νουμιδία  
 τὸ κράτος εἶχον, ὑποχειρίους πεποιήται, εἶποντό  
 22 τε αὐτῷ ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 πολέμιον Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον  
 ἐν γε Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο. τοῖς μέντοι φθάσασι  
 πολέμοις τε καὶ στάσεσιν ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἢ  
 χώρα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον οὔσα διέμεινεν.

XVIII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῆδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε  
 ξυνηνέχθη ἐν Εὐρώπῃ γενέσθαι. Γήπαιδες μὲν  
 ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, τὰς  
 σπονδὰς θέμενοι πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς σφίσι  
 2 πολέμιους ὄντας ἐτύγχανον. παντάπασι δὲ οὐχ  
 οἰοί τε ὄντες τὰ διάφορα πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλύσαι  
 πολεμητέα σφίσιν οὐ πολλῷ ἕστερον ᾔοντο εἶναι.  
 3 Γήπαιδες μὲν οὖν καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεῖ  
 ἐπ' ἀλλήλους τῷ πολέμῳ ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν.  
 4 ἠγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Γηπαίδων Θορισίν, τῶν δὲ  
 Λαγγοβαρδῶν Αὐδουῖν ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ  
 ἀνδρῶν μυριάδες πολλαὶ εἶποντο. ἤδη μὲν οὖν  
 ἄγχιστά πη ἀμφότεροι ἦλθον, οὐπω δὲ τὰ  
 5 στρατόπεδα πρὸς ἀλλήλων καθεωρῶντο. δείματα  
 δὲ τὰ πανικὰ καλούμενα ἔξαπιναίως ἑκατέροις  
 ἐπιπεσόντα φεύγοντας ἀπ' αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς  
 ἅπαντας ὀπίσω ἀπήνεγκε, μόνων τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 6 αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν. οἵπερ  
 αὐτοὺς ἀνθέλκειν τε καὶ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναγκαι-  
 τίξιν ἀποπειρασάμενοι οὐδὲν ἦνυον οὔτε θωπείαις  
 οἰκτραῖς οὔτε ἀπειλαῖς φοβεραῖς χρώμενοι.



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- 7 Περιδεῆς οὖν γεγονώς Αὐδουὶν ὄρων διασκε-  
 δαννυμένους ἀκόσμως<sup>1</sup> οὕτως (οὐ γὰρ ἤδει τοὺς  
 πολεμίους τὴν ὁμοίαν κεκληρῶσθαι τύχην) τῶν  
 οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τοὺς  
 8 ἐναντίους εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε τὴν εἰρήνην αἰτησο-  
 μένους. οἷπερ, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν  
 Γηπαίδων Θορισὶν ἀφικόμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα  
 εἶδον, ἔκ τε τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τετυχηκότων  
 κατενόησαν τὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ξυνενεχθέντα καὶ  
 τῷ Θορισὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἀνεπυθάνοντο  
 αὐτοῦ ὅπη ποτέ οἱ γῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ πλῆθος  
 9 εἶη. καὶ ὃς τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων οὐδὲν ἀρνηθεὶς  
 “Φεύγουσιν<sup>2</sup> οὐδενὸς διώκοντος” ἔφη. οἱ δὲ  
 ὑπολαβόντες “Ταῦτὸ τοῦτο,” φασί, “Λαγγο-  
 βάρδαι πεπόνθασιν. ἀληθιζομένῳ γάρ σοι, ὦ  
 βασιλεῦ, οὐδέν τι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀποκρυψόμεθα.  
 10 οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τὰ γένη ταῦτα διολωλέναι ὡς  
 ἤκιστα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ  
 διέλυσε τὴν παράταξιν, σωτήριον ἀμφοτέροις  
 ἐπιβαλὼν δέος, φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιχωρήσωμεν  
 τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ, τὸν πόλεμον καταλύοντες.”  
 “Ἐστω, γινέσθω ταῦτα,” ὁ Θορισὶν ἔφη. δυοῖν  
 11 τε οὕτως ἐνιαυτοῖν ἐκεχειρίαν πεποίηνται, ὅπως  
 μεταξὺ ἐπικηρυκευόμενοί τε καὶ παρ’ ἀλλήλους  
 αἰὲ φοιτῶντες ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ διάφορα  
 διαλύσωσι. τότε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἑκάτεροι ἀνεχώ-  
 ρησαν.  
 12 Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ ταύτῃ οὐχ οἰοί τε γεγενη-  
 μένοι ἐς τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων τὴν διάλυσιν ἀλλή-

<sup>1</sup> ὄρων διασκεδαννυμένους ἀκόσμως K: οἷς οἱ περί τε αὐτῷ διασκεδαννύμενοι ἀκόσμως ἤεσαν L.

So Anduin became thoroughly frightened at seeing the men taking to their heels in this disorderly manner (for he did not know that the enemy had shared the same fate), and straightway sent some of his followers on an embassy to his opponents to beg for peace. But these men, when they came to Thorisin, the commander of the Gepaedes, and observed what was taking place and understood from their own experience what had befallen their enemies, enquired of Thorisin, when they came into his presence, where in the world the host of his subjects was. And he, for his part, without making any denial of what had happened, said, "They are fleeing, though no man pursues." Thereupon the envoys said to him in reply, "This is the very thing which has happened to the Lombards also. For seeing that you speak the truth, O king, we shall conceal nothing on our side. Accordingly, since it is not at all the will of God that these nations should utterly perish, and since for this reason He dissolved the battle lines, smiting both armies with a saving fear, come now, let us too yield to the will of God by putting an end to the war." "Very well, let it be so," said Thorisin. Thus they made a two years' truce, to the end that by maintaining diplomatic relations and keeping constantly in communication with one another in the interval, they might make a thorough settlement of all their differences. So at that time they each withdrew with this understanding.

But finding themselves unable during this truce to come to such terms with each other as to reach a

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<sup>2</sup> φεύγουσιν K : πεφεύγασιν L.

λοῖς ξυμβῆναι, αὐθις ἐπὶ τὰ πολέμια ἔργα χωρεῖν  
 13 ἔμελλον. δειμαίνοντές τε Γήπαιδες τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀρχὴν (ἐπίδοξοι γὰρ ἦσαν ὡς Λαγγοβάρδαις  
 ξυντάξονται) τῶν τινὰς Οὔννων ἐς τὴν ὀμαιχμίαν  
 14 ἐπάγεσθαι διενουῦντο. ἔπεμψαν οὖν παρὰ τῶν  
 Κουτριγούρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνθένδε  
 ὤκηνται Λίμνης τῆς Μαιώτιδος, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐ-  
 δέοντο πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας ξυνδιε-  
 15 νεγκεῖν σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοῖς δισχιλίους τε καὶ  
 μυρίους εὐθύς ἔπεμψαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγοῦντο καὶ  
 Χινιαλῶν, ἀνὴρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια.<sup>1</sup>  
 16 Γήπαιδες δὲ τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τῇ  
 παρουσίᾳ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀχθόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐπω  
 ὁ τῆς μάχης ἐνειστήκει καιρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐνιαυτὸς ταῖς  
 ξυνθήκαις ἐτι ἐλέλειπτο,<sup>2</sup> πείθουσιν αὐτοὺς  
 καταθεῖν μεταξὺ τὴν βασιλέως γῆν,<sup>3</sup> πάρεργου  
 τῆς σφετέρας ἀκαιρίας πεποιημένοι τὴν ἐς  
 17 Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν  
 διάβασιν ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τε  
 Ἰλλυριοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίοις ἐφρούρουν,  
 αὐτοὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Οὔννους ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ κατ'  
 αὐτοὺς<sup>4</sup> διαπορθμεύσαντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρου ἐς τὰ  
 18 Ῥωμαίων ἤθη ἀφίεσαν.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν<sup>5</sup> πάντα σχεδὸν τι<sup>6</sup> ἐληΐσαντο τὰ  
 ἐκείνη χωρία, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει  
 τάδε. πέμψας παρὰ Οὔννων τῶν Οὔτιγούρων  
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Λίμνης ὤκηνται τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ὧν ἄλλοι—τὰ πολέμια KL: om. H.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ'—ἐλέλειπτο KL: om. H.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν β. γῆν LH: τῆς β. γῆς K, τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν Suidas.

<sup>4</sup> τούτους—κατ' αὐτούς L; om. K.



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Μαιώτιδος, ἐμέμφετό τε καὶ ἄδικον αὐτῶν ἀπε-  
 κάλει<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐς Κουτριγούρους ἀπραγμοσύνην, εἵπερ  
 τὸ τοὺς φίλους διαφθειρομένους περιορᾶν ἐν τοῖς  
 τῶν ἔργων ἀδικωτάτοις καταλέγειν δεήσει. αὐτῶν  
 19 γὰρ Κουτρίγουροι, ἔφη, πλησιοχώρων<sup>2</sup> ὄντων<sup>3</sup>  
 ἀφροντιστήσαντες, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ Βυζαντίου  
 χρήματα μεγάλα κομιζόμενοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος,  
~~τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας οὐ θέλου-~~  
~~σιν ἀποπαυεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅσημέραι καταθέουσί τε~~  
 20 καὶ ληΐζονται αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. τούτων δὲ  
 αὐτοὶ<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲν τὸ μέρος κερδαίνοντες, οὐδὲ τῆς  
 λείας Κουτριγούροις διαλαγχάνοντες, οὐ προσ-  
 ποιοῦνται κακουμένους Ῥωμαίους, καίπερ αὐτοῖς<sup>5</sup>  
 21 φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες. ταῦτα  
 σημήνας τοῖς Οὔτιγούροις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς  
 καὶ χρήμασι μὲν αὐτοὺς<sup>6</sup> δωρησάμενος, ὑπομνή-  
 σας δὲ ὄσων δώρων καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις  
 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχον, ἀναπείθει σφᾶς ἔφοδον  
 αὐτίκα ἐς τῶν Κουτριγούρων τοὺς ὑπολειμ-  
 μένους ποιήσασθαι.  
 22 Οἱ δὲ Γότθων τῶν σφίσι προσοίκων, οἱ δὲ  
 Τετραξίται καλοῦνται, δισχιλίους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν  
 ἐπαγόμενοι διέβησαν πανδημεῖ<sup>7</sup> ποταμὸν Τάναϊν.  
 23 ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Σανδὶλ, ἀνὴρ ξυνετώτατος μὲν  
 καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος, ἐς ἀλκὴν δὲ καὶ  
 24 ἀνδρίαν ἰκανῶς πεφυκώς.<sup>8</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσαντο, τῶν Κουτριγούρων

<sup>1</sup> ἀπεκάλει LH Suidas: ἐπεκάλει K.

<sup>2</sup> πλησιοχώρων KH: πλησιόχωροι L.

<sup>3</sup> ὄντων H: ὄντες KL.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοί H: οὔτοι K, οὔτοι L.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς K: οἱ αὐτῶ LH, αὐτῶν Suidas.

unjust their inactivity with regard to the Cutrigurs, if indeed one ought to consider the act of watching without protest the destruction of one's friends as the height of injustice. "For the Cutrigurs," he said, "paying no heed to their neighbours, the Utigurs, and that too though they receive great sums of money every year from Byzantium, are unwilling in any degree to cease from their injustice toward the Romans, but they are every day raiding and plundering them for no good reason. And though the Utigurs themselves gain no portion of this plunder nor share in the booty with the Cutrigurs, they are not taking the side of the Romans who are being wronged, though they have been on terms of close friendship with them from ancient times." Thus the Emperor Justinian, by sending this message to the Utigurs, and not only making a gift of money to them but also reminding them of all the gifts they had previously received from him on many occasions, persuaded them immediately to make an attack upon those of the Cutrigurs who had been left behind.

So they first drew into alliance with them two thousand of the Goths called Tetraxitae, who are their neighbours, and then crossed the Tanais River in full force. And they were commanded by Sandil, a man of the greatest cleverness and experienced in many wars, and one, moreover, well endowed with prowess and fortitude. So after they had made the crossing of the river, they engaged with a large

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<sup>6</sup> χρήμασι μὲν αὐτοῦς Η: χρήματα μὲν αὐτοῖς Κ, χρήμασι μὲν αὐτοῖς L.

<sup>7</sup> πανδημεί Κ: οἰμ. L.

<sup>8</sup> μὲν—πεφυκώς: τὰ πολέμια Η.



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλοῖς ὑπαντιάσασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ὧνπερ ἰσχυρότατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμυνομένων ἐπὶ μακρότατον μὲν ἢ μάχη ἐγεγόνει, μετὰ δὲ Οὐτίγουροι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες φεύγοντες, ὅπη αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε,<sup>1</sup> διεσώθησαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδραποδίσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

### XIX

Τούτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τότε πρὸς ἀλλήλους<sup>2</sup> διαμαχομένων ἠπέρ μοι εἴρηται, τοῦ τε κινδύνου σφίσι κατὰ τὴν ἀγωνίαν ἀκμάζοντος,<sup>3</sup> εὐτυχία<sup>2</sup> χρῆσθαι<sup>4</sup> Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη πολλῇ. ὅσοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Κουτριγούροις ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ὄντες ἐτύγχανον,<sup>5</sup> ἐς μυριάδας, ὡς φασι, ξυνιόντες πολλὰς, ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ διαλαθόντες<sup>6</sup> ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἐξαναστάντες οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ἀφίκοντο, καὶ νίκης ἀλλοτρίας ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώναντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Ἀράτιον στρατηγὸν στείλας παρά τε Χινιαλῶν καὶ Οὔννους τοὺς ἄλλους,<sup>7</sup> ἀγγεῖλαι μὲν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφίσιν ἐν γῆ τῇ σφετέρᾳ αὐτῶν ξυνενεχθέντα, χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῖς προϊέμενον πείσαι ἀπαλλίσσεσθαι ὅτι<sup>4</sup> τάχιστα ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν τε Οὔτινούρων τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα

<sup>1</sup> ὅπη—γέγονε: μόλις H.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν βαρβάρων—ἀλλήλους: οὕτω H.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ τε—ἀκμάζοντος KH: om. L.

<sup>4</sup> χρῆσθαι KH: om. L.



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πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρατίου κεκομισμένοι ξυνέβησαν μήτε  
 φόνον ἔτι ἐργάσεσθαι μήτε ἀνδραποδιεῖν Ῥωμαίων  
 μηδένα μήτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι δράσειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν  
 ἀναχώρησιν ἄτε διὰ φίλων ποιήσεσθαι τῶν τῆδε  
 5 ἀνθρώπων. ξυνέκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν  
 δυνατοὶ εἶεν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐν γῆ τῇ πατρώᾳ  
 ἐπανιόντες ἰδρύεσθαι, μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστεως  
 τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχεσθαι. ἦν δέ γε  
 αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ<sup>1</sup> μένειν ἀδύνατα ἢ, ἐπανιέναι μὲν  
 αὐθις αὐτοὺς ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, βασιλέα δὲ  
 σφᾶς δωρήσασθαι τισι τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων,  
 ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνταῦθα ἐνοικησάμενοι ἐνσπονδοὶ τε τὸν  
 πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίοις ἔσονται καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐς  
 τὸ ἀκριβὲς ξυμφυλάξουσιν ἐκ πάντων βαρβάρων.  
 6 Ἦδη δὲ καὶ Οὔννων τῶν ἡσσημένων ἐν τῇ ξυμ-  
 βολῇ καὶ διαφυγόντων τοὺς Οὔτιγούρους δισχίλιοι  
 ἦλθον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖ-  
 7 κας ἐπαγόμενοι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλοι τε  
 καὶ Σιννίων, ὅσπερ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ πολλῶ πρό-  
 τερον ἐπὶ τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευσε.  
 γίνονται τε Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἰκέται.<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 8 οὗτος αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ, ἐν τε  
 χωρίοις ἰδρύσασθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ Θράκης ἐκέλευσεν.  
 3 ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Σανδὶλ, ὁ τῶν Οὔτιγούρων βασιλεύς,  
 ἔμαθε, παρωξυσμένος τε καὶ περιωργισμένος, εἰ  
 αὐτὸς μὲν Κουτριγούρους ὁμογενεῖς ὄντας ἀδικίας  
 τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους τιννύμενος ἐξ ἡθῶν ἀναστήσειεν  
 αὐτοὺς τῶν πατρίων, οἱ δὲ βασιλέως σφᾶς ἐν-  
 δεξαμένου ἐνοικησάμενοι ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῆ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ KH: ἐνταῦτα L.

<sup>2</sup> ἰκέται K corr., W: οἰκέται K pr. π I.

a large sum of money from Aratius, made an agreement that they would commit no further bloodshed nor enslave any one of the Romans nor do any other harm, but would make their withdrawal, treating the people on the way as friends. And this also was agreed upon, that if, on the one hand, these barbarians should be able to return and settle in their own country, they would both remain there and hold fast for the future their allegiance to the Romans; but if, on the other hand, it should be impossible for them to remain in that land, they were to return once more to Roman territory, and the emperor would confer upon them some district in Thrace, to the end that they should establish their homes there and be for ever at peace with the Romans while they assisted in guarding the land carefully against all barbarians.

By this time two thousand of the Huns who had been defeated in the battle and escaped the Utigurs had entered the Roman empire, bringing their wives and children; and among their several leaders was Sinnion, who long before<sup>1</sup> had marched with Belisarius against Gelimer and the Vandals, and they now made themselves suppliants of the Emperor Justinian. He received them with all kindness and bade them settle on Thracian soil. But when Sandil, the king of the Utigurs, learned this, he was exasperated and filled with anger, seeing that, while he himself, by way of punishing the Cutrigurs who were his kinsmen for the wrong they had done the Romans, had driven them from their ancestral abode, they for their part had been received by the emperor, had settled in the land of the Romans, and were going to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book III. xi. 12.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλῶ ἄμεινον βιοτεύουσιν, ἔπεμψε<sup>1</sup> πρέσβεις  
 ἐς βασιλέα τὰ πεπραγμένα ὀνειδιούντας, οὐκ  
 ἐπιστολὴν αὐτοῖς τινὰ ἐγχειρίσας (ἐπεὶ γραμμά-  
 των παντάπασιν Οὐννοὶ ἀνήκοοί τε καὶ ἀμελέτη-  
 τοὶ ἐς τόδε εἰσὶ καὶ οὔτε γραμματιστὴν τινα  
 ἔχουσιν οὔτε τῷ περὶ τὰ γράμματα πόνῳ συναύ-  
ξεται αὐτοῖς τὰ παιδία),<sup>2</sup> βαρβαρικώτερον δὲ  
 ἅπαντα ἀποστοματιούντας ὅσα δὴ αὐτὸς ἐπι-  
 στείλειε σφίσι.

- 9 Ἀφικόμενοι οὖν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς ὄψιν Ἰουστινιανῶ  
 βασιλεῖ λέγειν οἱ ἔφασαν δι' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν ἐπι-  
 στολῇ τάδε βασιλέα Σανδὶλ· “Παροιμίαν τινὰ ἐκ  
 παιδὸς ἀκηκοὼς οἶδα, καὶ εἴ τι μὴ αὐτῆς ἐπιλέλησ-  
 10 μαι, τοιαύτη τις ἢ παροιμία τυγχάνει οὔσα. τὸ  
 θηρίον ὃ λύκος τῆς μὲν τριχός, φασίν, ἴσως ἂν τι  
 καὶ παραλλάξαι οὐκ ἀδύνατος εἴη, τὴν μέντοι  
 γνώμην οὐ μεταστρέφει,<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἀφιεΐσης αὐτῷ  
 11 μεθαρμοσαμένῳ ταύτην τῆς φύσεως. ταῦτα μὲν,  
 παροιμιαζόμενός φησιν<sup>4</sup> ὁ Σανδὶλ, “τῶν πρεσ-  
 βυτέρων ἀκήκοα, πλαγίῳ τινὶ παραδηλούντων  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα λόγῳ. οἶδα δὲ τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 12 πείρας μαθὼν, οἷα εἰκὸς ἦν ἀγροικιζόμενον βάρ-  
 βαρον ἐκμαθεῖν· τοὺς κύνας οἱ ποιμένες ἐπιτιθίους<sup>5</sup>  
 ὄντας ἀναιρούμενοι οὐκ ἀπημελημένως οἴκοι  
 ἐκτρέφουσιν, εὐγνωμον δὲ τοῖς σιτίζουσι ζῶον ὁ  
 κύων καὶ τὰ ἐς χάριν μνημονικώτατον. πράσ-  
 σεται οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ποιμέσι τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα,

<sup>1</sup> ἔπεμψε L: ἔπεμψεν οὖν K, ἔπεμψε τε W.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ οὔτε—παιδία: om. W.

<sup>3</sup> μεταστρέφει K: μετατρέψει L, μεταστρέψαι W.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφιεΐσης—φησιν W: ἀφιεΐσης αὐτῷ μεθαρμοσαμένῳ τῆς  
 φύσεως οὕτως K, ἀφυῶς αὐτὸ μεθαρμοσαμένων φησὶν L.



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τοῦ τῶν λύκων ἐπιόντων ποτὲ διακρούεσθαι τὰς  
 ἐκείνων ἐφόδους τοὺς κύνας παραστάτας τε καὶ  
 σωτήρας τοῖς προβατίοις καθισταμένους. καὶ  
 [3] ταῦτα ἐν γῆ τῇ πάσῃ γίνεσθαι οἶομαι. τεθέαται  
 γὰρ τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς οὔτε ποίμνη κύνας  
 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας οὔτε λύκους ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup>  
 πώποτε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τινὰ τοῦτον ἢ φύσις θεσμὸν  
 κυσί τε καὶ προβάτοις καὶ λύκοις νομοθετήσασα  
 14 ἔθετο. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῇ σῆ, οὐ δὴ<sup>2</sup>  
 πραγμάτων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπάντων, τάχα  
 δέ που καὶ τῶν ἀμηχάνων, περιουσίαν ξυμβαίνει  
 εἶναι, παράλλαξιν τούτων τινὰ οὐδαμῆ γίγνεσθαι.  
 15 ἢ γοῦν τοῖς πρέσβεσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς δείξατε ὅπως ἂν τι  
 καὶ τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ μάθοιμεν·  
 εἰ δὲ ἀραρότως ταῦτα πανταχῆ πέφυκεν, οὐ  
 καλὸν σοί ἐστι Κουτριγούρων τὸ γένος ξεναγεῖσ-  
 θαι, οἶμαι, τεθολωμένον ἐπαγαγομένῳ γειτόνημα,  
 καὶ οὐς ὄντας ὑπερορίους οὐκ ἦνεγκας, τανῦν<sup>3</sup>  
 16 ἐνδήμους πεποιημένῳ. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ τρόπον ἐς  
 Ῥωμαίους τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐνδείξονται οὐ πολλῶ  
 ὕστερον, καὶ τούτου χωρὶς οὔτε πολέμιος ἐπι-  
 λείψει διαφθείρων τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἐλπίδι  
 τοῦ ἡσσηθεὶς ἀμείνων ἔσεσθαι παρὰ σοί, οὔτε  
 φίλος περιέσται Ῥωμαίοις, ἐμπόδιός ποτε τοῖς  
 καταθέουσι γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐσόμενος, δέει τοῦ  
 μή, ἐπειδὰν φέρηται παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὰ κράτιστα,  
 τοὺς ἡσσημένους ἐπιδεῖν ἐπιφανέστερον αὐτοῦ<sup>4</sup>  
 παρ' ὑμῖν πράσσοντας, εἴ γε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν χώρα  
 ἐρήμῳ τε<sup>5</sup> καὶ ἄλλως ἀγόνῳ τὰ διαιτητήρια

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς W : αὐτήν K, αὐτοῖς L.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ δὴ W : οὐ δὴ K, εἰ καὶ L.

<sup>3</sup> τανῦν KW : τούτους L.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ Haury : αὐτοῦς KL, αὐτοῦ W.

when the wolves attack the flock at any time, the dogs may check their attacks, standing over the sheep as guardians and saviours. And I think this takes place throughout the whole world. For no man in the world has at any time seen dogs attacking a flock nor wolves defending it, but nature as a law-maker has established this as a kind of ordinance, as it were, for dogs and sheep and wolves. And I think that even in your empire, where practically everything is found in abundance, including doubtless even impossible things, there is not the slightest variation from this rule. Otherwise make a demonstration to my envoys in order that on the threshold of old age we may actually learn something new to our experience. But if these things are by nature everywhere fixed, it is not, I think, a fair thing for you to receive hospitably the nation of the Cutrigurs, inviting in a foul set of neighbours, and making people at home with you now whom you have not endured beyond your boundaries. For they will, after no long delay, shew their own true character toward the Romans, and apart from this, neither will an enemy be lacking who will prey upon the Roman domain in the hope that, if defeated, he will be better off at your hands, nor will a friend be left the Romans who some day will stand in the way of those who would overrun your land, through fear lest, when he gains the mastery by the gift of fortune, he may see the vanquished faring more splendidly than himself at your hands, seeing that while *we* eke out our existence in a deserted and thoroughly unproductive

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<sup>δ</sup> εἰ γε—ἐρήμω τε KW : om. L.



ἔχομεν, τοῖς δὲ<sup>1</sup> Κουτριγούροις σιτωνεῖν τε καὶ  
 τοῖς οἰνώσι κατακραιπαλᾶν ἐν ἐξουσία ἐστὶ καὶ  
 17 παροψίδας αἰρεῖσθαι πάσας. πάντως δέ πη  
 καὶ βαλανείων αὐτοῖς μέτεστι, καὶ χρυσοφο-  
 ροῦσιν οἱ πλανῆται καὶ ἱματίων οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσι  
 λεπτῶν τε καὶ πεποικιλμένων καὶ καταληλειμ-  
 μένων<sup>2</sup> χρυσῷ. καίτοι Κουτρίγουροι μὲν Ῥωμαίων  
 18 ἀνάριθμα πλήθη ἐξηνδραποδικότες τὰ πρότερα  
 19 μετήνεγκαν ἐς γῆν τὴν σφετέραν. οἷς δὴ τὰ  
 ἀνδραποδώδη πάντα ἐπέχειν οὐ πάρεργον τοῖς  
 καταράτοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάστιγας οὐχ  
 ἡμαρτηκόσιν ἐντεῖναι καὶ θανατοῦν ἴσως πρόχειρον  
 ἦν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα δεσπότη βαρβάρῳ ὅ τε τρόπος  
 20 καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία ἐφίησιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ πόνοις τε  
 ἡμετέροις καὶ κινδύνοις ἐς ψυχὴν φέρουσι  
 τύχης αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάξαντες τῆς τότε κρατούσης  
 τοῖς γειναμένοις ἀπέδομεν, διαπονήματα ἡμῖν τοῦ  
 21 πολέμου γεγεννημένους. ὧν δὴ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς πρὸς  
 ὑμῶν ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐκάτεροι κεκομίσμεθα, εἴ γε  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀπολαύομεν<sup>3</sup> ἔτι τῶν πατρίων κακῶν,  
 οἱ δὲ τοῖς δι' ἀρετὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποφυγοῦσι τὴν  
 αὐτῶν δούλωσιν χώρας τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσομοιροῦντες  
 22 διαλαγχάνουσι." τοσαῦτα μὲν Οὔτιγούρων οἱ  
 πρέσβεις εἶπον. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς πολλὰ  
 τιθασσεύσας καὶ δώρων πλήθει παρηγορήσας οὐκ  
 ἐς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε  
 ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> δέ ΚW : γάρ L.

<sup>2</sup> καταληλειμένων K : κατακεκαλυμμένων L, κατειλημμένω W.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολαύομεν KW : ἀπολάβομεν L.



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XX

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ τε Οὐάρνων  
 ἔθνει καὶ στρατιώταις νησιώταις οἱ δὴ ἐν νήσῳ  
 τῇ Βριττία καλουμένη ᾠκηνται, πόλεμος καὶ  
 2 μάχη ἐγένετο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύσδε. Οὐαρνοὶ μὲν  
 ὑπὲρ Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἴδρυνται, διήκουσι δὲ  
 ἄχρι ἐς Ὀκεανὸν τὸν ἄρκτῳ καὶ ποταμὸν  
 Ῥήνον, ὅσπερ αὐτούς τε διορίζει καὶ Φράγγους  
 3 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἃ ταύτῃ ἴδρυνται. οὗτοι  
 ἅπαντες, ὅσοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφὶ Ῥήνον ἐκατέρω-  
 θεν ποταμὸν ᾠκηντο, ἰδίου μὲν τινος ὀνόματος  
 ἕκαστοι μετελάγχανον,<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ Γερμανοὶ  
 4 ἐκαλοῦντο ἅπαντες. Βριττία δὲ ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ τούτου  
 μὲν Ὀκεανοῦ κεῖται, τῆς ἠϊόνος οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν,  
 ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων διακοσίων καταντικρῦ  
 τῶν τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῶν μάλιστα, Βρεττανίας δὲ  
 5 καὶ Θούλης τῆς νήσου μεταξύ ἐστίν. ἐπεὶ Βρετ-  
 τανία μὲν πρὸς δύοντά που κεῖται ἥλιον κατὰ τῆς  
 Ἰσπανῶν τὰ ἔσχατα χώρας, ἀμφὶ σταδίους οὐχ  
 ἦσσον ἢ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους τῆς ἠπείρου διέχουσα,  
 Βριττία δὲ ἐς τῆς Γαλλίας τὰ ὀπισθεν, ἃ δὴ πρὸς  
 Ὀκεανὸν τετραμμένα, Ἰσπανίας δηλονότι καὶ  
 6 Βρεττανίας πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. Θούλη δέ, ὅσα  
 γε ἀνθρώπους εἰδέναί, ἐς Ὀκεανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς τῇ  
 ἄρκτῳ τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ  
 Βρεττανία καὶ Θούλη ἐν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι  
 λόγοις ἐρρήθη· Βριττίαν δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἔθνη τρία  
 πολυανθρωπότατα ἔχουσι, βασιλεύς τε εἰς αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> μετελάγχανον Christ : μετελάγχανον ὡν δὴ ἔθνος ἐν Γερμανοὶ ὀνομάζονται L ; μετελάγχανον δὲ δὴ ἔθνος γερμανοὶ ὀνομάζονται ἐπίκοινον εἰληχότες τὸ ὄνομα K : Haury proposes, following K, ὄλον δὲ ἔθνος Γερμανοὶ κτλ.

## XX

Ar about this time war and fighting sprang up between the nation of the Varni and soldiers who live on the island called Brittia ;<sup>1</sup> and it came about from the following cause. The Varni dwell beyond the Ister River, and extend as far as the northern ocean along the river Rhine, which separates them from the Franks and the other nations who dwell in that region. Now among all these nations which in ancient times dwelt on both sides of the Rhine river each people had its own particular name, but the whole group was called in common Germans. The island of Brittia lies in this part of the ocean not far from the coast, being about two hundred stades off and approximately opposite the mouth of the Rhine, and between the islands of Britain and Thule. For while Britain lies to the west about in line with the extreme end of Spain,<sup>2</sup> separated from the continent by a distance which at the least is about four hundred stades, Brittia is towards the rear of Gaul, that side namely which faces the ocean, being, that is, to the north of both Spain and Britain. And Thule, as far as men know at any rate, is situated towards the extremity of the northern ocean. But the description of Britain and of Thule has been set down by me in the preceding narrative.<sup>3</sup> The island of Brittia is inhabited by three very

<sup>1</sup> Probably modern Denmark.

<sup>2</sup> Procopius imagines England roughly five degrees too far to the west.

<sup>3</sup> See Book VI. xv. 4 ff.

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<sup>2</sup> & Hoeschel: om. MSS.

- 7 ἑκάστῳ ἐφέστηκε. καὶ ὀνόματα κεῖται τοῖς  
 ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ  
 8 τῇ νήσῳ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες. τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ  
 τῶνδε τῶν ἔθνῶν πολυανθρωπία φαίνεται οὔσα,  
 ὥστε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κατὰ πολλοὺς ἐνθένδε μετανισ-  
 τάμενοι ξὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν εἰς Φράγγους  
 9 χωροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνοικίζουσιν εἰς γῆς τῆς  
 σφετέρας τὴν ἐρημοτέραν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπ’  
 10 αὐτοῦ τὴν νῆσον προσποιεῖσθαι φασιν. ὥστε ἀμέ-  
 λει οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον ὁ Φράγγων βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ  
 πρεσβείᾳ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς παρὰ βασιλέα  
 Ἰουστινιανὸν εἰς Βυζάντιον στείλας ἄνδρας αὐτοῖς  
 ἐκ τῶν Ἀγγίλων ξυνέπεμψε, φιλοτιμούμενος ὡς  
 καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἦδε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρχεται. τὰ μὲν  
 οὖν κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν καλουμένην νῆσον τοιαῦτά  
 ἐστι.
- 11 Τῶν δὲ Οὐάρνων ἀνὴρ τις οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον,  
 Ἑρμεγίσκλος ὄνομα, ἦρχεν. ὅσπερ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 κρατύνασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων, τὴν Θευδιβέρτου  
 ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Φράγγων ἄρχοντος γυναῖκα γαμετὴν  
 12 ἐποιήσατο. τετελευτήκει γὰρ αὐτῷ ἕναγχος ἡ  
 πρότερον ξυνοικοῦσα γυνή, παιδὸς ἐνὸς γενομένη  
 μήτηρ ὃν καὶ ἀπέλιπε τῷ πατρὶ Ῥάδιγιν ὄνομα,  
 ᾧ δὴ ὁ πατὴρ παρθένου κόρης, γένους Βριττίας,  
 ἐμνήστευσε γάμον, ἥσπερ ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ἦν  
 τότε Ἀγγίλων τοῦ ἔθνους, χρήματα μεγάλα τῷ  
 13 τῆς μνηστείας αὐτῇ δεδωκὼς λόγῳ. οὗτος ἀνὴρ  
 ξὺν Οὐάρνων τοῖς λογιμωτάτοις ἐν χωρίῳ τῷ  
 ἰππευόμενος ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ δένδρου τε καθήμενον  
 14 εἶδε καὶ πολλὰ κρώζοντα. εἴτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος  
 τῆς φωνῆς ξυνεῖς εἴτε ἄλλο μὲν τι ἐξεπιστάμενος,  
 ξυνεῖναι δὲ τοῦ ὄρνιθος μαντευομένου τερατευ-



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σάμενος, τοῖς παροῦσιν εὐθὺς ἔφασκεν ὡς τε-  
 15 θνήξεται τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις ὕστερον. τοῦτο  
 γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος δηλοῦν πρόρρησιν.  
 “ Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν προορώμενος ” ἔφη “ ὅπως δὴ ὡς  
 ἀσφαλέστατα ξὺν τῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ βιώσεσθε,<sup>1</sup>  
 τοῖς τε Φράγγοις ἐς κῆδος συνῆλθον, γυναῖκα  
 ἐνθένδε τὴν ἐμοὶ ξυνοικοῦσαν ἐπαγαγόμενος, καὶ  
 τῷ παιδὶ τῷ ἴμῳ περιβέβλημαι τὴν Βριττίαν  
 16 μνηστήν. ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι  
 ὑποτοπάζω αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, εἰμὶ δὲ ἄπαις  
 ἄρσενός τε καὶ θήλεος γόνου, ὅσα γε τὰ γυναικὸς  
 τῆσδε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἀνυμέναιός τε καὶ  
 ἄνυμφος ἔτι νῦν ἐστί, φέρε ὑμῖν ἐπικοινωνομαι  
 τὴν ἐμὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ εἴ τι ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀσύμφoron  
 δόξειεν εἶναι, ὑμεῖς δὲ αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴν ἀφίκωμαι  
 τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέτρον τοῦ βίου, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ  
 17 ~~κατακυροῦντες~~ διαπεραίνετε. οἶμαι τοίνυν Οὐάρ-  
 νοις ξυνοίσειν τὴν κηδείαν ἐς Φράγγους μᾶλλον ἢ  
 18 ἐς τοὺς νησιώτας ποιεῖσθαι. Βρίττιοι μὲν γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ ὅσον ἐπιμίγνυσθαι ὑμῖν οἰοί τέ εἰσιν, ὅτι μὴ  
 ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις· Οὐαρνοὶ δὲ καὶ Φράγγοι τουτὶ  
 μόνον τοῦ Ῥήνου τὸ ὕδωρ μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν, ὥστε  
 αὐτοὺς ἐν γειτόνων μὲν ὡς πλησιαίτατα ὄντας  
 ὑμῖν, ἐς δυνάμεως δὲ κεχωρηκότας μέγα τι χρῆμα,  
 ἐν προχείρῳ ἔχειν εὖ ποιεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ λυ-  
 μαίνεσθαι, ἥνίκα ἂν αὐτοῖς βουλομένοις εἴη·  
 19 λυμανοῦνται δὲ πάντως. ἦν μὴ τὸ κῆδος αὐτοῖς  
 ἐμπόδιον ἔσται. βαρεῖα γὰρ φύσει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
 ὑπερβάλλουσα αὐτοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων δύναμις  
 γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἀδικίαν ἐτοιμοτάτη, ἐπεὶ γείτονι  
 δυνατῷ ῥάδιον ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας

<sup>1</sup> βιώσεσθε Dindorf: βίωσησθε MSS.

prophecy, he at any rate immediately told those with him that he would die forty days later. For this, he said, was revealed to him by the pronouncement of the bird. "Now I," he said, "making provision that you should live most securely and at your ease, have related myself with the Franks by taking from their country the wife who is now my consort, and I have bestowed Brittia upon my son by betrothal. But now, since I expect to die very shortly, and, as far as this wife is concerned, I am without issue male or female, and my son furthermore is still unwed and without his bride, come now, let me communicate my thought to you, and, if it should seem to you not without some profit, do you, as soon as I reach the term of my life, put upon it the seal of your approval and execute it. I think, then, that it will be more to the advantage of the Varni to make the alliance by marriage with the Franks than with the islanders. For the men of Brittia, on the one hand, are not even able to join forces with you except after a long and difficult journey, while the Varni and Franks, on the other hand, have only yonder water of the Rhine between them, so that they, being very close neighbours to you, and having achieved an enormous power, have the means ready at hand both to help you and to harm you whenever they wish; and they will undoubtedly harm you if the said marriage alliance shall not prevent them. For men naturally find a neighbouring state's power, when it surpasses their own, grievous and a most ready cause of injustice, for a powerful neighbour may with comparative ease secure causes of war against his neighbours who are doing no wrong. Since, then, the facts are these, let the island girl



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20 ἐκπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, παρείσθω μὲν ὑμῖν τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦδε νησιῶτις μνηστή, χρήματα πάντα ὅσα παρ' ἡμῶν κεκομισμένη τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἔτυχε τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπενεγκαμένη ἢ νόμος ἀνθρώπων ὁ κοινὸς βούλεται. <sup>μισθόν</sup> Ῥαδίγισ δὲ ὁ παῖς ξυνοικιζέσθω τῇ μητριᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πατριὸς ἡμῖν ἐφίησι νόμος."

21 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως ἡμέρα νοσήσας τὴν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησεν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμεγίσκλου υἱός, Οὐάρων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν, γνώμη τῶν ἐν βαρβάροις τοῖσδε λογίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει τὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βουλήν καὶ τὸν γάμον αὐτίκα τῇ μνηστῇ ἀπειπὼν<sup>1</sup> τῇ μητριᾷ ξυνοι-

22 κίζεται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ τοῦ Ῥαδίγιδος μνηστή ἔμαθεν, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ πράγματος συμφυράν, τίσασθαι αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν ὕβρεως

23 ὤρμητο. τίμιον γὰρ οὕτω τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις σωφροσύνη νομίζεται εἶναι, ὥστε δὴ μόνον παρ' αὐτοῖς ξυντετυχηκότος ὀνόματος γάμου, μὴ ἐπιγενομένου τοῦ ἔργου, δοκεῖ πεπορνεῦσθαι γυνή.

24 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψασα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβεία τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἀνεπυθάνετο ὅτου δὴ ὕβρισειεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἔνεκα, οὔτε πεπορνευμένην οὔτε τι ἄλλο εἰργασμένην εἰς αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἄχαρι.

25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνύτειν οὐδὲν ταύτῃ<sup>3</sup> ἐδύνατο, τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν ἀνελομένη ἐπὶ πολέμια ἔργα ἐχώρει.

26 Ναῦς οὖν αὐτίκα τετρακοσίας ἀγείρασα στρατεύμα τε αὐταῖς ἐνθεμένη οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειπὼν K : ἀπεῖπε καί L.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς αὐτόν K : αὐτῷ L.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲν ταύτῃ L : ταῦτα οὐδαμῶς K.



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27 μυριάδων δέκα μαχιμῶν ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὴ ἐξηγεῖτο  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐάρνους τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ. ἐπήγετο  
 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἓνα, ξυνδιοικη-  
 σόμενον αὐτῇ τὰ παρόντα, οὐχ ὡς<sup>1</sup> μέντοι τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ἔχειν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' ἔτι<sup>3</sup> ἐν ἰδιώτου τελοῦντα  
 28 μοίρα. ἄλκιμοι δὲ εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα βαρ-  
 βάρων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι, ἕς τε  
 29 τὰς ξυμβολὰς πεζοὶ ἴασιν. οὐ γὰρ ὅσον εἰσὶ τοῦ  
 ἵππεύεσθαι ἀμελέτητοι, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἵππον ὅ τι  
 ποτέ ἐστιν ἐπίστασθαι σφίσι ξυμβαίνει, ἐπεὶ  
 ἵππον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ οὐδὲ ὅσα κατ' εἰκόνα  
 θεῶνται.<sup>4</sup> οὐ γὰρ ποτε τὸ ζῶον τοῦτο ἐν γῆ  
 30 Βριττία γεγονὸς φαίνεται. εἰ δέ ποτε αὐτῶν  
 τισὶν ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἢ ἄλλου του ἕνεκα Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἢ Φράγγοις ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἵππους ἔχοντι ἐπιχω-  
 ριάσασθαι ξυμβαίῃ, ἐνταῦθά τε ἵπποις ὀχεῖσθαι  
 αὐτοῖς ἐπάναγκες εἶη, ἀναθρώσκειν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχουσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτοὺς μετεω-  
 ρίζοντες ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβιβάζουσιν,  
 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τε βουλομένους ἐνθένδε αὐθις  
 31 αἶροντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατατίθενται. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ  
 Οὐάρνοι ἵππόται εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 ἅπαντες. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι τοιοῖδε  
 εἰσὶ. περίνεως δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ,  
 ἀλλ' αὐτερέται πάντες. οὐδὲ ἰστία τούτοις δὴ  
 τοῖς νησιώταις τυγχάνει ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες  
 αἰὲν ναυτίλλονται μόνον.

32 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν ἠπειρον,  
 παρθένος μὲν ἤπερ αὐτῶν ἦρχε, χαράκωμα  
 ἐχυρὸν πηξαμένη παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν  
 ἐκβολὴν ποταμοῦ Ῥήνου, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ὡς K: ὅς L.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχειν K: εἶχεν L.

than one hundred thousand fighting men, and she in person led forth this expedition against the Varni. And she also took with her one of her brothers who was to assist her in settling the situation, not that he was holding the kingship, for he was still living in the position of a private citizen. Now these islanders are valiant beyond any of the barbarians we know, and they enter battle on foot. And this is not merely because they are unpractised in horsemanship, but the fact is that they do not even know what a horse is, since they never see so much as a picture of a horse on that island; for it is clear that this animal has in no time lived in Brittia. And whenever it happens that some of them on an embassy or some other mission make a visit among the Romans or the Franks or any other nation which has horses, and they are there constrained to ride on horseback, they are altogether unable to leap upon their backs, but other men lift them in the air and thus mount them on the horses, and when they wish to get off, they are again lifted and placed on the ground. Nor, in fact, are the Varni horsemen either, but they too all march on foot. Such, then, are these barbarians. And there were no supernumeraries in this fleet, for all the men rowed with their own hands. Nor do these islanders have sails, as it happens, but they always navigate by rowing alone.

When they came to land on the continent, the maiden who commanded them, having established a strong stockade close by the mouth of the Rhine River, remained there with a small number, but

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<sup>3</sup> ἀλλ' ἔτι K : ἀλλά γε τόν L.

<sup>4</sup> θεῶνται K : τεθέανται L.

ἔμενε,<sup>1</sup> παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
 33 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι κελεύει. ἐστρα-  
 τοπεδεύοντο δὲ Οὔαρνοι τότε τῆς τε Ὀκεανοῦ  
 ἠϊόνος καὶ Ῥήνου ἐκβολῆς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν.  
 οὐδὲ ἀφικομένων κατὰ τάχος Ἀγγίλων ξυνέμιξαν  
 μὲν ἀμφότεροι ἐς χεῖρας ἀλλήλοις, ἤσσωνται δὲ  
 34 κατὰ κράτος Οὔαρνοι. καὶ αὐτῶν πίπτουσι μὲν  
 πολλοὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ ξὺν τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν τρέπονται ἅπαντες, οἳ τε  
 Ἀγγίλοι τὴν δίωξιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δι' ὀλίγου πεποιη-  
 μένοι, ἢ θέμις πεζοῖς, ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπε-  
 35 χώρησαν. οὗσπερ ἐκάκιζεν ἐπανήκοντας ἐς  
 αὐτὴν ἢ παρθένος, τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο  
 πικρότατα, οὐδὲν τῇ στρατιᾷ λόγου ἄξιον ἰσχυ-  
 ριζομένη πεπράχθαι, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀγάγοιεν αὐτῇ  
 ζῶντα Ῥάδιγιν.

36 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς μάλιστα μαχιμω-  
 τάτους εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν, ἀπαγγείλασα δορυάλωτον  
 37 ἀγαγεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα μηχανῇ πάσῃ. οἱ δὲ τὴν  
 αὐτῆς ἐπιτελοῦντες<sup>2</sup> ἐπίταξιν περιήρχοντο διερευ-  
 νώμενοι ξύμπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία,  
 ἕως ἐν ὕλῃ ἀμφιλαφεῖ κρυπτόμενον Ῥάδιγιν  
 εὔρον· δήσαντές τε αὐτὸν τῇ παιδί ἀπεκόμισαν.  
 38 καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῆς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰστήκει, τρέμων τε  
 καὶ τεθνήξασθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑποτοπάζων  
 θανάτῳ οἰκτίστῳ· ἢ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου  
 οὔτε ἀπέκτεινε οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι ἔδρασεν, ἀλλὰ  
 ὄνειδίσασα τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν ἀνεπυθάνετο τοῦ  
 ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα ἠλογηκῶς τὰ ξυγκείμενα  
 ἑτέρα γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνήν ξυιέλθοι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ πε-

<sup>1</sup> ἔμενε K : ἀπέμεινε L.



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39 πορνευμένης αὐτῷ τῆς μνηστῆς. καὶ ὅς τὴν αἰτίαν  
 ἀπολογούμενος τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ἀρχομένων<sup>1</sup> σπουδὴν προὔφερεν, ἰκεσίους τε  
 προὔτεινετο λόγους καὶ λιταῖς ἀνέμισαγε τὴν  
 ἀπολογία πολλαῖς, ἐς τὴν ἀνάγκην ἀναφέρων  
 40 τὸ ἔγκλημα. βουλομένη τε αὐτῇ ξυνοικισθή-  
 σεσθαι ὠμολόγει καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ τὸ πρότερόν  
 οἱ αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα τοῖς ἐπιγενησομένοις ἰάσε-  
 41 σθαι.<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν παῖδα ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τῶν τε  
 δεσμῶν ἀφεῖτο Ῥάδιγισ τῆς τε ἄλλης φιλοφρο-  
 σύνης ἠξίωτο, ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν Θευδιβέρτου  
 εὐθύς ἀδελφήν, τὴν δὲ Βριττίαν ἐγήματο. ταῦτα  
 μὲν τῆδε κεχώρηκεν.

42 Ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Βριττίᾳ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐδείμαντο  
 μακρὸν οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι, δίχα τέμνον αὐτῆς  
 πολλήν τινα μοῖραν· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ὃ τε ἀῆρ καὶ  
 ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα<sup>3</sup> πάντα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐφ' ἐκάτερά  
 43 ἐστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ τείχους πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα  
 ἡλιον εὐεξία τε ἀέρων ἐστὶ συµμεταβαλλομένη  
 ταῖς ὥραις, θέρους μὲν μετρίως ἀλεεινή, ψυχρινή  
 44 δὲ χειμῶνος· καὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲν πολλοὶ ὠκηνται  
 κατὰ ταῦτα βιοτεύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις,  
 τὰ τε δένδρα καρποῖς (ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ γινομένοις  
 ὠραίοις) ἀνθει, τὰ τε λήϊα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν κατα-  
 45 δεέστερον τέθηλεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕδασις ἡ χώρα  
ἐναβρυνομένη διαρκῶς φαίνεται. πρὸς δύοντα  
 δὲ πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ὥστε ἀμέλει ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν  
 οὐδὲ ἡμιώριον δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα βιῶναι,  
 ἔχισ δὲ καὶ<sup>4</sup> ὄφεις ἀνάριθμοι καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων  
 παντοδαπὰ<sup>5</sup> γένη διακεκλήρωται τὸν χώρον

<sup>1</sup> ἀρχομένων K : ἀρχόντων L.

unfaithful. And he, seeking to defend himself against the charge, brought forward the commands of his father and the zeal of his subjects, and he uttered words of supplication and mingled many prayers with his defence, excusing his action by the stress of necessity. And if it was her will that they should be married he promised that what he had done unjustly in the past would be repaired by his subsequent conduct. Now when this was approved by the girl, and Radigis had been released from his bonds and received kind treatment in all other matters, he straightway dismissed the sister of Theudibert and wedded the girl from Brittia. Thus did these events take place.

Now in this island of Brittia the men of ancient times built a long wall, cutting off a large part of it; and the climate and the soil and everything else is not alike on the two sides of it. For to the east of the wall there is a salubrious air, changing with the seasons, being moderately warm in summer and cool in winter. And many people dwell there, living in the same fashion as other men, and the trees abound with fruits which ripen at the fitting season, and the corn-lands flourish as abundantly as any; furthermore, the land seems to display a genuine pride in an abundance of springs of water. But on the west side everything is the reverse of this, so that it is actually impossible for a man to survive there even a half-hour, but countless snakes and serpents and every other kind of wild creature occupy this area as their own. And, strangest of

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιγενησομένοις λάσασθαι K : ἐπιγινομένοις λάσασθαι L.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ—τὰ ἄλλα K : ὅτι ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ ἀήρ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα L.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ καὶ K : ἐπεὶ καὶ L.      <sup>5</sup> παντοδαπά K : παντοδαπῶν L.



- 46 ἐκείνον. καί, τὸ δὴ παραλόγώτατον, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσιν ὡς, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος τὸ τεῖχος ἀμείψας ἐπὶ θάτερα ἴοι, εὐθυωρὸν θνήσκει, τὸ λοιμῶδες τῶν ἐκείνη ἀέρων ὡς ἤκιστα φέρων, τοῖς τε θηρίοις ἐνθαδε ἰούσιν ὁ θάνατος εὐθὺς ὑπαντιάζων ἐκδέχεται.
- 47 Ἐνταῦθα δέ μοι γενομένῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λόγου μυθολογία ἐμφερεστάτου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ μοι οὔτε πιστός<sup>1</sup> τὸ παράπαν ἔδοξεν<sup>2</sup> εἶναι, καίπερ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐκφερόμενος ἀναρίθμων οἱ δὴ τῶν μὲν πρασσομένων αὐτουργοί, τῶν δὲ λόγων αὐτήκοοι ἰσχυρίζοντο γεγονέναι, οὔτε παριτέος παντάπασιν, ὡς μὴ τά γε ἀμφὶ Βριττία τῆ νήσῳ ἀναγραφόμενος ἀγνοίας τινὸς τῶν τῆδε ξυμβαινόντων διηνεκῶς ἀπενέγκωμαι δόξαν.
- 48 Λέγουσιν οὖν τὰς τῶν ἀποβιούντων ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰς ἐς τοῦτο αἰεὶ διακομίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον. ὄντινα δὲ τρόπον, αὐτίκα δηλώσω, σπουδαιότατα μὲν ἀπαγγελόντων ἀκηκοὺς πολλάκις τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, ἐς ὄνειρων δέ<sup>3</sup> τινὰ δύναμιν ἀποκε-
- 49 κρίσθαι νενομικῶς τὰ θρυλούμενα. παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Βριττίαν Ὠκεανοῦ νήσου κώμας παμπληθεῖς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. οἰκοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι σαγηνεύοντές τε καὶ γῆν γεωργοῦντες καὶ ἐπ' ἐμπορίαν ναυτιλλόμενοι ἐς τήνδε τὴν νήσον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Φράγγων κατήκοοι ὄντες, φόρου μέντοι ἀπαγωγὴν οὐπώποτε παρασχόμενοι, ὑφειμένου αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦδε τοῦ ἄχθους, ὑπουργίας τινός, ὡς φασιν, ἔνεκα, ἧ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λελέξεται.

<sup>1</sup> οὔτε πιστός K : οὐτ' ἐπί L



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- 50 Λέγουσιν οί ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἐπικεῖσθαι τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν παραπομπὰς σφίσιν. ὅσοις<sup>1</sup> οὖν τῇ ἐπιγενησομένη νυκτὶ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, τοῦτο τῇ τῆς ὑπουργίας διαδοχῇ ἰτέον ἐστίν, οὗτοι δὴ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ξυσκοτάζη, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας τὰς αὐτῶν ἀναχωροῦντες καθεύδουσι, προσδεχόμενοι τὸν συναγωγέα τοῦ πράγματος.
- 51 ἄωρὶ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν<sup>2</sup> τῶν μὲν θυρῶν σφίσιν ἀρασσομένων αἰσθάνονται, φωνῆς δέ τινος ἀφανοῦς<sup>3</sup> ἐπαίτουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοὺς ξυγκα-
- 52 λούσης. αὐτοὶ τε ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡῖόνα βαδίζουσιν, οὐ ξυνιέντες μὲν ὅποια ποτὲ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναγκαζόμενοι.
- 53 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀκάτους παρεσκευασμένας ὀρῶσιν ἐρήμους τὸ παράπαν ἀνθρώπων, οὐ τὰς σφετέρας μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἑτέρας τινάς, ἐς ἃς δὴ ἐσβάντες τῶν
- 54 κωπῶν ἄπτονται. καὶ τῶν βάρεων αἰσθάνονται ἀχθομένων μὲν ἐπιβατῶν πλήθει, ἄχρι δὲ ἐς σανίδας τε ἄκρας καὶ τῶν κωπῶν τὴν χώραν τῷ ῥοθίῳ βεβαπτισμένων, ἀποδεουσῶν τε τοῦ ὕδατος ὅσον<sup>4</sup> οὐδὲ δάκτυλον ἓνα, αὐτοὶ μέντοι οὐδένα θεῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίαν ἐρέσσοντες ὥραν ἐς τὴν
- 55 Βριττίαν καταίρουσι. καίτοι ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἡνίκα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίαις ναυτίλλονται, οὐχ ἰστίοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐρέσσοντες,<sup>5</sup> ἐς νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν μόλις ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύονται. ἐς τὴν νῆσον δὲ καταπλεύσαντες ἀποφορτιζόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τῶν βάρεων σφίσι κούφων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κακ τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπαιρομένων ἔν τε τῷ ὕδατι καταδυομένων οὐδέν τι ἄλλο, πλὴν γε ὅσα ἐς τὴν τρόπιν αὐτήν.<sup>6</sup>

The men of this place say that the conduct of souls is laid upon them in turn. So the men who on the following night must go to do this work relieving others in the service, as soon as darkness comes on, retire to their own houses and sleep, awaiting him who is to assemble them for the enterprise. And at a late hour of the night they are conscious of a knocking at their doors and hear an indistinct voice calling them together for their task. And they with no hesitation rise from their beds and walk to the shore, not understanding what necessity leads them to do this, but compelled nevertheless. There they see skiffs in readiness with no man at all in them, not their own skiffs, however, but a different kind, in which they embark and lay hold of the oars. And they are aware that the boats are burdened with a large number of passengers and are wet by the waves to the edge of the planks and the oarlocks, having not so much as one finger's breadth above the water; they themselves, however, see no one, but after rowing a single hour they put in at Brittia. And yet when they make the voyage in their own skiffs, not using sails but rowing, they with difficulty make this passage in a night and a day. Then when they have reached the island and have been relieved of their burden, they depart with all speed, their boats now becoming suddenly light and rising above the waves, for they sink no further in the water than the keel itself.

<sup>1</sup> ὄσοις Braun: ὄσους MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφανούς L: διαφανῶς K.

<sup>3</sup> ἐρέσσοντες K: om. L.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν νυκτῶν K: νύκτωρ L.

<sup>5</sup> ὄσον K: om. L.

<sup>6</sup> ἐν τε—αὐτήν L: om. K.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

56 Καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὀρώσιν οὔτε  
 ξυμπλέοντα οὔτε ἀπαλλασσόμενον τῆς νηός,  
 φωνῆς δὲ ἀκούειν τινὸς ἐνθένδε φασὶ τοῖς ὑπο-  
 δεχομένοις ἀπαγγέλλειν δοκούσης πρὸς ὄνομα  
 τῶν συμπεπλευκότων αὐτοῖς ἕκαστον, τὰ τε  
 ἀξιώματα ἐπιλεγούσης οἷς πρῶην ἐχρῶντο καὶ  
 57 πατρόθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλούσης. ἦν δὲ καὶ  
 γυναῖκες ξυνδιαπορθμευσάμεναι αὐτοῖς τύχῳσι,  
 τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποστοματίζουσι τὰ ὀνόματα οἷσπερ  
 58 ξυνοικοῦσαι ἐβίων.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ τῆδε  
 ἄνθρωποι ξυμβαίνειν φασίν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

XXI

Οὔτω μὲν οὖν τὰ<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἐν  
 χώρα ἐκάστη ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Γοτθικὸς  
 πόλεμος ἐφέρετο ὧδε. Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Βυζάν-  
 τιον μεταπεμψάμενος<sup>3</sup> βασιλεύς, ἡπέρ μοι ἐν  
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, διὰ τιμῆς ἦγε, καὶ  
 οὐδὲ Γερμανοῦ τετελευτηκότος πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐς  
 τὴν Ἰταλίαν διενοεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν τῆς  
 ἐώας ὄντα, τῶν βασιλικῶν σωματοφυλάκων  
 2 ἄρχοντα καταστησάμενος, αὐτοῦ κατεῖχεν. ἦν  
 τε τῷ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ὁ Βελισάριος Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀπάντων, καίτοι τινὲς αὐτῶν πρότεροι ἀνάγραπ-  
 τοί τε ἐς πατρικίους γενόνασι καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν  
 3 ἀναβεβήκεσαν τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον. ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἦν δὲ—ἐβίων L: om. K.

<sup>2</sup> οὔτω μὲν οὖν τὰ L: τὰ μὲν οὖν K.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ τῶν πρωτείων ἐξίσταντο πάντες, αἰσχυρόμενοι κατὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ νόμῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δικαίωμα περιβάλλεσθαι.
- 4 ταῦτά τε βασιλέα κομιδῇ ἤρεσκεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ διεχείμαζεν ἐν Σάλωσι. προσδεχόμενοί τε αὐτὸν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν χρόνον οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ἄπρακτοι ἔμενον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἑκκαιδέκατον<sup>1</sup> ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ Γοθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.
- 5 Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῳ ἐνιαυτῷ Ἰωάννης μὲν διενοεῖτο ἐκ Σαλώνων τε ἐξανίστασθαι καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ὅτι τάχιστα ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν
- 6 τε καὶ Γότθους. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν διεκώλυεν, αὐτοῦ τε μένειν ἐπέστελλεν, ἕως Ναρσῆς ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀφίκηται. αὐτὸν γὰρ τοῦδε αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσασθαι<sup>2</sup> τοῦ πολέμου ἐβούλευσεν.
- 7 ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα ταῦτα βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἶη διαρρήδην μὲν τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ φανερὸν γέγονε· βασιλέως γὰρ βούλευμα ἔκπυστον ὅτι μὴ αὐτοῦ ἐθελουσίῳ ἀμήχανά ἐστιν.<sup>3</sup> ἃ δὲ ὑποπτεύοντες ἄνθρωποι ἔλεγον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.
- 8 ἔννοια Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὡς οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες Ἰωάννου ἐπακούειν ὡς ἤκιστα ἐθελήσουσιν, οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες
- 9 καταδεέστεροί τι αὐτοῦ τὸ<sup>4</sup> ἀξίωμα εἶναι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδεισε μὴ διχοστατοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ ἢ ἐθελοκακοῦντες τῷ φθόνῳ ξυγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα.
- 10 Ἦκουσα δὲ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἀπαγγέλλοντος Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρός, ἠνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δια-

<sup>1</sup> ἑκκαιδέκατον L: ἑπτακαιδέκατον K.

ashamed in view of his achievements to take advantage of the law and to claim the right which it conferred, a circumstance which pleased the emperor exceedingly. Meanwhile John, the nephew of Vitalian, was passing the winter in Salones. And during all this time the commanders of the Roman army, expecting him in Italy, remained inactive. And the winter drew to its close and the sixteenth year ended in this Gothic War, the history of which <sup>551</sup> Procopius has written.

When the following year opened, John was minded to depart from Salones and lead his army as quickly as possible against Totila and the Goths. But the emperor prevented him, bidding him remain there until Narses the eunuch should arrive. For he had decided to appoint him commander-in-chief for this war. But the reason why this was the wish of the emperor was explicitly evident to no one in the world; for it is impossible that an emperor's purpose be discovered except by his own will; but the surmises which people expressed I shall here set down. The thought had occurred to the Emperor Justinian that the other commanders of the Roman army would be quite unwilling to take orders from John, not consenting to be in any way inferior to him in rank. And consequently he feared lest by being at cross purposes or by playing the coward through envy they might make havoc of their operations.

And I also heard the following account of the matter given by a Roman gentleman when I was

<sup>2</sup> καταστήσασθαι L: καταστήσεσθαι K.

<sup>3</sup> ἔστιν K: ἔστι γενέσθαι L.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ τό K: αὐτοῖς τό L.

<sup>5</sup> δέ K: δέ ποτε L.



11 τριβὴν εἶχον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 συγκλήτου βουλῆς. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος  
 οὗτος ὡς ἄρχοι μὲν Ἰταλίας ποτὲ Ἀταλάρχος  
 ὁ Θευδερίχου θυγατριδοῦς, βοῶν δέ τις ἀγέλη  
 ἐς Ῥώμην ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀμφὶ δείλην  
 12 ὄψϊαν ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἦκει διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦν Φόρον  
 Εἰρήνης καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· ἐνταῦθα γάρ πη ὁ  
 τῆς Εἰρήνης νεὼς κεραυνόβλητος γενόμενος ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ κεῖται. ἔστι δέ τις ἀρχαία πρὸ ταύτης  
 δὴ τῆς ἀγορᾶς κρήνη, καὶ βοῦς ἐπὶ ταύτης  
 χαλκοῦς ἔστηκε, Φειδίου, οἶμαι, τοῦ Ἀθηναίου  
 13 ἢ Λυσίππου ἔργον. ἀγάλματα γὰρ ἐν χώρῳ  
 τούτῳ πολλὰ τούτοις δὴ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ποιήματά  
 ἐστίν. οὐ δὴ καὶ Φειδίου ἔργον ἕτερον· τοῦτο  
 14 γὰρ λέγει τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγάλματι γράμματα. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μύρωνος βοῖδίου. ἐπιμελὲς  
 γὰρ ἐγεγόνει τοῖς πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοις τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 τὰ κάλλιστα πάντα ἐγκαλλωπίσματα Ῥώμης  
 15 ποιήσασθαι. ἓνα δὲ ταῦρον ἔφη τῶν τηνικάδε  
 παριόντων εὐνοῦχον<sup>1</sup> τῆς τε ἀγέλης ἀπολειπό-  
 μενον καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς κρήνης ἐπιβατεύσαντα  
 16 καθύπερθεν βοῶς τοῦ χαλκοῦ στήναι. τύχη  
 δέ τινι παριόντα τινά, Τοῦσκον γένος, κομιδῇ  
 ἄγροικον δόξαντα εἶναι, συμβάλλοντα τὸ ποιού-  
 μενον φάναι (εἰσὶ γὰρ μαντικοὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμέ<sup>2</sup>  
 Τοῦσκοι) ὡς εὐνοῦχός ποτε καταλύσει τὸν  
 17 ἄρχοντα Ῥώμης. καὶ τηνικάδε μὲν ὃ τε Τοῦσκος  
 ἐκεῖνος καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγος γέλωτα ὠφλε.  
 πρὸ γὰρ τῆς πείρας αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι τὰς προρρήσεις  
 φιλοῦσι χλευάζειν, οὐκ ἀναχαιτίζοντος αὐτοῦς  
 τοῦ ἐλέγχου, τῷ μήτε ἀποβεβηκέναι τὰ πράγ-

<sup>1</sup> εὐνοῦχον L: εὐνούχων K.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐς ἐμέ K: οἶμαι L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ματα μήτε τὸν περὶ αὐτῶν λόγον<sup>1</sup> εἶναι πιστόν, ἀλλὰ μύθῳ τινὶ γελοιώδει ἐμφερῆ φαίνεσθαι.

18 Νῦν δὲ δὴ ἅπαντες τὸ ξύμβολον τοῦτο (τοῖς  
19 ἀποβεβηκόσιν ὑποχωροῦντες) θαυμάζουσι. καὶ  
διὰ τοῦτο ἴσως ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν ἐστρατήγει Ναρσῆς,  
ἢ στοχαζομένης τοῦ ἐσομένου τῆς βασιλέως  
20 γνώμης, ἢ πρυτανευούσης τὸ δέον τῆς τύχης. ὁ  
μὲν οὖν Ναρσῆς στρατεύμα τε λόγου ἄξιον καὶ  
χρήματα μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένος  
21 ἐστέλλετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐν  
μέσῃ Θράκῃ ἐγένετο, χρόνον τινὰ ἐν Φιλιππου-  
22 πόλει ἀποκεκλεισμένος τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔμεινε. στρα-  
τεύμα γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐπισκῆψαν τῇ Ῥωμαίων  
ἀρχῇ ἅπαντα ἠγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν  
ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες  
ἐπὶ Θεσσαλονίκην, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον  
ἦσαν, μόλις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει.

XXII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ἐπὶ Σαλώνων Ναρσῆν  
ἔμεινε, Ναρσῆς δὲ Οὐννων τῇ ἐφόδῳ συμποδιζό-  
μενος σχολαίτερον<sup>2</sup> ἦει, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Τουτίλας  
προσδεχόμενος τὴν Ναρσοῦ στρατιὰν ἐποίει τάδε.  
2 ἄλλους τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθίστη, τοὺς λοι-  
3 πούς ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἐάσας. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν  
ᾧ δυνάμεις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνδεικνύ-  
μενος<sup>3</sup> ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ μεταμέλει τῶν οἱ ἐς Ῥώμην  
εἰργασμένων τὰ πρότερα, ἐπεὶ ἐμπρήσας αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> λόγον K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> σχολαίτερον Hoeschel : σχολαιότερος K, σχολαιότερον L.

have not come about and the tale of them is not credible, but seems akin to some ridiculous myth.

But now all men, yielding to the arguments of actual events, marvel at this sign. And it was perhaps for this reason that Narses marched as general against Totila, the emperor's judgment penetrating the future, or chance ordaining the inevitable thing. So Narses, receiving a notable army and great sums of money from the emperor, set forth. But when he came with his command to the midst of Thrace, he spent some time at Philippopolis, having been cut off from his road. For an army of Huns had made a descent upon the Roman domain and were plundering and pillaging everything with no man to stand in their way. But after some of them had advanced against Thessalonice and the rest took the road to Byzantium, Narses finally departed thence and marched forward.

## λλII

Now while John, on the one hand, was at Salones awaiting Narses, and Narses, on the other hand, was travelling rather slowly, being hindered by the inroad of the Huns, meantime Totila, while awaiting the army of Narses, was engaged as follows. He placed a part of the Romans and some of the members of the senate in Rome, leaving the rest in Campania. And he commanded them to look after the city as well as they could, shewing plainly thereby that he felt repentance for what he had done to Rome previously; for he had, as it hap-

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\* ἐνδεικνύμενος K: om. L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλὰ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπὲρ Τίβεριν πο-  
 4 ταμόν. οἱ δὲ καθεστῶτες ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ  
 καὶ περιηρημένοι χρήματα πάντα, μὴ ὅτι τῶν  
 κοινῶν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἰδία σφίσι προσηκόντων  
 δυνατοὶ ἦσαν μεταποιεῖσθαι.

5 Καίτοι ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς  
 ἴσμεν φιλοπόλιδες Ῥωμαῖοι τυγχάνουσι ὄντες,  
περιστέλλειν τε τὰ πάτρια πάντα καὶ διασώ-  
 ζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲν  
 6 ἀφανίζεται Ῥώμη τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου. οἷ γε<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ πολὺν τινα βεβαρβαρωμένοι αἰῶνα τὰς τε  
 πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλω-  
 πισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα, ὅσα οἷόν τε ἦν χρόνῳ  
 τε τοσοῦτῳ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τῷ ἀπαμελεῖσθαι δι'  
 7 ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχειν.<sup>2</sup> ἔτι μέντοι  
 καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι, ἐν  
 τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναῦς Αἰνείου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ,  
 καὶ εἰς τόδε κεῖται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἀπιστον.  
 8 νεώσοικον γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει,  
 παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθην, ἐνταῦθά τε αὐτὴν  
 καταθέμενοι, ἐξ ἐκείνου τηρουν. ἥπερ ὅποια  
 ποτέ ἐστὶν αὐτὸς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

9 Μονήρης τε ἡ ναῦς ἥδε καὶ περιμήκης ἄγαν  
 τυγχάνει οὕσα, μῆκος μὲν ποδῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκα-  
 τόν, εὖρος δὲ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος  
 τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐρέσσεσθαι μὴ ἀδύ-  
 10 νατα εἶναι. ξύλων δὲ κόλλημα οὐδὲ ἐν τὸ  
 παράπαν ἐνταῦθά ἐστὶν οὐδὲ σιδήρων ἄλλη τινὲ  
 μηχανῇ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πλοίου εἰς ἄλληλά πη  
 ἐρήρυσται, ἀλλὰ μονοειδῆ ξύμπαντά ἐστι λόγου

<sup>1</sup> οἷ γε—ἔχει (§ 16) L: om. K.



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- 11 τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρείσσω καὶ μόνῳ γεγονότα, ὅσα  
 γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐν τῷδε τῷ πλοίῳ. ἢ τε γὰρ  
τρόπιδες μονοφυῆς οὔσα ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἄχρι ἐς  
 τὴν πρῶραν διήκει, κατὰ βραχὺ μὲν θαυμασίως  
 ἐπὶ τὸ κοῖλον ὑποχωροῦσα, καὶ αὐτὴ πάλιν ἐνθένδε  
 12 κατὰ λόγον εὖ μάλα ἐπὶ τὸ ὀρθόν τε καὶ διατετα-  
μένον ἐπανιοῦσα. τὰ τε παχέα ξύμπαντα ξύλα  
 ἐς τὴν τρόπιν ἐναρμοσθέντα (ἅπερ οἱ μὲν ποιηταὶ  
δρυόχους<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ νομέας) ἐκ τοίχου  
 13 ἕτερον τοῖχον. ὑφιζάνοντα δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ ἐξ  
 ἑκατέρας ἄκρας καμπὴν ποιεῖται διαφερόντως  
 εὐπρόσωπον, ὅπως ἂν τὴν νῆα μάλιστα κοίλην  
ἀποτετορνεῦσθαι ξυμβαίη, εἴτε τῆς φύσεως κατὰ  
 τὴν τῆς χρείας ἀνάγκην τὰ τε ξύλα διακοψάσης  
 καὶ ξυναρμοσαμένης τὰ πρότερα τὸ κύρτωμα  
 τοῦτο εἴτε χειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τε καὶ μηχανῇ  
 ἄλλῃ τῆς τῶν νομέων ἀνωμαλίας ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ  
 14 γεγεννημένης. σανίς τε πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάστη  
 ἐκ πρύμνης ἄκρας ἐς τῆς νηὸς ἐξικνεῖται τὴν  
 ἑτέραν ἀρχήν, μονοειδῆς οὔσα καὶ κέντρα σιδηρᾶ  
 τούτου ἕνεκα προσλαβοῦσα μόνον, ὅπως δὴ ταῖς  
 15 δοκοῖς ἐναρμοσθεῖσα τὸν τοῖχον ποιῇ. οὕτω μὲν  
 ἡ ναὺς ἤδη πεποιημένη κρείσσω παρέχεται τοῦ  
 λόγου τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν ἔργων τὰ πλείστῳ  
 παραλόγῳ ξυμβαίνοντα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα τίθεται  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ φύσις,  
 ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπινοίαις τὰ ξυνειθισμένα νικῶσα καὶ  
 16 τοῦ λόγου κρατεῖ. τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν ξύλων  
 οὐδὲν οὔτε σέσηπεν οὔτε τι ὑποφαίνει ὡς σαπρὸν  
 εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνῆς πανταχόθι οὔσα ἡ ναὺς,  
 ὥσπερ ὑπόγνον τῷ τεχνίτῃ τῷ αὐτῆς, ὅστις ποτ'

heard of and true only, as far as we know, of this one boat. For the keel, which is a single piece, extends from the extreme stern to the bow, gradually sinking to the middle of the ship in a remarkable way and then rising again thence properly and in due order until it stands upright and rigid. And all the heavy timbers<sup>1</sup> which fit into the keel (these the poets call "oak-stays," but others call them "shepherds") extend each and every one from one side all the way to the other side of the ship. These, too, sinking from either end, form a remarkably shapely bend, in order that the ship may be fashioned with a very wide hull, whether nature under the constraint of their future use originally carved out the timbers and fashioned this arch or the sweep of the ribs was properly adjusted by craftsmen's skill and other devices. Each plank, furthermore, extends from the very stem to the other end of the ship, being of one piece and pierced by iron spikes only for this purpose, that by being fastened to the timbers<sup>1</sup> they may form the side of the ship. This ship thus constructed makes an impression when seen which transcends all description, for the nature of things always makes those works which are most cunningly built not easy for men to describe, but by means of her innovations so prevails over our usual habits of mind as to check even our power of speech. Now none of these timbers has either rotted or given the least indication of being unsound, but the ship, intact throughout, just as if newly constructed by the hand of the builder,

<sup>1</sup> The ribs.

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→ <sup>1</sup> δρυόχους Maltretus: δίδχους L.



ἤν, νεναυπηγημένη, ἔρρωται καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ θαυμαστὸν ὄσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ τοῦ Αἰνείου νηὶ ταύτῃ ἔχει.

- 17 Τουτίλας δὲ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐς τριακόσια Γότθων πληρώσας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευεν ἵέναι, ληΐζεσθαι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἐπιστείλας δυνάμει
- 18 τῇ πάσῃ. οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Φαιάκων χώραν,<sup>1</sup> ἢ νῦν Κέρκυρα ἐπικαλεῖται, οὐδὲν
- 19 ἄχαρι ἐργάζεσθαι ἔσχε. νῆσον γὰρ οὐδεμίαν ἐν τῷδε τῷ διάπλῳ οἰκουμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Χάρυβδιν πορθμοῦ μέχρι ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος διηπορούμην ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἄρα τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἢ
- 20 νῆσος εἴη. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδαμῇ νῆσον τεθέαμαι, ὅτι μὴ τρεῖς, οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν τῆς Φαιακίδος, ἀλλ' ὄσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων οὔσας, βραχείας κομιδῇ καὶ οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων οἰκία ἐχούσας οὔτε ζώων οὔτε ἄλλων<sup>2</sup> τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν. Ὅθονοι
- 21 δὲ καλοῦνται τανῦν αἱ νῆσοι αὗται. καὶ φαίη ἂν τις τὴν Καλυψὼ ἐνταῦθα<sup>3</sup> γενέσθαι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά γῆς τῆς Φαιακίδος ὄντα οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν ἢ σχεδία, ὡς φησιν Ὅμηρος, ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νεὼς τινος χωρὶς ἐνθένδε διαπορθμεύσασθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὄσον τεκμηριουῖσθαι εἰρήσθω. τοῖς γὰρ παλαιοτάτοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐναρμόσασθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον οὐ ῥάδιον, ἐπεὶ ὁ πολὺς χρόνος τὰ τε τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα καὶ τὴν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> χώραν K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλων K : om. L.



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23 Τὸ πλοῖον ἀμέλει ὅπερ ἐν γῆ τῇ Φαιάκων ἐκ  
 λίθου λευκοῦ πεποιημένον παρὰ τὴν ταύτης<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀκτὴν ἔστηκεν,<sup>2</sup> ἐκεῖνό τινες οἴονται εἶναι ὁ<sup>3</sup> τὸν  
 Ὀδυσσεύα ἐς τὴν Ἰθάκην ἐκόμισεν, ἠνίκα ~~ξενα-~~  
 24 ~~γεῖσθαι~~ αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη. καίτοι οὐ μονοει-  
 δές τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι  
 25 μάλιστα πολλῶν ξύγκειται. καὶ γράμματα ἐν  
 αὐτῷ ἐγκεκόλαπται καὶ διαρρήδην βοᾷ τῶν τινὰ  
 ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἰδρύσασθαι τὸ  
 26 ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. Δία γὰρ Κάσιον  
 ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις  
 ἐν ἣ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἔστηκεν ἐς τόνδε τὸν  
 27 χρόνον<sup>4</sup> Κασώπη ἐπικαλεῖται. τοῦτον<sup>5</sup> δὲ τὸν  
 τρόπον ἐκ λίθων πολλῶν καὶ ἡ ναῦς ἐκείνη  
 πεποίηται ἦν Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ τοῦ Ἀτρέως τῆς  
 Εὐβοίας ἐν Γεραιστῷ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,  
 ἀφοσιούμενος καὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβριν,  
 ἠνίκα διὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας πάθος τὸν ἀπόπλου  
 28 ἡ Ἄρτεμις ξυνεχώρει τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἃ δὲ  
 γράμματα ἐν πλοίῳ τούτῳ ἢ τηνικάδε ἢ ὕστερον  
ξυσθέντα δηλοῖ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ. ὧν τὰ μὲν πλείιστα  
ἐξίτηλα χρόνῳ τῷ μακρῷ γέγονε, τὰ δὲ πρῶτα  
 καὶ ἐς τόδε διαφαίνεται λέγοντα ὧδε·

Νῆά με λαϊνέην<sup>6</sup> ἰδρύσατο τῆδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
 Ἑλλήνων στρατιῆς σῆμα πλοῖζομένης.<sup>7</sup>

29 καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔχει· “Τύννιχος ἐποίει Ἀρτέμιδι

<sup>1</sup> ταύτης K: ταύτη L. <sup>2</sup> ἔστηκεν L: om. K.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖνό—ὁ K: ἐκείνην τινὲς εἶναι τὴν ναῦν οἴονται ἢ L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον L: om. K.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦτον—ὠνόμαζον (§ 29) L: om. K.

→ <sup>6</sup> με λαϊνέην Gomperz: μελαίνην L.

<sup>7</sup> πλοῖζομένης Hoeschel: πληῖζομένης L.

Such is the case of the ship which stands by the shore of the island in the land of the Phaeacians, made of white stone and supposed by some to be the very one which carried Odysseus to Ithaca at the time when he had the fortune to be entertained in Phaeacia. And yet this boat is not a monolith, but is composed of a very great number of stones. And an inscription has been cut in it and cries aloud that some merchant in earlier times set up this offering to Zeus Casius. For the men of this place once honoured Zeus Casius, since the very city in which this boat stands is called up to the present time Casope. In the same manner that ship is made of many stones which Agamemnon the son of Atreus set up to Artemis at Geraestus<sup>1</sup> in Euboea, seeking even in this way to blot out the insult to her, at the time when through the suffering of Iphigeneia<sup>2</sup> Artemis permitted the Greeks to set sail. This is declared by an inscription on this boat in hexameters which was engraved either then or later. And though the most of it has disappeared because of the passage of time, the first verses are discernible even to the present and run as follows:—

“ Here on this spot Agamemnon did set me, a  
 ship made of marble,  
 A sign of the fleet of the Greeks sailing to Troy  
 e'er to be.”

And at the end it has the words: “ Made by

<sup>1</sup> Modern Porto Castri.

<sup>2</sup> Sacrificed by her father, Agamemnon, in order to propitiate Artemis who had detained the Trojan expedition by contrary winds.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Βολοσία.” οὕτω γὰρ τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ βολὰς τὰς ὠδίνας ὠνόμαζον.<sup>1</sup> ἐμοὶ δὲ αὖθις ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἰτέον.

30 Ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν οὗτος ὁ Γόθων στόλος ἀφίκετο, αὐτὴν τε ἤγον καὶ ἔφερον ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπίκεινται,  
31 αἱ Συβόται καλοῦνται· διαβάντες δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξαπιναίως ἅπαντα ἐληΐζοντο τὰ ἀμφὶ Λωδώνην χωρία καὶ διαφερόντως Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Ἀγχίαλον, οὐ δὴ Ἀγχίσην, τὸν Αἰνείου πατέρα, ἐξ Ἰλίου ἀλούσης ξὺν τῷ παιδὶ πλείοντά<sup>2</sup> φασιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι  
32 καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ χωρίῳ δοῦναι. περιόντες δὲ τὴν παραλίαν ὅλην καὶ ναυσὶ Ῥωμαίων<sup>3</sup> ἐντυχόντες πολλαῖς αὐτοῖς φορτίοις ἀπάσας εἶλον. ἐν ταῖς εἶναι ξυνέβη καὶ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς αἱ τῇ Ναρσοῦ στρατιᾷ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔφερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

XXIII

Τουτίλας δὲ πολλῶ πρότερον Γόθων στρατεύμα ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἐτύγχανε πέμψας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἐξελοῦσιν· οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐν Γόθοις<sup>4</sup> δοκιμωτάτους ἐπέστησε, Σκιποῦάρ τε καὶ Γίβαλ καὶ Γουνδούλφ, ὅσπερ Βελισαρίου  
2 δορυφόρος ἐγεγόνει ποτέ. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰνδούλφ

<sup>1</sup> ὠνόμαζον Etym. M. : ἐνόμισον L.

<sup>2</sup> πλείοντά Maltretus : πλείοντάς MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ναυσὶ Ῥωμαίων K : ναυσὶν ἐλλήνων L.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐκάλουν.<sup>1</sup> οἷς δὴ καὶ πλοῖα μακρὰ ἑπτὰ καὶ  
 τεσσαράκοντα ἔδωκεν, ὅπως τὸ φρούριον κατὰ  
 γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν πολιορκοῦντες ῥᾶόν τε καὶ  
 ἀπονώτερον τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν θήσονται.  
 3 χρόνου δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ προσεδρεία τριβέντος συχνοῦ,  
 συνέβαινε τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῇ τῶν ἀναγ-  
 καίων ἀπορία πιέζεσθαι.  
 4 Ἄπερ ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης  
 διατριβὴν ἔχων, ἀμύνειν τε κατὰ μόνας, τοῖς ἐν  
 τῷ Ἀγκῶνι Ῥωμαίοις οὐχ οἷός τε ὢν, πέμψας  
 πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐπὶ  
 Σαλώνων ὄντα ἔγραψε τάδε· “Μόνος ὁ Ἀγκῶν  
 5 οἷσθα, εἴπερ ἔτι νῦν ἀπολέλειπται.<sup>2</sup> οὕτω γὰρ  
 τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ Ῥωμαίοις<sup>3</sup> πικρότατα πολιορκου-  
 μένοις<sup>4</sup> τὰ πράγματα ἔχει ὥστε δέδοικα μὴ  
 βοηθοῦντες ἔξωροι ὦμεν, ὀπίσω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν  
 σπουδὴν ἔχοντες,<sup>5</sup> ἔωλόν τε τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ  
 6 προθυμίαν ποιούμενοι. ἀλλὰ παύσομαι. ἢ γὰρ  
 τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀνάγκη μακροτέραν τὴν  
 ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἐὰ γίνεσθαι, τὸν χρόνον ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν  
 ἀκριβῶς σφίγγουσα καὶ ὁ κίνδυνος ὀξυτέραν τοῦ  
 7 λόγου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ζητῶν.” ταύτην Ἰωάννης  
 ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς  
 βασιλέως ἀπορρηθέν, αὐτοκέλευστος ἐτόλμα  
 ἰέναι, τῶν οἱ πρὸς αὐτοκράτορος ἐπηγγελμένων  
προὔργιαιτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης στενοχωρίαν  
 8 πεποιημένος. ἄνδρας τε ἀπολεξάμενος οὗς μά-  
 λιστα πάντων ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ᾤετο εἶναι, καὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα πλοῖα μακρὰ ἐμπλη-  
 σάμενος πλέοντά τε ὡς τάχιστα καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον

<sup>1</sup> τινὲς—ἐκάλουν K: om. L.

he gave them also forty-seven ships of war, in order that, in besieging the fortress by land and sea, they might make the overmastery of it easier and less laborious. And after this siege had been continued a long time it came about that the besieged were hard pressed by the scarcity of provisions.

When this was learned by Valerian, who was waiting at Ravenna, being unable single-handed to succour the Romans in Ancon, he sent a messenger to John the nephew of Vitalian who was at Salones with the following letter. "Ancon is the only city left us to the south of the gulf, as you yourself know, if indeed it is now still left us. For such is the situation of the Romans who are being most closely besieged in this city, that I fear lest we be late with our assistance, shewing zeal after the critical time, and displaying our enthusiasm for it a day too late. But I shall cease. For the constraint imposed upon the besieged does not permit my letter to be made longer, since it strictly appropriates the time to its own uses, while the danger demands assistance more swift than words." When John had read this letter, he dared, though it had been forbidden him by the emperor, to go on his own initiative, considering the straitened condition brought about by chance more weighty than the imperial commands. So selecting men whom he considered the most able fighters of all, and manning thirty-eight ships of war with them—boats of great swiftness and built

<sup>2</sup> ὡς—ἀπολέλειπται K: om. L.

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς—ῥωμαίοις L: τοὺς—ῥωμαίους K.

<sup>4</sup> πολιορκουμένοις L: πολιορκουμένους K.

<sup>5</sup> ἔωλόν—ζητῶν (§ 6) L: om. K.



τὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ὡς ἄριστα πεποιημένα, ἐνιά τε αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνθέμενος, ἄρας ἐκ Σαλώνων τῷ Σκάρδωνι<sup>1</sup> προσέσχευ. οὐ δὴ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ξὺν ναυσὶ δώδεκα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἦλθεν.

9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν, κοινολογησάμενοί τε καὶ τὰ σφίσι ξύμφορα δόξαντα εἶναι βεβουλευμένοι, ἐνθένδε μὲν ἀποπλεύουσιν, ἐς δὲ ἠπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέρας κατάραντες ἐς χωρίον ὀρμίζονται ὃ δὴ Σενογαλλίαν<sup>2</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι,  
 10 τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ Γότθων στρατηγοὶ ἔμαθον, πλοῖα μακρὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ σφίσι παρόντα, ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ὄντα, Γότθων τῶν λογίμων αὐτίκα ἐπλήρουν.  
 11 τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῇ προσεδρεία τοῦ φρουρίου ἀπολιπόντες εὐθὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐχώρουν.  
 12 ἠγείτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ μεμενηκότων ὁ Σκιποῦαρ, τῶν δὲ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντων Γίβαλ τε καὶ Γουνδούλφ. ἐπειδὴ  
 13 τε ἄγχιστα<sup>3</sup> ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, τὰς τε ναῦς ἑκάτεροι ἀνεκώχευον καὶ ξυναγαγόντες αὐτὰς ἐς ὀλίγον παραίνεσιν ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐποιοῦντό  
 14 τινα.

14 Πρῶτοί τε Ἰωάννης καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἔλεξαν τοιᾶδε· “Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὧ ξυστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος μόνου τούτου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνεῖσθαι τανῦν οἰέσθω, μηδὲ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἀποκριθήσεσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν ξυμβολὴν τήνδε,<sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ ξύμπαν, ὡς συνελόν-

<sup>1</sup> Σκάρδωνι: Σκαρδῶνι Dindorf, στόλω K, ἀγκῶνι L, Πόλη Maltretus, Αἰώνη Comparetti.



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τας εἰπεῖν, τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κεφάλαιον ἐνταῦθα  
 ἐστάναι, ἔνθα τε ἂν ἀποκλῖναι ξυμβαίη τὴν  
 μάχην, συγκληροῦσθαι αὐτῇ καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸ  
 15 πέρας. οὕτως γὰρ περὶ τῶν παρόντων σκοπεῖσθε.<sup>1</sup>  
 πολλή τις ἐπὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀπόκειται<sup>2</sup> τοῦ  
 πολέμου ῥοπή, τοὺς τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανί-  
 16 ζοντας ἠττᾶσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐπάναγκες. λιμῶ  
 γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ἢ ἀρετὴ ξυνοικίζεσθαι, πεινῆν τε  
 καὶ ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἀνεχομένης τῆς φύσεως.  
 17 τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν  
 ὀχύρωμα ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος ἐς Ῥάβενναν  
 ἀπολέλειπται, ὅπη ἂν τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἡμῖν τε καὶ  
 ἵπποις<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποκεῖσθαι δεῆσει, οὕτω  
 τε οἱ πολέμοι κρατοῦσι τῆς χώρας ὥστε φίλιον  
 οὐδὲν μεμένηκεν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα χωρίον, ὅθεν ἂν  
 καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ τῶν τι ἐπιτηδείων ἐκπορίζεσθαι  
 18 χρή. ἐς δὲ τὸν Ἀγκῶνα ἡμῖν ἢ προσδοκία  
 μεμένηκε πᾶσα τοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἠπείρου τῆς  
 ἀντιπέρας καταίρουσιν ἐνταῦθα προσχεῖν δυνα-  
 19 τοῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀσφάλειαν<sup>4</sup> ἔχειν. οὐκοῦν εὐημερή-  
 σαντες ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ τήμερον καὶ βασιλεῖ τὸν  
 Ἀγκῶνα, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, κρατυνάμενοι τάχα ἂν καὶ  
 τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ πρὸς Γότθους πολέμου ἐν ἐλπίσιν  
 20 ἀγαθαῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν  
 ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἄλλο μέντοι πικρὸν οὐκ ἂν  
 εἴποιμεν, ἀλλὰ δοίη τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ὁ  
 θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις διηνεκῇ εἶναι. κακείνο δὲ λογί-  
 ζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἄξιον, ὡς κακοῖς ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γινο-  
 21 μένοις ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀποφεύγειν ἐξόν. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν  
 γῆν ἔξετε πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων κατειλημμένην οὔτε  
 τὴν θάλασσαν πλώϊμον, οὕτω θαλασσοκρατούν-

<sup>1</sup> σκοπεῖσθε K: σκοπεῖται L.

main issue of the whole war, to speak comprehensively, is here involved, and to whichever side the battle inclines, there will be bestowed also the final decision of fortune. For you should regard the present situation thus : War depends for its decision in large measure upon the commissary, and those in want of supplies are inevitably bound to be defeated by their enemy. For valour cannot dwell together with hunger, since nature will not permit a man to be starving and to be brave at the same time. This being the case, we have no other stronghold left us from Dryns to Ravenna, where we can deposit the food supplies for ourselves and our horses, and the enemy are so thoroughly masters of the land that not a single town remains there friendly to us, from which we could even in small measure provide ourselves with supplies. And it is on Ancon alone that our whole expectation is based that the army sailing in from the opposite mainland can land here and be in safety. Consequently, if we fare well in to-day's encounter, and secure Ancon, as is probable, for the emperor, we shall perhaps be in a position henceforth to hope that what remains of the Gothic war will likewise go well for us. If, however, we fail in this battle,—but of further calamity we would not speak, only may God grant to the Romans the lasting mastery of Italy. And this too is worthy of our consideration, that, if we shew ourselves cowards in the struggle, even flight will be impossible. For neither will you have the land, seeing it is held fast by our opponents, nor will you be able to sail the sea, since the enemy control it as they do ; but

<sup>1</sup> πολλή τις ἐπὶ ταῖς δαπάναις ἀπόκειται K : om. L.

<sup>2</sup> ἵπποις K : om. L.      <sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀσφάλειαν L : ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ H.

των τῶν πολεμίων,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡμῖν ἡ  
 τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὐσα καὶ  
ξυμμεταβαλλομένη τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀγώνισιν  
 22 ἔργοις. ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε τοίνυν ὅση δύναμις,  
 τοῦτο ἐκεῖνο ἐκλογιζόμενοι, ὡς ἡσσηθέντες μὲν  
 ἐν τῷ παρόντι τὴν ὑστάτην ἠτταν κληρώσεσθε,  
 νενικηκότες δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄγαν εὐδαιμόνων ξὺν τῇ  
 εὐκλείᾳ τετάξεσθε.”

23 Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Βαλεριανὸς τῶσαῦτα εἶπον.  
 καὶ οἱ Γότθων δὲ ἄρχοντες τοιάνδε τὴν παράκλη-  
 σιν ἐποιήσαντο. “Ἐπειδὴ πάσης ἀπεληλαμένοι  
 τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ πολὺν τινα χρόνον οὐκ ἴσμεν ἐν  
 ὁποίοις ποτὲ μυχοῖς οἶδε<sup>2</sup> οἱ κατάρατοι τῆς γῆς ἢ  
 τῆς θαλάσσης διαλαθόντες τανὺν ἡμῖν τετολμή-  
 κασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, καὶ ὡς ἀναμαχούμενοι ἐφ’  
 ἡμᾶς ἤκουσιν, ἐπάναγκες αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀβουλίας  
 ἐγγενόμενον θράσος ἀναχαιτίζειν προθυμία τῇ  
 πάσῃ, ὡς μὴ ἐνδιδόντων ἡμῶν τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας  
 24 αὐτοῖς ἐς μέγα χωροίη. ἀμαθία γὰρ οὐ κατ’  
 ἀρχὰς ἀναστελλομένη ἀναβαίνει μὲν ἐπ’ ἄπειρον  
 τόλμαν, ἐς ἀνηκέστους δὲ τῶν παραπιπτόντων  
 25 τελευτᾷ συμφοράς. δείξατε τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὅτι  
 τάχιστα ὡς Γραικοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ ἄνανδροι φύσει  
 καὶ ἡσσημένοι θρασύνονται, μηδὲ συγχωρήσητε  
 26 τὴν διάπειραν αὐτοῖς πρόσω ἰέναι. ἀνανδρία γὰρ  
 καταφρονηθεῖσα ἐπὶ παρρησίαν ἐξάγεται μείζω,  
 27 ἐπεὶ τῷ προῖέναι τὸ θάρσος ἄοκνον γίνεται. ἐπὶ  
 πολὺ δὲ ἀνθέξειν αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθιζομένοις ὑμῖν  
 μηδαμῶς οἶεσθε. φρόνημα γὰρ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τῶν πολεμίων K in margin, L : ῥωμαίων K in context.

<sup>2</sup> οἶδε K : ἦσαν L.



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αὐτῷ χρωμένων μὴ συμμετρούμενον πρὸ μὲν τοῦ  
 ἔργου ἐπαιρόμενον ἐν ἀκμῇ φαίνεται, ἀρξάμενης  
 28 δὲ τῆς συμβολῆς καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν. ὅτε τοίνυν  
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν ὄντινα  
 τρόπον οἱ πολέμοι πολλάκις ἀποπειρασάμενοι  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀπήλλαξαν, ἐκλογίζεσθε  
 δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἀμείνους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγεννημένοι  
 ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὄρμηται, ἀλλὰ τὰ παραπλήσια τοῖς  
 προλαβοῦσι τετολμηκότες, τὴν ὁμοίαν καὶ νῦν  
 κληρώσονται τύχην.”

29 Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ τῶν Γότθων ἄρχοντες παρα-  
 κελυσάμενοι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάσαντες  
 μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ἦν τε ἡ  
 ναυμαχία ἐσάγαν ἰσχυρά, πεζομαχία ἐμφορῆς<sup>1</sup>  
 30 οὔσα. τὰς τε γὰρ ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἀντιπρώρους  
 ταῖς τῶν ἐναντίων ἐκάτεροι στήσαντες τὰ τοξεύ-  
 ματα ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφίεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀρετῆς  
 τι μετεποιούντο, ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων γινόμενοι  
 ἐν χρῶ τε ξυνιόντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστροφμάτων  
 ξυνέμισγον, ξίφεσί τε καὶ δόρασιν, ὡσπερ ἐν  
 31 πεδίῳ, μαχόμενοι. καὶ τὰ μὲν προίμια τοῦ  
 ἀγῶνος τοῦδε τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει.

“Υστερον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀπειρία τοῦ ναυμα-  
 χεῖν ξὺν πολλῇ ἀταξία τὴν συμβολὴν τήνδε  
 διέφερον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὕτως<sup>2</sup> ἀπ' ἀλλή-  
 λων δίσταντο ὥστε διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοὺς  
 κατὰ μόνας ἐμβάλλειν, οἱ δὲ συχνοὶ ἐς ταῦτό  
 ξυνιόντες πρὸς ἀλλήλων αἰεὶ τῇ τῶν πλοίων  
 32 στενοχωρία ξυνεποδίζοντο. εἴκασεν ἄν τις φορμη-  
δὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν πλοίων ἰκρία ξυγκεῖσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> πεζομαχία ἐμφορῆς K: πεζομαχίας ἰσχυροτέρα L.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν οὕτως K: αὐτῷ τούτῳ L.

by a commensurate power on the part of those who indulge in it, though before the event it may appear exalted to the highest pitch, yet when the combat begins, it is wont to ebb away. Seeing then that this is true, call to mind in what manner the enemy have fared on many occasions when they have made trial of your valour, and consider that in coming against you they have not become better men on the spur of the moment, but shewing merely a degree of daring similar to that on previous occasions, they will now also achieve the same fortune."

After the Gothic commanders had made this exhortation, they confronted the enemy and without delay came to close quarters with them. And the fighting was exceedingly fierce and resembled a battle on land. For both sides set their ships head on with the bows against those of their opponents and discharged their arrows against each other, and all those who laid some claim to valour brought their ships close enough to touch one another and then engaged from the decks, fighting with sword and spear just as if on a plain. Such was the opening stage of this encounter.

But after this the barbarians, through lack of experience in sea-fighting, began to carry on the combat with great disorder; for some of them became so far separated from one another that they gave their enemy opportunity to ram them singly, while others drew together in large groups and were constantly hindered by one another because of the crowding of the boats. One would have thought that the decks of their boats were built together like a mat. And neither could they shoot



καὶ οὐδὲ τοξεύειν ἐς τῶν ἐναντίων τοὺς διεστῶτας  
 ἠδύναντο, ὅτι μὴ ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις, οὐδὲ ξίφεσιν  
 ἢ δόρασι χρῆσθαι, ἤνικα ἂν σφίσιν ἐγκειμένους  
 αὐτοὺς ἴδοιεν, ἀλλὰ κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὠθισμῶ ἐν  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διηνεκῶς εἶχοντο, ξυγκρούοντές τε  
 αἰεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς αὐθις διωθού-  
 μενοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ πῆ μὲν συμφύροντες τῇ  
 στενοχωρίᾳ τὸ μέτωπον, πῆ δὲ ἀποφοιτῶντες  
 πολλῶ ἄποθεν ἐπὶ πονηρῶ τῶν σφετέρων<sup>1</sup> ἐκά-  
 33 τεροι. τὰς τε παρακελεύσεις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐς  
 τοὺς ἄγχιστα ὄντας ξὺν ὀλολυγῇ πολλῇ ἐποιοῦντο,  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὰς διαστάσεις  
 34 αὐτοὶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐργάζονται. ἡσχολημένοι  
 τε τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμηχανία τῆς κατὰ σφῶν  
 νίκης αἰτιώτατοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνοντο.

Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνδρείως μὲν τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν,  
 ἐμπείρως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὴν ναυμαχίαν διαχειρίζοντες,  
 τὰ τε πλοῖα μετωπηδὸν στήσαντες, καὶ οὔτε κατὰ  
 πολὺ διεστῶτες ἀλλήλων οὔτε μὴν ἄγχιστα  
 ξυνιόντες περαιτέρω τῆς χρείας, ἀλλὰ συμμέτρους  
 αἰεὶ τὰς τε ξυνόδους καὶ διαστάσεις ποιοῦμενοι, ἦν  
 μὲν ναῦν πολεμίαν ἀποσκεδαυμένην τῶν ἄλλων  
 θεῶντο,<sup>2</sup> κατέδυσον ἐμβάλλοντες οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, εἰ δέ  
 πού ξύγχυσιν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἴδοιεν,  
 ἐνταῦθα τὰ τε τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον καὶ  
 ἤνικα σφίσιν ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἀτάκτοις οὔσι καὶ  
συντριβέσι γεγεννημένοις τῷ τῆς ἀταξίας καμάτῳ,  
 35 ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοὺς διεχρῶντο. ἀπειρηκότες οὖν οἱ  
 βάρβαροι πρὸς τε τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα καὶ  
 τὰς κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀμαρτάδας ξυμπεπτωκυίας,

<sup>1</sup> τῶν σφετέρων K: τῷ σφετερω L.

<sup>2</sup> θεῶντο Haury: θεῶνται K, ἐθεῶντο L.



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οὐκ εἶχον καθ' ὅ τι μαχέσονται, οὐδὲ ναυμαχοῦντες,  
οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ καθάπερ ἐν πεζομαχίᾳ ἐπὶ τῶν  
καταστροφμάτων ἐστῶτες, ἀλλὰ ρίψαντες τὴν  
ἀγώνισιν ἐπικινδύνως ἠτρέμιζον, ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ  
36 καταλιπόντες.<sup>1</sup> διὸ δὴ ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν οἱ Γότθοι  
αἰσχρὰν ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμία ἐτράποντο, καὶ οὔτε  
ἀλκῆς οὔτε φυγῆς τινὸς εὐπρεποῦς οὔτε του ἄλλου  
ἐς σωτηρίαν αὐτοὺς ἄγοντος ἐμέμνηντο ἔτι, ἀλλὰ<sup>2</sup>  
μεταξὺ πλοίων τῶν πολεμίων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ σκε-  
37 δαννύμενοι διηποροῦντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τινὲς ναυσὶν  
ἔνδεκα διέφυγον καὶ λαθόντες<sup>3</sup> ἐσώθησαν, οἱ δὲ  
38 λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο. ὧν  
δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοχειρὶ Ῥωμαῖοι διέφθειρον,  
πολλοὺς δὲ αὐταῖς ναυσὶ καταδύοντες ἔκτεινον·  
τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν Γουνδούλφ μὲν ξὺν ταῖς ἔνδεκα  
ναυσὶ λαθῶν<sup>4</sup> ἔφυγε, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐζώγησαν  
Ῥωμαῖοι.

39 Καὶ ἔπειτα οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἔνδεκα ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν  
γῆν ἀποβάντες τὰ μὲν πλοῖα εὐθύς ἔκαυσαν, ὡς  
μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ γένωνται, αὐτοὶ  
δὲ πεζῇ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν ὃ τοὺς  
40 ἐν Ἀγκῶνι ἐπολιόρκουν. φράσαντές τε αὐτοῖς  
τὰ συμπεσόντα εὐθυωρὸν ξὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀναχώ-  
ρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς πολεμίοις  
ἀπολιπόντες, καὶ δρόμῳ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ  
ἐς Αὔξιμον πόλιν ἐγγύς πη οὔσαν ἀνέδραμον.  
41 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸν Ἀγκῶνα οὐ πολλῷ  
ἕστερον τό τε στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν  
ἔρημον αἴρουσι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρου-  
42 ρίῳ ἐσκομίσαντες ἀπέπλευσαν ἐνθένδε. καὶ Βαλε-

<sup>1</sup> καταλιπόντες K: καταφυγόντες L: Haury suggests τὴν σωτηρίαν καταλιπόντες.

battle, knew not how they should continue to fight, for they neither continued the sea-fight nor yet stood upon their decks as in a land battle, but abandoning the struggle they came to a perilous pause, having now left all to chance. Consequently the Goths in great disorder turned to a disgraceful retreat, and they no longer thought of valour or of orderly flight nor of anything else which would insure their safety, but scattered as they were for the most part among their enemy's ships, they were completely helpless. And some of them fled unobserved with eleven ships and were saved, but all the rest to a man fell into the hands of their enemy. Many of these the Romans slew with their own hands, and many others they destroyed by sinking them with their ships; and of the generals Gundulf escaped unobserved with the eleven ships, but the other was captured by the Romans.

After this the men on the eleven ships disembarked on the land and immediately set the ships on fire so that they might not fall into the hands of their enemy, while they themselves proceeded on foot to the army which was besieging the city of Ancon. And after they had announced to them what had taken place, they all made a hasty retreat together, abandoning their camp to the enemy, and ran as hard as they could and in great confusion up to the neighbouring city of Auximus. And the Romans, coming to Ancon not long afterwards, captured the enemy's camp without a man in it and then, after carrying in provisions for those in the fortress, sailed

<sup>2</sup> ἐς—ἀλλά K : om. L.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ λαθόντες K : τε καὶ διαλαθόντες L.

<sup>4</sup> λαθών K : διαλαθών L.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ριανὸς μὲν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐχώρησεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Σάλωνας ἀνέστρεψεν. αὕτη διαφερόντως ἡ μάχη τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν Τουτίλα καὶ Γότθων κατέλυσεν.

XXIV

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῆδε Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχεν ἐν Σικελία. Λιβέριος μὲν ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, Ἀρταβάνης δέ, τοῦτο βασιλεῖ δεδογμένον, παντὸς ἦρχε  
 2 τοῦ ἐν Σικελία Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ. ὃς δὴ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ φρουρίοις ἀπολελειμμένους, ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ὄντας, πολιορκῶν, μάχῃ τε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπεξιόντας νικήσας ἐς πᾶσάν τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστησάμενος ὕστερον ὁμο-  
 3 λογία ξύμπαντας εἶλεν. οἷς οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοί τε γεγεννημένοι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ξυμπεπτωκόσι περιαλγοῦντες τὸν πόλεμον ἀπεγίνωσκον, ἤδη δυσέλπιδες τὸ παράπαν γεγεννημένοι, λογιζόμενοί τε ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι δὴ αἰσchrῶς ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παντάπασι διεφθαρμένοι, ἦν τις Ῥωμαίοις βοήθεια καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐπιγένηται, τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ ἀντέχειν αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ χρόνου ῥοπήν τινα ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστήξειν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κατὰ πρεσβείαν διαπράξασθαί τι ἐκ βασιλέως ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον.  
 4 πολλάκις γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ὁ Τουτίλας ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. οἷ, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὄψιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἦλθον, ἀνεδίδαξαν μὲν ὡς τῆς Ἰταλίας

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς Haury: αὐτούς MSS.



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τὰ μὲν πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> κατέλαβον Φράγγοι, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων τῷ πολέμῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγένηται, Σικελίας δὲ καὶ Δαλματίας, αἵπερ ἀκραιφνεῖς διέμειναν μόνοι, Ῥωμαίοις ἐξίστανται Γότθοι, δασμούς δὲ καὶ φόρους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐρήμου ἀποφέρειν<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ συμμαχήσειν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν<sup>3</sup> βασιλεὺς<sup>4</sup> βούλοιτο καὶ  
 5 τὰ ἄλλα κατήκοοι αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι· ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς μάθησιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν λεγομένων ποιούμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἅπαντας ἀπεπέμπετο, πρὸς τὸ Γότθων ὄνομα χαλεπῶς ἔχων, ἄρδην τε αὐτὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἐξελεύσασθαι διανοούμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

6 Θευδίβερτος δέ, ὁ Φράγγων ἀρχηγός, οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο νόσῳ, Λιγυρίας τε χωρία ἅττα καὶ Ἄλπεις Κουτίας καὶ Βενετιῶν τὰ πολλὰ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν  
 7 φόρου ὑποτελῆ ποιησάμενος. τὴν γὰρ ἀσχολίαν τῶν μαχομένων οἰκείαν οἱ Φράγγοι εὐκαιρίαν πεποιημένοι τοῖς ἐκείνων περιμαχήτοις αὐτοῖ  
 8 ἀκινδύνως ἐπλούτουν. καὶ Γότθοις μὲν πολίσματα ὀλίγα ἐν Βενετίοις διέμεινε, τὰ τε<sup>5</sup> ἐπιθαλασσίδια χωρία Ῥωμαίοις· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὑπο-  
 9 χεῖρια σφίσιν ἅπαντα πεποίηνται Φράγγοι. Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Γότθων πόλεμον τόνδε ἠπέρ μοι εἴρηται πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφερόντων καὶ πολεμίους οὐ δυναμένων ἐπικτᾶσθαι καινούς, Γότθοι τε καὶ Φράγγοι ἐς λόγους ἀλλήλοις ξυνίασι, καὶ ξυνέκειτο, μέχρι μὲν ἂν Γότθοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πόλεμον διαφέροισιν, ἔχοντας ἑκατέρους ὡνπερ

<sup>1</sup> πολλά KW: πλεῖστα L.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποφέρειν K: ἀποφέρεσθαι L, om. W.

Italy, while the rest of it had become for the most part deserted on account of the war; yet the Goths were willing to retire in favour of the Romans from Sicily and Dalmatia, which alone had remained intact, and agreed to pay tribute and taxes for the abandoned land every year and would fight as allies against whomsoever the emperor should wish and would be in other respects subject to him. But the emperor would pay no attention to what they said and dismissed the envoys one and all, hating as he did the Gothic name and intending to drive it out absolutely from the Roman domain. Thus then did these events take place.

But Theudibert, the ruler of the Franks, had not long before been taken from the world by disease, having without justification made some parts of Liguria and the Cottian Alps and the most of Venetia subject to the payment of tribute. For the Franks had treated the preoccupation of the warring nations as their own opportunity, and without danger were enriching themselves with the lands for which the combatants were fighting. And the Goths indeed had a few fortresses left in Venetia, while the Romans held the coast towns; but the Franks had brought all the others under their sway. Now while the Romans and the Goths were waging this war against each other as I have described it and were unable to take on new enemies in addition, the Goths and the Franks had negotiated with each other and come to an agreement that, as long as the Goths were waging war against the Romans, both of them should remain

<sup>3</sup> ἄν KL: ἄν ἀεί W.

<sup>4</sup> βασιλεύς KW: om. L.

<sup>5</sup> τὰ τε K: τὰ τε γάρ L: τὰ μὲν γάρ Dindorf.



- ἐγένοντο<sup>1</sup> ἐγκρατεῖς ἡσυχῇ μένειν, μηδέν τε σφίσι  
 10 πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολέμιον εἶναι. ἦν δέ γε βασι-  
 λέως ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ περιέσεσθαι Τουτίλαν  
 τῷ πολέμῳ συμβαίη, τηνικάδε Γότθους τε καὶ  
 Φράγγους διοικήσασθαι ταῦτα, ὅπη ἂν συνοίσειν  
 ἐκατέροις δοκῆ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆδε ξυνέκειτο.  
 11 τὴν δὲ Θευδιβέρτου ἀρχὴν διεδέξατο Θευδίβαλδος  
 ὁ παῖς. βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς Λεόντιον, τὸν  
 Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς, πρεσ-  
 βευτὴν παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν ἔς τε ὀμαιχμίαν  
 παρακαλῶν ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ  
 χωρίων ἐκστῆναι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αἰτού-  
 μενος ὧνπερ Θευδίβερτος οὐδέον ἐπιβατεῦσαι  
 διὰ σπουδῆς<sup>2</sup> ἔσχε.  
 12 Λεόντιος δέ, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Θευδίβαλδον ἀφίκετο,  
 ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Ἴσως μὲν τι καὶ ἄλλοις<sup>3</sup> παρὰ τὰς  
 ἐλπίδας τισὶ τετυχηκένοι ξυνέπεσεν, ὁποῖον δὲ  
 Ῥωμαίοις τανῦν πρὸς ὑμῶν γεγονέναι ξυνέβη,  
 οὐδενί, οἶμαι, ξυνηνέχθη πώποτε<sup>4</sup> τῶν πάντων  
 13 ἀνθρώπων. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐ  
 πρότερον κατέστη ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε, οὐδὲ Γότθοις  
 πολεμησείων ἔνδηλος γέγονεν, ἕως αὐτῷ Φράγγοι  
 φιλίας τε καὶ ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι χρήματα μεγάλα  
 κεκομισμένοι τὴν ἀγωνίαν ξυλλήψεσθαι ὡμο-  
 14 λόγησαν. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὅπως τι δρᾶν τῶν ὡμολογη-  
 μένων ἠξίωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν Ῥω-  
 μαίους τοιαῦτα οἶα οὐδ' ἂν τις ὑποπτεῦσαι ῥαδίως  
 15 ἔσχεν. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ὁ σὸς Θευδίβερτος χώρας  
 ἐπιβατεῦσαι ὑπέστη, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον,

<sup>1</sup> ὧνπερ ἐγένοντο K: ὧν περιεγένοντο L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιβατεῦσαι διὰ σπουδῆς KH: ἐπιστρατεύσας ἐν σπονδαῖς L.

<sup>3</sup> ἄλλοις K: ἄλλο LH.



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ἥσπερ βασιλεὺς πόνῳ τε<sup>1</sup> πολλῶ καὶ κινδύνοις  
 πολέμου, καὶ ταῦτα Φράγγων ἀπάντων<sup>2</sup> ἐκποδῶν  
 16 ἵσταμένων, κύριος γέγονε. διόπερ τανῦν ἐς ὑμᾶς  
 ἦκω, οὐχ ὅπως μέμψομαι ἢ αἰτιάσομαι, ἀλλ'  
 αἰτησόμενός τε καὶ παραινέσων ὅσα ξυνοίσειν  
 17 ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς μέλλει. λέγω δὲ ὅπως βεβαιότατα  
 μὲν διασώζητε τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐπραξίαν,  
 συγχωρήσητε δὲ Ῥωμαίους<sup>3</sup> ἔχειν τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια·  
 18 τοὺς γὰρ δύναμιν περιβεβλημένους μεγάλην καὶ  
 βραχέων τινῶν οὐχ ὅσια κτήσις ἀφαιρεῖσθαι  
 πολλάκις τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀγαθὰ<sup>4</sup>  
 ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ εὐδαιμον τῷ ἀδίκῳ ἐς ταῦτό  
 ξυνιέναι οὐδαμῇ εἴωθε,<sup>5</sup> καὶ μὴν καὶ ὅπως ἡμῖν  
 τὸν πρὸς Τουτίλαν ξυνδιενέγκητε πόλεμον, τὴν  
 19 τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποτελοῦντες ὁμολογίαν. τοῦτο γὰρ  
 ἂν πρέπον ~~γνησίοις~~ παισὶ πάντων μάλιστα,  
 ἐπανορθοῦν μὲν, εἴ τι<sup>6</sup> τοῖς γειναμένοις ἡμαρ-  
 τῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ~~περιστέλλειν~~ δὲ καὶ κρατύ-  
 20 νεσθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἀριστα εἴργασται. ἐπεὶ  
 καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῦτα διαφερόντως εὐκτὰ  
 τοῖς συνετωτάτοις ἂν εἴη, ὅπως δὴ αὐτῶν τὰ  
 μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀριστα οἱ παῖδες ζηλοῖεν,  
 εἰ δέ τι<sup>7</sup> αὐτοῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς πέπρακται, μὴ ὑπ'  
 ἄλλου του τὸ<sup>8</sup> τοιοῦτον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων  
 21 ἄμεινον ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι ἐχρῆν ὑμᾶς ἀκλήτους  
 Ῥωμαίοις πόλεμον τόνδε ξυνάρασθαι. πρὸς  
 Γότθους γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, οἱ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 ἐχθροὶ τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπιστοι γεγόνασι Φράγγοις,

<sup>1</sup> πόνῳ τε L: πόνῳ K, χρόνῳ τε H.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπάντων H: om. KL.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥωμαίους KH: Ῥωμαίοις L.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀγαθὰ K: om. L, παλαιοῦ ἀγαθοῦ H.

had mastered with great labour by the perils of war, and that too while all the Franks were standing out of the way. Consequently I now come to you, not to reproach you or lay charges against you, but in order to make demands and to counsel you as to what will be of advantage to you yourselves. I say, then, that you, on the one hand, should preserve the prosperity which you now enjoy, and allow the Romans, on the other hand, to have that which is their own; for when a nation is possessed of great power, the unholy acquisition of even some trifling thing has many a time been of sufficient moment to rob it of the advantages it has enjoyed from of old, since prosperity is by no means wont to associate itself with injustice; and I demand, furthermore, that you join with us in carrying on the war against Totila, thus fulfilling your father's agreement. For the conduct which above all others would become true-born sons is this—to correct whatever mistakes have been made by their parents, but to continue and confirm whatever deeds of excellence they have done. Indeed this would be a thing most ardently prayed for by the most understanding of men, that their children might emulate the best of their activities, and that whatever has not been well done by them should be corrected by no one else than their children. In fact you ought to have taken up this war with the Romans unsummoned. For our struggle is against the Goths, who have been from the beginning bitter enemies of the Franks and altogether untrustworthy toward them, waging

<sup>5</sup> ἐπει—εἶωθε KL: om. H.

<sup>7</sup> εἰ δέ τι KL: εἰσέτι H.

<sup>6</sup> μέν, εἴ τι KL: μέντοι & H

<sup>8</sup> του τό L: τό K, τοῦτο H.

ἄσπονδά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκήρυκτα πολεμοῦντες  
 22 τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. οἱ δὲ νῦν μὲν δέει τῷ ἐξ  
 ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀπαξιούσι κολακικοὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς εἶναι·  
 εἰ δέ ποτε ἡμῶν ἀπαλλάγειεν, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν  
 23 τὴν ἐς Φράγγους ἐνδείξονται γνώμην. πονηροὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἀμείβειν μὲν  
 οὐκ εὐτυχοῦντες, οὐ πράσσοντες κακῶς δύνανται,  
 ἀποκρύπτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐν  
 κακοπαθείαις εἰώθασιν, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ τῶν  
 πέλας τινὸς δέωνται, τῆς χρείας αὐτοῦς συγκα-  
 24 λύπτειν ἀναγκαζούσης τὴν μοχθηρίαν. ὧν ἐν-  
 θυμηθέντες ἀνανεοῦτε μὲν τὴν ἐς βασιλέα φιλίαν,  
 ἀμύνεσθε δὲ τοὺς ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν δυσμενεῖς δυνάμει  
 τῇ πάσῃ.”

25 Λεόντιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Θευδίβαλδος δὲ  
 ἀμείβεται ὧδε· “ Συμμάχους μὲν ἐπὶ Γότθους<sup>2</sup>  
 ἡμᾶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες καλεῖτε·  
 φίλοι γὰρ ἡμῖν τανῦν Γότθοι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.  
 εἰ δὲ ἀβέβαιοι Φράγγοι ἐς αὐτοῦς εἶεν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν  
 26 ποτε πιστοὶ ἔσονται. γνώμη<sup>3</sup> γὰρ ἄπαξ μοχθηρὰ  
 ἐς τοὺς φίλους ὀφθειῖσα ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς δικαίας  
 ὁδοῦ αἰεὶ πέφυκεν. ὧν μέντοι ἐπεμνήσθητε χωρίων  
 ἔνεκα, τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὡς ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς Θευδί-  
 βερτος οὔτε βιάσασθαι πώποτε<sup>4</sup> τῶν ὁμόρων τινὰ  
 ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε κτήμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπι-  
 27 πηδᾶν. τεκμήριον δέ· οὐ γὰρ εἶμι πλούσιος.  
 οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα Ῥωμαίους<sup>5</sup> ἀφε-  
 λόμενος, ἀλλὰ Τουτίλα ἔχοντος ἤδη αὐτὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πονηροὶ—μοχθηρίαν om. H.

<sup>2</sup> Γότθους KH: γότθοις L.

<sup>3</sup> γνώμη—πέφυκεν: om. H.

<sup>4</sup> βιάσασθαι πώποτε LH: βιάζεσθαι ποτε K.

<sup>5</sup> Ῥωμαίους Haury: ῥωμαίοις MSS.



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διαρρήδην ἐνδιδόντος καταλαβὼν ἔσχεν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
 χρῆν μάλιστα βασιλέα<sup>1</sup> Ἰουστινιανὸν συνήδεσθαι  
 28 Φράγγοις. ὁ γὰρ τοὺς τι ἀφελομένους τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 κτημάτων ἰδίων ὑφ' ἑτέρων τινῶν βιασθέντας ὀρῶν,  
 εἰκότως ἂν χαίροι, τὴν δίκην ἐκτετικένοι ὀρθῶς  
 καὶ δικαίως τοὺς αὐτὸν ἠδικηκότας οἰόμενος, ἦν  
 μὴ ἐς τοὺς βιασαμένους αὐτὸς<sup>2</sup> φθουερὸς γένηται,  
 ἐπεὶ τὸ προσποιεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δικαιώ-  
ματα<sup>3</sup> ἐς φθόνον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περίστασθαι  
 29 οἴονται<sup>4</sup> ἄνθρωποι. δικασταῖς μέντοι ἐπιτρέπειν  
 οἰοί τε ἐσμεν τὴν περὶ τούτων διάγνωσιν, ὥστε  
 εἴ τι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελέσθαι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν  
 φανερόν γένηται, τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἀποτινύναι μελ-  
 λήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐπάναγκες εἶη. ὑπὲρ τε τούτων  
 πρέσβεις ἐς Βυζάντιον σταλήσονται<sup>5</sup> παρ' ἡμῶν  
 30 οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον." τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν τε  
 Λεόντιον ἀπεπέμψατο καὶ πρεσβευτὴν Λεύ-  
 δαρδον, ἄνδρα Φράγγον, τέταρτον αὐτὸν παρὰ  
 βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλε.<sup>6</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς  
 Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὡνπερ<sup>7</sup> ἔνεκα  
 ἦλθον.  
 31 Τουτίλας δὲ νήσους τὰς Λιβύῃ προσηκούσας  
 καταλαβεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς εἶχε. στόλον οὖν αὐτίκα  
 νηῶν ἀγείρας καὶ στράτευμα τούτῳ ἐνθέμενος  
 ἀξιόχρεων ἐς τε Κουρσικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶν στέλλει.  
 32 οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς Κουρσικὴν ἀποπλεύσαντες,  
 οὐδενὸς αὐτῆς<sup>8</sup> ἀμυνομένου, τὴν νῆσον ἔσχον,  
 33 μετὰ δὲ καὶ Σαρδῶν κατέλαβον. ἄμφω δὲ τὰ

<sup>1</sup> χρῆν μάλιστα βασιλέα: χρήματα μάλιστα H.

<sup>2</sup> βιασαμένους αὐτός LH: βιασαμένους K.

<sup>3</sup> δικαιώματα KH: δικαιώματα οἷς L.

<sup>4</sup> οἴονται KH: εἰώθασιν L.

handed them over to him, and upon this the Emperor Justinian should certainly have congratulated the Franks. For he who sees men who have robbed him of some of his private possessions roughly handled by any others would naturally rejoice, believing that those who wronged him have rightly and justly paid the penalty, except in case he be privately envious of those who have done the violence—for men feel that the appropriation by others of property which is claimed by an enemy tends, as a general thing, to envy. We are, however, able to leave to arbiters the decision of these matters, with the understanding that, if it becomes evident that my father robbed the Romans of anything, it shall be obligatory for us to restore this without delay. And envoys will be sent to Byzantium by us in regard to this matter not long hence.” With such words he dismissed Leontius and despatched Leudardus, a Frank, with three others to the Emperor Justinian. And upon their arrival at Byzantium they treated of the matters for which they had come.

Totila was now eager to seize the islands which belong to Libya. He accordingly gathered a fleet of ships immediately and, putting an adequate army on board, sent it to Corsica and Sardinia. This fleet first sailed off to Corsica and, finding no defenders, took the island, and afterwards took possession of Sardinia likewise. And Totila made both these

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<sup>5</sup> σταλήσονται KL: ἀποσταλήσονται H.

<sup>6</sup> ἔστειλε KL: ἔπεμψεν H.

<sup>7</sup> ὧν περ H: om. K, οὐ L.

<sup>8</sup> αὐτῆς Haury: αὐτοῖς MSS.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

νήσω ὁ Τουτίλας ὑποτελεῖς ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου  
 πεποίηται. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν, ὃς τοῦ ἐν  
 Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἤρχε, στόλον τε νηῶν  
 34 καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐς<sup>1</sup> Σαρδῶ ἔπεμψεν.  
 οἷπερ ἐπειδὴ Καρανάλεως πόλεως ἄγχιστα ἴκοντο,  
 ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι  
 διενουῦντο· τειχομαχεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ᾔφοντο οἰοί τε  
 εἶναι, ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ἐνταῦθα φυλακτῆριον διαρκές  
 35 εἶχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι ἔγνωσαν,  
 ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπεσόντες τρεψάμενοί τε αὐτοὺς  
 36 οὐδενὶ πόνῳ πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ  
 φεύγοντες ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐς τὰς ναῦς  
 διεσώθησαν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνθένδε ἀπάραντες  
 ἐς Καρχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἀφίκοντο. ἐν-  
 37 ταῦθά τε διαχειμάσαντες ἔμενον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅμα  
 ἤρι ἀρχομένῳ παρασκευῇ πλείονι ἐπὶ τε Κουρ-  
 σικὴν καὶ Σαρδῶ αὐθις στρατεύσωσι. ταύτην  
 38 δὲ τὴν Σαρδῶ τανῦν Σαρδινίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα φύεσθαι ξυμβαίνει πόαν ἧς δὴ ἀπο-  
 γευομένοις ἀνθρώποις αὐτίκα σπασμὸς θανάσιμος  
 ἐπιγίνεται, οἱ<sup>2</sup> δὲ τελευτῶσιν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον,  
 γέλῳτα γελᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπασμοῦ δοκοῦντές τινα,  
 ὅνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ χώρᾳ Σαρδώνιον καλοῦσι.  
 39 τὴν δὲ Κουρσικὴν οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Κύρνον  
 ἐκάλουν. ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι πίθηκες<sup>3</sup>  
 γίνονται, οὕτω δὲ τινῶν ἵππων ἀγέλαι εἰσὶ τῶν  
 προβατίων ὀλίγῳ μειζόνων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

<sup>1</sup> ἐς Hoeschel in margin : ἐν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ K : ἀφ' οὗ L.



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XXV

Σκλαβηνῶν δὲ πολὺς ὄμιλος Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐπι-  
 σκήψαντες πάθη ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα εἰργά-  
 σαντο.<sup>1</sup> βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατεύμα  
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οὐ δὴ ἄλλοι τε καὶ οἱ  
 Γερμανοῦ παῖδες ἡγοῦντο. οἷπερ τῷ πλήθει τῶν  
 2 πολεμίῳν παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσοῦμενοι χωρῆσαι μὲν  
 αὐτοῖς ὁμόσε<sup>2</sup> οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ὅπισθεν δὲ αἰεὶ  
 μένοντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους  
 3 ἐσίγουντο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔκτεινον, τινὰς  
 δὲ καὶ ζωγρήσαντες βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψαν. οὐδὲν  
 μέντοι ἦσσαν οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτοι τὰ δεινὰ ἔδρα-  
 4 σαν. ἐν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ληλασία χρόνου τι μέγα  
 κατατρίψαντες μῆκος τὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς νεκρῶν  
 ἀνέπλησαν ἀπάσας, ἐξανδραποδίσαντες δὲ ἀνά-  
 ριθμα πλήθη καὶ ληϊσάμενοι ξύμπαντα, οὐδενὸς  
 σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν  
 5 σὺν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. οὐδὲ γὰρ διαπορθμευομένους  
 ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἴσχυσαν σφᾶς ἐνεδρεῦσαι  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ βιάσασθαι τρόπῳ, ἐπεὶ  
 Γήπαιδες αὐτοὺς μισθαρνήσαντες ὑπεδέξαντο καὶ  
 διεπόρθμευσαν μακρόμισθοι γεγεννημένοι.<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ  
 κεφαλῇ γὰρ ἐκάστη κατὰ στατῆρα χρυσοῦν ἢ  
 6 μίσθωσις ἦν. διόπερ βασιλεὺς ἐδυσφορεῖτο, οὐκ  
 ἔχων τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>4</sup> ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστέλλοι  
 διαβαίνοντας ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ἐφ' ᾧ ληϊσονται  
 τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, ἢ ξὺν ταῖς ὠφελίαις<sup>5</sup> τὴν  
 ἀποπορείαν ποιουμένους ἐνθένδε, ἠθέλε τε τού-  
 των δὴ ἔνεκα Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει ἐς συνθήκας  
 καταστήναί τινας.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰργάσαντο K: διειργάσαντο L.      <sup>2</sup> ὁμόσε K: ἀντίον L.

<sup>3</sup> μακρόμισθοι γεγεννημένοι K: μικρομισθίους γεγεννημένους L.

## XXV

A GREAT throng of Sclaveni now descended upon Illyricum and inflicted sufferings there not easily described. And the Emperor Justinian sent an army against them commanded by the sons of Germanus with others. But since this army was far outnumbered by the enemy, it was quite unable to engage with them, but remained always in the rear and cut down the stragglers left by the barbarians. And they slew many of them but took some few prisoners, whom they sent to the emperor. But nevertheless these barbarians continued their work of devastation. And spending as they did a long time in this plundering expedition, they filled all the roads with corpses, and enslaved countless multitudes and pillaged everything without meeting any opposition; then finally they departed on the homeward journey with all their plunder. Nor could the Romans ambuscade them while crossing the Ister River or harm them in any other way, since the Gepaedes, having engaged their services, took them under their protection and ferried them across, receiving large payment for their labour. For the payment was at the rate of one gold stater per head. At this the emperor was grievously vexed, seeing that for the future he had no possible means of checking the barbarians when crossing the Ister River in order to plunder the Roman domain, or when taking their departure from such expeditions with the booty they gained, and he wished for these reasons to enter into some sort of treaty with the nation of the Gepaedes.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν KL: om. W.

<sup>5</sup> ἢ ξὺν ταῖς ὠφελίαις W: αἰφνιδίαν L.

<sup>6</sup> ἢ—τινας: om. K.

- 7 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι αὐθις πολεμῶσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦσαν. Γήπαιδές τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων δειμαίνοντες δύναμιν (ἀνήκοοι γὰρ οὐδαμῇ ἦσαν ὡς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁμαιχμίαν διωμότως πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας πεποίηται) φίλοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι Ῥωμαίοις
- 8 γενέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχον. πρέσβεις οὖν ἐς Βυζάντιον εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, βασιλέα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ ὅς αὐτοῖς μελήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ
- 9 ἔδωκε. δεηθέντων δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων τῶνδε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἄνδρες δυοκαίδεκα<sup>1</sup> ὄρκια δόντες, ταύτας αὐτοῖς τὰς συνθήκας
- 10 ἐπέρρωσαν. οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον Λαγγοβάρδαις κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν δεομένοις στρατιὰν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπὶ Γήπαιδας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπενεγκῶν Γήπαισι Σκλαβηνῶν τινὰς ἐπὶ πονηρῶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὰς ξυνθήκας διαβιβάσαι ποταμὸν Ἰστρον.
- 11 Ἠγοῦντο<sup>2</sup> δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ταύτης Ἰουστίνος τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς οἱ Γερμανοῦ παῖδες Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Σουαρτούας, ὃς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ μὲν ἄρχων<sup>3</sup> Ἐρούλοις κατέστη πρότερον, ἐπαναστάντων δὲ οἱ τῶν ἀπὸ Θούλης τῆς νήσου ἠκόντων, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐς βασιλέα τε ἀφίκετο φεύγων καὶ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ καταλόγων εὐθὺς γέγονε, καὶ Ἀμαλαφρίδας, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, Ἀμαλαφρίδης μὲν θυγατριδοῦς, τῆς Θεου-

→<sup>1</sup> δυοκαίδεκα KL: δώδεκα W.

<sup>2</sup> ἠγοῦντο—γεγράφεται (§ 13) om. W.



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- δερίχου τοῦ Γότθων βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς, Ἑρμε-  
 νεφρίδου δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θορίγγων ἡγησαμένου.  
 12 ὄνπερ Βελισάριος μὲν σὺν Οὐιππίγιδι εἰς Βυζάν-  
 τιον ἤγαγε, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντα  
 κατεστήσατο, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν. Αὐδουὶν  
 13 τῷ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἄρχοντι κατηγγύησε. τοῦ δὲ  
 στρατοῦ τούτου οὐδεὶς παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀφί-  
 κετο, ὅτι μὴ οὗτος Ἀμαλαφρίδας σὺν τοῖς  
 ἐπομένοις. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀμφὶ  
 πόλιν Οὐλπιάναν βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαντος δια-  
 τριβὴν ἔσχον, στάσεως ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τῶν οἰκη-  
 τῶν γεγενημένης, ὥνπερ ἕνεκα σφίσι αὐτοῖς  
 οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται, ἧπὲρ μοι ἐν λόγοις  
 τοῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων γεγράφεται.  
 14 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι πανδημεὶ σὺν τῷ<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἀμαλαφρίδα εἰς τὰ Γηπαίδων ἤθη ἀφίκοντο,  
 ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ τῶν Γηπαίδων σφίσι καὶ  
 μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης ἠσσωῦνται Γήπαιδες,  
 καὶ αὐτῶν παμπληθεῖς<sup>2</sup> φασὶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ  
 15 τούτῳ ἀποθανεῖν. Αὐδουὶν τε, ὁ τῶν Λαγγο-  
 βαρδῶν βασιλεὺς, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς εἰς  
 Βυζάντιον πέμψας εὐαγγέλια μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ  
 βασιλεῖ ἐδήλου, νενικημένων τῶν πολεμίων,  
 ἐμέμφετο<sup>3</sup> δὲ οὐ παραγενέσθαι οἱ κατὰ τὸ ξυμ-  
 μαχικὸν τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως στρατόν, καίπερ  
 Λαγγοβαρδῶν τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ἔναγχος  
 ἐσταλμένων ἐφ' ᾧ Ναρσῆ ξυστρατεύσωσιν ἐπὶ  
 Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 ἐφέρετο τῆδε.

<sup>1</sup> σὺν τῷ K: ξὺν τῷ L: ἅμα W.

<sup>2</sup> παμπληθεῖς—ἀποθανεῖν KL: πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον W.

king of the Goths, and son of Hermenefridus the former ruler of the Thuringians. This man had been brought by Belisarius to Byzantium with Vittigis, and the emperor had appointed him a Roman commander and betrothed his sister to Auduin the ruler of the Lombards. But not a man of that army reached the Lombards except this Amalafidas with his command. For the others, by direction of the emperor, stopped at the city of Ulpiana<sup>1</sup> in Illyricum, since a civil war had arisen among the inhabitants of that place concerning those matters over which the Christians fight among themselves, as will be told by me in the treatise on this subject.<sup>2</sup>

So the Lombards in full force and accompanied by Amalafidas came into the lands of the Gepaedes, and when the Gepaedes encountered them a fierce battle ensued in which the Gepaedes were defeated, and they say that a vast number of them perished in this engagement. Whereupon Auduin, the king of the Lombards, sent some of his followers to Byzantium, first to announce the good news to the Emperor Justinian, since the enemy had been vanquished, and, secondly, to reproach him because the emperor's army had not been present in accordance with the terms of their alliance, although such a host of Lombards had recently been sent to march with Narses against Totila and the Goths. Such was the course of these events.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Lipljan.

<sup>2</sup> This promise seems not to have been fulfilled by Procopius.

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<sup>3</sup> ἐμέμφετο—Γότθους LW: om. K.



16 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ σεισμοὶ κατὰ τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα ἐπιπεσόντες ἐξαίσιοι τὴν τε Βοιωτίαν  
 καὶ Ἀχαιίαν καὶ τὰ περὶ κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον  
 17 κατέσεισαν. καὶ χωρία μὲν ἀνάριθμα, πόλεις  
 δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ἐν ταῖς Χαιρώνειά  
 τε καὶ Κορώνεια ἦν καὶ Πάτραι καὶ Ναύπακτος  
 ὅλη, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ φόνος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων  
 18 πολὺς. καὶ χάος δὲ (τῆς γῆς πολλαχῆ ἀποσχισ-  
 θείσης) γεγένηται. τὰ δὲ διαιρεθέντα ἔνια<sup>1</sup>  
 μὲν αὖθις ἐς ταῦτὸ ξυνιόντα τὸ πρότερον τῆ  
 γῆ σχῆμά τε καὶ εἶδος ἀπέδωκεν, ἔστι δὲ οὐ  
 καὶ διεστηκότα μεμένηκεν· ὥστε οὐδὲ ἀλλήλοις  
 ἐπιμίγνυσθαι οἱ τῆδε ἄνθρωποι εἰσι δυνατοὶ ὅτι  
 19 μὴ περιόδοις πολλαῖς χρώμενοι. ἐν δέ γε τῷ  
 πορθμῷ ὄνπερ μεταξὺ Θεσσαλίας τε καὶ Βοιω-  
 τίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, γέγονέ τις ἐκ τοῦ αἰφ-  
 νιδίου τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἀμφί τε πόλιν  
 τὴν Ἐχιναίων καλουμένην καὶ τὴν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς  
 20 Σκάρφειαν. πόρρω τε τῆς ἠπείρου ἀναβᾶσα  
 καὶ κατακλύσασα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐς ἔδαφος  
 καθεῖλεν εὐθύς. χρόνος τε τῆ θαλάσση<sup>2</sup> πολὺς  
 ἐπιχωριαζούση τῆ ἠπείρῳ ἐτρίβη, ὥστε τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις πεζῇ ἰούσι βατὰς ἐπὶ πλείστον  
 γενέσθαι τὰς νήσους αἶπερ ἔντοσθεν τοῦ πορθ-  
 μοῦ τούτου τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τοῦ τῆς θα-  
 λάσσης δηλονότι ῥοθίου ἐκλιπόντος μὲν τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ χώραν, ἐπιπολάζοντος δὲ παρὰ δόξαν τὴν  
 21 γῆν<sup>3</sup> ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὄρη ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. ἠνίκα  
 δὲ τῆ θαλάσση ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἐπανιέναι ξυνέπεσεν,  
 ἰχθύες ἐν τῆ γῆ ἀπελείποντο, ὄνπερ ἢ ὄψις  
 ἀήθης παντάπασιν οὔσα τοῖς τῆδε ἀνθρώποις  
 22 τερατώδης τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. οὗς δὴ ἔδωδίμους



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

εἶναι οἰόμενοι ἀνείλοντο μὲν ὡς ἐψήσοντες,  
 θέρμης δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀψαμένης  
 ἐς ἰχώρας τε καὶ σηπεδόνας οὐ φορητὰς τὸ  
 23 σῶμα ὅλον ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. ἀμφὶ δὲ  
 τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, οὐ δὴ τὸ Σχίσμα<sup>1</sup> ὠνόμασται,  
 καὶ σεισμὸς ὑπερμεγέθης γενόμενος<sup>2</sup> πλείω φόνου  
 ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἑλλάδι εἰργά-  
 σατο, μάλιστα ἐπεὶ<sup>3</sup> τινα ἑορτὴν πανηγυρίζοντες  
 ἔτυχον<sup>4</sup> ἐκ πάσης τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐνταῦθα  
 τότε τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα ξυνειλεγμένοι πολλοί.<sup>5</sup>  
 24 Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλία τάδε ξυνέπεσε. Κροτωνιάται  
 καὶ στρατιῶται οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες,  
 ὧν Παλλάδιος ἦρχε, πικρότατα πρὸς Γότθων  
 πολιορκούμενοι καὶ πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων  
 τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, πολλάκις μὲν λαθόντες τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους ἔπεμψαν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς  
 ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας καὶ  
 διαφερόντως τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, ὡς εἰ μὴ βοηθοῖεν  
 25 ὅτι τάχιστα σφίσιν, οὔτι ἐθελουσίως σφᾶς τε  
 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον τοῖς  
 πολεμίοις ἐνδώσουσιν. οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐνθένθε αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπικουρήσων ἦλθε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ  
 ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε  
 δὲ Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

<sup>1</sup> σχίσμα L: σχῆμα K.

<sup>2</sup> γενόμενος K: ἐπιπεσών L.

boil them, but when the heat of the fire touched them the whole body was reduced to a liquid putrefaction of an unbearable sort. But in that locality where the so-called Cleft is located there was a tremendous earthquake which caused more loss of life than in all the rest of Greece, particularly on account of a certain festival which they happened to be celebrating there and for which many had gathered in that place from all Greece.

In Italy the following took place. The people of Croton and the soldiers who constituted the garrison there, commanded by Palladius, were being very closely besieged by the Goths; and hard pressed as they were by scarcity of provisions, they had many times sent to Sicily without being detected by the enemy, calling to witness the commanders of the Roman army there, especially Artabanes, and saying that, if they did not relieve them at the earliest possible moment, they would, little as they wished it, surrender themselves and the city to the enemy not long thereafter. But no one came from there to assist them. And the winter drew to a close, and the seventeenth year ended in this war, the history<sup>552</sup> of which Procopius has written.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ K: δὲ ἐπὶ L.

<sup>5</sup> πολλοί L: οἱ K.

<sup>4</sup> ἔτυχον K: ἔτυχον γάρ L.

XXVI

Βασιλεὺς δὲ μαθὼν τὰ ἐν Κρότωνι πρασσόμενα πέμψας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἐν Θερμοπύλαις φρουροὺς ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῖς ἐν Κρότωνι πολιορκουμένοις  
 2 βοηθεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν· ἄραυτές τε σπουδῇ πολλῇ καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχον. οἳ τε βάρβαροι ἐξαπιναίως τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὴν  
 3 πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ναυσὶν ἐς τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα διέφυγον, οἱ δὲ πεζῇ ἰόντες<sup>1</sup> ἐς ὄρος τὸ Σκύλαιον ἀνεχώρησαν. ἃ δὲ ξυνενεχθέντα πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐδούλωσε  
 4 Γότθων τὸ φρόνημα. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ῥάγναρις τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ δόκιμος μάλιστα, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, καὶ Μόρας, ὅσπερ ἐφειστήκει τοῖς ἐν Ἀχεροντία φρουροῖς, Πακουρίῳ τῷ Περανίου τῶν ἐν Δρυοῦντι Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντι, γνώμῃ τῶν σφίσιν ἐπομένων, ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεως λαβόντες Ῥωμαίοις σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίσουσι ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις καὶ τὰ ὀχυρώματα ὧνπερ ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ καταστάντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Πακούριος ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζεται.

5 Ναρσῆς δὲ ἐκ Σαλώνων ἄρας ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἦει παντὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, μεγάλῳ ὑπερφυῶς ὄντι· χρήματα γὰρ κεκομισ-



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μένος ἐπιεικῶς μεγάλα πρὸς βασιλέως ἐτύγ-  
 6 χανεν. ἀφ' ὧν δὴ ἔμελλε στρατιάν τε ἀξιολο-  
 γωτάτην ἀγειῖραι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρκέσειν τοῦ  
 πολέμου ἀνάγκαις, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 στρατιώταις ἐκλύσαι τὰ πρόσθεν ὀφλήματα  
 πάντα, ἐφ' οἷσπερ αὐτοῖς ὑπερήμερος χρόνου<sup>1</sup>  
 πολλοῦ βασιλεὺς<sup>2</sup> ἐγεγόνει, οὐ κομιζομένοις ἐκ  
 τοῦ δημοσίου, ἥπερ εἴθισται, τὰς σφίσι τεταγ-  
 μένας συντάξεις· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ αὐτῶν βιά-  
 σασθαι τῶν παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπηυτομοληκότων  
 τὰς γνώμας, ὥστε δὴ αὐτοὺς τοῖς χρήμασι  
 τούτοις χειροήθεις γεγεννημένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πο-  
 λιτείᾳ μεταγνῶναι προαίρεσιν.

7 Λίαν γὰρ τὰ πρότερα πόλεμον τόνδε ἀπημε-  
 λημένως<sup>3</sup> διαφέρων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀξιο-  
 λογωτάτην αὐτοῦ πεποίηται τὴν παρασκευὴν  
 8 ἐν ὑστάτῳ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτόν οἱ ὁ Ναρσῆς  
 ἐγκείμενον εἶδεν,<sup>4</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν στρατεύοι,  
 φιλοτιμίαν ἐνδέδεικται στρατηγῶ πρέπουσαν,  
 οὐκ ἄλλως βασιλεῖ ἐπαγγέλλοντι<sup>5</sup> ὑπηρετήσειν  
 ὁμολογήσας, ἣν μὴ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀξιόμαχους  
 9 ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλη. χρήματά τε οὖν καὶ σώματα  
 καὶ ὄπλα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπαξίως πρὸς τοῦ  
 βασιλέως κεκόμισται τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, καὶ  
 προθυμίαν αὐτὸς ἀοκνοτάτην ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀξιό-  
 10 χρεων στρατιάν ἐξήγειρεν. ἔκ τε γὰρ Βυζαντίου  
 ἐπηγάγετο Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν μέγα τι χρῆμα  
 καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων ἔκ τε Ἰλλυριῶν  
 11 πολλοὺς ἤθροισε. καὶ Ἰωάννης δὲ ξύν τε τῷ  
 οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι καὶ τῷ πρὸς Γερμανοῦ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> χρόνου L: χρόνος K.

<sup>2</sup> βασιλεὺς K: βασιλεῖ L.

he had received from the emperor an exceedingly large sum of money, with which he was, first, to gather a very formidable army and meet the other requirements of the war, and, after that, to pay the soldiers in Italy all the money which was due to them from the past; for the emperor had been delinquent in this matter for a long time, since the soldiers were not receiving from the public treasury, as was usual, the pay assigned to them; furthermore, he was to bring pressure to bear also upon those soldiers who had deserted to Totila, so that they would be rendered tractable by this money and reverse their choice of allegiance.

Indeed, though the Emperor Justinian had previously conducted this war very negligently, he made the most notable preparation for it at the last. For when Narses saw that he urgently desired him to lead an expedition against Italy, he displayed an ambition becoming to a general, declaring that on no other condition would he obey the emperor's command than that he should take with him forces sufficient to the purpose. So by taking this position he obtained from the emperor money and men and arms in quantities worthy of the Roman empire, and he himself displayed a most tireless enthusiasm and so collected an adequate army. For he not only took with him a great number of Roman soldiers from Byzantium, but he also collected many from the lands of Thrace and Illyricum. And John, too, with his own army and that left by his father-

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<sup>3</sup> ἀπημελημένως L: om. K.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτόν—εἶδεν L: αὐτὸν οἶον ἐγκείμενον ναρσῆς εἶδε K.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπαγγέλλοντι Christ: ἀπαγγέλλοντι MSS.



12 κηδεστοῦ ἀπολελειμμένῳ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦει. καὶ  
 Αὐδουίν, ὁ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος, χρήμασι  
 πολλοῖς ἀναπεισθεὶς Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ  
 τῇ τῆς ὀμαιχμίας ξυνθήκῃ, πεντακοσίους τε  
 καὶ δισχιλίους τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπολεξάμενος  
 ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια ἐς ξυμμαχίαν αὐτῷ  
 ἔπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ καὶ θεραπεία εἶπετο<sup>1</sup> μαχίμων  
 13 ἀνδρῶν πλέον ἢ τρισχιλίων. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἐρούλων ἔθνους πλέον ἢ τρισχίλιοι,  
 ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημούθ  
 ἦρχον, καὶ Οὐννοί τε παμπληθεῖς καὶ Δαγισ-  
 θαῖος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου  
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀπαλλαγείς, καὶ Καβάδης, Πέρσας  
 ἔχων αὐτομόλους πολλούς, ὁ Ζάμου μὲν υἱός,  
 Καβάδου δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως υἱωνός,  
 οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε  
 τοῦ χαναράγγου σπουδῇ διαφυγόντος τε Χοσρόην  
 τὸν θεῖον καὶ πολλῷ πρότερον ἀφικομένου ἐς  
 τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἤθη· καὶ Ἄσβαδος, νεανίας τις,  
 Γήπαις γένος, διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὁμογενεῖς  
 τετρακοσίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς  
 τὰ πολέμια· καὶ Ἀρούθ, Ἐρουλος μὲν τὸ γένος,  
 ἐκ παιδὸς δὲ Ῥωμαίων τὴν δίαιταν στέρξας καὶ  
 τὴν Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου γυναῖκα γαμετὴν  
 ποιησάμενος,<sup>2</sup> αὐτός τε μαχιμώτατος ὢν καὶ  
 πολλοὺς τοῦ Ἐρούλων ἔθνους ἐπομένους ἔχων  
 ἐν πολέμου κινδύνοις ὡς μάλιστα δοκιμωτάτους·  
 Ἰωάννης τε, ὁ Φαγᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν, οὐπερ ἐν  
 τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, Ῥωμαίων ἐπα-  
 γαγόμενος ὄμιλον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων.

<sup>1</sup> εἶπετο: εἶπε K, om. L.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ—ποιησάμενος L: om. K.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

14 Ἦν οὖν μεγαλοδωρότατος ὁ Ναρσῆς καὶ πρὸς  
τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους ὁξὺς ἐσάγαν, δύνάμιν  
τε πολλὴν περιβεβλημένος ἐκ βασιλέως ἀδεέσ-  
15 τερον ἐς τὰ σπουδαζόμενα ἐχρήτο τῇ γνώμῃ.  
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολλοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις  
ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται<sup>1</sup> εὐεργέτου αὐτοῦ  
16 ἔτυχον. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδεικτο στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ  
Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους, ὡς ἀσμενέστατα ἕκαστοι  
στρατεύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἤθελον, οἱ μὲν ἐκτίνειν οἱ  
ἐθέλοντες παλαιὰς χάριτας, οἱ δὲ καταδοκοῦντες,  
ὡς τὸ εἶκός, μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τεύξεσ-  
17 θαι. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῷ Ἐρουλοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
βάρβαροι εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, διαφερόντως πρὸς τοῦ  
ἀνθρώπου εὖ πεπονθότες.

18 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Βενετίων ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο,  
παρὰ τῶν Φράγγων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ τῶν ἐκείνη  
φυλακτηρίων ἦρχον, ἄγγελον στείλας ἠτεῖτο τὴν  
19 δίοδον σφίσιν ἅτε φίλοις οὐσι παρέχ  
δὲ τοῦτο Ναρσῆ ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανῇ  
ἔφασαν, ἐς μὲν τὸ ἐμφανὲς τὴν αἰτίαν<sup>2</sup> οὐκ  
ἐξενεγκόντες, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα κατακρυψά-  
μενοι,<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Φράγγων ἔνεκα συμφόρου ἢ τῆς ἐς  
τοὺς Γότθους εὐνοίας τὴν κωλύμην ποιεῖσθαι,  
σκῆψιν δέ τινα οὐ λίαν εὐπρόσωπον δόξασαν  
εἶναι προβεβλημένοι, ὅτι δὴ Λαγγοβάρδας τοὺς  
σφίσι πολεμιωτάτους οὗτος ἐπαγόμενος ἦκει.  
20 ἐπὶ τούτοις διαπορουμένοι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Ναρσῆ  
καὶ Ἰταλῶν τῶν οἱ παρόντων ἀμφὶ τῷ πρακτέῳ  
πυνθανομένῳ ἐσήγγελόν<sup>4</sup> τινες ὡς εἰ καὶ<sup>5</sup> Φράγγ-  
γοι παρήσουσι σφᾶς τήνδε τὴν δίοδον ποιεῖσθαι,

<sup>1</sup> στρατιῶται L: στρατηγοί K.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν αἰτίαν L: om. K.

<sup>3</sup> κατακρυψάμενοι K: om. L.

Narses, for his part, was a man of princely generosity and extraordinarily eager to help those who needed it, and being clothed with great power by the emperor he exercised his judgment the more freely regarding those matters in which he was interested. Consequently many commanders and soldiers as well had in former times experienced his generosity. Naturally, then, when he was appointed General against Totila and the Goths, each and every one desired most eagerly to serve under him, some wishing to repay him for old favours, and others probably expecting, as was natural, to receive great gifts from his hand. But the Eruli and the other barbarians were particularly well disposed towards him, having been especially well treated by him.

When they had reached a point very close to Venetia, he sent a messenger to the rulers of the Franks who commanded the fortresses there, demanding that they allow his army free passage, as being friends. But they said that they would by no means concede this to Narses, not openly revealing the real reason, but with all possible care concealing the fact that it was in the interest of the Franks or because of their good-will toward the Goths that they were barring his passage, and putting forward a kind of pretext which did not appear very plausible, by saying that he came bringing with him Lombards who were their bitterest enemies. Narses was at first puzzled by this and enquired of the Italians who were with him what should be done, but some men brought the news that, even if the Franks permitted them to pass through this country, they would still

<sup>4</sup> ἐσήγγελλον L : ἐπήγγελλον V.

<sup>5</sup> εἰ καί L : εἰκη V.

ἀλλ' ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐνθένδε κομίζεσθαι οὐδαμῆ  
 ἔξουσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν πορείαν ταύτην ποιείσθαι ὅτι  
 21 μὴ ἄχρι ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην. Τουτίλαν γὰρ ἀπο-  
 λεξάμενον εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ,  
 στρατηγόν τε αὐτοῖς καταστησάμενον Τείαν τὸν  
 Γότθον, ἄνδρα διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια,  
 στείλαι ἐς πόλιν Βερώνην Γότθων κατήκοον  
 οὔσαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ διακωλύοι τὴν  
 πάροδον, ὅσα γε δυνατά. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως.  
 22 Ἐπειδὴ τε ὁ Τείας ἐγένετο ἐν πόλει Βερώνη, τὴν  
 ἐκείνη δίοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέφραξε πᾶσαν,  
 ἀδιέξοδά τε καὶ ὅλως ἄπυρα πανταχόσε ἀμφὶ  
 ποταμὸν Πάδον τὰ χωρία εἶναι ἀνάγκη χειρο-  
 ποιήτῳ σκευωρησάμενος, καὶ πῆ μὲν λόχμας τε  
 καὶ τάφρους καὶ φάραγγας τεκτηνάμενος, πῆ δὲ  
τέλμινάς τε ὡς βαθυτάτας καὶ χώρους τεναγώδεις  
 τινὰς αὐτὸς τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ ἐφύλασσε ἐς τὸ  
 ἀκριβές, ὡς ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἦν τι ἀπο-  
 23 πειρῶνται τῆς ἐνθένδε ὁδοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ Τουτίλας  
 ἐμηχανᾶτο, οἰόμενος διὰ μὲν τῆς παραλίας κόλ-  
 που τοῦ Ἰονίου Ῥωμαίοις μήποτε δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι  
 τὴν πορείαν ποιείσθαι, ἐπεὶ ναυσίποροι ποταμοὶ  
 παμπληθεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες ἀπόρευτα  
 παντάπασι παρέχονται εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία·  
 ναῦς δὲ αὐτοὺς τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος ὡς ἡκιστα  
 ἔχειν, ὥστε δὴ ἀθρόους<sup>1</sup> παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ δια-  
 πορθμεύεσθαι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἦν δέ γε κατ'  
 ὀλίγους ναυτίλλωνται, αὐτὸς ἂν τῷ καταλοίπῳ  
 στρατῷ τῶν Γότθων τοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἀποβαίνοντας  
 24 πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναστείλειε. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν γνώμη  
 ὅ τε Τουτίλας ἐπήγγελλε ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Τείας ἐπίοιει.

<sup>1</sup> ἀθρόους Hoesehel in margin : ἀθρόον MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ναρσῆ δὲ λίαν ἀμηχανοῦντι Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ, τῶν τῆδε χωρίων ἐμπείρως ἔχων, παρήνει παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ μὲν κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι, κατηκόων σφίσιν ὄντων, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων, παρακολουθεῖν  
 25 δὲ τῶν νηῶν τινὰς καὶ ἀκάτους πολλάς. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς γένωνται, γέφυραν ἐκ τῶν ἀκάτων τούτων τῷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥοθίῳ ἐναρμοσάμενοι, ῥᾶον ἂν καὶ ἀπουνώτερον ποιήσαιτο τὴν διάβασιν. ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννης ταῦτα παρήνει, πείθεται δὲ Ναρσῆς, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης κομίζεται.

XXVII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῆδε, ἐν τούτῳ τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Ἰλδιγισὰλ Λαγγοβάρδας ἀνὴρ, οὐπὲρ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἄτε<sup>1</sup> τοῦ<sup>2</sup> Αὐδοῦν ὄντος ἐχθροῦ, ὃς τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἠγεῖτο (αὐτῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν Αὐδοῦν βιασάμενος ἔσχευ) ἐξ ἠθῶν ἀποδράς<sup>3</sup> τῶν πατρίων ἐπὶ  
 2 Βυζαντίου κομίζεται. οὐ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀφικόμενον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοφροσύνης ἠξίωσεν, ἄρχοντά τε κατεστήσατο ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλατίου φυλακῆς τεταγμένων  
 3 λόχων, οὕσπερ<sup>4</sup> σχολὰς ὀνομάζουσιν. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἔθνους ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἄτε Haury : αὐτός MSS. : αὐτῷ Maltretus.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ L : δέ V.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποδράς L : om. V.

<sup>4</sup> οὕσπερ L : οὐπὲρ V.

Narses thus found himself completely bewildered, but John, the nephew of Vitalian, being familiar with these regions, advised him to proceed with the whole army along the coast, the inhabitants of this district, as previously stated,<sup>1</sup> being subject to them, while some of the ships and a large number of small boats accompanied them. For whenever they should come to the mouth of a river, they would throw a bridge of these boats across the river's current, and thus render the crossing comparatively easy. Such was the advice of John, and Narses was persuaded, and in this way made the journey to Ravenna with the whole army.

## λλVII

WHILE these things were going on as described, the following took place. Ildigisal the Lombard has been mentioned in the preceding narrative<sup>2</sup> as a personal enemy of Anduin, who was the ruler of these barbarians (indeed the kingship belonged to this man by birth, but Anduin had taken it from him by violent means); he now escaped from his native land and set out for Byzantium. And when he arrived there the Emperor Justinian treated him with very particular consideration and appointed him commander of one of the companies of guards assigned to the palace, which they call "scholae."<sup>3</sup> And he was followed by no fewer than three hundred

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxiv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Book VII. xxxv. 19, where he is called Ildiges.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* "schools."



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τὰ πολέμια οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ τριακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ μίαν  
 4 πρῶτον ἐπὶ Θράκης δίαιταν εἶχον. τὸν Ἰλδιγισάλ  
 οὖν Αὐδοῦν μὲν πρὸς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
 ἐξητεῖτο ἄτε φίλος τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ξύμμαχος ὢν,  
 μισθὸν τῆς φιλίας τὴν προδοσίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ  
 5 ἰκέτου<sup>1</sup> εἰσπραττόμενος, ὁ δὲ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ  
 ἐδίδου.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰλδιγισάλ, ἐνδεέστερον ἢ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων δόξαν  
 ἐπικαλῶν οἱ αὐτῷ τὴν τε τιμὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 εἶναι, δυσφορουμένῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐώκει. ὁ δὲ  
 Γόαρ κατενόησε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, πάλαι τε δορυάλω-  
 τος ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐνταῦθα  
 ἦκων, ἠνίκα τὸν πόλεμον Οὐίττιγισ ὁ Γότθων  
 6 βασιλεὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διέφερε· θυμοειδῆς δὲ  
 ὢν καὶ δραστήριος ἄγαν πρὸς τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν  
 ζυγομαχῶν διαγέγονεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Γότθοι μετὰ<sup>2</sup> τὴν  
 Οὐιττίγιδος ἐπικράτησιν ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, βασι-  
 λεῖ ὄπλα<sup>3</sup> ἀντάραντες, κακουργῶν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ  
 διαφανῶς ἦλθον. φυγῇ δὲ ζημιωθεὶς τῆς Αἰγύπτου  
 ἐς τὴν Ἀντινόου<sup>4</sup> κομίζεται, καὶ χρόνος αὐτῷ  
 7 πολὺς ἐν τῇ ποινῇ ταύτῃ ἐτρίβη. ἀλλ' ὕστερον  
 οἰκτιστάμενος βασιλεὺς κατήγαγεν ἐς Βυζάντιον.  
 οὗτος ὁ Γόαρ τὸν Ἰλδιγισάλ ἰδὼν ἀσχάλλοντα,  
 ἠπέρ μοι εἴρηται, ἐνδελεχέστατα ~~ρουθετῶν~~ ἀνα-  
 πείθει δρασμῷ χρήσασθαι, ξὺν αὐτῷ ὁμολογήσας  
 8 ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
 αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή ἤρεσκε, φεύγουσι μὲν ἑξαπιναίως  
 ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν, ἐς δὲ Ἄπρων ἀφικόμενοι τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἰκέτου Maltretus : οἰκέτου MSS.

<sup>2</sup> γότθοι μετὰ L. γότθων κατὰ V.

<sup>3</sup> ὄπλα Haury : οἱ πάλαι MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Θρακῶν πόλιν ἀναμίγνυνται Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς  
 τῆδε οὔσι. τοῖς τε βασιλικοῖς ἵπποφορβίοις  
 κατατυχόντες μέγα τι χρῆμα ἵππων ἐνθένδε  
 ἐπαγόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν.

- 9 Ὀνπερ ἐπειδὴ βασιλεὺς ἤσθετο, ἔς τε Θράκην  
 ὅλην καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς στείλας ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι  
 καὶ στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλε τοῖς δραπέταις  
 10 τούτοις σθένει παντὶ ὑπαντιάσαι. καὶ πρῶτα  
 μὲν Οὔννων<sup>1</sup> τῶν Κουτριγούρων καλουμένων  
 ὀλίγοι τινὲς (οἳ δὴ ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξανα-  
 στάντες, ἠπέρ μοι οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγη-  
 ται, δόντος βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης ἰδρύσαντο)  
 11 τοῖς φεύγουσι τούτοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. ἤσση-  
 θέντες δὲ μάχῃ τινὲς μὲν πίπτουσιν, οἳ δὲ λοιποὶ  
 τραπόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον.  
 οὕτω τε Θράκην ὅλην διεληλύθασιν Ἰλδιγισάλ-  
 τε καὶ Γόαρ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις, οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦν-  
 12 τος. ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς δὲ γενόμενοι Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν  
 εὖρον ἐπὶ τῷ σφῶν πονηρῷ ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ξυνει-  
 13 λεγμένον. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τούτου ἄλλοι τέ τινες  
 καὶ Ἀράτιός τε καὶ Ῥεκίθαγος καὶ Λεωνιανὸς  
 καὶ Ἀριμουθ ἦρχον, οἳ δὴ ἐτύγχανον τὴν ἡμέραν  
 14 ἵππεύσαντες ὅλην. ἔς τε χῶρον ὑλώδη ἀφικόμενοι  
 περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς ἔστησαν, ὡς αὐλισόμενοί τε  
 καὶ διανυκτερεύοντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην.  
 15 τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις ἐπέστελλον οἳ ἄρχοντες  
 οὗτοι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἵππων τῶν σφετέρων ἐπι-  
 μελεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ<sup>2</sup> τὸν ταύτη ῥέοντα ποταμὸν  
 αὐτοὺς ἀναψύχειν, παρηγοροῦντας τὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 16 κόπον. αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἕκαστος  
 δορυφόρους ἐπαγόμενοι ἀποκεκρυμμένως τοῦ ποτα-

<sup>1</sup> Οὔννων L: οὖν V.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ L: περὶ V.

joined forces with the Lombards who were there. Next they came by chance upon the imperial horse pastures and took from them a great number of horses, which they took with them as they proceeded.

But when the emperor learned of this, he sent into all Thrace and Illyricum and instructed all commanders and soldiers to use every means in their power to check these runaways. And first of all a small number of the Huns called Cutrigurs (men who had migrated from their ancestral abodes, as I have stated not long since,<sup>1</sup> and settled in Thrace with the emperor's permission) came to an engagement with these fugitives. But they were defeated in battle and some of them fell, while the rest were routed and did not continue the pursuit, but remained where they were. Thus Ildigisal and Goar with their followers passed through the whole of Thrace, not molested by anyone. But upon reaching Illyricum they found a Roman army carefully gathered to oppose them. Now this army was commanded by Aratius, Rhecithangus, Leonianus, Arimuth, and others, all of whom happened to have been riding the whole day. And upon reaching a wooded place about nightfall they had stopped, intending to bivouac and so pass the night there. So these commanders gave their soldiers the usual orders, instructing them to care for their horses and to refresh themselves beside the river which flowed by, thus repairing the fatigue of the journey. They themselves meanwhile took with them three or four bodyguards each and in a concealed place began to

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xix. 7.

17 μου ἔπινον· δίψει γάρ, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, χαλεπῇ  
 εἶχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Γόαρ καὶ Ἰλδιγισὰλ ἀγχοῦ  
 που ὄντες καὶ σκοποὺς πέμψαντες ταῦτα ἔγνω-  
 σαν. ἀπροσδόκητοί τε πίνουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-  
 στάντες ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 18 ἀδεέστερον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὴν πορείαν  
 ἤπερ ἐβούλοντο διωκῆσαντο. ἄναρχοι γὰρ οἱ  
 στρατιῶται γενόμενοι διηποροῦντό τε καὶ παν-  
 τάπασιν ἀμηχανοῦντες ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον. Γόαρ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰλδιγισὰλ οὕτω διαφυγόντες ἐς  
 Γήπαιδας ἦλθον.

19 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τις ἐκ Γηπαίδων, Οὐστρίγοτ-  
 θος ὄνομα, ἐς Λαγγοβάρδας φυγῶν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 Ἐλεμοῦνδος μὲν ὁ Γηπαίδων γεγυῶς βασιλεὺς  
 οὐ πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο  
 νόσῳ, τούτου δὴ οἱ μόνου τοῦ Οὐστριγότθου  
 ἀπολελειμμένου παιδός, ὄνπερ ὁ Θορισὶν βια-  
 σάμενος (μειράκιον γὰρ ἦν ἔτι) τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχε.  
 20 διὸ δὴ ὁ παῖς οὐκ ἔχων τὸν ἠδικηκότα καθ' ὃ τι  
 ἀμύνηται, ἐξ ἠθῶν ἀναστὰς τῶν πατρίων ἐς  
 Λαγγοβάρδας Γήπαισι πολεμίους ὄντας ἀπιὼν  
 21 ὤχετο. ἐγένοντο δὲ Γήπαισιν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον  
 πρὸς τε βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν καὶ τὸ Λαγγο-  
 βαρδῶν ἔθνος ~~κατὰ τὴν~~ διαλλαγαί, ὀρκίοις τε ἀλλήλους<sup>1</sup>  
 δεινοτάτοις κατέλαβον ἢ μὴν τὸ λοιπὸν φιλίαν  
 22 τὴν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπέραντον διασώσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ  
 τε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐς τὰς διαλλαγὰς βεβαιότατα  
 ξυνετελέσθη, βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ  
 Αὐδουὶν ὁ τῶν Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἡγούμενος παρὰ  
 Θορισὶν τὸν Γηπαίδων ἄρχοντα πέμψαντες τὸν  
 Ἰλδιγισὰλ ἅτε κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐξητοῦντο, τὴν ἐς

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους Maltretus: ἀλλήλοις MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τὸν ἰκέτην τὸν αὐτοῦ προδοσίαν δεόμενοι δήλωσιν  
τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς φιλίας ποιήσασθαι πρώτην.

- 23 Καὶ ὅς τοῖς Γηπαίδων λογίμοις κοινολογησάμε-  
νος<sup>1</sup> τὰ παρόντα σπουδῆ ἀνεπυθάνετο εἰ ποιητέα  
24 οἱ τὰ πρὸς τοῖν βασιλείων αἰτσ'μένα εἶη. οἱ δὲ  
ἄντικρυς μὴ ποιήσῃν ἀπείπον, κρεῖσσον ἀπισ-  
χυρισάμενοι εἶναι Γηπαίδων τῷ ἔθνει αὐταῖς τε  
γυναιξὶ καὶ γόνῳ παντὶ διολωλέναι αὐτίκα δὴ  
μάλα ἢ ἀνοσίοις ἐπ' ἀσεβήματι γενέσθαι τοιούτῳ.  
25 ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θορῖσιν ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἐξέπιπ-  
τεν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀκουσίων<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιτε-  
λέσαι τὸ ἔργον εἶχεν οὔτε ἀνακυκλεῖν πόλεμον,  
πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πεπαυμένον πολλῷ, πρὸς τε  
'Ρωμαίους καὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἔτι ἤθελεν. ὕστερον  
26 μέντοι ἐπενόει τάδε. πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Αὐδουὶν  
ἐξητεῖτο τὸν Ἐλεμούνδου υἱὸν Οὐστρίγοτθον, ἐπὶ  
τὴν ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ ἀμαρτάδα ὀρμῶν, τῶν τε ἰκετῶν<sup>3</sup>  
ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι<sup>4</sup> τὴν προδοσίαν παρακαλῶν.  
27 τῇ γὰρ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἀτοπίας ὀκνήσει τὴν ἐπίτα-  
ξιν αὐτῶν ἀναχαιτίσειν ἐλπίδα εἶχεν,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ'  
Αὐδουὶν αὐτὸν μηδεμιᾶ μελλήσει τῇ παρανομίᾳ  
28 καὶ ὁμολογίᾳ λήψεσθαι. τούτων τε αὐτοῖς  
δεδογμένων ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὡς οὔτε Λαγγοβάρδαι  
οὔτε Γήπαιδες ἐθέλουσι τοῦ μιάσματος μετα-  
λαχεῖν σφίσιν,<sup>6</sup> ἐς μὲν<sup>7</sup> τὸ ἐμφανὲς οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν,  
ἐκάτερος δὲ δόλῳ τὸν θατέρου ἐχθρὸν ἔκτεινεν.  
29 ὄντινα μέντοι τρόπον, ἀφήμι λέγειν: οὐ γὰρ  
ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτοῖν<sup>8</sup> λόγοι,

<sup>1</sup> κοινολογησάμενος L: ἐπικοινωνάμενος V.

<sup>2</sup> ἀκουσίων Maltretus: ἀκουσίως MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἰκετῶν Maltretus: οἰκετῶν MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι Maltretus: ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι L, ἀπαλλάσα  
σθαι V.

ing that he make the betrayal of his suppliant the first proof of his friendship to them.

He then conferred on the situation with the notable men of the Gepaedes and eagerly asked whether he was bound to fulfil the demand of the two sovereigns. And they forbade him absolutely to do so, firmly declaring that it was better for the nation of the Gepaedes to perish forthwith with their women and their whole stock rather than to become polluted by such an impiety. Upon hearing this Thorisin was plunged into uncertainty. For neither could he perform the deed against the will of his subjects, nor did he wish to revive once more a war against the Romans and Lombards which had been brought to an end with great labour and expenditure of time. Later, however, he thought of the following plan. He sent to Anduin and demanded the surrender of Ustrigothus, son of Elemundus, urging him to commit a sin equal to the one urged upon himself, and inviting him to betray one suppliant in exchange for the other. In this way he hoped that he would frustrate their demand through dread of a similar transgression and would immediately catch Anduin himself by the proposed illicit compact. So when they had reached these decisions and understood clearly that neither Lombards nor Gepaedes were willing to have any share in the pollution, they did nothing at all openly, but each of them put the enemy of the other to death by stealth. But as to how they did this, I shall not undertake to tell; for the accounts of this matter

- 
- ἐλπίδα εἶχεν Herwerden : εἶχεν MSS.
  - σφίσιν Scaliger : φησιν L, φησί V.
  - μὲν Maltretas : μὲν οὖν MSS.
  - αὐτοῖν Haury : αὐτῶν MSS.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσουσιν οἷά γε τῶι  
πραγμάτων τὰ λαθραιότατα. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ  
Ἰλδιγισὰλ καὶ Οὐστρίγοτθον ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XXVIII

Τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν ἀφικομένοις ἐς Ῥάβενναν  
πόλιν ἀνεμίγνυντο Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰουστῖνος οἱ  
στρατηγοί, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων  
2 ταύτῃ ἐλέλειπτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐννέα ἡμερῶν  
χρόνος ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἐτέτριπτο, Οὐσδρίλας,  
Γότθος ἀνὴρ, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια,  
τοῦ ἐν Αριμίνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἄρχων, πρὸς Βαλε-  
ριανὸν ἔγραψε τάδε· “ Πάντα ταῖς φήμαις καταλα-  
βόντες, τοῖς τε φάσμασιν ἤδη ξύμπασαν Ἰταλίαν  
συσχόντες καὶ ὀφρυάσαντες οὐχ ὅσα γε τὰ ἀνθρώ-  
πεια, ταύτῃ τε Γότθους, ὡσπερ οἶεσθε, dedixάμενοι,  
εἶτα κάθησθε νῦν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῷ μὲν ἀποκεκρύφ-  
θαι ὡς ἤκιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδηλοί,<sup>1</sup> οἶμαι,<sup>2</sup>  
ξυμφρουροῦντες ἔτι τὸ φρόνημα τοῦτο, βαρ-  
βάρων (δὲ) παμμίκτῳ ὀμίλῳ τὴν οὐδαμόθεν προ-  
3 σήκουσαν ὑμῖν κατατρίβοντες χώραν. ἀλλ’  
ἀνάστητε ὅτι τάχιστα καὶ πολεμίων ἔργων τὸ  
λοιπὸν ἄπτεσθε, δείξατέ τε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς Γότθοις,  
μηδὲ ἀναρτήσητε μακροτέραις ἐλπίσιν ἡμᾶς,  
4 προσδεχομένους ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὸ θέαμα.” ἡ μὲν  
γραφὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε,  
Γότθων τῆς ἀλαζονείας γελάσας,<sup>3</sup> καθίστατο

<sup>1</sup> ἐνδηλοί Scaliger: ἐνδηλον MSS.

<sup>2</sup> οἶμαι Haury: εἶναι MSS.



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εὐθὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον, φρουρὰν  
 5 ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀπολιπὼν. γενόμενοι  
 τε πόλεως Ἀριμίνου ἄγχιστα, εὖρον οὐκ εὐπετῇ  
 σφίσι τὸ ἐνθένδε τὴν δίοδον οὔσαν, Γότθων  
 περιηρηκότων τὴν ἐκείνη γέφυραν οὐ πολλῷ πρό-  
 6 τερον. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς ὁ τὴν Ἀρίμινον παραρ-  
 ρέων ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἀόπλῳ ἐνὶ πεζῇ ἰόντι μόλις  
 διαβατὸς γίνεται διὰ τῆς γεφύρας πόνῳ τε καὶ  
 ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦν-  
 τος ἢ τὴν δίοδον ἀναστέλλοντος· πλήθει δὲ  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαφερόντως ἐξοπλισμένων, ἄλλως  
 τε καὶ πολεμίων ἀνιστατούντων, τρόπῳ ὄτρωον  
 7 ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύσασθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστι. διόπερ  
 ὁ Ναρσῆς ἐν τῷ γεφύρας χώρῳ γενόμενος ξὺν  
 ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπορούμενος ἐπὶ πλείστον διεσκο-  
 πεῖτο ὁπόθεν ἂν ποτε πόρον τινὰ τῷ πράγματι  
 8 εὔροι. οὐ δὴ καὶ Οὐσδρίλας τινὰς ἐπαγαγόμενος  
 ἰππέων ἦλθε, μή τι τῶν πρασσομένων αὐτὸν διαλά-  
 θοι. τῶν δὲ τις Ναρσῆ ἐπισπομένων τὸ τόξον  
 ἐντείνας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλλεν, ἐνὶ τε τῶν ἵππων  
 9 κατατυχῶν εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν. οἷ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὐσδρί-  
 λαν τότε μὲν ἐνθένδε κατὰ τάχος ἀπαλλαγέντες  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ  
 ἄλλους ἐπαγαγόμενοι τῶν σφίσι μαχιμωτάτων διὰ  
 πύλης ἑτέρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵεντο, ὡς ἀπροσδόκητοί  
 τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσόντες καὶ τὸν Ναρσῆν διαχρησό-  
 10 μενοὶ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. ἐπὶ θατερα γὰρ τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ (διερευνώμενος τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν διάβασιν)  
 ἤδη ἀφίκτο. ἀλλὰ τῶν τινὲς Ἐρούλων τύχη  
 αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> τινὶ ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαντες κτείνουσί τε

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς Hoeschel in margin : αὐτοὺς MSS.

immediately prepared his whole army for departure, leaving a garrison with Justinus at Ravenna. But when they came close to the city of Ariminum, they found that the road from that point was not easy, since the Goths had not long before damaged the bridge there. For the river which flows by Ariminum is scarcely passable for a single unarmed man making his way on foot over the bridge with great labour and difficulty, and that too when no one is harassing him or disputing the passage;<sup>1</sup> but for a large number of men, particularly when under arms, and above all when confronted by an enemy, it is impossible by any means whatever to make that crossing. Consequently Narses went to the site of the bridge accompanied by a few, and being thoroughly perplexed he was considering carefully what solution he could possibly find for the difficulty. And Usdrilas also came thither, bringing some of his horsemen, lest anything that was done should escape him. Then one of the followers of Narses drew his bow and shot at them, and he hit one of their horses and killed it outright. And the company of Usdrilas for the moment departed from there in haste and got inside the fortifications, but immediately rushed out against the Romans through another gate, bringing with them others of their most warlike men, in order to fall upon them unexpectedly and destroy Narses forthwith. For in reconnoitring the crossing for the army he had already reached the other side of the river. But certain of the Eruli by some chance encountered them there and slew

<sup>1</sup> The splendid bridge of Augustus over the Marecchia (anc. *Fluvius Ariminus*), which still stands, must have been very much damaged to justify this statement of Procopius.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA.

τὸν Οὐσδρίλαν, καὶ ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν ἐπιγνωσθέντα παρὰ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, καὶ Ναρσῆ ἐπιδείξαντες τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐπέρρωσαν πάντα, τεκμηριουμένους τῷ ξυμβεβηκότι τὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ Γότθοις πολέμια εἶναι· οἷ γε τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἢ προνοίας τινὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα σφῶν ἐξαπιναίως ἀφήρηντο.

- 11 Ναρσῆς δέ, καίπερ Οὐσδρίλα πεπτωκός, ὃς τοῦ ἐν Ἀριμήνῳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχε, πρόσω ἤπειγε<sup>1</sup> τὸ στράτευμα. οὔτε γὰρ Ἀρίμηνον οὔτε ἄλλο τι χωρίον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόμενον ἐνοχλεῖν ἤθελεν, ὡς μή τις αὐτῷ τρίβοιτο χρόνος, μηδὲ τῷ παρέργῳ τῆς χρείας ἢ σπουδαιοτάτη διείργοιτο
- 12 πρᾶξις. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἅτε πεπτωκός σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἡσυχαζόντων τε καὶ οὐκέτι ἐμποδίων καθισταμένων ὁ Ναρσῆς ἀδεέστερον γεφύρα τὸν ποταμὸν ζεύξας διεβίβασε πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν
- 13 στρατὸν ἅπαντα. ὁδοῦ δὲ τῆς Φλαμηνίας ἐνθένδε ἀφέμενος ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἦει. Πέτρας γὰρ τῆς Περτούσης καλουμένης, ἥσπερ μοι τὸ τοῦ ὀχυρώματος καρτερόν χωρίου φύσει ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδιήγηται λόγοις, κατειλημμένης<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολλῷ πρότερον, ἀπόρευτα Ῥωμαίοις καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα, ὅσα γε κατὰ τὴν Φλαμηνίαν ὁδόν, ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν. ὁδὸν οὖν ὁ Ναρσῆς διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιτομωτέραν ἀφείς τὴν βάσιμον ἦει.

<sup>1</sup> ἤπειγε MSS. : ἐπῆγε Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> κατειλημμένης Haury : κατειλημμένου MSS., κατειλημμένον Hoeschel.



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XXIX

Τῷ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τά γε ἀμφὶ τῇ  
 πορείᾳ ταύτῃ πη εἶχε. Τουτίλας δὲ πεπυσμένος  
 ἤδη τὰ ἐν Βενεταίαις ξυνενεχθέντα Τείαν μὲν τὰ  
 πρῶτα καὶ τὴν ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιὰν προσδεχόμενος  
 2 ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρίοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ παρήσαν, μόνοι τε δισχίλιοι ἵππεῖς ἐλείποντο  
 ἔτι, τούτους δὴ οὐκ ἀναμείνας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἀλλὰ  
 παντὶ ἄρας τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὡς τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 3 ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ὑπαντιάσων ἦει. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ  
 ταύτῃ τά τε τῷ Οὐσδρίλα συμπεπτωκότα καὶ  
 Ἀρίμηνον τοὺς πολεμίους διαβεβηκέναι μαθὼν,  
 ὄλην μὲν Τουσκίαν ἀμείψας, ἐν ὄρει δὲ τῷ  
 Ἀπεννίνῳ καλουμένῳ γενόμενος, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρα-  
 τοπεδευσάμενος, ἔμενε ἀγχιστα κώμης ἥνπερ οἱ  
 4 ἐπιχώριοι Ταγίνας καλοῦσιν. ἡ τε Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατιὰ Ναρσοῦ ἡγουμένου οὐ πολλῷ<sup>1</sup> ὕστερον  
 ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ Ἀπεννίνῳ ἐνστρατοπε-  
 δευσάμενοι ἔμενον, σταδίους ἑκατὸν μάλιστα τοῦ  
 τῶν ἐναντίων στρατοπέδου διέχοντες, ἐν χωρίῳ  
 ὀμαλῷ μὲν, λόφους δὲ ἀγχιστά πη περιβεβλημένῳ  
 πολλούς, ἵνα δὴ ποτε στρατηγοῦντα<sup>2</sup> Ῥωμαίων  
 Κάμιλλον τῶν Γάλλων ὄμιλον διαφθεῖραι μάχῃ  
 5 νενικηκότα φασί. φέρει δὲ καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ μαρτύριον  
 τοῦ ἔργου τούτου τὴν προσηγορίαν ὁ χῶρος καὶ  
 διασώζει τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν Γάλλων τὸ πάθος, Βουστ-  
 ταγαλλῶρων καλούμενος. βουστα γὰρ Λατῖνοι  
 6 τὰ ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς καλοῦσι λείψανα. τύμβοι τε τῆδε  
 γεώλοφοι τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκείνων παμπληθεῖς εἰσίν.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ πολλῷ Maltretus: πολλῷ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ποτε στρατηγοῦντα A: στρατηγοῦνταί ποτε V.

## XXIX

SUCH were the events of the march of the Roman army. Now Totila, having already learned what had taken place in Venetia, at first remained quiet in the vicinity of Rome awaiting Teïas and his army. But when they had come and only two thousand horsemen were still missing, Totila, without awaiting these, started on the march with all the rest of the army in order to encounter the enemy in a suitable place. But he learned on this march both what had befallen Usdrilas and also that his enemy had passed by Ariminum, whereupon he crossed the whole of Tuscany, and upon reaching the mountains called the Apennines established his camp there and remained close to a village which the inhabitants call Taginae.<sup>1</sup> And the Roman army led by Narses also made camp on the Apennines not long afterward and remained in that position, about one hundred stades distant from the camp of their opponents, in a place which is level but surrounded by many hills close by, the very place where once, they say, Camillus as general of the Romans defeated in battle and destroyed the host of the Gauls.<sup>2</sup> And the place even to my day bears witness to this deed in its name and preserves the memory of the disaster which befell the Gauls, being called Busta Gallorum.<sup>3</sup> For the Latins call the remains of the funeral pyre "busta." And there are great numbers of mounded tombs of their bodies in this place.

<sup>1</sup> More properly Tadinum ; modern Gualdo Tadino.

<sup>2</sup> This statement is quite untrue as it stands.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* "Sepulchres of the Gauls." Here again Procopius is far from the truth. The Busta Gallorum of Livy V. xlviiii were in the city of Rome.



Αὐτίκα δὲ στείλας ἐνθένδε Ναρσῆς τῶν οἱ  
 ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς παραίνεσιν ἐπήγγελλε ποιεῖσ-  
 θαι τῷ Τουτίλα καταθέσθαι μὲν τὰ πολέμια,  
 βουλεύεσθαι δὲ εἰρηναῖά ποτε, διαριθμουμένῳ ὅτι  
 δὴ αὐτός, ἀνθρώπων ἄρχων ὀλίγων τέ τινων καὶ  
 ὑπόγυον νόμῳ οὐδενὶ ξυνειλεγμένων, πάσῃ τῇ  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διαμάχεσθαι οὐκ  
 7 ἂν δύναίτο. ἔφη δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε δὴ  
 αὐτόν, εἰ πολεμησείοντα ἴδοιεν, μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ  
 ἐγκελεύεσθαι τακτὴν<sup>1</sup> διορίσαι τινὰ ἡμέραν τῇ  
 8 μάχῃ. ἐπειδὴ γοῦν οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι τῷ Τουτίλα  
 ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν νεανιευόμενος ἐκομψεύετο ὡς τρόπῳ αὐτοῖς  
 παντὶ πολεμητέον εἶη, οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες “ Ἄλλ’,  
 ὦ γενναῖε ” ἔφασαν “ ῥητόν τινα καιρὸν τῇ  
 ξυμβολῇ τίθει.” καὶ ὁσ αὐτίκα “ ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν  
 9 ξυμμίξωμεν ” ἔφη. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ  
 τὸν Ναρσῆν ἐπανήκοντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσιν  
 ἐπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ Τουτίλαν δολώσεις ὑποτοπάζων  
 ἐπινοεῖν παρεσκευάζετο ὡς τῇ ὑστεραία μαχού-  
 10 μενος. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας.  
 ἡμέρα γὰρ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη αὐτάγγελος παντὶ τῷ  
 στρατῷ παρῆν ὁ Τουτίλας. ἤδη δὲ ἀλλήλοις  
 ἑκάτεροι ἀντεκάθηντο, οὐ πλέον ἢ δυοῖν διέχοντες  
 τοξευμάτων βολαῖν.

11 Ἦν γέ τι<sup>2</sup> γεώλοφον ἐνταῦθα βραχύ, ὃ δὴ  
 καταλαβεῖν ἀμφοτέρω δια σπουδῆς εἶχον, ἐν  
 ἐπιτηδείῳ σφίσιν οἰόμενοι κεῖσθαι, ὅπως τε  
 βάλλειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων ἔχοιεν καὶ  
 ὅτι χῶροι λοφώδεις, ἧπέρ μοι δεδήλωται, ἐνταῦθά  
 πη ἦσαν, ταύτῃ τοι κυκλώσασθαί τινας τὸ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον κατὰ νώτου ἰόντας ἀμή-



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12 χανον ἦν, ὅτι μὴ διὰ μιᾶς τινὸς ἀτραποῦ,  
 ἢ παρὰ τὸ γεώλοφον ἐτύγγανεν οὔσα. διὸ  
 δὴ περὶ πλείονος αὐτὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀμφοτέροις  
 ἐπάναγκες ἦν, Γότθοις μὲν, ὅπως ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ  
 κυκλωσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ  
 ποιήσονται, Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ὅπως δὴ ταῦτα μὴ  
 13 πάθοιεν. ἀλλὰ προτερήσας Ναρσῆς πεντήκοντα  
 ἐκ καταλόγου πεζοὺς ἀπολέξας ἀωρὶ νύκτωρ ὡς  
 καταληψομένους τε καὶ καθέξοντας αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 14 ἔστειλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὐδενὸς σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἐμποδῶν ἰσταμένου ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἡσυχῇ  
 15 ἔμενον. ἔστι δέ τις ~~χειμάρρους~~ τοῦ γεωλόφου  
 ἐπίπροσθεν, παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἀτραπον ἧς ἄρτι  
 ἐμνήσθην, τοῦ δὲ χώρου καταντικρὺ οὐ ἔστρατο-  
 πεδεύσαντο Γότθοι, οὐ δὴ οἱ πεντήκοντα ἔστησαν,  
 ἐν χρῶ μὲν ξυνιόντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐς φάλαγγα δὲ  
 ὡς ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξυντεταγμένοι.  
 16 Μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς ἰδὼν Τουτίλας  
 ἀπώσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἴλην τε  
 ἰππέων εὐθύς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἐξελάν ὅτι  
 17 τάχιστα ἐνθένδε αὐτοὺς ἐπιστείλας. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἰππεῖς θορύβῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἴεντο, ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξαιρήσοντες, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὀλίγον  
 ξυντεταγμένοι καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀσπίσι φραξάμενοι,  
 18 τὰ δὲ δοράτια ἐπανατεινάμενοι<sup>2</sup> ἔστησαν. εἶτα οἱ  
 μὲν Γότθοι σπουδῇ ἐπιόντες ξυνταράξαντες  
 αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα, τῶν τε ἀσπί-  
 δων τῷ ὠθισμῷ καὶ τῶν δορατίων τῇ ἐπιβολῇ  
 πυκνοτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ξυγκεχυμένη ὡς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτό Haury: αὐτοὺς MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ δὲ δοράτια ἐπανατεινάμενοι A: om. V.

and get behind it except by following a single path which happened to skirt the hill. Consequently both of them were bound to consider it of particular importance; the Goths, in order that they might surround their enemy during the engagement and so place them between two forces, and the Romans, in order that they might not have this thing happen to them. But Narses had anticipated the Goths by choosing fifty infantrymen from a cohort and sending them late at night to occupy and hold the hill. And they, finding none of the enemy in the way, went there and remained quiet. Now there is a certain water-course in front of the hill, running along the path which I have just mentioned and opposite the spot where the Goths had made their camp, and it was at this point that the fifty took up their position, standing shoulder to shoulder and arrayed in the form of a phalanx as well as the limited space permitted.

After day came, Totila saw what had happened and was eager to dislodge them. So he immediately sent a troop of horsemen against them with orders to drive them out from there as quickly as possible. The horsemen accordingly charged upon them with great hubbub and shouting, intending to capture them at the first cry, but the Romans drew up together into a small space and, making a barrier with their shields and thrusting forward their spears, held their ground. Then the Goths came on, charging in haste and thus getting themselves into disorder, while the fifty, pushing with their shields and thrusting very rapidly with their spears, which were nowhere allowed to interfere one with the other, defended themselves most vigorously against

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο, ἐξεπίτηδές  
 τε πάταγον ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐποίουν, ταύτη μὲν τοὺς  
 ἵππους αἰὲν δεδισσόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ταῖς τῶν  
 19 δορατίων αἰχμαῖς. καὶ οἷ τε ἵπποι ἀνεχαιτίζοντο  
 τῇ τε δυσχωρίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων τῷ πατάγῳ  
 λίαν ἀχθόμενοι καὶ διέξοδον οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, οἷ  
 τε ἄνδρες ἀπεκναίοντο, ἀνθρώποις τε οὕτω συμ-  
 φραξαμένοις μαχόμενοι καὶ τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ εἴκουσι,  
 καὶ ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι ὡς ἤκιστα ἐπαίτου-  
 σιν. ἀποκρουσθέντες τε τὴν πρώτην ὀπίσω  
 20 ἐχώρουν. καὶ αὐθις ἀποπειρασάμενοι καὶ ταῦτὰ  
 πᾶσχοντες ἀνεπόδιζον. πολλάκις τε οὕτως ἀπαλ-  
 λάξαντες οὐκέτι ἠνώχλουν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν ἴλην  
 21 Τουτίλας ἐς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀντικαθίστη. ὧνπερ  
 ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἀπαλλαγέντων ἕτεροι ἐς  
 τὴν πρᾶξιν καθίσταντο. πολλὰς τε ἴλας ὁ  
 Τουτίλας οὕτως ἀμείψας ἐπὶ πάσαις τε ἄπρακτος  
 γεγονὼς εἶτα ἀπεῖπεν.

22 Οἷ μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα κλέος ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀπή-  
 νεγκαν<sup>1</sup> μέγα, δύο δὲ αὐτῶν διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ  
 πόνῳ τούτῳ ἠρίστευσαν, Παῦλός τε καὶ Ἀνσίλας,  
 οἷ δὴ ἐκπεπηδηκότες τῆς φάλαγγος δήλωσιν  
 23 ἀρετῆς μάλιστα πάντων πεποίηνται. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἀκινάκας σπασάμενοι κατέθεντο εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος,  
 τὰ δὲ τόξα ἐντεινάμενοι ἔβαλλον ἐπικαιριώτατα  
 24 στοχαζόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν  
 ἄνδρας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους διεχρήσαντο, ἕως ἔτι  
 εἶχον τοὺς ἀτράκτους αὐτοῖς αἰ φάρετραι. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ἅπαντα αὐτοὺς τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οἷ δὲ  
 τά τε ξίφη ἀνελόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προ-  
 βεβλημένοι κατὰ μόνας τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπήνεγκαν Brauer: ὑπήνεγκαν MSS.



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25 ἐπειδάν τε ἰππευόμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τινὲς ξὺν  
 τοῖς δόρασιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοιεν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ξίφεσι  
 παίοντες ἀπεκαύλιζον τῶν δοράτων εὐθύς τὰς  
 26 αἰχμάς. πολλάκις δὲ αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἀναστελ-  
 λόντων τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς ξυνηνέχθη  
 τὸ θατέρου ξίφος (ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ Παῦλος  
 ὀνόματι) ~~συγκεκάμφθαι~~<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἐς τὰ ξύλα συνεχεί-  
 τομῇ καὶ τὸ παρίπαν ἀχρεῖον εἶναι. ὅπερ<sup>2</sup>  
 27 αὐτίκα μὲν προσουδίζει χαμαί, χερσὶ δὲ ἀμφο-  
 τέραις ἐπιλαβόμενος τῶν δοράτων ἀφηρεῖτο τοὺς  
 ἐπιόντας. τέτταρά τε δόρατα οὕτω τοὺς πολε-  
 μίους διαφανῶς ἀφελόμενος αἰτιώτατος γέγονε  
 28 τοῦ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοὺς ἀπογνῶναι. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν  
 ὑπασπιστὴν αὐτοῦ ἴδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου  
 Ναρσῆς τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσατο.

### XXX

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε κεχώρηκεν. ἑκάτεροι δὲ  
 παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς παράταξιν. καὶ Ναρσῆς τὸ  
 στράτευμα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ ξυναγαγὼν τοιάδε  
 παρεκελεύσατο. “Τοῖς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς  
 δυνάμεως ἐς ἀγωνίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις καθιστα-  
 μένοις παρακελεύσεώς τε ἂν ἴσως δεήσειε πολλῆς  
 καὶ παραινέσεως ἐς τὴν<sup>3</sup> προθυμίαν ὀρμώσης,  
 ὅπως δὴ ταύτη τῶν ἐναντίων πλεονεκτοῦντες  
 κατὰ νοῦν μάλιστα τῆς παρατάξεως ἀπαλλά-  
 ξωσιν· ὑμῖν δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οἷς καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ  
 τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ πάσῃ πολλῶ  
 τῷ διαλλάσσοντι πρὸς καταδεεστέρους ἢ μάχη

<sup>1</sup> συγκεκάμφθαι Hoeschel: τῷ συγκεκάφθαι MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὅπερ Hoeschel: ὅσπερ MSS.

of their opponents on horseback came at them with their spears, they immediately broke off the heads of the spears with a blow of their swords. But after they had in this manner checked the onrushes of the enemy many times, it came about that the sword of one of them (this was Paulus) was bent double by the frequent cutting of the wooden shafts and so was utterly useless. This then he immediately threw on the ground, and seizing the spears with both hands he would wrench them from his assailants. And by wrenching four spears from the enemy in this way in the sight of all he made himself the chief cause of their abandoning their attempt. Wherefore, in consequence of the exploit, Narses made him a personal guard of his own from that time on.

## XXX

SUCH was the progress of these events. Both armies now prepared for action. And Narses gathered his army in a small space and exhorted them as follows. "When an army is entering the combat with its strength evenly matched with that of the enemy, a long speech of exhortation and encouragement would perhaps be necessary of the sort which would inspire the men with ardour, in order that, being superior to the enemy in this respect they might find the issue of the combat wholly what they wish. But in your case, my men, you who have to fight against an army vastly inferior to you in valour, in numbers, and in every sort of equipment besides, I think nothing

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<sup>3</sup> ἐς τήν Haury : τήν MSS.



ἐστίν,<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδεῖν οἶομαι ἢ τῷ θεῷ  
 2 ἵλεω ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. εὐχῇ  
 τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπα-  
 γόμενοι πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τούτων  
 δὴ τῶν ληστῶν τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἴεσθε, οἳ γε  
 δούλοι βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες  
 καὶ δραπέται γεγεννημένοι τύραννόν τε αὐτοῖς  
ἀγελαῖόν τινα ἐκ τοῦ συρφετοῦ προστησάμενοι  
 ἐπικλοπώτερον συνταράξαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν  
 3 ἐπὶ καιροῦ τινὸς ἴσχυσαν. καίτοι τούτους γε  
 ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἀντιπαρατάσσεσθαι νῦν τὰ εἰκότα  
 4 λογιζομένους ὑπώπτεισεν ἂν τις. οἱ δὲ θράσει  
 θανατῶντες ἀλογίστῳ τινὶ καὶ μανιώδη προ-  
πέτειαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι προὔπτον αὐτοῖς θάνατον  
 ἀναιρεῖσθαι τολμῶσιν, οὐ προβεβλημένοι τὴν  
 ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα, οὐδὲ τί ἐπιγενήσεται σφίσι  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου  
 καταδοκοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ποινὰς τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἀγόμενοι.  
 ὧν γὰρ ἄνωθέν τι κατεγνώσθη παθεῖν, χωροῦσιν  
 5 ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας αὐτόματοι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων  
 ὑμεῖς μὲν πολιτείας εὐνόμου προκινδυνεύοντες  
 καθίστασθε εἰς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, οἱ δὲ νεωτερί-  
 ζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις ζυγομαχοῦντες, οὐ παρα-  
 πέμψειν τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐς διαδόχους προσ-  
 δοκῶντές τινας, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδότες ὡς συναπολείται  
 αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα καὶ μετ' ἐφημέρου βιοτεύουσι τῆς  
 6 ἐλπίδος. ὥστε καταφρονεῖσθαι τὰ μάλιστα  
 εἰσὶν ἄξιοι. τῶν γὰρ οὐ νόμῳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ πολι-  
 τείᾳ ξυνισταμένων ἀπολέλειπται μὲν ἀρετὴ πᾶσα,

<sup>1</sup> ἐστίν Hoeschel: om. MSS.



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διακέκριται δέ, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἢ νίκη, οὐκ εἰωθυῖα  
7 ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ἀντιτάσσεσθαι.” τοιαύτην μὲν ὁ  
Ναρσῆς τὴν παρακέλευσιν ἐποιήσατο.

Καὶ Τουτίλας δὲ ~~τεθηπότας~~ τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
στρατιὰν τοὺς οἱ ἐπομένους ὄρων ξυγκαλέσας  
καὶ αὐτὸς ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τάδε. “ Ὑστάτην ὑμῖν  
8 παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνταῦθα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες  
ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον. ἄλλης γάρ, οἶμαι,  
παρακελεύσεως μετὰ τήνδε τὴν συμβολὴν οὐκέτι  
9 δεήσει, ἀλλὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐς ἡμέραν μίαν ἀπο-  
κεκρίσθαι συμβήσεται πάντως. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμᾶς  
τε καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ~~ἐκνευρίσθαι~~ τε-  
τύχηκε καὶ περιηρῆσθαι δυνάμεις ἀπάσας, πόνοις  
τε καὶ μάχαις καὶ ταλαιπωρίαις ὠμιληκότας ἐπὶ  
χρόνου παμμέγεθες μῆκος, ἀπειρηκέναι τε πρὸς  
τὰς τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάγκας, ὥστε, ἦν τῇ συμβολῇ  
τῇ νῦν τῶν ἐναντίων περισσόμεθα, οὐδαμῶς ~~ἀνα-~~  
~~ποδιεῖν~~ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξουσιν, ἦν δὲ ἡμεῖς τι προσ-  
10 πταίσωμεν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ, ἐλπίς οὐδεμία εἰς  
τὸ ἀναμαχήσεσθαι λελείψεται Γότθοις, ἀλλὰ  
τὴν ἦσαν ἑκατέροις σκῆψιν ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν  
11 εὐπρόσωπον διαρκῶς ἔξομεν. ἀπολέγοντες γὰρ  
ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα  
ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανιέναι οὐκέτι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
σφόδρα ἴσως διωθουμένης αὐτοὺς<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
τῆς χρείας ταῖς γνώμαις ἀναχαιτίζονται, δεδισσο-  
μένης αὐτοῖς τὰς ψυχὰς τῆς τῶν κακῶν μνήμης.  
12 τοσαῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκηκοότες ἀνδραγαθίζεσθε  
μὲν τῷ παντὶ σθένει, μηδεμίαν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ  
χρόνον ἀποτιθέμενοι τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετήν, ταλαι-  
πωρεῖσθε δὲ ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, μηδὲ τὸ σῶμα  
12 ταμιευόμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλον. ὅπλων δὲ ὑμῖν

already decided; for victory is not accustomed to range itself against the virtues." Such was the exhortation which Narses made.

And Totila likewise, seeing his men in abject terror of the Roman army, called them all together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, I have brought you together here with the purpose of making a final exhortation. For no other admonition will, I believe, be necessary after this battle, but the result will certainly be that the war will be decided on one day. For so thoroughly have both we and the Emperor Justinian become exhausted and stripped of all power through being subjected to toils and battles and hardships for an exceedingly long time, and so completely have we found ourselves unable to meet the demands of the war, that, if we shall overcome our opponents in this present engagement, they will be utterly unable to come back in the future, while if we meet with any reverse in this battle, no hope will be left the Goths of renewing the fight, but either side will have in defeat a thoroughly sufficient excuse for inaction. For when men once give up the fight against overwhelming obstacles, they no longer have the courage to return to them, but even when they are perhaps strongly impelled to do so by actual need, their hearts rebel, for the memory of their failure makes their spirit quail. Having heard this, my men, play the brave part with all your might, without holding any fighting power in reserve for some other occasion, and put your whole strength into the struggle without trying to save your bodies for another danger. And let there be on your part

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<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς A: αὐτῆς V.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- γινέσθω καὶ ἵππων μηδεμία<sup>1</sup> φειδώ, ὡς οὐκέτι  
 χρησίμων ἐσομένων ὑμῖν. ἅπαντα γὰρ προ-  
 κατατρίψασα τὰ ἄλλα ἢ τύχη, μόνην τῆς ἐλπίδος  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφύλαξε ταύτην.  
 13 τὴν εὐψυχίαν τοίνυν ἀσκεῖτε καὶ πρὸς εὐτολμίαν  
 παρασκευάζεσθε. οἷς γὰρ ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἢ ἐλπίς,  
 ὥσπερ τανῦν ὑμῖν, ἔστηκεν, οὐδὲ χρόνου τινὰ  
 βραχυτάτην ῥοπὴν ἀναπεπτωκέναί ξυνοίσει.  
 14 παρεληλυθυίας γὰρ τῆς ἀκμῆς τοῦ καιροῦ ἀνόνη-  
 τος ἢ σπουδῇ τὸ λοιπὸν γίνεται καὶ διαφερόντως  
 ὑπέρογκος ἢ, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένης τῶν πραγμάτων  
 τῆς φύσεως ἀρετὴν ἔωλον, ἐπεὶ παρελθούσης τῆς  
 χρείας ἔξωρα καὶ τὰ ἐπιγινόμενα ἐπάναγκες  
 15 εἶναι. οἶμαι τοίνυν προσήκειν ὑμᾶς ἐπικαιριώ-  
 τατα ἐν ἔργῳ λαβεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν ὡς ἂν δυνη-  
 σεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι.  
 ἐξεπίστασθέ τε ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι<sup>2</sup> ἀξιόλεθρος  
 16 μάλιστα ἢ φυγὴ γίνεται. φεύγουσι γὰρ ἄνθρω-  
 ποι λιπόντες τὴν τάξιν οὐκ ἄλλου του ἔνεκα ἢ  
 ὅπως βιώσονται· ἦν δὲ θάνατον ἢ φυγὴ προὔπτον  
 ἐπάγεσθαι μέλλῃ, ὁ τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστὰς τοῦ  
 φυγόντος πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ἔσται.  
 17 τοῦ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀμίλου ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον,  
 ἐξ ἔθνῶν ξυνειλεγμένων ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστων.  
 ξυμμαχία γὰρ πολλαχόθεν ἐρανισθεῖσα οὔτε τὴν  
 πίστιν οὔτε τὴν δύναμιν ἀσφαλῆ φέρεται, ἀλλὰ  
 σχιζομένη τοῖς γένεσι μερίζεται καὶ ταῖς γνώμας  
 18 εἰκότως. μηδὲ γὰρ οἶεσθε Οὔννους τε καὶ Λαγγο-  
 βάρδας καὶ Ἐρούλους ποτέ, χρημάτων αὐτοῖς  
 μεμισθωμένους οὐκ οἶδα ὀπόσων, προκινδυνεύσειν

<sup>1</sup> μηδεμία Haury: οὐδεμία MSS.

<sup>2</sup> παρόντι Maltretus: παρόντι ὡς MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

19 αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἡ  
 ψυχὴ ἄτιμος<sup>1</sup> ὥστε καὶ ἀργυρίου τὰ δευτερεῖα  
 παρ' αὐτοῖς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδα ὡς μάχεσθαι  
 τὰ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ποιούμενοι ἐθελοκακήσουσιν  
 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἢ κεκομισμένοι τὴν μίσθωσιν,  
 ἢ τὴν ἐπίταξιν ὑποτετελεκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσιν  
 20 ἀρχόντων. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων τερπνότατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι μὴ ὅτι  
 πολέμια, ἢν μὴ κατὰ γνώμην αὐτοῖς πράσσηται,  
 ἀλλὰ βιασθεῖσιν ἢ μισθαρνήσασιν ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ  
 ἀναγκασθεῖσιν, οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ καταθύ-  
 μιον ἀποκεκρίσθαι συμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀναγ-  
 καίῳ μοχθηρὰ φαίνεται. ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες  
 προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 χωρήσωμεν.”

XXXI

Ἰουσαῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶπε. τὰ δὲ  
 στρατεύματα ἐς μάχην ξυνήει καὶ ἐτάξαντο ὧδε.  
 μετωπηδὸν μὲν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἅπαντες ἕστησαν,  
 ὡς βαθύτατόν τε καὶ περίμηκες τῆς φάλαγγος  
 2 τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων κέρας  
 μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀμφὶ  
 τὸ γεώλοφον εἶχον καὶ <sup>ἐν</sup> αὐτοῖς εἶ τι ἄριστον  
 3 ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· ἑκατέρω  
 γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χωρὶς στρατιωτῶν, δορυφόρων  
 τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ βαρβάρων Οὐννων εἶπετο  
 4 πλῆθος ἀριστίνδην συνειλεγμένων· κατὰ δὲ<sup>3</sup>  
 δεξιὸν Βαλεριανός τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Φαγάς σὺν  
 τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ καὶ οἱ κατάλοιποι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτά-

<sup>1</sup> ἄτιμος Hoeschel in margin : ἄτιμον MSS.

the point of death. For life with them is not so cheap as to take second place to silver in their estimation, but I well know that after making an appearance of fighting they will desert with all speed, either because they have received their pay, or as carrying out the orders of their own commanders. For even things that seem most delightful,—to say nothing of what happens in war—if they do not turn out in accordance with men's wishes, but if they are forced or hired or subject to any other compulsion, then such things will come no longer to be accounted pleasant, but by reason of the compulsion appear detestable. Remembering these things let us with all enthusiasm engage with the enemy.”

## XXXI

Thus then spoke Totila. And the armies drew together for battle and arrayed themselves as follows. All the forces in each army took their stand facing the enemy, making the phalanx as deep as possible and the front very long. And the Roman left wing was held by Narses and John near the hill, and with them was the flower of the Roman army; for each of them had, apart from the other soldiers, a great following of spearmen and guards and barbarian Huns, all chosen for their valour; and on the right were arrayed Valerian and John the Glutton along with Dagisthaeus and all the rest

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς Hoeschel : αὐτοῦς MSS.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ δέ Haury : κατὰ MSS



## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 5 ξαντο πάντες. πεζοὺς μέντοι τοξότας ἐκ τῶν  
 καταλόγου στρατιωτῶν ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα  
 ἔστησαν ἐς ἄμφω τὰ κέρα. κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα<sup>1</sup>  
 τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς τε Λαγγοβάρδας καὶ τὸ  
 Ἐρούλων ἔθνος καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβά-  
 ρους ὁ Ναρσῆς ἔταξεν, ἐκ τε τῶν ἵππων ἀπο-  
 βιβάσας καὶ πεζοὺς εἶναι καταστησάμενος, ὅπως  
 ἂν μὴ κακοὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γενόμενοι ἢ<sup>2</sup> ἐθελοκα-  
 κοῦντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν<sup>2</sup> ὀξύτεροι  
 6 εἶεν. τὸ μέντοι πέρας κέρως τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν  
 Ῥωμαίων μετώπου Ναρσῆς ἐγγώνιον κατεστή-  
 σατο, πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ἵππεις ἐνταῦθα  
 7 στήσας. προείρητο δὲ τοῖς μὲν πεντακοσίοις,<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τισὶ τραπήναι  
 ξυμβαίη, ἐπιβοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς<sup>4</sup> ἐν σπουδῇ, τοῖς δὲ  
 χιλίοις, ὅπηνίκα οἱ τῶν πολεμίων πεζοὶ ἔργου  
 ἄρχωνται, κατόπισθεν τε αὐτῶν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι  
 8 καὶ ἀμφιβόλους ποιήσασθαι. καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας δὲ  
 τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντίαν τὴν στρα-  
 τιὰν ξύμπασαν ἔστησε. καὶ περιὼν τὴν οἰκείαν  
 παράταξιν τοὺς στρατιώτας παρεθράσυνέ τε καὶ  
 παρεκάλει ἐς εὐτολμίαν προσώπῳ καὶ λόγῳ.  
 9 καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτὸ τοῦτο ἐποίει, ψέλλιά  
τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ χαλινούς χρυσοὺς ἐπὶ  
κοντῶν μετεωρίσας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα τῆς ἐς τὸν  
κίνδυνον προθυμίας ὑπεκκαύματα ἐνδεικνύμενος.  
 10 χρόνον δὲ τινα μάχης οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλ'  
 ἡσυχῇ ἀμφοτέροι ἔμενον, προσδεχόμενοι τὴν τῶν  
 ἐναντίων ἐπίθεσιν.  
 11 Μετὰ δὲ εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Γότθων στρατοῦ, Κόκκας

<sup>1</sup> τὰ κέρα. κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα Haugy: τὰ καὶ τάδε. τὰ μέσα MSS., τὰ κέρα. κατὰ μέσα δὲ Braun.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὄνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ τῷ δραστηρίῳ διαρκῶς ἔχων,  
 τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας, ἄγχιστα ἦλθε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατοῦ, προῦκαλεῖτό τε, εἴ τίς οἱ βούλοιτο  
 12 πρὸς μονομαχίαν ἐπεξιέναι. ὁ δὲ Κόκκας οὗτος  
 εἰς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῶν  
 παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀπηυτομοληκότων τὰ πρότερα.  
 13 καὶ οἱ αὐτίκα τῶν τις Ναρσοῦ δορυφόρων ἀντίος  
 ἔστη, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀνζαλᾶς ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὸς  
 14 ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κόκκας ὀρμήσας  
 πρῶτος ὡς τῷ δόρατι παίσων ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον  
 15 ἴετο, καταστοχαζόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου γαστρὸς. ὁ  
 δ' Ἀνζαλᾶς ἐξαπιναίως τὸν ἵππον ἐκκλίνας  
 ἀνόνητον αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο γενέσθαι τῆς  
 οἰκείας ὀρμῆς. ταύτῃ τε αὐτὸς ἐκ πλαγίου τοῦ  
 πολεμίου γενόμενος ἐς πλευρὰν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρισ-  
 16 τερὰν τὸ δόρυ ὠσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου  
 πεσὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος νεκρὸς ἔκειτο· κραυγὴ δὲ  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὑπερφυῆς ἦρθη, οὐδ'  
 ὡς μέντοι μάχης τινὸς οὐδέτεροι ἦρξαν.  
 17 Τουτίλας δὲ μόνος ἐν μεταίχμιῳ ἐγένετο, οὐ  
 μονομαχήσων, ἀλλὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
 τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> ἐκκρούσων. Γότθων γὰρ τοὺς ἀπολει-  
 πομένους δισχιλίους ἄγχιστα πη προσιέναι  
 μαθὼν ἀπετίθετο ἐς τὴν αὐτῶν παρουσίαν τὴν  
 18 ξυμβολήν, ἐποίει δὲ τάδε. πρῶτα μὲν οὐκ  
 ἀπηξίου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι ὅστις ποτὲ  
 εἶη. τὴν τε γὰρ τῶν ὄπλων σκευὴν κατακόρως  
 τῷ χρυσῷ κατειλημμένην ἠμπίσχετο καὶ τῶν οἱ  
φαλάρων ὁ κόσμος ἐκ τε τοῦ πίλου καὶ τοῦ  
 δόρατος ἀλουργός τε καὶ ἄλλως βασιλικὸς ἀπε-

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐναντίοις τοῦτον editors, after τοῦτον τοῖς ἐναντίοις Suidas : τοὺς ἐναντίους τοῦτον MSS.

Coccas, who had a great reputation as an active fighter, rode his horse out and came close to the Roman army and uttered a challenge, if anyone was willing to come forth against him in single combat. Now this Coccas happened to be one of the Roman soldiers who had previously deserted to Totila. And immediately one of the spearmen of Narses stood forth against him, a man of Armenian birth named Anzalas, who was likewise mounted on a horse. Coccas then made the first rush and charged his foe in order to smite him with his spear, aiming the weapon at his belly. But Anzalas, by suddenly turning his horse aside, caused the charge of his enemy to be futile. By this manœuvre he was placed on his enemy's flank and he now thrust his spear into his left side. And Coccas fell from his horse to the ground and lay there a dead man. Whereupon a tremendous shout arose from the Roman army, but even then neither side began any fighting.

But Totila now went alone into the space between the armies, not in order to engage in single combat, but in order to prevent his opponents from using the present opportunity. For he had learned that the two thousand Goths who had been missing were now drawing near, and so he sought to put off the engagement until their arrival by doing as follows. First of all, he was not at all reluctant to make an exhibition to the enemy of what manner of man he was. For the armour in which he was clad was abundantly plated with gold and the ample adornments which hung from his cheek-plates as well as from his helmet and spear were not only of purple

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

19 κρέματο θαυμαστος ὅσος. καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπερφυεῖ  
 ὀχούμενος ἵππῳ ~~παιδιὰν~~ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ ἔπαιζε τὴν  
 ἐνόπλιον ἐπισταμένως.<sup>1</sup> τὸν τε γὰρ ἵππον ἐν  
 κύκλῳ περιελίσσων, ἐπὶ θάτερά τε ἀναστρέφων  
 20 αὐθις κυκλοτερεῖς πεποίητο δρόμους. καὶ ἵππευό-  
 μενος μεθίει ~~ταῖς αὔραις~~ τὸ δόρυ, ἀπ' αὐτῶν τε  
~~κραδαινόμενον~~ ἀρπασάμενος εἶτα ἐκ χειρὸς ἐς  
 χεῖρα παραπέμπων συχνὰ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
 μεταβιβάζων ἐμπείρως, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο τῇ ἐς τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα μελέτῃ, ὑπτιάζων καὶ ἰσχιάζων καὶ πρὸς  
 ἐκάτερα ἐγκλινόμενος, ὥσπερ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀκριβῶς  
 21 τὰ ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν δεδιδασκόμενος. ταῦτά τε  
 κοιῶν πᾶσαν κατέτριψε τὴν δείλην πρωτῶν.  
 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν τῆς μάχης ἀναβολὴν μη-  
 κύνειν ἐθέλων ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατό-  
 πεδον, φάσκων ἐθέλειν αὐτοῖς ἐς λόγους<sup>3</sup> ξυμμίξαι.  
 Ναρσῆς δὲ φανακίζειν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρίζετο, εἴ γε  
 πολεμησείων τὰ πρότερα, ἠνίκα τοῦ προτείνεσθαι  
 λόγους ἐξουσία εἶη, νῦν ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος  
 ἐς τοὺς διαλόγους χωροίη.

XXXII

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γότθοις καὶ οἱ δισχίλιοι ἤκου-  
 οὔσπερ ἐς τὸ χανάκωμα Τουτίλας ἀφικέσθαι  
 μαθῶν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς ἄριστον ἦγεν,  
 αὐτὸς τε ἐς σκηνὴν τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχώρησε καὶ  
 Γότθοι διαλύσαντες τὴν παράταξιν ὀπίσω ἀνέ-  
 2 στρέφον. ἐν δὲ τῇ καταλύσει τῇ αὐτοῦ γεγονῶς  
 Τουτίλας τοὺς δισχιλίους ἤδη παρόντας εὔρε.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισταμένως Hoeschel : ἐπιστάμενος MSS.



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το τε ἄριστον ἅπαντας αἰρεῖσθαι κελεύσας· καὶ  
 τὴν τῶν ὄπλων σκευὴν μεταμφιασάμενος ἅπασαν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἐξωπλίσατο μὲν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν στρατιωτῶν  
 λόγῳ, εὐθύς δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 ἐξῆγεν, ἀπροσδόκητος αὐτοῖς ἐπιπείσεισθαι οἰό-  
 3 μενος καὶ ταύτῃ αἰρήσειν. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἀπαρα-  
 σκεύους Ῥωμαίους εὔρε. δείσας γὰρ ὁ Ναρσῆς,  
 ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ σφίσιν ἀπροσδοκῆτοις ἐπι-  
 πέσοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀπέειπεν ἅπασιν μήτε ἄριστον  
 αἰρεῖσθαι μήτε ἀποδαρθεῖν μήτε μὴν ἀποθωρα-  
 κίσασθαι τῶν πάντων μηδένα μήτε τοῦ χαλινουῦ  
 4 μεθεῖναι τὸν ἵππον. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀποσίτους  
 τὸ παράπαν αὐτοὺς εἶασεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τάξει καὶ  
 τῇ τῶν ὄπλων σκευῇ ἀκρατισαμένους ἐκέλευσε  
 διηνεκὲς οὕτως ἀποσκοποῦντας καταδοκεῖν τῶν  
 5 πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον. τρόπῳ μὲντοι τῷ αὐτῷ  
 οὐκέτι ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὰ κέρα, ἐν  
 οἷς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους οἱ πεζοὶ τοξόται εἰστήκει-  
 σαν, ἐπὶ τὸ μηνοειδὲς τοῦ Ναρσοῦ γνώμῃ ἐτρά-  
 6 πετο. Γότθοι<sup>2</sup> δὲ οἱ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες ὀπισθεν τῶν  
 ἱππέων ἀθρόοι ἴσταντο, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἦν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι  
 τραπῆναι ξυμβῆ, ἀναστρέφοντες μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 οἱ φεύγοντες σώζοντο, ἐπίκοινα δὲ ἀμφότεροι<sup>3</sup>  
 εὐθύς χωρήσαιεν.

Προείρητο δὲ Γότθοις ἅπασιν μήτε τοξεύματι  
 μήτε ἄλλῳ ὄτρωον ἐς συμβολὴν τήνδε ὅτι μὴ τοῖς  
 7 δόρασι χρῆσθαι. διὸ δὴ Γουτίλαν πρὸς τῆς  
 ἀβουλίας καταστρατηγηθῆναι τῆς αὐτοῦ ξυνη-  
 νέχθη· ὃς γε καθιστάμενος ἐς τήνδε τὴν μάχην

<sup>1</sup> ἅπασαν de Stefani: ἅπαντας MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Γότθοι V: γότθοις A.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμφότεροι Maltretus: ἀμφότερα MSS.

all to take their meal, and changing his entire equipment he armed himself with all care with the private soldier's equipment and led the army out straightway against his enemy, thinking that he would fall upon them unexpectedly and thus overwhelm them. But even so he did not find the Romans unprepared. For Narses had feared, as actually happened, that the enemy would fall upon them when they were not expecting it, and so he had given orders that not a single man should either sit down to lunch or go off to sleep or even remove his cuirass, nor yet take his bridle off his horse. However, he did not allow them to be altogether without food, but commanded them to eat a small meal in ranks and with their equipment on, meanwhile maintaining a sharp look-out constantly and expecting the attack of the enemy. However, they were no longer arrayed in the same formation as before, for the Roman wings, in each of which four thousand unmounted horsemen had taken their stand, were moved forward at Narses' command so as to form a crescent. But the Gothic infantry were all placed in a body in the rear of the cavalry, in order that, if the horsemen should be routed, the fugitives might fall back upon them and be saved, and all could then advance immediately together.

Now orders had been given to the entire Gothic army that they should use neither bow nor any other weapon in this battle except their spears. Consequently it came about that Totila was outgeneralled by his own folly; for in entering this battle he was led, by what I do not know, to throw



οὐκ οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς παρείχετο τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
 τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν· οὔτε τῇ ὀπλίσει ἀντίξουν  
 οὔτε τῇ τάξει ἀντίρροπον οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀντίπα-  
 λον, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐκάστοις ὡς ἐπικαιρότατα  
 ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐχρῶντο, ἢ τοξεύοντες, ἢ δόρατα  
 ὠθοῦντες, ἢ ξίφη διαχειρίζοντες,<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἄλλο τι  
 ἐνεργοῦντες τῶν σφίσι προχείρων κὰν τῷ  
 παρόντι ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ μὲν ἵππευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ  
 πεζῇ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν καθιστάμενοι, κατὰ τὸ τῇ  
 χρεία ξυνοῖσον, καὶ πῆ μὲν κύκλωσιν τῶν πολε-  
 μίων διαπρασσόμενοι, πῆ δὲ προσιόντας δεχόμενοι  
 καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἀποκρουόμενοι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.  
 8 οἱ δὲ τῶν Γότθων ἵππεῖς, τῶν πεζῶν σφίσιν  
 ἀπολελειμμένων ὀπίσω, μόνοις θαρσοῦντες τοῖς  
 δόρασιν ὀρμῇ ἀνεπισκέπτῳ ἐπήεσαν, ἐν τε τῷ  
 πόνῳ γενόμενοι τῆς σφετέρας ἀβουλίας ἀπώναντο.  
 9 ἐπὶ μέσους γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρμήσαντες  
 ἔλαθον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ πεζῶν τῶν ὀκτα-  
 κισχιλίων γενόμενοι, τοῖς τε τοξεύμασι πρὸς  
 αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπεῖπον εὐθύς,  
 ἐπεὶ οἱ τοξόται ἄμφω τοῦ μετώπου τὰ κέρα ἐπὶ  
 τὸ μνηοειδὲς, κατὰ βραχὺ ἔτρεπον, ἢ πέρ μοι  
 10 ἔμπροσθεν εἰρηται. πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας,  
 πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ Γότθοι  
 ἀπέβαλον, οὔπω τοῖς ἐναντίοις ξυμμίξαντες,  
 πολλῶν τε ἀνηκέστων κακῶν ἐς πείραν ἐλθόντες  
 ὀψέ τε καὶ μόλις ἐς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφίκοντο τὴν  
 παράταξιν.  
 11 Ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὰς ἢ τῶν σφίσι ξυμ-  
 μάχων βαρβάρων μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων θαυμάζειν  
 12 οὐκ ἔχω. μία γὰρ ἀπάντων προθυμία τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ξίφη διαχειρίζοντες V : ξιφείδια χειρίζοντες A.



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ἀρετὴ καὶ ἐγαγώνισις ἦν, ἕκαστοί τε τῶν ἐναντίων  
ἐπιόντων σφίσι ὡς καρτερώτατα δεξάμενοι τὴν  
13 ἐπιδρομὴν ἀπεώσαντο. ἤδη δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς  
ἐσπέραν ἦν καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα ἑξαπιναίως ἐκι-  
νήθη ἑκάτερα, Γότθων μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν, Ῥωμαίων  
14 δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. ὠρμημένοις γὰρ ἐς αὐτοὺς  
Γότθοι οὐκ ἀντεῖχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐνε-  
δίδοσαν ἐπιόντων αὐτῶν καὶ προτροπάδην  
ἀνέστρεφον, καταπεπληγμένοι αὐτῶν τῷ τε  
15 ὀμίλῳ καὶ τῇ εὐκοσμίᾳ. ἐς ἀλκὴν τε οὐδαμῆ  
ἔβλεπον, ὥσπερ φάσματα ἐπιπεσόντα σφίσι  
16 δειμαίνοντες ἢ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολεμούμενοι. δι'  
ὀλίγου δὲ εἰς πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς σφετέρους ἀφικο-  
μένοις πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἤρετο καὶ  
17 πρόσω ἐχώρει. οὐ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν  
ποιησάμενοι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦλθον, ὡς ἀναπνεύσοντές  
τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναμαχούμενοι, ἥπερ εἴθισται,  
ἢ ὠθισμῶ τοὺς διώκοντας ἀπωσόμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἢ παλίω-  
ξιν ἐγχειρίσοντας ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ πολέμου ἰδεάν, )  
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀτάκτως ὥστε αὐτῶν τισὶ καὶ διε-  
φθάρθαι τῆς ἵππου ἐπιπεσοῦσης ξυνέπεσε.  
18 διόπερ αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> οἱ πεζοὶ οὔτε διαστάντες ἐδέξαντο  
οὔτε διασωσόμενοι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτοῖς  
προτροπάδην ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ  
19 ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ διέφθειρον. ὅ  
τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατός, τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπο-  
λαύοντες ὀρρωδίας, φειδοῖ οὐδεμιᾶ τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν  
ἀεὶ ἔκτεινον, οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἀντιβλέπειν  
τολμῶντας, ἀλλὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις  
παρεχομένους ὅ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι· οὕτω δὴ

<sup>1</sup> ἥπερ—ἀπωσόμενοι Δ: om. V.

the same valour and energy in action, for each of them received the enemy's attack with the utmost vigour and repulsed the assault. And it was now toward evening when each of the two armies suddenly began to move, the Goths in retreat and the Romans in pursuit. For the Goths could no longer hold out against the onslaught of their enemy, but began to give ground before their attacks, and finally turned precipitately, terrified by their great numbers and their perfect order. And they gave not a thought to resistance, being as filled with terror as if some apparitions of the air had fallen upon them or as if Heaven were warring against them. But when shortly they reached their own infantry, their misfortune was doubled and trebled. For they did not come to them in an orderly retreat, as with the purpose of recovering their breath and renewing the fight with their assistance, as is customary; indeed they had no intention either of throwing back their pursuers by a massed attack or of undertaking a counter pursuit or any other military manœuvre, but they arrived in such disorder that some of the men were actually destroyed by the onrushing cavalry. Consequently the infantry did not open intervals to receive them nor stand fast to rescue them, but they all began to flee precipitately with the cavalry, and in the rout they kept killing each other just as in a battle at night. Meanwhile the Roman army, profiting by their panic, continued to kill without mercy all who fell in their way, while their victims offered no defence nor dared look them in the face, but gave themselves up to their enemy to treat as they

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<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς Hoeschel in margin : αὐτοῖς MSS.

αὐτοῖς τὰ τε δείματα ἐπεκάθιζε καὶ ὁ φόβος ἐκράτει.

20 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἑξακισχίλιοι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, πολλοὶ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι ἐζώγρησαν, οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἔκτειναν. οὐ μόνον δὲ Γότθοι ἀνήρηντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πάλαι Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν πλεῖστοι, τῶν τὸ πρότερον ἀποταξαμένων μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ, ἀπηντομοληκότων δέ, ἡπέρ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις  
21 ἐρρήθη, παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γόθους. ὅσοις δὲ δὴ τοῦ Γόθων<sup>1</sup> στρατοῦ μήτε ἀπολωλέναι μήτε ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup> τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὗτοι διαλαθεῖν τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὡς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἵππου ἢ ποδῶν ἢ τύχης ἔσχευ(ἢ καιροῦ ἢ χώρου φέροντος ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτυχεῖν.)

22 Ἦδε μὲν οὖν ἡ μάχη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε παντάπασιν ἤδη. Τουτίλαν δὲ φεύγοντα ἐν σκότῳ σὺν ἀνδράσιν οὐ πλέον ἢ πέντε οὖσιν, ὧνπερ ὁ Σκιποῦαρ εἰς ἐτύγχανεν ὧν, τῶν τινὲς Ῥωμαίων ἐδίωκον, οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς Τουτίλας εἶη· ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἄσβαδον τὸν Γήπαιδα  
23 ξυνέβαινε εἶναι. ὅσπερ ἐπεὶ Τουτίλα ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένετο, ὡς τῷ δόρατι αὐτὸν κατὰ τῶν νώτων  
24 παίσων ἐπήει. Γοτθικὸν δὲ τι μειράκιον ἐκ τῆς Τουτίλα οἰκίας φεύγοντι τῷ δεσπότη ἐπόμενον, τύχην τε ἀπαξιούην τὴν τότε παροῦσαν, ἀνέκραγε μέγα· “Τί τοῦτο, ὦ κύων, τὸν δεσπότην τὸν σαυτοῦ πλήξων ὄρμηκας;” ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄσβαδος ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸ δόρυ σθένει παντὶ

<sup>1</sup> Γόθων Hoeschel: γόθου MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὤσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Σκιποῦαρ τὸν πόδα  
 25 πληγεῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Σκιποῦαρ  
 πρὸς τοῦ τῶν διωκόντων πληγεῖς ἔστη, οἳ τε  
 ξὺν Ἀσβάδῳ πεποιημένοι τὴν δίωξιν, τέτταρες  
 ὄντες, ὅπως αὐτὸν διασώσοιντο, οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον,  
 26 ἀλλὰ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον. οἳ δὲ τῷ  
 Τουτίλα ἐπισπόμενοι, διώκειν σφᾶς ἔτι τοὺς  
 πολεμίους οἰόμενοι, οὐδέν τι ἤσσον πρὸσω ἤλαυ-  
 νον,<sup>1</sup> καίπερ αὐτὸν καιρίαν πληγέντα καὶ ~~λει-~~  
~~ποψυχοῦντα~~ βεβαιότατα ἐπαγόμενοι, πρυτα-  
 νευούσης αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν ~~βίαιον~~ δρόμον.  
 27 σταδίους δὲ ἀνύσαντες τέσσαράς τε καὶ ὀγδοή-  
 κοντα ἐς χωρίον ἀφίκοντο Κάπρας ὄνομα. οὐ δὴ  
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἠσυχάζοντες Τουτίλα τὴν πληγὴν  
 ἐθεράπευον, ὅσπερ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν βίον  
 28 ἐξεμέτρησεν. ἐνταῦθά τε αὐτὸν οἳ ἐπισπόμενοι  
 κρύψαντες τῇ γῇ ἀνεχώρησαν.

Αὕτη γέγονε Τουτίλα τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ  
 τοῦ βίου καταστροφή, ἔτη ἕνδεκα Γόθων ἄρξαντι,  
 οὐκ ἐπαξίως ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ  
 πεπραγμένων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα πρότερον  
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>3</sup> ἐχώρησε, καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐ κατὰ  
 29 λόγον ἢ τελευτῇ ἐπεγένετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἢ  
 τύχη ὠραιζομένη τε διαφανῶς καὶ διασύρουσα τὰ  
 ἀνθρώπεια τό τε παράλογον τὸ αὐτῆς ἴδιον καὶ  
 τὸ τοῦ βουλήματος ἀπροφάσιστον ἐπιδέδεικται,  
 Τουτίλα μὲν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς  
 ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος αὐτοματίσασα, δειλίαν δὲ οὕτω  
 τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ καταστροφὴν ἀπαυθαδισαμένην,  
 30 ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων ἐν τῷ παρόντι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> πρὸσω ἤλαυνον Haury: προσήλαυνον MSS.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς A: αὐτῆς V.

Totila, but he himself was wounded in the foot by Scipuar and remained there. And Scipuar was wounded in turn by one of the pursuers and stopped, whereupon those who had been making the pursuit with Asbadus, four in number, gave up the chase in order to save him, and turned back with him. But the escort of Totila, thinking that the enemy were still pursuing them, rode forward without pausing, taking him along with great determination, though mortally wounded and fainting, for necessity compelled them to that headlong flight. So after covering eighty-four stades they came to a place called Caprae.<sup>1</sup> Here they rested from travel and endeavoured to treat the wound of Totila, who not long afterwards completed the term of his life. And there his followers buried him in the earth and departed.

Such was the conclusion of the reign and the life of Totila, who had ruled the Goths eleven years. But the end which came to him was not worthy of his past achievements, for everything had gone well with the man before that, and his end was not commensurate with his deeds. But here again Fortune was obviously disporting herself and tearing human affairs to shreds by way of making a display of her own perverse nature and unaccountable will; for she had endowed Totila of her own free will with prosperity for no particular reason for a long time, and then after this fashion smote the man with cowardice and destruction at the present time for no fitting cause. But these things, I believe, have never

<sup>1</sup> Modern Caprara?

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπων: Haury conjectures ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ μέγα.



μὲν ἀνθρώπων, οἶμαι, καταληπτὰ οὔτε γέγονε  
 πώποτε οὔτε μήποτε ὕστερον ἔσται· λέγεται δὲ  
 αἰεὶ καὶ δοξάζεται διαψιθυριζόμενα ἐς τὸν πάντα  
 αἰῶνα, ὡς πη ἐκάστῳ φίλον, λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι  
 δοκοῦντι εἶναι παρηγοροῦντι τὴν ἄγνοιαν. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

31 Τουτίλαν γοῦν<sup>1</sup>, Ῥωμαῖοι οὕτως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀφανισθῆναι οὐκ εἴδον, ἕως αὐτοῖς γυνὴ μία,  
 Γότθα γένος, ἔφρασε τε καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπέδειξεν.

32 οἳ τε ἀκηκοότες οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι οἰόμενοι,  
 ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὴν θήκην ὀκνήσει  
 οὐδεμιᾶ διορύξαντες ἐξήνεγκαν μὲν τὸν Τουτίλαν  
 ἐνθένδε νεκρόν, ἐπιγνόντες δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς φασι, καὶ  
 τούτου δὴ τοῦ θεάματος ἐμπλησάμενοι τὴν  
 σφετέραν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐθις αὐτόν τῇ γῇ ἔκρυψαν,  
 ἔς τε Ναρσῆν αὐτίκα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνή-  
 νεγκαν.

33 Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω τὰ γε κατὰ Τουτίλαν καὶ  
 τήνδε τὴν μάχην ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τρόπῳ τῷ  
 ἑτέρῳ φασίν· ὄνπερ μοι ἀναγράψασθαι οὐ τοι

34 ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι. λέγουσι γὰρ οὐκ ἀπρο-  
 φάσιστον οὐδὲ παράλογον τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν ξυνε-  
 νεχθῆναι τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀκροβολιζομένων τινῶν βέλος ἐκ τοξεύματος τῷ  
 Τουτίλα ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιπείσειν, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας  
 τοῦ πέμψαντος, ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἐν στρατιώτου  
 λόγῳ ὠπλισμένος τε καὶ παρατεταγμένος ὅπου  
 δὴ τῆς φάλαγγος ἀπημελημένος εἰστήκει, οὐ  
 βουλόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔνδηλος εἶναι, οὐδέ πη  
 αὐτόν ἐς ἐπιβουλήν παρεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ τύχης  
 τούτῳ<sup>2</sup> ταῦτα σκευωρουμένης τινὸς καὶ ἰθυνασίας

<sup>1</sup> γοῦν Hoeschel in margin : γάρ MSS.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα τὸν ἄτρακτον· καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν καιρίαν βληθέντα, ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, περιώδυνον γεγεννημένον ἔξω γενέσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος ξύν τε ὀλίγοις κατὰ βραχὺ ὀπίσω ἰέναι.  
 35 καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς Κάπρας ἀντέχοντα τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τὸν ἵππον ἔλᾶν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ λειποψυχήσαντα τὸ λοιπὸν μεῖναι<sup>1</sup> τὴν πληγὴν θεραπεύσοντα, οὐ πολλῶ τε ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἐπιγενέσθαι  
 36 τὴν τέλειον ἡμέραν τοῦ βίου. τὴν δὲ Γότθων στρατιὰν οὔτε ἄλλως ἀξιόμαχον τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπομάχου σφίσι παρὰ δόξαν γεγεννημένου τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἐν θάμβει γενέσθαι, εἰ μόνος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔξ ἐπιβουλῆς τῶν πολεμίων ὁ Τουτίλας καιρίαν βληθείη, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ περιφόβους τε καὶ ἀθύμους γεγεννημένους ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ὄρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν καὶ ὑπαγωγὴν οὔτως αἰσχρὰν ἐμπεπτωκένας. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὅπῃ γινώσκει.<sup>2</sup>

XXIII

Ναρσῆς δὲ περιχαρῆς τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσι γενόμενος ἐπαναφέρων οὐκ ἀνίει ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἅπαντα, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ ἀληθῆς λόγος ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν ποσὶ 2 διωκεῖτο. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν οἱ ἐπισπομένων Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἀπαλλαξείων τῆς ἀτοπίας (οἱ γε πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομία τὰς τε οἰκοδομίας, αἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν, ἐνεπίμπρασαν καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ καταφευγούσαις βιαζόμενοι ἐπλησίαζον) χρήμασι μεγάλοις αὐτοὺς δεξιωσάμενος ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι, Βαλερια-

<sup>1</sup> μεῖναι A, V pr. m. corr. : εἶναι V pr. m.

shaft to the man's body. Then he, having suffered a mortal wound and being tortured with intense pain, withdrew from the phalanx with a few men and moved slowly away. And as far as Caprae he endured the suffering and continued to ride his horse, but there he fainted and after that remained there to care for his wound, and not long afterwards the final day of his life came upon him. Meanwhile the Gothic army, not being in any case a match for their opponents, upon seeing also that their commander had been unexpectedly rendered unfit for battle, became thunderstruck to think that Totila alone among them had been mortally wounded with no design on the part of the enemy, and consequently they became alarmed and discouraged and were plunged into terror which had no bounds and began to retreat in that disgraceful manner. But concerning these matters let each man speak according to his knowledge.

### λλλIII

NARSES was overjoyed at the outcome and ceased not attributing everything to God, an opinion which was indeed true; and he proceeded to arrange all urgent matters. And first of all he was eager to be rid of the outrageous behaviour of the Lombards under his command, for in addition to the general lawlessness of their conduct, they kept setting fire to whatever buildings they chanced upon and violating by force the women who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries. He accordingly propitiated them by a large gift of money and so released them to go to their homes,

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<sup>2</sup> γινώσκει A : γενέσθαι V.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

νόν τε καὶ Δαμιανόν, τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδούν, ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ  
 Ῥωμαίων ὄρια σφίσι κελεύσας, ὅπως μηδενὶ ἐν  
 3 τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ<sup>1</sup> λυμήνωνται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λαγγο-  
 Βάρδαι ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς,  
 Βαλεριανὸς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἀμφὶ πόλιν  
 Βερώναν, ὡς πολιορκήσων τε καὶ παραστησόμενος  
 4 αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ. δείσαντές τε οἱ τὸ φυλακτήριον  
 ταύτη ἔχοντες Βαλεριανῶ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ὡς  
 σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία ἐνδώ-  
 5 σοντες. ἃ δὴ Φράγγοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι φρουρὰν  
 ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία εἶχον, διεκώλυον προ-  
 θυμία τῇ πάσῃ τῆς χώρας ἅτε αὐτοῖς προση-  
 κούσης ἀξιοῦντες μεταποιεῖσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι Βαλε-  
 ριανὸς ἀνεχώρησε.

6 Γότθοι δέ, ὅσοι ἀποφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ξυμβολῆς  
 διεσώθησαν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Πάδον, πόλιν τε  
 Τικινὸν<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἔσχον, ἄρχοντά τε  
 7 τὸν Τεῖαν κατεστήσαντο σφίσιν. ὅς δὴ τὰ  
 χρήματα εὐρὼν ἅπαντα ὅσα Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν ἐν  
 Τικινῶ<sup>3</sup> καταθέμενος, Φράγγους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν  
 ἐπαγαγέσθαι διανοεῖτο, Γότθους δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν  
 παρόντων διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ξυλλέγων  
 8 σπουδῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας. ταῦτα ὁ Ναρσῆς  
 ἀκούσας Βαλεριανὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ἐπομένοις ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν φυλακὴν ἔχειν,  
 ὅπως μὴ Γότθοι ἀδεέστερον ξυστήσεσθαι δυνατοὶ  
 εἶεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῶ ἐπὶ  
 9 Ῥώμην ἵει. ἐν Τούσκοις τε γενόμενος Ναρνίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποπορεία: ἀποπορία A corr., ἀπορία A pr. m. V.

<sup>2</sup> Τικινόν Maltretus: πιγκηνῶν L, τηκηνῶν V.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

μὲν ὁμολογία εἶλε, καὶ Σπολιτινοῖς ἀτειχίστοις  
 οὔσι φρουρὰν ἔλιπεν, ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅτι  
 τάχιστα ἐπιστείλας ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου καθε-  
 10 λόντες ἐτύγχανον Γότθοι. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τινὰς  
 ἀποπειρασομένους τοῦ ἐν Περυσία φυλακτηρίου.  
 ἠγοῦντο δὲ τῶν ἐν Περυσία φρουρῶν αὐτόμολοι  
 γεγονότες Ῥωμαῖοι<sup>1</sup> δύο, Μελιγῆδιός τε καὶ  
 Οὔλιφος, ὅσπερ Κυπριανοῦ δορυφόρος γεγονὼς  
 πρότερον, Τουτίλα πολλά οἱ ἐπαγγειλαμένῳ  
 ἀναπεισθεῖς Κυπριανὸν τότε ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα  
 11 φυλακτηρίου δόλω ἔκτεινεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μελιγῆ-  
 διος λόγους τοῦ Ναρσοῦ ἐνδεξάμενος ἐβουλεύετο  
 ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι,  
 οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Οὔλιφον τῶν πρασσομένων  
 αἰσθόμενοι ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς.  
 12 καὶ Οὔλιφος μὲν ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ὁμογνωμονοῦσιν  
 αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, Μελιγῆδιος δὲ παρέδωκε Περυ-  
 σίαν Ῥωμαίοις αὐτίκα. τῷ μέντοι Οὔλίφῳ  
 ξυνέβη τίσις ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι ἐπιπεσοῦσα, ἐν  
 αὐτῷ μάλιστα διεφθάρθαι τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὸς  
 τὸν Κυπριανὸν διεχρήσατο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω  
 κεχώρηκε.  
 13 Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακὴν ἔχοντες ἐπειδὴ  
 Ναρσῆν τε καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς  
 ἰόντας ἀγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, παρεσκευά-  
 ζοντο ὡς τὰ δυνατὰ σφίσιν ὑπαντιάζοντες.  
 14 ἐτύγχανε δὲ Τουτίλας πολλὰς<sup>2</sup> μὲν ἐμπρησάμενος  
 τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομίας, ἠνίκα δὴ αὐτὴν τὸ πρῶτον  
 ἐξεῖλεν.<sup>3</sup> . . . ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ λογισάμενος, ὡς ἐς  
 ὀλίγους ἀποκεκριμένοι οὐχ οἰοί τέ εἶσι τὸ λοιπὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι L: ἐκ Ῥωμαίων V.

<sup>2</sup> πολλὰς Hoeschel, in margin, om. L, πολλοῖς V.

a garrison at Spolitium, which was then without walls, instructing them to rebuild as quickly as possible such parts of the fortifications as the Goths had torn down. And he also sent some men to make trial of the garrison in Perusia. Now the garrison of Perusia was commanded by two Romans who had become deserters, Meligedius and Ulifus; the latter had formerly been a bodyguard of Cyprian, but had been won over by the large promises made to him by Totila and had treacherously killed Cyprian who then commanded the garrison of that place. Now Meligedius was for accepting the proposals of Narses and was planning with the men under his command to hand the city over to the Romans, but the party of Ulifus perceived what was going on and banded together openly against them. In the fight that followed Ulifus was destroyed together with those who thought as he did, and Meligedius immediately surrendered Perusia to the Romans. And Ulifus obviously suffered retribution from Heaven in being destroyed at the very place where he himself had murdered Cyprian. Such was the course of these events.

But the Goths who were keeping guard in Rome, upon learning that Narses and the Roman army were coming against them and were now very near, made preparations to offer the strongest resistance possible. Now it happened that Totila had burned many buildings of the city when he captured it for the first time. . . . But finally, reasoning that the Goths, reduced as they were to a small number,

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\* A clause seems lost in which was expressed a first decision to rebuild.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Γότθοι ἅπαντα τὸν περίβολον Ῥώμης διαφυ-  
 λάξαι, τειχίσματι βραχεῖ ὀλίγην τινὰ τῆς  
 πόλεως μοῖραν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀδριανοῦ περιβαλὼν  
 τάφον καὶ αὐτὸ τῷ προτέρῳ τείχει ἐνάψας  
 15 φρουρίου κατεστήσατο σχῆμα. ἐνταῦθά τε τὰ  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατα καταθέμενοι Γότθοι ἐς  
 μὲν τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ἐφύλασσον, τὸ  
 δὲ ἄλλο τῆς πόλεως τείχος ἀπημελημένον  
 16 ὑπερέωρων. φρουροὺς τοίνυν σφῶν ἐν τούτῳ  
 τῷ χωρίῳ<sup>1</sup> τηνικάδε ἀπολιπόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς<sup>2</sup>  
 οἱ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις τοῦ τῆς  
 πόλεως γεγόμενοι τείχους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπο-  
 πειράσασθαι τειχομαχούντων ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον.  
 17 Ὅλον μὲν οὖν τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον διὰ  
 μεγέθους ὑπερβολὴν οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπιόντες περι-  
 18 βάλλεσθαι εἶχον οὔτε Γότθοι φρουρεῖν. διασκε-  
 δαννύμενοι δὲ οἱ μὲν ὅπη παρατύχοι προσέβαλλον,  
 οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἠμύνοντο. καὶ Ναρσῆς  
 μὲν τοξοτῶν ἐπαγόμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα ἐς μοῖραν  
 τινὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέσκηπτεν, ἐτέρωθι δὲ  
 Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ξὺν τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένοις προ-  
 19 σέβαλλε. Φιλημοῦθ δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἔρουλοι κατ' ἄλλο  
 τι μέρος ἠνώχλουν, ἐκαστάτῳ<sup>3</sup> τε αὐτῶν οἱ λοιποὶ  
 εἶποντο. ἐτειχομάχουν δὲ ἅπαντες ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ  
 20 ἀλλήλων ὄντες. καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ βάρβαροι  
 ξυνιστάμενοι ἐδέχοντο τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. τὰ μέντοι  
 ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου, ἵνα δὴ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ  
 ἐγένετο προσβολή, ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα παντάπασιν  
 ἦν, Γότθων ἀπάντων ὅπη ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπισκῆ-  
 21 ψαιεν ἀγειρομένων, ἥπέρ μοι εἴρηται. ἐν τούτῳ

<sup>1</sup> χωρίῳ V : φρουρίῳ L.

<sup>2</sup> ὀλίγους τινὰς V : οἱ. L.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκαστάτῳ L : ἐκάστοις V.



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δὲ γνώμη Ναρσοῦ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος στρατιώτας τε  
 παμπληθεῖς ἔχων καὶ τὸ τε Ναρσοῦ καὶ τὸ  
 Ἰωάννου σημείον καὶ κλίμακας πολλὰς ἐπαγό-  
 μενος μοίρα τινὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἕξαπιναίως  
 ἐπέσκηψε, φρουρᾶς<sup>1</sup> τὸ παράπαν ἐρήμῳ οὔσῃ.  
 22 τὰς τε κλίμακας εὐθύς ἀπάσας οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου  
 τῷ τείχει ἐρείσας πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις  
 ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο, τὰς τε πύλας κατ'  
 23 ἐξουσίαν ἀνέωγον. ὡνπερ αὐτίκα Γότθοι αἰσθό-  
 μενοι οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον  
 ἅπαντες ὅπῃ αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ ἐγεγόνει. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ φρούριον εἰσεπήδησαν, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐς  
 τὸν Πόρτον ἐχώρησαν<sup>2</sup> δρόμῳ.  
 24 Ἐνταῦθά μοι τοῦ λόγου ἔννοια γέγονεν ὄντινα  
 ἡ τύχη διαχλευάζει τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τρόπον, οὐκ  
 αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτά παρὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἰοῦσα  
 οὐδὲ ἴσοις αὐτοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς βλέπουσα, ἀλλὰ  
 ξυμμεταβαλλομένη χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ,<sup>3</sup> καὶ παίζει  
 ἐς αὐτοὺς παιδιάν τινα παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἢ τὸν  
 χῶρον ἢ τὸν τρόπον<sup>4</sup> διαλλάσσουσα τὴν τῶν  
 ταλαιπώρων ἀξίαν, εἴ γε ὁ Ῥώμην μὲν<sup>5</sup> ἀπολω-  
 λεκῶς τὰ πρότερα Βέσσας οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον  
 ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τῆς Λαζικῆς<sup>6</sup> Πέτραν,  
 ἔμπαλιν δὲ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος Πέτραν τοῖς πολεμίοις  
 μεθεῖς<sup>7</sup> ἀνεκτήσατο ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ βασιλεῖ  
 25 Ῥώμην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν γέγονέ τε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
 καὶ αἰεὶ ἔσται, ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ τύχη ἀνθρώποις ἦ.  
 Ναρσῆς δὲ τότε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον  
 26 πολεμῶν ἦει. κατορρωδήσαντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι

<sup>1</sup> φρουρᾶς L: φρουρῶν V.

<sup>3</sup> τόπῳ L: τρόπῳ V.

<sup>5</sup> μὲν L: ἡμῖν V.

<sup>2</sup> ἐχώρησαν L: ἐσεχώρησαν V.

<sup>4</sup> τρόπον V: τόπον L.

<sup>6</sup> τῆς λαζικῆς V: τὴν λαζικὴν L.

directed Dagisthaeus to take a large number of soldiers and the standards of both Narses and John, and, equipped with a large number of ladders, to make a sudden assault upon a certain part of the fortifications which was altogether destitute of guards. So he immediately placed all the ladders against the wall without any opposition, and with no trouble got inside the fortifications with his followers, and they opened the gates at their leisure. This was immediately discovered by the Goths, who no longer thought of resistance but began to flee, every man of them, wherever each one could. And some of them rushed into the fortress, while others went off on the run to Portus.

At this point in the narrative it occurs to me to comment on the manner in which Fortune makes sport of human affairs, not always visiting men in the same manner nor regarding them with uniform glance, but changing about with the changes of time and place; and she plays a kind of game with them, shifting the value of the poor wretches according to the variations of time, place, or circumstance, seeing that Bessas, the man who had previously lost Rome, not long afterward recovered Petra in Lazica for the Romans, and that Dagisthaeus, on the contrary, who had let Petra go to the enemy, won back Rome for the emperor in a moment of time. But these things have been happening from the beginning and will always be as long as the same fortune rules over men. Narses now advanced against the fortress with his whole army in warlike array. But the barbarians became

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† μεθείς L : προσθείς V.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων κεκομισμένοι  
 σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριόν οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ  
 μάλα παρέδοσαν, ἕκτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος  
 Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν  
 27 ἔχοντος. οὕτω τε Ῥώμη ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύον-  
 τος τὸ πέμπτον ἔαλω, ἥσπερ εὐθύς ὁ Ναρσῆς  
 τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψε.

XXXIV

Τότε δὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διαφανέστατα ἐπι-  
 δέδεικται ὡς ἅπασιν, οἷσπερ ἔδει γενέσθαι κακῶς,  
 καὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα δοκοῦντα εἶναι εἰς ὄλεθρον  
 ἀποκέκριται, κατὰ νοῦν τε ἀπαλλάξαντες ἴσως τῇ  
 2 τοιαύτῃ εὐημερίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ξυνδιαφθείρονται. Ῥωμαίων  
 γὰρ τῇ τε ξυγκλήτῳ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν  
 νίκην τήνδε πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον φθόρου αἰτίαν  
 3 ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Γότθοι μὲν  
 φεύγοντες καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν ἀπογνόν-  
 τες, ὁδοῦ ποιούμενοι πάρεργον, τοὺς παρατυχόντας  
 4 σφίσι Ῥωμαίους οὐδεμιᾶ διεχρῶντο φειδοῖ. οἱ δὲ  
 βάρβαροι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὡς πολεμίοις  
 ἐχρῶντο πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὴν  
 5 πόλιν εἰσόδῳ. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τότε αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθη  
 γενέσθαι. πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ξυγκλήτου  
 βουλῆς, τοῦτο Τουτίλα δεδογμένον, τὰ πρότερα  
 6 ἔμενον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> Καμπανίας χωρία. ὠνπέρ-  
 τινες, ἐπεὶ Ῥώμην ἔχεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως  
 στρατοῦ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκ Καμπανίας ἐξαναστάντες ἐς  
 αὐτὴν ἤεσαν. ὃ δὴ Γότθοι μαθόντες, ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς  
 ταύτῃ ὀχυρώμασιν ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἅπαντα

<sup>1</sup> εὐημερία V : εὐδρομία L.

<sup>2</sup> ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ V : ἐπὶ τὰ L.



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διερευνώμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία τοὺς πατρικίους  
 ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Μάξιμος ἦν,  
 οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην.  
 7 ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ Τουτίλας, ἡνίκα Ναρσῆ ὑπαν-  
 τιάσων ἐνθένδε ἦει, τῶν ἐκ πόλεως ἐκάστης  
 δοκίμων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς παῖδας ἀγείρας καὶ  
 αὐτῶν ἔς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, οὗσπερ  
 μάλιστα τὸ σῶμα καλοὺς ᾤετο εἶναι, τοῖς μὲν  
 γειναμένοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ξυνδιαιτήσονται ὑπειπών,  
 8 ὁμήρους δέ οἱ λόγῳ τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἐσομένους. καὶ  
 αὐτοὺς Τουτίλας μὲν τότε ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδου  
 ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι, Τείας δὲ τανῦν ἐνταῦθα εὐρῶν  
 ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε.

9 Ῥάγναρίς τε, Γότθος ἀνὴρ, ὅσπερ ἠγεῖτο τοῦ ἐν  
 Ταραντηνοῖς φυλακτηρίου, καίπερ τὰ πιστὰ  
 γνώμη βασιλέως πρὸς τοῦ Πακουρίου κεκομισ-  
 μένος, Ῥωμαίοις τε προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογήσας,  
 ἡπέρ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, παρασχόμενος δὲ<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ Γότθους ἔξ ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ  
 δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐπειδὴ Τείαν ἤκουσε  
 βασιλέα καταστάντα Γότθοις τοὺς τε Φράγγους  
 ἔς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐθέλειν ὁμόσε ἰέναι, μεταπορευθεὶς  
 τὴν βουλήν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ὁμολογημένα οὐδαμῇ  
 10 ἤθελε. σπουδάζων δὲ καὶ διατεινόμενος τοὺς  
 ὁμήρους ἀπολαβεῖν ἐπενόει ταῦδε. πέμψας παρὰ  
 τὸν Πακούριον ἦτει σταληναί οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινας, ἐφ' ᾧ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ  
 ἔς τε τὸν Δρυοῦντα ἰέναι σφίσι δυνατὰ εἶη ἐνθένδε  
 τε<sup>2</sup> διαπορθμευσάμενοις τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> παρασχόμενος δὲ V: παρασχών τε L

<sup>2</sup> ἐνθένδε τε V: καί L.

fortresses there, they searched that whole country and killed all the patricians. Among these was Maximus, whom I have mentioned in the preceding narrative.<sup>1</sup> It happened also that Totila, when he went from there to encounter Narses, had gathered the children of the notable Romans from each city and selected about three hundred of them whom he considered particularly fine in appearance, telling their parents that they were to live with him, though in reality they were to be hostages to him. And at that time Totila merely commanded that they should be north of the Po River, but now Teias found and killed them all.

Now Ragnaris, a Goth, who commanded the garrison at Tarentum, had received pledges from Pacurius at the emperor's wish and agreed that he would submit to the Romans, as previously stated,<sup>2</sup> and had furnished six Goths as hostages to the Romans to make this agreement binding; but upon hearing that Teias had become king over the Goths and had invited the Franks to an alliance and wished to engage with the enemy with his whole army, he reversed his purpose completely and refused absolutely to fulfil his agreement. But he was eager and determined to get back the hostages, and so devised the following plan. He sent to Pacurius with the request that a few Roman soldiers be sent him in order that it might be possible for his men with safety to go to Dryus<sup>3</sup> and from there to cross the Ionian Gulf and make their way to

<sup>1</sup> Book V. xxv. 15 and Book III. xx. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxvi. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Mod. Otranto.



- 11 Βυζαντίου κομίζεσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πακούριος μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βεβουλευμένων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων πεντήκοντα στέλλει.
- 12 ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ φρουρίῳ δεξάμενος καθείρξεν εὐθύς, τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ ἐσήμαινεν ὡς, εἴπερ αὐτῷ τοὺς στρατιώτας βουλομένῳ εἴη τοὺς αὐτοῦ ῥύεσθαι, ὑποδιδόναι δεήσει τοὺς Γότθων ὁμήρους.
- 13 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πακούριος ὀλίγους μὲν τινὰς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ εἶασε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ
- 14 ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτίκα ἦει. Ῥάγναρις δὲ τοὺς μὲν πεντήκοντα μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾶ ἔκτεινεν, ὡς ὑπαντιάσων δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος τοὺς Γότθους ἐξῆγεν. ἐπειδὴ τε
- 15 ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν, ἡσσωνται Γότθοι. Ῥάγναρις τε αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἀποβαλὼν πλείστους ξὺν τοῖς καταλοίποις δρασμῷ εἶχετο. ἐς μέντοι τὸν Τάραντα εἰσελθεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε, πανταχόθεν αὐτὸν περιβεβλημένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἀχεροντίδα
- 16 ἔλθων ἔμεινε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη<sup>2</sup> ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὸν τε Πόρτον πολιορκήσαντες ὁμολογία εἶλον καὶ φρούριον ἐν Τούσκοις, ὃ δὴ Νέπα καλοῦσι,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ ἐν Πέτρα τῇ Περτούσῃ ὀνομαζομένη ὀχύρωμα.
- 17 Τείας δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιομάχους τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ Γότθους κατὰ μόνας ᾤετο εἶναι) παρὰ Θευδίβαλδον τὸν Φρύγγων ἄρχοντα ἔπεμψε, χρήματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενος ἐπὶ τε ξυμμαχίαν
- 18 παρακαλῶν. ἀλλὰ Φράγγοι τὰ ξύμφορα, οἶμαι, βεβουλευμένοι<sup>4</sup> οὔτε ὑπὲρ τῆς Γότθων οὔτε ὑπὲρ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ L: αὐτῶν V.

<sup>2</sup> τοιαύτη: τοιαῦτα L, ταῦτα V, ταύτη Dindorf.



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τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠφελείας<sup>1</sup> ἐβούλοντο<sup>2</sup> θνή-  
 σκειν, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιεῖν Ἰταλίαν  
 ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, καὶ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα τοὺς ἐν  
 πολέμῳ κινδύνους ὑφίστασθαι ἤθελον.<sup>3</sup> ἐτύγ-  
 19 χανε δὲ Τουτίλας ἓνια μὲν τῶν χρημάτων ἐν  
 Ἰκινῶ καταθέμενος, ἠπέρ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται,  
 τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν φρουρίῳ ἐχυρῶ μάλιστα, ὅπερ  
 ἐν Κύμῃ τῇ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ  
 φρουροὺς ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε  
 αὐτοῖς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν Ἡρωδιανῶ  
 20 ἐπιστήσας. τούτους<sup>4</sup> δὴ βουλόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς  
 ἐξελεῖν ἐς Κύμην τινὰς τοὺς τὸ φρούριον πολιορ-  
 κήσοντας ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ῥώμην διακοσμῶν  
 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἄλλους στείλας ἐκέλευε Κεν-  
 21 τουκέλλας πολιορκεῖν. Τείας δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἐν  
 Κύμῃ φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ χρήματα δείσας, ἀπογνοὺς  
 τε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἐλπίδα, τοὺς οἱ  
 ἐπομένους διέτασεν ὡς τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε  
 χωρήσων.  
 22 Ὡνπερ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ναρσῆς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν  
 Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦν<sup>5</sup> καὶ Φιλημοῦθ ξὺν τῷ  
 οἰκείῳ στρατεύματι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Τουσκίης χωρία  
 ἰέναι κελεύει, ἐνταῦθά τε καθιζησομένους<sup>6</sup> καὶ  
 τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀναχαιτίσοντας<sup>7</sup> τὴν ἐπὶ Καμ-  
 πανίας ὁδόν, ὅπως οἱ Κύμην πολιορκοῦντες ἀδεέσ-  
 τερον αὐτὴν ἢ βία ἢ ὁμολογία ἐξελεῖν δύναιντο.  
 23 ἀλλὰ Τείας ὁδοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰς ἐπιτομωτάτας  
 ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀφείς, περιόδους δὲ πολλὰς καὶ  
 μακροτάτας περιβαλόμενος, διὰ τε τῆς παραλίας  
 κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ἰών, ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀφίκετο,

<sup>1</sup> ὠφελείας LW : ἐλευθερίας V.

<sup>2</sup> ἐβούλοντο L : ἐβούλοιντο V, βουλόμενοι W.

of Goths nor Romans, but were eager, rather, to acquire Italy for themselves, and only to attain this were they willing to undergo the perils of war. Now it so happened that, while Totila had deposited some of his money in Ticinum, as previously stated,<sup>1</sup> he had placed the most of it in an exceedingly strong fortress at Cumae, which is in Campania, and he had set guards over the place, appointing as their commander his own brother with Herodian. Narses, then, wishing to capture this garrison, sent some men to Cumae to besiege the fortress, while he himself remained at Rome, putting it in order. And he sent another force with orders to besiege Centumcellae. Teïas then became fearful concerning the guards in Cumae and the money, and despairing of his hope of the Franks, he put his forces in array, intending to engage with his enemy.

But when Narses perceived this, he ordered John the nephew of Vitalian and Philemuth to proceed with his own army into the province of Tuscany, in order to take up a position there and check the march of his opponents to Campania, in order that the force besieging Cumae might be able without fear of molestation to capture it either by storm or by surrender. But Teïas, leaving the most direct roads very far on his right, took many very long detours, passing along the coast of the Ionian Gulf, and so reached Campania, having eluded his enemy

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxxiii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> ἤθελον W : μόνους LV.

<sup>4</sup> τούτους L : δ V.

→ <sup>5</sup> ἀδελφιδούν Maltretus : ἀδελφόν L, om. V.

<sup>6</sup> καθιζησομένους Haury : καθιζημένους L, καθισομένοις V.

<sup>7</sup> ἀναχαιτίσοντας V : ἀναχαιτίζοντας L.

24 τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἅπαντας. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ  
 Ναρσῆς ἔμαθε, τοὺς τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ  
 Φιλημοῦθ μετεπέμπετο, οἱ τὴν δίοδον ἐν Τούσκοις  
 ἐφρούρουν, καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἄρτι Πέτραν ἐξαι-  
 ροῦντα τὴν Περτοῦσαν καλουμένην μετεκάλει ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἐπομένοις, τὰς τε δυνάμεις ξυνήγειρε, παντί  
 τε καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμέ-  
 νος ἐς Καμπανοὺς ἦει.

XXXV

Ἔστι δέ τι ὄρος ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ὁ Βέβιος,  
 οὐπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ὅτι  
 δὴ πολλάκις ἀφίησιν ἦχον μυκηθμῷ ἐμφερῆ.  
 καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτῷ τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> συμβαίη, ὁ δὲ καὶ  
 κόνεως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ζεύσης μέγα τι χρῆμα  
ἐρεύγεται. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς ἐκείνῳ μοι τοῦ λόγου  
 2 ἐρρήθη. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ὄρους, ἥπερ καὶ τῆς  
 κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Αἴτνης, κενὰ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπὸ  
 ταῦτομάτου τετύχηκεν εἶναι, οὐ δὴ ἔνερθεν  
 3 διηνεκὲς τὸ πῦρ καίεται. ἐς τόσον δὲ βάθος  
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κενὸν διήκειν συμβαίνει ὥστε δὴ  
 ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεία ἐστῶτι ὑπερκύπτειν  
 τε τολμῶντι ἐνθένδε οὐ ῥαδίως ἢ φλόξ ὄρατῆ  
 4 γίνεται. ὅπηνίκα δὲ ξυνενεχθείη τῷ ὄρει τῷδε  
 τὴν κόνιν, ἥπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐρεύγεσθαι, καὶ  
 πέτρας ἀποτεμνομένη ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Βεβίου  
 ἐσχάτων ἢ φλόξ ὑπὲρ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ ὄρους  
 τούτου μετεωρίζει, τὰς μὲν βραχείας, τὰς δὲ  
 καὶ μεγάλας κομιδῆ οὔσας, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτὰς  
 ἀποπεμπομένη ὄπη παρατύχοι διασκεδάννυσι.



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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 5 ῥέει δὲ καὶ ῥύαξ ἐνταῦθα πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς ἀκρωρείας  
 κατατείνων ἄχρι ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ  
 ἔτι πρόσω, ἅπερ ἅπαντα<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην  
 γίνεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὄχθας δὲ ποιεῖται ὑψηλὰς  
 6 ἐκατέρωθεν ὁ τοῦ πυρὸς ῥύαξ, τὰ ἔνερθεν  
 τέρμων. καὶ φερομένη μὲν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥύακος τὰ  
 πρῶτα ἢ φλόξ καιομένη<sup>2</sup> εἰκάζεται ὕδατος  
 ἐκροῆ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποσβεσθῆναι ξυμβαίη,  
 ἀναστέλλεται μὲν τῷ ῥύακι ὁ δρόμος εὐθύς,  
 ἐπίπροσθεν τε ὁ ῥοῦς οὐδαμῇ πρόεισι, τὸ δὲ  
ὑφίζανον τούτου δὴ τοῦ πυρὸς πηλὸς φαίνεται  
σποδιᾶ ἐμφερής.
- 7 Κατὰ τούτου δὴ τοῦ Βεβίου τὸν πρόποδα  
 ὕδατος πηγαὶ ποτίμου εἰσί. καὶ ποταμὸς ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν πρόεισι Δράκων ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἄγχιστά  
 πη τῆς Νουκερίας πόλεως φέρεται. τούτου τοῦ  
 ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀμ-  
 8 φότεροι τότε. ἔστι δὲ ὁ Δράκων τὸ μὲν ῥεῦμα  
 βραχύς, οὐ μέντοι ἐσβατὸς οὔτε ἰππεύσιν<sup>3</sup> οὔτε  
 πεζοῖς, ἐπεὶ (ἐν στενῷ ξυνάγων τὸν ῥοῦν) τὴν  
 τε γῆν ἀποτεμνόμενος ὡς βαθύτατα ἐκατέρωθεν  
 ὥσπερ ἀποκρεμαμένας ποιεῖται τὰς ὄχθας.
- 9 πότερα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἢ τοῦ ὕδατος φέρεται τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἢ φύσιν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. καταλαβόντες  
 δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν γέφυραν Γότθοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἄγχιστα, πύργους τε ξυλί-  
 νους ταύτῃ ἐνθέμενοι μηχανάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς  
 βαλλίστρας καλουμένας ἐνταῦθα πεποίηνται,  
 ὅπως ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνοχ-  
 10 λούντας<sup>4</sup> δύνωνται βάλλειν. ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντα V: om. L.

<sup>2</sup> καιομένη L: κεομένου V.

the peak extending from the summit to the very base of the mountain and even further, resembling in all respects the phenomenon which is observed at Mt. Aetna. And the stream of fire forms high banks on either side in cutting out its bed. Now as the flame is carried along in the channel it at first resembles a flow of burning water; but as soon as the flame is quenched, the course of the stream is checked immediately and the flow proceeds no further, and the sediment of this fire appears as mud resembling ashes.

At the very base of this Mt. Vesuvius there are springs of water fit to drink, and a river named Dracon proceeds from them which passes very near the city of Nuceria.<sup>1</sup> And it was at this river that the two armies then made camp, one on one side and the other on the other. Now while this Dracon is a small stream, it still cannot be crossed either by horsemen or infantry, because, as it flows in a narrow channel and cuts into the earth to a great depth, it makes the banks on both sides overhanging as it were. But whether the cause is to be found in the nature of the soil or of the water, I cannot decide. Now the Goths had seized the bridge over the river, since they had encamped very near it, and placing wooden towers upon it they had mounted various engines in them, among them those called *ballistae*,<sup>2</sup> in order that they might be able to shoot from the tower down upon the heads of such of their enemy as harassed them. It was consequently impossible

<sup>1</sup> Modern Nocera.

<sup>2</sup> Catapults.

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<sup>3</sup> ἰππεῦσιν L: ἰππεύουσιν V.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνοχλοῦντας V: ἐνοχλοῦντες L.



γίνεσθαι τινὰ ξυμβολὴν ἀμήχανα ἦν, τοῦ πο-  
 ταμοῦ, ἧπέρ μοι εἴρηται, μεταξὺ ὄντος· ἀμφότεροι  
 δὲ ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τῆς κατ' αὐτὸν ὄχθης γενόμενοι  
 11 τοξεύμασι τὰ πολλὰ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο. ἐγί-  
 νοντο δὲ καὶ μονομαχίαι τινές, Γότθου ἀνδρός, ἀν-  
 οὔτω τύχοι, ἐκ προκλήσεως τὴν γέφυραν διαβαί-  
 νοντος. χρόνος τε μηνῶν δυοῖν τοῖν στρατοπέδοιιν  
 12 ἐς τοῦτο ἐτρίβη. ἕως μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐθαλασσοκράτουν  
 ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι, ἐσκομιζόμενοι τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτήδεια  
 ναυσὶν ἀντεῖχον, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐστρατο-  
 13 πεδεύοντο οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν. ὕστερον δὲ Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι τὰ τε πλοῖα τῶν πολεμίων προδοσίᾳ  
 Γότθου ἀνδρός εἶλον ὃς δὴ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐφεισ-  
 τήκει πάσαις, καὶ αὐτοῖς νῆες ἀνάριθμοι ἦλθον  
 14 ἕκ τε Σικελίας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς. ἅμα δὲ  
 καὶ ὁ Ναρσῆς πύργους ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 τῇ ὄχθῃ καταστησάμενος δουλώσαι τῶν ἐναν-  
 τίων τὸ φρόνημα παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν.  
 15 Οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι περίφοβοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ  
 πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς ὄρος  
 ἀγχιστα ὄν καταφεύγουσιν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι Γά-  
 λακτος ὄρος τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ· οὐ δὴ  
 αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπισπέσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τῆς  
 16 δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατούσης. ἀλλὰ τοῖς βαρβά-  
 ροις αὐτίκα ἐνταῦθα ἀναβεβηκόσι μετέμελεν,  
 ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλῶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσπά-  
 νιζον, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἐκπορίζε-  
 17 σθαι αὐτὰ οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες. διὸ δὴ τὴν  
 ἐν ξυμβολῇ τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰρετωτέραν  
 τῆς πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ εἶναι οἰόμενοι ὁμόσε τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἕως μὲν οὖν L1 καὶ τέως μὲν V.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ L: τε τὰ V.



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πολεμίοις παρὰ δόξαν ἐχώρουν, ἀπροσδόκητοί  
 18 τε αὐτοῖς ἐξαπιναίως ἐπέπεσον. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀμυνόμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἔστη-  
 σαν, οὐ κατὰ ἄρχοντας ἢ λόχους<sup>2</sup> ἢ καταλόγους  
 τὴν τάξιν καταστησάμενοι, οὐδὲ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 διακεκριμένοι ἀλλήλων, οὐδὲ τῶν σφίσι παραγ-  
 γελλομένων ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ἀκουσόμενοι, ἀλλ'  
 ἀλκῇ τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπῃ ποτὲ παρατύχη, τοῖς πολε-  
 19 μίοις ἀντιταξόμενοι.<sup>3</sup> Γότθοι μὲν οὖν τῶν ἵππων<sup>4</sup>  
 ἀφέμενοι πρῶτοι πεζῇ μετωπηδὸν εἰς βαθεῖαν  
 φάλαγγα ἔστησαν ἅπαντες, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἰδόντες τοὺς ἵππους ἀφήκαν, καὶ τρόπῳ  
 τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτάξαντο πάντες.

20 Ἐνταῦθά μοι μάχη τε πολλοῦ λόγου ἀξία καὶ  
 ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴ οὐδὲ τῶν τινὸς λεγομένων ἡρώων,  
 οἶμαι, καταδεεστέρα γεγράψεται, ἧς δὴ ὁ Τείας  
 21 δήλωσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποίηται. Γότθους μὲν  
 εἰς εὐτολμίαν ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπόγνωσις ὄρμα,  
 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτούς, καίπερ ~~ἀπονενοημένους~~  
 ὀρώντες, ὑφίσταντο δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, τοῖς κατα-  
 δεεστέροις ἐρυθριῶντες ὑποχωρεῖν, ἀμφοτέροί τε  
 θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πέλας πολλῷ ἔεντο, οἱ μὲν θανα-  
 22 τῶντες, οἱ δὲ ἀρετῶντες. καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη πρῶτῃ  
 ἤρξατο, Τείας δὲ πᾶσιν ἐνδηλος γεγεννημένος καὶ  
 τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος, ἐπανατεινόμενος  
 δὲ τὸ δόρυ, πρῶτος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ τῆς φάλαγγ-  
 23 γος ἔστη. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἰδόντες, οἰόμενοί  
 τε, ἦν αὐτὸς πέσῃ, διαλυθήσεσθαι τὴν συμβολὴν  
 σφίσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ξυνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἀμυνόμενοι V : ἀμυνόμενοι L.

<sup>2</sup> λόχους V : λοχαγούς L.

<sup>3</sup> ἀντιταξόμενοι V : ἀντιταξάμενοι L.

their enemy, falling upon them suddenly and without warning. But the Romans, to ward them off as well as circumstances permitted, took their stand, not arranging themselves by commanders or by companies or by cohorts, nor distinguished in any other manner from one another, and not so as to hear the commands given them in battle, but still, determined to put forth all their strength against the enemy wherever they should chance to stand. Now the Goths were the first to abandon their horses and all took their stand on foot, facing their enemy in a deep phalanx, and then the Romans too, observing this, let their horses go, and all arrayed themselves in the same manner.

Here shall be described a battle of great note and the heroism of one man inferior, I think, to that of none of the heroes of legend, that, namely, which Teias displayed in the present battle. The Goths, on the one hand, were driven to be courageous by despair of the situation, while the Romans, on the other hand, though they could see that the enemy had become desperate, withstood them with all their strength, blushing to give way to a weaker force; thus from both sides they charged their nearest opponents with great fury, the one army courting death and the other desiring to make a display of valour. Now the battle began early in the morning, and Teias, easily recognized by all, stood with only a few followers at the head of the phalanx, holding his shield before him and thrusting forward his spear. And when the Romans saw him, thinking that, if he himself should fall, the battle would be instantly decided in their favour, all those who laid claim to

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ἂ τῶν ἵππων V : τοὺς ἵππους L.

ὅσοι ἀρετῆς μετέποιούντο, παμπληθεῖς ὄντες, καὶ  
 τὰ δόρατα ἐς<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἅπαντες οἱ μὲν ὤθουν, οἱ  
 24 δὲ ἐσηκόντιζον. αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῆ ἀσπίδι κεκα-  
 λυμμένος ταύτῃ μὲν τὰ δόρατα ἐδέχετο πάντα,  
 ἐμπίπτων δὲ αὐτοὺς<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πολλοὺς  
 25 διεχρήτο. καὶ ὅπηνίκα οἱ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔμπλεων  
 οὔσαν πεπηγότων δοράτων θεῶτο, τῶν τινὶ ὑπασ-  
 26 πιστῶν ταύτην παραδιδούς ἑτέραν ἤρεῖτο. οὕτω  
 μαχόμενος ἐς τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τριτημόριον διαγέγονε,  
 καὶ τότε δὴ δώδεκα μὲν αὐτῷ δόρατα ἐμπεπηγότα  
 ἢ ἀσπίς εἶχε, κινεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ὅπῃ βούλοιτο καὶ  
 27 ἀποκρούεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας, οὐκέτι ἴσχυε. τῶν  
 δὲ τινὰ ὑπασπιστῶν μετεκάλει σπουδῇ, οὐ τὴν  
 τάξιν λιπῶν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἄχρι ἐς δάκτυλον ἓνα  
 οὐδὲ ἀναποδίσας, ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω  
 ἐπαγαγόμενος, οὐδὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς, οὐδὲ τὰ νῶτα  
 τῆ ἀσπίδι<sup>3</sup> ἐρείσας, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πλάγιος γε-  
 γονώς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐρηρυσμένος αὐτοῦ  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰστήκει, κτείνων τε τῆ δεξιᾷ  
 χειρὶ καὶ ἀποκρουόμενος τῆ λαιᾷ καὶ ἀνακαλῶν  
 28 τὸ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ ὄνομα. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ  
 μετὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος παρῆν, ὁ δὲ ταύτην εὐθύς τῆς  
 29 βαρυνομένης τοῖς δόρασιν ἀντηλλάσσετο. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ οἱ χρόνου τινὰ βραχεῖαν στιγμὴν  
 γυμνῷ<sup>4</sup> γενέσθαι τὰ στέρνα ξυνέβη, τύχη τέ οἱ  
 ξυνέπεσε τότε ἀκοντίῳ βεβληῆσθαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 30 εὐθυρὸν θνήσκει. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ  
 κοντοῦ μετεωρίσαντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς στρα-  
 τιᾷ ἑκατέρᾳ περιμόντες ἐδείκνυον, Ῥωμαίοις μὲν,  
 ὅπως δὴ θαρσήσωσι μᾶλλον, Γότθοις δέ, ὅπως  
 ἀπογνόντες τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσωσιν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐς L: ἐπ' V.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς V: om. L: αὐτοῖς Dindorf.



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PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 31 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὡς τὴν ξυμβολὴν κατέλυσαν<sup>1</sup>  
 Γότθοι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καίπερ  
 ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα τεθνάναι σφίσιν.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνεσκόταζεν, αὐτοῦ ἑκάτεροι διαλυ-  
 θέντες ἐν τῇ τῶν ὄπλων σκευῇ ἐνυκτέρευσαν.
- 32 ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἀναστάντες ὄρθρου  
 τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ αὐθις<sup>2</sup> ἐτάξαντο καὶ μέχρι ἐς  
 νύκτα ἐμάχοντο, καὶ οὔτε ὑπεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις  
 οὔτε πη ἐτρέποντο ἢ ἀνεπόδιζον, καίπερ ἀμφο-  
 τέρωθεν κτεινομένων πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγριώμενοι  
 τῷ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀπηνεῖ ἔργου<sup>3</sup> εἶχοντο, Γότθοι  
 μὲν εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι δὴ τὴν ὑστάτην διαφέρουσι  
 μάχην, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐλασσοῦσθαι<sup>4</sup> ἀπα-  
 33 ξιοῦντες. ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι παρὰ τὸν  
 Ναρσῆν πέμψαντες τῶν λογίμων τινὰς μεμα-  
 θηκέναι μὲν ἔλεγον ὡς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν σφίσιν ὁ  
 ἀγὼν γένοιτο· αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ τὴν ἀντιταχ-  
 θείσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν· καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι  
 ξυμβάλλοντες τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλήθειαν  
γνωσιμαχεῖν<sup>5</sup> τῷ<sup>6</sup> λοιπὸν βούλεσθαι καὶ<sup>7</sup> ἀπο-  
 λιπεῖν τὴν ἀγώνισιν, οὐ μέντοι<sup>8</sup> βασιλεῖ ἐπα-  
 κούσοντες, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων τισὶν  
 αὐτόνομοι βιοτεύοντες, ἐδέοντό τε εἰρηναίαν  
 σφίσι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους, οὐ  
 φθονοῦντας αὐτοῖς λογισμοῦ σῶφρονος, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐφοδίους αὐτοὺς  
 δωρουμένους, ὅσα δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας  
 φρουρίοις αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἐναποθέμενος ἔτυχε

<sup>1</sup> κατέλυσαν L: κατέπαυσαν V.

<sup>2</sup> αὐθις L: εὐθύς V.

<sup>3</sup> ἔργου L: om. V.

<sup>4</sup> ἐλασσοῦσθαι L: ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι V.

But not even then did the Goths abandon the struggle, but they kept fighting till night, although well aware that their king was dead. But when it began to grow dark, the two armies separated and passed the night on the battle-field in their equipment. And on the following day they arose at dawn, and arraying themselves again in the same manner they fought till nightfall, neither army retreating before the other nor being routed nor even giving ground, though large numbers were being slain on both sides, but they kept at it with the fury of wild beasts by reason of their bitter hatred of each other, the Goths, on the one hand, knowing well that they were fighting their last battle, and the Romans, on the other, refusing to be worsted by them. But finally the barbarians sent to Narses some of their notables, saying that they had learned that the struggle they had taken up was against God; for they recognized, they said, the power that was arrayed against them, and, since they were coming to realize by what had happened the truth of the matter, they were desirous from now to acknowledge defeat and give up the struggle, not, however, to obey the emperor, but to live in independence with some of the other barbarians; and they begged that the Romans concede to them a peaceful withdrawal, not begrudging them a reasonable settlement, but presenting them, in fact, with their own money as travelling funds, that money, namely, which each of them had previously deposited

<sup>5</sup> γνωσιμαχεῖν V: γνώσιμον σχεῖν L.

<sup>6</sup> τό L: δὲ τό V. <sup>7</sup> καί V: μέν L.

<sup>8</sup> ἀγώνισιν—μέντοι V: ἀπόγνωσιν, οὐκ ἐφῶδέ L.



PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 34 πρότερον. ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ναρσῆς ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παρήνει δέησιν ἐνδέχασθαι τήνδε, καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω θανατῶσιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ μάχης ἶέναι, μηδὲ ἀποπειράσασθαι τόλμης ἐν ἀπογνώσει φυομένης τοῦ βίου, ἧ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς ἐχομένοις καὶ τοῖς
- 35 ὑπαντιάζουσι χαλεπὴ γίνεται. “Ἄρκει γάρ,” ἔφη, “τοῖς γε σώφροσι τὸ νικᾶν, τὸ δὲ ὑπεράγαν ἐθέλειν ἴσως ἂν τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀξύμφορον τρέποιτο.”
- 36 Πείθεται τῇ ὑποθήκῃ Ναρσῆς, καὶ ξυνέβησαν ἐφ’ ᾧ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι<sup>1</sup> χρήματα κεκομισμένοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια ἐκ πάσης ἀπαλλάσσονται Ἰταλίας εὐθύς, πόλεμόν τε μηχανῇ
- 37 οὐδεμιᾶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διοίσουσιν ἔτι. Γότθοι μὲν οὖν μεταξὺ χίλιοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐξαναστάντες ἐς Τικινόν τε πόλιν καὶ χωρία τὰ ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Πάδον ἐχώρησαν, ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἡγούντο
- 38 καὶ Ἰνδούλφ, οὐπὲρ πρότερον<sup>2</sup> ἐπεμνήσθην. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἅπαντες ὄρκια δόντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα πάντα ἐπέρρωσαν. οὕτω τε καὶ Κύμην καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ἐξεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τὸ ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος ξυνετελεύτα τῷ Γοθικῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολελειμμένοι L: ὑπολελειμμένοι V.

<sup>2</sup> πρότερον L: ἔμπροσθεν V.



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# INDEX

- Abasgi**, a people near the Caucasus, subject to the Lazi, VIII. iii. 12, 13, iv. 1; their religion, VIII. iii. 14; supplied eunuchs to Byzantium until the traffic was forbidden, VIII. iii. 15-20; converted to Christianity, VIII. iii. 19; dethrone their kings, VIII. iii. 21, IX. 10; have a bishop sent by Justinian, VIII. iv. 12; revolt from the Romans, VIII. ix. 6, 9 ff.; their land protected by nature, VIII. ix. 15-18; outwitted and dispersed by the Romans, VIII. ix. 23 ff.; Mermeroes marches against them, VIII. xvii. 15
- Abasgia**, defended by a mountain pass, VIII. ix. 15
- Acampsis River**, the lower course of the Boas, VIII. ii. 8
- Achaea**, suffers from earthquakes, VIII. xv. 16
- Acherontia**, Acherontis, fortress in Lucania; commanded by Moras, VIII. xxvi. 4; refuge of Ragnaris, VIII. xxxiv. 15
- Adrianople**, town in Thrace; distance from Byzantium, VII. xl. 36
- Adriatic Sea**, crossed by Artabanes, VII. xl. 14; current thence seems to flow in the strait of Messina, VIII. vi. 21
- Aetes**, mythical king of Colchis, VIII. ii. 31; his legendary birthplace, VIII. xiv. 49
- Aeneas**, son of Anchises, VIII. xxii. 31; his ship displayed in Rome, VII. xxii. 7-16
- Aeschylus**, writer of tragedy; cited, VIII. vi. 15
- Aetna**, compared with Vesuvius, VIII. xxxv. 2, 5
- Agamemnon**, leader of the Trojan expedition, VIII. xxii. 28; father of Iphigeneia, VIII. v. 23; son of Atreus, VIII. xxii. 27
- Alamundaras**, said to have suffered at the hands of the Saracens, VIII. xi. 10
- Alani**, an independent people, allied with the Romans; their mountainous country, VIII. iii. 4; neighbours of the Bruchi, VIII. iv. 1; as allies in the Roman army, VIII. i. 4; fighting with the Persians, VIII. viii. 28, 34; one of them alone defends a camp, VIII. viii. 37; is killed by John, VIII. viii. 38
- Alps**, VIII. xxiv. 6
- Amalafida**, sister of Theoderic and grandmother of Amalafidas, VIII. xxv. 11
- Amalafidas**, a Goth, commander of Roman troops sent to the Lombards, VIII. xxv. 11; grandson of Amalafida, VIII. xxv. 11; alone reaches the Lombards, VIII. xxv. 13; with the Lombards, VIII. xxv. 14
- Amalasintha**, mother of Matasintha, VII. xxxix. 14
- Amastris**, city on the Euxine, VIII. ii. 2
- Amazons**, their reputed home on the Thermodon, VIII. ii. 2; traditional account of their movements, VIII. iii. 5, 6; Procopius' explanation of the tradition, VIII. iii. 7-11
- Amisus**, city on the Euxine, VIII. ii. 2; near the Thermodon River, VIII. iii. 5
- Anasozadus**, eldest son of Chosroes, VIII. x. 8; banished by him because of lawless conduct, VIII. x. 8-10; leads an uprising and is punished by mutilation, VIII. x. 17-xi. 1
- Anastasius**, Roman emperor; founded Daras, VIII. vii. 9

# INDEX

- Anchialus, ravaged by the Goths, VIII. **xxi.** 31
- Anchises, father of Aeneas, VIII. **xxii.** 31
- Ancon, attacked by the Goths, VIII. **xxiii.** 1 ff.; saved from them, VIII. **xxiii.** 39, 40; reinforced, VIII. **xxiii.** 41
- Angili, one of the nations of Brittia, VIII. **xx.** 7, 12; sent as envoys by the Franks, VIII. **xx.** 10; attack and defeat the Varni, VIII. **xx.** 33, 34
- Ansilas, a Roman soldier, distinguished for valour, VIII. do.
- Antae, a barbarian nation north of the Maeotic Lake, VIII. **iv.** 9; invade Roman territory, VII. **xl.** 5; neighbours of the Sclaveni, do.
- Antalas, Moorish chief, subjugated by John, VIII. **xvii.** 21
- Antinous, the city of, in Egypt, VIII. **xxvii.** 6
- Antioch, captured and destroyed by Ochosroes, VIII. **vii.** 11
- Anzalas, spearman of Narses; answers the challenge of Coccas, VIII. **xxxi.** 13; and slays him, VIII. **xxxi.** 15
- Apennines, VIII. **xxix.** 3, 4
- Apri, city in Thrace, VIII. **xxvii.** 8
- Apsarus, city near Lazica, VIII. **ii.** 11; its ancient greatness, VIII. **ii.** 14; distance from Rhizaeum, VIII. **ii.** 11; from Petra, VIII. **ii.** 21
- Apsilia, its mountains, VIII. **ix.** 15; betrayed to the Persians, VIII. **x.** 2-4
- Apsilli, a Christian people subject to the Lazi, VIII. **ii.** 32, 33, **lii.** 12, **ix.** 7, 31; **x.** 1; their mountainous country, VIII. **ix.** 20; revolt from the Colchians, VIII. **x.** 6; won back to allegiance by John, VIII. **x.** 7; a woman of, VIII. **x.** 5
- Apsyrtus, brother of Medea; his tomb, VIII. **ii.** 14; ancient name of Apsarus, VIII. **ii.** 12
- Aratius, Roman commander against the Sclaveni, VII. **xl.** 34; sent to the Outrigurs with money, VIII. **xix.** 3, 4; commander of troops sent to the Lombards, VIII. **xxv.** 11; in Illyricum, VIII. **xxvii.** 13
- Archabis, town near Lazica, VIII. **ii.** 11
- Archaeopolis, first city in Lazica, VIII. **xiii.** 3; guarded by three thousand Romans, VIII. **xiii.** 8; objective of Mermeroes, VIII. **xiii.** 3, 22, 24, 30; passed by him, VIII. **xiii.** 25-27; attacked by him, VIII. **xiv.** 3 ff.; attempt to betray it, VIII. **xiv.** 23-27; held by the Romans and Lazi, VIII. **xiv.** 45, **xvi.** 6; again attacked by Mermeroes, VIII. **xvii.** 17; its situation, walls and water supply, VIII. **xiv.** 1-3; distance from Mocheresis, VIII. **xiv.** 46
- Arethas, king of the Saracens; accused by Isdigousnas, VIII. **xi.** 10
- Argo, the ship said to have been built for the capture of the Golden Fleece, VIII. **ii.** 30
- Arians, the Goths, VIII. **iv.** 11
- Ariminum, captured by the Goths, VII. **xxxvii.** 23; commanded by Usdrilas, VIII. **xxviii.** 2; its bridge, VIII. **xxviii.** 5, 6; passed by Narses, VIII. **xxviii.** 11, **xxix.** 3
- Arimuth, Roman commander, in Illyricum, VIII. **xxvii.** 13
- Aristotle, studied the current at Chalcis, VIII. **vi.** 20
- Armenia, VIII. **viii.** 22, **xv.** 9; Bessas appointed General of, VIII. **ix.** 4
- Armenians, VIII. **ii.** 5, **viii.** 21; location of their country, VIII. **ii.** 20; neighbours of the Tzani, VIII. **i.** 9; visited by Bessas, VIII. **xiii.** 11; claim the site of Artemis' temple, VIII. **v.** 24; the following Armenians are named: John (Guzes), son of Thomas, VIII. **viii.** 15, **xi.** 57; Anzalas, VIII. **xxxi.** 13
- Arrian, the historian, VIII. **xiv.** 48
- Artabanes, a Persarmenian; had deserted to the Romans, VIII. **viii.** 21-24; sent by Justinian to relieve Liberius, VII. **xxxix.** 8, **xl.** 14; driven back by storm, VII. **xl.** 15-17; distinguishes himself as a skirmisher, VIII. **viii.** 25-27; commander of all troops in Sicily, VIII. **xxiv.** 1; receives appeals from Oroton, VIII. **xxv.** 24
- Artemis, her temple in Tauris, VIII. **v.** 23; a monument to, VIII. **xxii.** 27; Artemis Bolosia, VIII. **xxii.** 29
- Aruth, of the Eruli; husband of the daughter of Mauricius, VIII. **xxvi.** 13; in the army of Narses, do.
- Asbadus, bodyguard of Justinian; defeated by the Sclaveni, VII.



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# INDEX

- Brittones, one of the three nations of Brittia, VIII. xx. 7
- Bruchi, a people near the Caucasus, VIII. iv. 1
- Busta Gallorum, VIII. xxix. 5
- Buzes, Roman commander; brother of Venilus, VIII. ix. 5; uncle of Domentiolus, VII. xxxix. 3
- Byzacium, district in Africa, VIII. xvii. 21
- Byzantium, capital of the Roman Empire; mentioned frequently, VII. xxxvii. 14; its long walls, VII. xl. 43; at the "beginning" of the Euxine, VIII. ii. 1; supplies forces to Narses, VIII. xxvi. 10; distance from Topirus, VII. xxxviii. 9; from Adrianople, VII. xl. 36
- Cabades A, Persian king; grandfather of Cabades B, VIII. xxvi. 13
- Cabades B, son of Zames, nephew of Chosroes, VIII. xxvi. 13; in the army of Narses, do.
- Calabria, VII. xl. 15
- Calchedon, at the "beginning" of the Euxine, VIII. ii. 1, v. 31, 33
- Calypso, VIII. xxii. 19, 21
- Camillus, Roman General, VIII. xxix. 4
- Campania, district in Italy, VIII. xxxiv. 22, 23, 24; senators summoned thence by Totila, VII. xxxvii. 3; prisoners sent there by him, VIII. xxii. 2, xxxiv. 5, 6; its fortress Cumae, VIII. xxxiv. 19; its mountain Vesuvius, VIII. xxxv. 1
- Candidati, Asbadus, VII. xxxviii. 5
- Caprae, scene of Totila's death, VIII. xxxii. 27, 35
- Caranalis, city in Sardinia, VIII. xxiv. 34
- Carthage, VIII. xxiv. 36
- Casius, epithet of Zeus, VIII. xxii. 25
- Casope, town in Cercyra, VIII. xxii. 26
- Caspian Gates, pass over the Caucasus, VIII. iii. 4
- Catana, city in Sicily, without walls, VII. x. 21
- Caucasus, mountain chain east of the Euxine, VIII. ii. 26, iii. 11, 12, iv. 1; contains the source of the Phasis, VIII. ii. 27; described, VIII. iii. 1-4; no tradition of Amazons there, VIII. iii. 6, 7; extends to the Euxine, VIII. ix. 15; Opsites takes refuge in, VIII. ix. 29; home of the Sabiri, VIII. xi. 23, 26
- Celesene, a region in Armenia, VIII. v. 24
- Celtic mountains; contain the sources of the Danube, VIII. v. 30
- Centumcellae, town in Etruria, VII. xxxvi. 11, 15; besieged by Totila, VII. xxxvii. 8-18; its surrender demanded by him, VII. xxxix. 25; attacked by Narses' order, VIII. xxxiv. 20
- Cephalenia, touched at by Artabanes, VII. xl. 14
- Cepi, town on the Euxine, VIII. v. 28
- Cercyra, VIII. xxii. 18, 19; ravaged by the Goths, VIII. xxii. 30
- Chaeronea, destroyed by earthquake, VIII. xxv. 17
- Chalcis, in Euboea; visited by Aristotle, VIII. vi. 20
- Charybdis, the strait of, VIII. vi. 23, xxii. 19
- Cherson, city on the Euxine, VIII. v. 27, 28; distance from the mouth of the Ister, VIII. v. 29
- Chinialon, leader of the Outrigurs, VIII. xviii. 15; receives a message from Justinian, VIII. xix. 3
- Chorianes, Persian commander, VII. i. 4; makes camp on the river Hippie, VIII. viii. 1; advances to meet the Romans and Lazi, VIII. viii. 17; receives fugitives, VIII. viii. 28; killed in battle, VIII. viii. 34, 35
- Chosroes, king of Persia, VIII. xii. 9, xv. 11, xvi. 5, 27, 29; invited into Lazica by the inhabitants, VIII. iv. 5; eager to acquire Lazica, VIII. vii. 1, 13, xii. 17; repeatedly invades Roman territory, VIII. vii. 2; reviled by the Persians, VIII. vii. 3; oppresses the Lazi, VIII. viii. 10; summons Sceparnas, VIII. ix. 14; father of Anasozadus, VIII. x. 8; banishes him, VIII. x. 8-10; falls violently ill, VIII. x. 10; sickly by nature, do.; gathered many physicians about him, VIII. x. 11; devoted to Tribunus, VIII. x. 11-14; grants him a favour, VIII. x. 14-16; defeats and punishes Anasozadus, VIII. x. 19-22; receives and dismisses Petrus, VIII. xi. 2, 3;

# INDEX

puts Braducius to death, VIII. xi. 8; captures and garrisons Petra, VIII. xii. 21; builds an aqueduct of three channels, VIII. xii. 22; prepares to break the endless truce, VIII. xiv. 39; his envoy Isdigousnas, VIII. xv. 1; wishes to ransom Bersabus, VIII. xv. 8, 10; exacts heavy payments from the Romans, VIII. xv. 17; plots the death of Gubazes, VIII. xvi. 2; reported in Lazica, VIII. xvi. 8, 11; hated by Gubazes, VIII. xvi. 32; receives the report of Isdigousnas, VIII. xvii. 9; uncle of Oabades, VIII. xxvi. 13; his previous attack on Edessa, VIII. xiv. 35

Christians, the following are mentioned as Christians: peoples near Lazica, VIII. ii. 17; the Apsilii, VIII. ii. 33; the Tetraxitae, VIII. iv. 9; the Romans, VIII. xii. 8; the Abasgi become Christians, VIII. iii. 19, 21; the disputes of the Christians, VIII. xxv. 13

Cilicia, Paulus a native of, VII. xxxvi. 16

Cimmerians, the ancient name of the tribes on the Maeotic Lake, VIII. iv. 8; and of the Huns, VIII. v. 1; discover the possibility of crossing the Maeotic Lake, VIII. v. 7-9; cross it and attack the Goths, VIII. v. 10, 11; Cimmerian Strait, considered by some the boundary between Europe and Asia, VIII. vi. 15

Oleft, The, defile in Greece; visited by a violent earthquake, VIII. xxv. 23

Coccas, a Roman deserter, VIII. xxxi. 12; slain in single combat, VIII. xxxi. 14-16

Coetaeon, suggested as an earlier form of Cotais in Lazica; ancient *Colchis*, VIII. xiv. 49

Colchians, VIII. i. 8; identified with the Lazi; VIII. i. 10; at the "end" of the Euxine, VIII. ii. 1; not neighbours of the Trapezuntines, VIII. ii. 15; ancient location of their dwellings, VIII. ii. 31; their king Gubazes, VIII. viii. 1; the Apsilii revolt from them, VIII. x. 6; the Colchian Phasis, VIII. vi. 13, 14

Colchis, invaded by the Persians VIII. i. 3 ff.; VIII. viii. 39; held entirely by the Persians, VIII. xvi. 7

Comana, city in Armenia, VIII. v. 24  
Constantianus, Roman commander against the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 34; his standard captured, VII. xl. 42; later recovered, VII. xl. 45

Coronea, destroyed by earthquake, VIII. xxv. 17

Corsica, VIII. xxiv. 37; attacked and captured by the Goths, VIII. xxiv. 31-33; formerly called *Cyrnus*, VIII. xxiv. 39

Cotais, later name for Cotiaion, VIII. xiv. 48; near Uthimereos, VIII. xiv. 51; fortified by Mermeroes, VIII. xvi. 16; Persians retire thither, VIII. xvii. 19

Cotiaion, fortress in Lazica, VIII. xiv. 48

Cottian Alps, subject to Theudibert, VIII. xxiv. 6

Crissaeon Gulf, VIII. xxv. 16

Croton, sends appeal for help, VIII. xxv. 24; relief sent thither by Justinian, VIII. xxvi. 1, 2

Ctesiphon, city in Persia; distance from Belapaton, VIII. x. 9

Cumae, money deposited there by Totila, VIII. xxxiv. 19, 21; attacked by Narses' order, VIII. xxxiv. 20; besieged, VIII. xxxiv. 22; taken by the Romans, VIII. xxxv. 38

Cutrigur, progenitor of the Cutrigur Huns, VIII. v. 2

Cutrigurs, a Hunnic tribe; origin of the name, VIII. v. 2-4; settle in the country from which the Goths were expelled, VIII. v. 15, 22, 23; continue to ravage Roman territory, VIII. v. 16; become allies of the Gepaedes, VIII. xviii. 14, 15; accused by Justinian, VIII. xviii. 18-20; receive money annually from Byzantium, VIII. xviii. 19; attacked by the Utigurs, VIII. xviii. 21-25, xix. 8; their Roman prisoners escape, VIII. xix. 2; a remnant settled in Thrace, VIII. xix. 7; Cutrigur Huns engage with Ildigisal and Goar, VIII. xxvii. 10, 11; accused by the Utigurs VIII. xix. 15 ff.



# INDEX

- Outzinaa, a Moorish chief; allied with the Romans, VIII. xvii. 21
- Oyprian, murdered by Ulifus, VIII. xxxiii. 10, 12
- Cyrnus, ancient name of Corsica, VIII. xxiv. 39
- Dacia, traversed by the Ister, VIII. v. 30
- Dagisthaeus, Roman commander in Lazica, VIII. viii. 1; undermined the wall of Petra, VIII. xi. 11, 14, 15; leads the Roman army to battle, VIII. viii. 16; fights against the Persians, VIII. viii. 29; slandered by the Lazi, VIII. ix. 1-3; imprisoned, VIII. ix. 4; released from prison and sent with Narses, VIII. xxvi. 13; commands on the left wing, VIII. xxxi. 4; in the assault on Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 21; lost Petra, recovered Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 24
- Dalmatia, VIII. xxvii. 5; invaded by the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 7; Roman army winters in, VII. xl. 11, 27, 30; Goths offer to resign claim to, VIII. xxiv. 4
- Damianus, Roman commander, nephew of Valerian; escorts the Lombards from Italy, VIII. xxxiii. 2
- Danube, called also Ister, *q.v.*, VIII. v. 29
- Daras, attacked in vain by Chosroes, VIII. vii. 5; well provisioned against siege, VIII. vii. 7; its remarkable spring, VIII. vii. 7, 8; founded by Anastasius, VIII. vii. 9
- Diogenes, commands the garrison of Rome, VII. xxxvi. 1 ff.; body-guard of Belisarius, VII. xxxvii. 9; escapes from Rome, VII. xxxvi. 15; commander of Centumcellae, VII. xxxvii. 9; receives and answers proposals from Totila, VII. xxxvii. 11-17; repudiates his agreement with Totila, VII. xxxix. 25, 26
- Dodona, ravaged by the Goths, VIII. xxii. 31
- Dolomites, an independent people in Persia; in the Persian army, VIII. xiv. 5-7; their fighting equipment, VIII. xiv. 8; accustomed to the mountains, VIII. xiv. 9; assist in the attack on Archaeopolis, VIII. xiv. 12; flee with the Persian army, VIII. xiv. 42
- Domentiolus, nephew of Buzes; commander of Messana, VII. xxxix. 3
- Dracon, river in Campania, VIII. xxv. 7; its high banks, VIII. xxv. 8
- Dryus, port in southern Italy; held by the Romans, VIII. xxiii. 17, xxxiv. 10, 13; commanded by Pacurius, VIII. xxvi. 4
- Echinus, visited by tidal wave, VIII. xxv. 19
- Edessa, attacked by Chosroes, VIII. xiv. 35; a portent in, VIII. xiv. 39-41
- Egypt, VIII. xxvii. 6; the Egyptian Nile, VIII. vi. 2, 13, 14
- Eileithuia, VIII. xxii. 29
- Elemundus, king of the Gepaedes; his death, VIII. xxvii. 19; father of Ustrigothus, VIII. xxvii. 19, 26
- Eruli, Suartuas appointed their ruler, VIII. xxv. 11; in the army of Narses, VIII. xxvi. 13, xxx. 18, xxxi. 5; devoted to him, VIII. xxvi. 17; a party of, kill Usdrilas, VIII. xxviii. 10; in the assault on Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 19; the following individuals are named: Philemuth, VII. xxxix. 10; Uligagus, VIII. ix. 5
- Euboea, VIII. vi. 20, xxi. 27
- Eulyisia, a country on the Euxine, VIII. iv. 7
- Euphratas, a eunuch of the Abasgi, VIII. iii. 19
- Euripus, the strait at Chalcis, VIII. vi. 20
- Europe, one of the continents, VIII. vi. 12-15, ii. 32, iii. 11, xviii. 1; ravaged by the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 33; the boundary of, VIII. ii. 28, 29, vi. 1-b
- Euxine Sea, description of, VIII. i. 7-v. 33; receives the waters of the Ister, VIII. v. 30; forms part of the boundary between Europe and Asia, VIII. vi. 3, 5; receives the outflow from the Maeotic Lake, VIII. vi. 4; Phasis River at its extremity, VIII. vi. 8; considered by some to be formed by the Maeotic Lake, VIII. vi. 16; does not "end" at Byzantium, VIII. vi. 25; barbarians to the north of it, VIII. vii.



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# INDEX

- Gibal, Gothic commander; sent against Ancon, VIII. xxiii. 1; in command of ships, VIII. xxiii. 12
- Glutton, epithet of John, VII. xl. 34, VIII. xxvi. 13
- Goar, a Gothic captive from Dalmatia; exiled to Egypt, VIII. xxvii. 5, 6; files from Byzantium with Idigisal, VIII. xxvii. 5 ff.; surprises Roman officers, VIII. xxvii. 17; reaches the Gepædes, VIII. xxvii. 18
- Goths, the Ostrogothic nation settled in Italy; Arians, VIII. iv. 11; their original home, VIII. v. 5; defeated by the Cimmerians, VIII. v. 11; their migrations, VIII. v. 12-14; besiege Rome, VII. xxxvi. 1 ff.; capture Portus, VII. xxxvi. 3; besiege Centumcellæ, VII. xxxvii. 10-18; invade Sicily, VII. xxxvii. 18; capture Ariminum, VII. xxxvii. 23; alarmed at the choice of Germanus as commander against them, VII. xxxvii. 24; defeat a Roman force, VII. xxxvii. 28; attack Rhegium, VII. xxxix. 1, 2; plunder all Sicily, VII. xxxix. 4; terrified at reports of Germanus' preparations, VII. xxxix. 21; capture Rome, VIII. xii. 32, 33; offer to resign all claim to Sicily and Dalmatia, VIII. xxiv. 4; hold small part of Venetia, VIII. xxiv. 8; make alliance with the Franks, VIII. xxiv. 9, 10; said to be hostile to the Franks, VIII. xxiv. 21, 22; on friendly terms with the Franks, VIII. xxvi. 19; despair of ruling Italy permanently, VIII. xxxiv. 3; in command of the sea, VIII. xxxv. 12, 13; the Gothic War, VIII. xxi. 1, 4, xxxv. 38
- Greece, VIII. xxii. 32, xxv. 23, xxvi. 1; its works of art brought to Rome, VIII. xxi. 14; fleet sent thither by Totila, VIII. xxii. 17; visited by earthquakes, VIII. xxv. 16 ff.
- Greek language, VIII. xiv. 48
- Greeklings, contemptuous name for the inhabitants of the East, VIII. xxiii. 25
- Greeks, under Agamemnon, VII. xxii. 27, 28
- Gubazes, king of the Colchians, VIII. viii. 1; addresses the Lazic troops, VIII. viii. 6-13; leads the Lazi to the attack, VIII. viii. 14 ff.; fights against the Persians, VIII. viii. 29; hostile to Terdetes, VIII. x. 2; wins back the rebellious Apsilli, VIII. x. 7; friendly to the Romans, VIII. xvi. 2; hides in the mountains, VIII. xvi. 6, 20, 21; false report of his defeat, VIII. xvi. 7; flees before the Persians, VIII. xvi. 19; receives a letter from Mermeroes, VIII. xvi. 23; but is obdurate, VIII. xvi. 32; hostile to Chosroes, VIII. xvi. 32; with the Roman army, VIII. xvii. 13; his wife a Roman woman, VIII. ix. 9; nephew of Opsites, VIII. ix. 7; the sister of, VIII. xvii. 14
- Gundulf, Gothic commander; sent against Ancon, VIII. xxiii. 1; former guardsman of Belisarius, VIII. xxiii. 1; in command of ships, VIII. xxiii. 12; escapes from battle, VIII. xxiii. 38
- Guzes, surname of John the Armenian, VIII. viii. 15, xi. 57
- Hadrian, Tomb of, made a fortress by Totila, VIII. xxxiii. 14; held as a fortress by Paulus, VII. xxxvi. 17-23
- Halicarnassus, home of Herodotus, VIII. vi. 12
- Hehrus River, crossed by the Sclaveni, VII. xxxviii. 1
- Hellas, VIII. ii. 15
- Heraclea, city on the Euxine, VIII. ii. 2
- Hermegisclus, ruler of the Varni, VIII. xx. 11; marries the sister of Theudibert, VIII. xx. 11; foretells his own death, VIII. xx. 13 ff.; his death, VIII. xx. 21
- Hermenefridus, ruler of the Thuringians and father of Amalafidas, VIII. xxv. 11
- Herodian, Gothic commander of Cumæ, VIII. xxxiv. 19
- Herodotus, cited and quoted, VIII. vi. 12-15
- Hieron, place on the Bosphorus, VIII. vi. 17, 19, 25, 28
- Himerius, commander of Rhegium, VII. xxxvii. 20; surrenders to the Goths, VII. xxxix. 5

# INDEX

- Hippis River, in Lazica, VIII. i. 6, viii. 1, 2
- Homer, VIII. xxii. 21
- Honoriatæ, neighbours of the Bithynians, VIII. ii. 2
- Hunnic nations, their location, VIII. iii. 5; their invasions through the Caucasus, VIII. iii. 3
- Hunnic Tribes, the Sabiri, VIII. xi. 23; along the Euxine, VIII. v. 27; their location, VIII. iv. 7
- Huns, once called the Cimmerians, VIII. v. 1; women found fighting in their armies, VIII. iii. 10; give shelter to Opsites, VIII. ix. 29; in the Persian army, VIII. xvii. 10, 11; their alliance sought by the Gepædes, VIII. xviii. 13 ff.; ferried over the Ister by the Gepædes, VIII. xviii. 17; receive a message from Justinian, VIII. xix. 3; come as refugees to Roman territory, VIII. xix. 6; invade Thrace, VIII. xxii. 1; in the army of Narses, VIII. xxvi. 13, xxx. 18, xxxi. 3; altogether illiterate, VIII. xix. 8; invade Thrace, VIII. xxi. 22. *See also* Sabiri and Cutrigurs.
- Iaudas, subjugated by John, VIII. xvii. 21
- Iberia, region on the Pontus, VIII. ii. 20, xvi. 14; near Lazica, VIII. ii. 24, xiii. 12, 15, 21; adjoins the Caucasus, VIII. ii. 26; its passes seized by Mermeroes, VIII. xiii. 3; road from, into Lazica, VIII. xiii. 5
- Iberians, rule over the Meschi, VIII. ii. 24
- Ildigisal, a Lombard, goes as a fugitive to Byzantium, VIII. xxvii. 1; kindly received by Justinian, VIII. xxvii. 2; demanded by Auduin, VIII. xxvii. 4; flies from Byzantium with Goar, VIII. xxvii. 5 ff.; surprises Roman officers, VIII. xxvii. 17; reaches the Gepædes, VIII. xvii. 18; his surrender demanded by Justinian and Auduin, VIII. xxvii. 22; slain by Thorisin, VIII. xxvii. 28, 29
- Illyricum, VIII. xxvii. 9, 12; invaded and plundered by the Sclaveni, VII. xxxviii. 3, 7, 19; soldiers recruited there by Germanus, VII. xxxix. 9, 17; John, General of, VII. xxxix. 10; mountains of, crossed by the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 7; named as the limit of the Caucasus, VIII. iii. 3; traversed by the Ister, VIII. v. 30, xviii. 17; again invaded by the Sclaveni, VIII. xv. 1 ff.; soldiers recruited there, VIII. xxvi. 10; its cities: Sardice, VII. xl. 1; Ulpiana, VIII. xxv. 13
- India, silkworms introduced from, VIII. xvii. 1 ff.
- Indulf, also called Gundulf, *q.v.*, VIII. xxiii. 2; Gothic commander, VIII. xxxv. 37
- Ionian Gulf, VIII. xxvi. 23, xxxiv. 10, 23
- Iphigeneia, daughter of Agamemnon, VIII. xxii. 27; priestess in Tauris, VIII. v. 23
- Isaurians, in the garrison of Rome; betray the city to Totila, VII. xxxvi. 7-14; Mindes, the Isaurian, VII. xxxvi. 26
- Isdigousnas, Persian envoy to Byzantium; his unbearable arrogance, VIII. xi. 4-7; makes trivial remonstrances to Justinian, VIII. xi. 10, xv. 1 ff.; secures the return of Bersabus, VIII. xv. 11; departs from Byzantium, highly honoured, VIII. xv. 19, 20; reports to Chosroes, VIII. xvii. 9
- Ister River, called also Danube; distance from Cherson, VIII. v. 29; its course described, VIII. v. 30; crossed by the Sclaveni, VII. xxxviii. 1, 8, xl. 1, 2, 31, VIII. xxv. 5, 10; crossed by the Antae, VII. xl. 5; by the Goths, VIII. v. 12; by the Cutrigurs, VIII. v. 16; guarded by the Romans, VIII. xviii. 17; crossed by the Cutrigurs, VIII. xviii. 17; mentioned, VII. xxxix. 19, VIII. xx. 2, xxv. 6
- Istria, Roman fugitives rally in, VII. xxxix. 24
- Italians, in the army of Narses, VIII. xxvi. 20
- Italy, invaded by the Goths, VIII. v. 14; skirted by the Ister, VIII. v. 30; separated from Sicily by a narrow strait, VIII. vi. 21; said

# INDEX

- to be held largely by the Franks, VIII. xxiv. 4; evacuation by Franks demanded, VIII. xxiv. 11; desired by the Franks, VIII. xxxiv. 18; relinquished by the Goths, VIII. xxxiv. 36
- Ithaca, home of Odysseus, VIII. xxii. 23
- Jason, shared in slaying Apsyrtus, VIII. ii. 12; his robbery of the Fleece, VIII. ii. 15; and flight with Medea, VIII. ii. 31
- John, son of Thomas, Roman commander in Lazica, VIII. viii. 15, ix. 13; an Armenian, VIII. viii. 15; called John Guzes, VIII. viii. 15; orders his men to fight on foot, VIII. viii. 30; kills one of the Alani, VIII. viii. 38; attacks and circumvents the Abasgi, VIII. ix. 20 ff.; wins over the Apsilii, VIII. x. 7; gains an entrance into Petra, VIII. xi. 57, 58; killed by a stone, VIII. xi. 64
- John the Glutton, Roman commander against the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 34; in the army of Narses, VIII. xxvi. 18; commands on the left wing, VIII. xxxi. 4
- John (brother of Pappus), successful as General of Libya, VIII. xvii. 20, 21; sends an expedition to Sardinia, VIII. xxiv. 33
- John, nephew of Vitalian, son-in-law of Germanus, VII. xxxix. 10, xl. 10, VIII. xxvi. 11; accompanies him as General, VII. xxxix. 10; appointed to succeed Germanus, VII. xl. 10, 27; winters in Salones, VII. xl. 30, VIII. xxi. 4; ordered to await Narses, VIII. xxi. 5, 6; not of sufficient authority to be commander-in-chief, VIII. xxi. 8; awaits Narses, VIII. xxi. 1; receives a letter from Valerian, VIII. xxiii. 4-6; sails for the relief of Ancon, VIII. xxiii. 7, 8; exhorts his fleet, VIII. xxiii. 14-22; returns to Salones, VIII. xxiii. 42; joins the army of Narses, VIII. xxvi. 11; gives advice to Narses, VIII. xxvi. 24, 25; holds the right wing, VIII. xxxi. 2; in the assault on Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 18; his standard, VIII. xxxiii. 21; sent into Tuscany, VIII. xxxiv. 22; summoned to Campania, VIII. xxxiv. 24; advises Narses to accept the Gothic terms, VIII. xxxiv. 34, 35
- Justinian, Emperor of the Roman Empire; appoints Germanus General of Thrace, VII. xl. 6; uncle of Germanus, VII. xxvii. 24, xxxix. 9; appoints Surtuas ruler of the Eruli, VIII. xv. 11; requested by Chosroes to send Tribunus, VIII. x. 14; plans to send Belisarius against the Goths once more, VII. xxxvi. 4; designates Liberius commander against the Goths, VII. xxxvi. 6; sends a fleet of provision-ships to Italy, VII. xxxvii. 5; refuses to receive an envoy from Totila, VII. xxxvii. 6, 7; considered powerless by Totila, VII. xxxvii. 13; appoints Germanus commander against the Goths, VII. xxxvii. 24; substitutes Liberius, VII. xxxvii. 26, xxxix. 6; and then reverses his decision, VII. xxxvii. 27; instructs Germanus to halt the invasion of the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 3, 34; his services to the Abasgi, VIII. iii. 19, 21; receives an envoy from the Tetraxitae, VIII. iv. 12, 13; sends Bessas instead of Dagisthaeus to Lazica, VIII. ix. 4, 12; sends Petrus to Chosroes, VIII. xi. 2; receives Isdigousnas with great favour, VIII. xi. 7; sends money to the Sabiri, VIII. xi. 25; appoints Bessas General against the Persians, VIII. xii. 32; criticized because of this, VIII. xii. 33; garrisons Scanda and Sarapanis, VIII. xiii. 17; negotiates with Isdigousnas, VIII. xv. 1 ff.; hands over Bersabus to him, VIII. xv. 11; shews him unprecedented honour, VIII. xv. 19, 20; imports silkworms from India, VIII. xvii. 1 ff.; appoints John General of Libya, VIII. xvii. 20; sends an embassy to the Utigurs, VIII. xviii. 18-21; sends a message to Chinialon, VIII. xix. 3; supplicated by the Outrigurs, VIII. xix. 7; receives envoys from Sandil, VIII. xix. 9 ff.; receives envoys from the Franks,



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# INDEX

- by the Roman soldiers, VIII. xvi. 1 ff.; securely held by the Persians, VIII. xvi. 13, 14, xvii. 9; its chief city Archaeopolis, VIII. xiii. 3; its cities: Rhodopolis, VIII. xiii. 21; Petra, VIII. xxxiii. 24; its border fortress Sarapanis, VIII. xvi. 17; its fertile section Mocheresis, VIII. xiv. 46
- Leonianus, Roman commander, in Illyricum, VIII. xxvii. 13
- Leontius, son-in-law of Athanasius, VIII. xxiv. 11; sent as envoy to Theudibald, do.; addresses him, VIII. xxiv. 12-24; dismissed by him, VIII. xxiv. 30
- Leuardus, Frankish envoy to Justinian, VIII. xxiv. 30
- Liberius, a patrician of Rome; chosen to lead an expedition to Italy, VII. xxxvi. 6, xxxvii. 26; but detained in Byzantium, VII. xxxvii. 27; an incompetent commander, VII. xxxix. 7; sent with a fleet to Sicily, VII. xxxix. 6; reaches Syracuse, VII. xl. 12; withdraws to Panormus, VII. xl. 18; recalled to Byzantium, VII. xxxix. 8, VIII. xxiv. 1
- Libya, one of the continents, VIII. vi. 12, 13, xxiv. 81; its geographical location, VIII. vi. 3; settled by the Vandals, VIII. v. 10; saved by Germanus, VII. xxxix. 11, 12; situation there favourable to the Romans, VIII. xvii. 20, 21; desolation in, VIII. xvii. 22; John, General of, VIII. xxiv. 33
- Liguria, district in Italy, VII. xl. 27; partly subject to Theudibert, VIII. xxiv. 6
- Lombards, their ruler promises Germanus support, VII. xxxix. 20; make a treaty with the Gepaedes, VIII. xviii. 1; but finally resort to war again, VIII. xviii. 2 ff.; led by Auduin, VIII. xviii. 3; Romans expected to ally themselves with them, VIII. xviii. 13; Outrigurs invoked against them, VIII. xviii. 14; prepare for war with the Gepaedes, VIII. xxv. 7; in alliance with Justinian, do.; demand help against the Gepaedes, VIII. xxv. 10; receive only a small detachment of their Roman allies, VIII. xxv. 13; advance on the Gepaedes, VIII. xxv. 14; sent to assist Narses, VIII. xxv. 15, xxvi. 19, xxx. 18, xxxi. 5; their unruly conduct, VIII. xxxii. 2; sent home by him, VIII. xxxiii. 2, 3; follow Ildigisal to Byzantium, VIII. xxvii. 3; flee with Ildigisal and Goar, VIII. xxvii. 8 ff.; receive a fugitive, Ustrigothus, VIII. xxvii. 19, 20; make peace with the Gepaedes, VIII. xxvii. 21, 25; unwilling to betray Ustrigothus, VIII. xxvii. 28; their king Auduin, VIII. xxv. 12, xxvi. 12, xxvii. 22; Ildigisal the Lombard, VIII. xxvii. 1
- Lysippus, the sculptor, VIII. xxi. 12, 13
- Maeotic Lake, description of the "lake" and the nations surrounding it, VIII. iv. 7-v. 11, 23, vii. 12; crossed for the first time by the Cimmerians, VIII. v. 7-9; receives the waters of the Tanais, VIII. vi. 4, 15; called "Mother of the Æuxine," VIII. vi. 16; Outrigur Huns on one side of it, VIII. xviii. 14; Utigur Huns live beyond it, VIII. xviii. 18
- Martinus, Roman commander in Lazica, VIII. xvii. 12
- Matasuntha, daughter of Amalasintha; marries Germanus, VII. xxxix. 14
- Mauricius, son of Mundus; father-in-law of Aruth, VIII. xxvi. 13
- Maximus, a patrician; slain by the Goths, VIII. xxxiv. 6
- Medea, her slaying of Apsyrtus, VIII. ii. 12; assisted Jason to steal the Fleece, VIII. ii. 15; her flight with Jason, VIII. ii. 31; "Medea's Oil," used by the Persians at Petra, VIII. xi. 36, 61
- Medes, encamp on the Hippis River, VIII. viii. 1. *See also* Persians.
- Melanchlaenae, a Scythian tribe, VIII. v. 6
- Meligiudius, Roman deserter; commander of Perusia, VIII. xxxiii. 10; surrenders the city to Narses, VIII. xxxiii. 11, 12
- Melita, island off Dalmatia, VII. xl. 17
- Mermeroes, Persian commander in Lazica; sends most of the Sabiri away, VIII. xiii. 7; marches toward

- Petra, VIII. xiii. 1; learns of its loss and turns against Archaeopolis, VIII. xiii. 2, 3, 20; marches against the Roman army, VIII. xiii. 23; passes Archaeopolis, VIII. xiii. 25-27; eluded by the Roman army, VIII. xiii. 29; marches on Archaeopolis, VIII. xiii. 30; attacks, VIII. xiv. 3 ff.; sends the Dolomites against the upper town, VIII. xiv. 5, 10; has a conflagration started in Archaeopolis, VIII. xiv. 23-27; withdraws to Mocheresis, VIII. xiv. 45; restores Cotais, VIII. xiv. 50; controls most of Lazica, VIII. xiv. 53; gains Uthimereos by treason, VIII. xvi. 4 ff.; garrisons three fortresses in Lazica, VIII. xvi. 16, 17; lures deserters from the Lazi, VIII. xvi. 22; writes to Gubazes, VIII. xvi. 23-31; reinforced by Huns, VIII. xvii. 10; moves against the strongholds of Lazica, VIII. xvii. 11; attacks a fortress, VIII. xvii. 14; then Archaeopolis, VIII. xvii. 17
- Meschi, a people subject to the Iberians, VIII. ii. 24; character of their country, VIII. ii. 25
- Messana, city in Sicily; attacked by Totila, VII. xxxix. 2-3
- Milk Mountain, in Campania, VIII. xxxv. 15
- Mindes, an Isaurian; in the Roman army, VII. xxxvi. 26
- Mocheresis, a section of Lazica, VIII. i. 5, xvi. 14; distance from Archaeopolis, VIII. xiv. 46; populous and productive, do.; Mermeroes retires thither, VIII. xiv. 45; the key to Suania and Scymnia, VIII. xiv. 54; left by Mermeroes, VIII. xvii. 11; Persians retire thither, VIII. xvii. 19
- Moors, subjugated by John, VIII. xvii. 21; their chief, Cutzinas, do.
- Moras, Gothic commander of Acherontia; negotiates for its surrender VIII. xxvi. 4
- Mundus, father of Mauricius, VIII. xxvi. 13
- Myron, the sculptor, VIII. xxi. 14
- Nabedes, Persian commander; invades Lazica, VIII. ix. 6; carries off Theodora, VIII. ix. 7
- Naisus, town in Moesia, VII. xl. 1
- Narnia, taken by Narses, VIII. xxxiii. 9
- Narses, commander of the expedition against the Goths; awaited by John at Salones, VIII. xxi. 6, xxii. 1; marches against Totila, VIII. xxi. 19, 20; loses provision-ships, VIII. xxii. 32; receives Lombards as allies, VIII. xxv. 15; sets out from Salones, VIII. xxvi. 5; his energetic preparations for the Italian expedition, VIII. xxvi. 8-10; refused free passage by the Franks, VIII. xxvi. 18, 19; considers his route of march, VIII. xxvi. 20; receives advice from John, VIII. xxvi. 24, 25; joined by Valerian and Justinus, VIII. xxviii. 1; prepares to leave Ravenna, VIII. xxviii. 4; passes Ariminum, VIII. xxviii. 5 ff.; receives the head of Udrilas, VIII. xxviii. 10; leaves the Flaminian Way, VIII. xxviii. 13; reaches the Apennines, VIII. xxix. 4; sends a message to Totila, VIII. xxix. 6; receives his reply, VIII. xxix. 9; occupies a point of vantage, VIII. xxix. 13 ff.; makes Paulus a guardsman, VIII. xxix. 28; exhorts his army, VIII. xxx. 1-7; holds the right wing, VIII. xxxi. 2; disposes his forces, VIII. xxxi. 5; bends the line, VIII. xxxi. 6; exhorts his men, VIII. xxxi. 9; refuses Totila's request for a conference, VIII. xxxi. 22; not caught unprepared, VIII. xxxii. 3; arrays his army, VIII. xxxii. 5; informed of Totila's death, VIII. xxxii. 32; sends the Lombards home, VIII. xxxiii. 1, 2; sends Valerian to guard the Po, VIII. xxxiii. 8; receives the surrender of Perugia, VIII. xxxiii. 11, 12; advances on Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 13; attacks the walls of Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 18; sends Dagisthaeus to an undefended spot, VIII. xxxiii. 21; the standard of, do.; attacks Hadrian's Tomb, VIII. xxxiii. 25; sends forces against Cumae and Centumcellae, VIII. xxxiv. 20; sends a force into Tuscany, VIII. xxxiv. 22; concentrates his forces in Campania, VIII. xxxiv. 24; builds towers, VIII. xxxv. 14; receives overtures from the Goths, VIII. xxxv. 33, 34; accepts them,



- VIII. xxxv. 36; a generous commander, VIII. xxvi. 14, 15; popular with officers and soldiers, VIII. xxvi. 16, 17; his spearman, Anzalas, VIII. xxxi. 13
- Naupaetus, destroyed by earthquake, VIII. xxv. 17
- Nazares, Roman commander against the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 34
- Nepa, captured by the Romans, VIII. xxxiv. 16
- Nicopolis, ravaged by the Goths, VIII. xxii. 31
- Nile River, VIII. vi. 2; separates Asia from Africa, VIII. vi. 13, 14
- Nuceria, city in Campania, VIII. xxxv. 7
- Numidia, VIII. xvii. 21
- Odonachus, commander in the Roman army; sent to Lazica, VIII. ix. 5; in command of Archaeopolis, VIII. xiii. 8; addresses his men, VIII. xiv. 14-21; leads a sally, VIII. xiv. 22 ff.
- Odysseus, VIII. xxii. 21, 23
- Opsites, uncle of Gubazes and king of Lazica, VIII. ix. 7; his consort Theodora carried off by Nabedes, do.
- Opsites, ruler of the Abasgi, VIII. ix. 11; escapes to the Caucasus, VIII. ix. 29
- Orestes, VIII. v. 24
- Othoni, islets near Cercyra, VIII. xxi. 20
- Pacurius, son of Peranius; commander of Dryus; negotiates for the Goths, VIII. xxvi. 4; negotiates with Ragnaris, VIII. xxxiv. 9; tricked by him, VIII. xxxiv. 10-12; defeats him in battle, VIII. xxxiv. 13-15
- Palace, in Byzantium, VII. xl. 9; the eunuchs in, VII. xl. 35, VIII. iii. 19; the Palace Guard, VIII. xxvii. 2
- Palestinian, Tribunus the physician, VIII. x. 11
- Palladius, commander of Croton, VIII. xxv. 24
- Panormus, city in Sicily, VII. xl. 18
- Paphlagonians, neighbours of the Bithynians, VIII. ii. 2
- Passara, wife of Germanus; her death, VII. xxxix. 14
- Patrae, destroyed by earthquake, VIII. xxv. 17
- Patricians, Roman dignitaries; Liborius, VII. xxxvi. 6; slain by the Goths, VIII. xxxiv. 6
- Paul, Gate of, in the wall of Rome, VII. xxxvi. 7, 10
- Paulus, a Cilician; commander in the Roman army, VII. xxxvi. 16; seizes and holds the Tomb of Hadrian, VII. xxxvi. 17-25; surrenders and is sent to Byzantium by Totila, VII. xxxvi. 26-28
- Paulus, a Roman soldier, distinguished for valour, VIII. xxix. 22, 26, 27; made a guardsman of Narses, VIII. xxix. 28
- Peace, the Forum of, VIII. xxi. 11; Temple of, VIII. xxi. 12
- Peloponnesus, refuge of Roman ships, VII. xl. 16
- Peranius, father of Pacurius, VIII. xxvi. 4
- Persarmenia, adjoining Iberia, VIII. ii. 26, viii. 22
- Persarmenians, location of their country, VIII. ii. 20; the following individuals are mentioned: Artabanes, VIII. viii. 21; Varazes, VIII. xiii. 10
- Persia, Dolomites live in, VIII. xiv. 6, 7
- Persians, their five-year truce with the Romans, VIII. i. 3; invade Colchis, do.; their allies, the Alani, VIII. iii. 4; maintain an army in Lazica, VIII. iv. 5, 6; eager to acquire Lazica, VIII. vii. 1, 12, 13; invade Lazica, VIII. viii. 39; led into Apsilia by Terdetes, VIII. x. 2, 3; thus extend their power in Lazica, VIII. x. 4; hold Petra, do.; repair its wall, VIII. xi. 15, 16; have some of the Huns in alliance, VIII. xi. 24; lose Petra and rush into the acropolis, VIII. xi. 62, 63; are exhorted by Bessas, VIII. xii. 1 ff.; reject his counsel and are burned with the acropolis, VIII. xii. 14-15; improve the very difficult road into Lazica, VIII. xiii. 5; take Scanda and Sarapanis, VIII. xiii. 19; rebuild Scanda, VIII. xiii. 20; have the Dolomites as mercenaries, VIII. xiv. 6, 7; attack Archaeopolis, VIII. xiv. 11; control the most of Lazica, VIII. xiv. 45; receive payments from the Romans, VIII. xv.



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# INDEX

- Ragnaris, a Goth; commander of Tarentum; negotiates for its surrender, VIII. xxvi. 4; refuses to surrender Tarentum, VIII. xxxiv. 9; tricks Pacurius, VIII. xxxiv. 10-12; defeated in battle, VIII. xxxiv. 14, 15
- Ravenna, centre of Roman strength in Italy, VII. xxxix. 23, xl. 30, VIII. xxiii. 4, 17, 42, xxvi. 20, 25; xxviii. 1, 2; left in charge of Justinus, VIII. xxviii. 4; Romans defeated near, VII. xxxvii. 28
- Rhecithangus, Roman commander, in Illyricum, VIII. xxvii. 13
- Rhegium, attacked by the Goths, VII. xxxvii. 19-22, xxxix. 1; surrendered by them, VII. xxxix. 5
- Rheon River, in Lazica, VIII. xiii. 3, xiv. 47
- Rhine River, VIII. xx. 32, 33; distance from Brittia, VIII. xx. 4; separates the Varni from the Franks, VIII. xx. 2, 3, 18
- Rhipaeon Mountains, contain the source of the Tanais, VIII. vi. 5, 6
- Rhizaeum, town on the boundary of Trapezuntine territory, VIII. ii. 3, 10; distance from Apsarus, VIII. ii. 11
- Rhodopolis, city in Lazica, VIII. xiii. 21; destroyed by the Lazi, VIII. xiii. 22
- Romans, subjects of the Emperor both in the East and in the West; mentioned constantly throughout, VII. xxxvi. 3, etc.; in the Gothic army, VII. xxxix. 22; make payments to the Persians, VIII. xv. 3, 6; make a treaty with the Persians, VIII. xv. 12; become in effect tributary to the Persians, VIII. xv. 16-18; purchase silk from the Persians, VIII. xvii. 1; feared by the Gepaedes, VIII. xviii. 13 ff.; hold little of Venetia, VIII. xxiv. 8; capture Portus and Petra Pertusa, VIII. xxxiv. 16; capture Cumae, VIII. xxxv. 38; Roman deserters, VIII. xxvi. 6, xxxii. 20, xxxiii. 10; the inhabitants of Rome, VIII. xii. 31, 32; especially devoted to their city, VIII. xxii. 5; their sufferings, VIII. xxxiv. 2-4; children of, slain by Tetas, VIII. xxxiv. 7, 8; a Roman gentleman, VIII. xxi. 10, 11
- Rome, the capital of Italy, mentioned frequently; assailed by Totila, VII. xxxvi. 1 ff.; captured through treachery, VII. xxxvi. 7-14; previously betrayed by Isaurians, VII. xxxvi. 7; commanded by Diogenes and Paulus, VII. xxxvi. 16; its population encouraged by Totila to return, VII. xxxvi. 29; its defences previously destroyed in part by him, VII. xxxvii. 2, VIII. xxii. 3; damages repaired by Totila, VII. xxxvii. 3; commanded by Bessas, VIII. xii. 31; captured by the Goths, VIII. xii. 32; Procopius there, VIII. xxi. 10; adorned by works of art from Greece, VIII. xxi. 14; prophecy concerning, VIII. xxi. 16; defended by the Goths, VIII. xxxiii. 13 ff.; its wall too long for the Goths to defend, VIII. xxxiii. 17; lost by Bessas, won by Dagisthaeus, VIII. xxxiii. 24; captured five times in the reign of Justinian, VIII. xxxiii. 27; held by the Romans, VIII. xxxiv. 6
- Sabiri Huns, their location, VIII. iii. 5; in the Roman army, VIII. xi. 22-26; receive money from Justinian, VIII. xi. 25, 26; shew the Romans how to build light rams, VIII. xi. 27-32; come as allies to the Persians, VIII. xiii. 6; feared by Mermeroes, who sends most of them away, VIII. xiii. 7; directed by Mermeroes to build rams, VIII. xiv. 4, 5; serving in the Persian army, VIII. xiv. 11, xvi. 8, xvii. 10; their leader slain, VIII. xvii. 18
- Saginae, a people near Lazica, VIII. ii. 16, iv. 3, 5, 7
- Salones, Roman army winters in, VII. xl. 11, 30; John winters there, VIII. xxi. 4, 5, xxii. 1, xxiii. 4; left by him, VIII. xxiii. 8; John returns to, VIII. xxiii. 42; left by Narses, VIII. xxvi. 5
- Sandil, leader of the Utigurs, VIII. xviii. 23; remonstrates with Justinian, VIII. xix. 8 ff.
- Sani (*see* Tzani), VIII. i. 8
- Saracens, accused by Isdigousnas, VIII.

# INDEX

- xi. 10; subject of dispute between Romans and Persians, VIII. xv. 2
- Sarapanis, frontier fortress in Lazica; held by the Lazi, Romans and Persians in turn, VIII. xiii. 15-19; occupied by Mermeroes, VIII. xvi. 17
- Sardice, city of Illyricum, VII. xl. 1, 4
- Sardinia, attacked and captured by the Goths, VIII. xxiv. 31-33; unsuccessful attempt to recapture, VIII. xxiv. 33-36; formerly called Sardo, VIII. xxiv. 37, 38
- Sardo, older name for Sardinia, VIII. xxiv. 37
- Sardonis, VIII. xxiv. 38
- Sauromatae, a Scythian tribe, VIII. v. 6
- Scanda, frontier fortress in Lazica; held by the Lazi, Romans and Persians in turn, VIII. xiii. 15-18; destroyed and rebuilt, VIII. xiii. 20
- Scardon, port on the Adriatic; touched by John, VIII. xxiii. 8
- Scarfea, town in Boeotia; visited by tidal wave, VIII. xxv. 19
- Sceparnas, ruler of the Abasgi, VIII. ix. 11; summoned by Chosroes, VIII. ix. 13, 14
- Scholasticus, a eunuch; commander-in-chief against the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 35
- Schools, sections of the imperial guard, VIII. xxvii. 2
- Scipuar, a Gothic commander; sent against Ancon, VIII. xxiii. 1, 12; accompanies Totila in his flight, VIII. xxxii. 22; wounds Asbadus, VIII. xxxii. 24; is wounded himself, VIII. xxxii. 25
- Sclaveni, neighbours of the Antae, VII. xl. 5; invade Roman territory, VII. xxxviii. 1-23; commit atrocities, VII. xxxviii. 6, 20-22; inexperienced in storming cities, VII. xxxviii. 7; capture Topirus, VII. xxxviii. 9-18; invade Roman territory, VII. xl. 1 ff.; fear Germanus, VII. xl. 4, 5, 7; turn aside to Dalmatia, VII. xl. 7; continue their inroad, VII. xl. 31-33; defeat a Roman army, VII. xl. 36-41; find great booty, VII. xl. 42, 43; finally depart, VII. xl. 44, 45; invade Illyricum, VIII. xxv. 1 ff.; ferried over the Ister by the Gepaedes, VIII. xxv. 10
- Scylaeum, mountain in Italy, VIII. xxvi. 3
- Scymnia, region near Lazica, VIII. ii. 23; shut off by Mermeroes, VIII. xiv. 53; gained by the Persians, VIII. xvi. 14
- Scythians, VIII. v. 24; ancient name of the Goths, etc., VIII. v. 6; their location, VIII. v. 23
- Sebastopolis, fortress built by the Romans on the Euxine, VIII. iv. 4; distance from Pityus, do.
- Senators, brought back to Rome by Totila, VII. xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 3; their sufferings, VIII. xxxiv. 2 ff.; sent into Campania, VIII. xxxiv. 5
- Senogall town near Ancon, VIII. xxiii. 9
- Serinda, a land above India, VIII. xvii. 2, 7
- Sicily, separated from Italy by a strait, VIII. vi. 21; Totila prepares to invade it, VII. xxxvii. 4, 8; invaded by the Goths, VII. xxxvii. 18, xxxix. 2 ff.; plundered throughout by them, VII. xxxix. 4, xl. 19; Liberius sent thither with a fleet, VII. xxxix. 6; Artabanes sent thither, VII. xxxix. 8, VIII. xxv. 24; evacuated by Totila, VII. xl. 24, 26-29; conquest of, by Artabanes, VIII. xxiv. 1 ff.; Goths offer to give up claim to, VIII. xxiv. 4; source of supplies for the Goths, VIII. xxxv. 13; its mountain, Aetna, VIII. xxxv. 2
- Sinnion, leader of the Cutrigurs, VIII. xix. 7
- Sinope, city on the Euxine, VIII. ii. 2
- Spain, settled by the Visigoths, VIII. v. 10, xx. 5
- Spinus, a Roman, counsellor of Totila, VII. xl. 20; captured in Catana, VII. xl. 21; secures his release by a promise, VII. xl. 24, 25; persuades Totila to leave Sicily, VII. xl. 26-29
- Spolitium, home of Spinus, VII. xl. 20; ordered to be rebuilt by Narses, VIII. xxxiii. 9
- Stagira, home of Aristotle, VIII. vi. 30
- Stephanus, a Roman; sent as ambassador by Totila to Justinian, VII. xxxvii. 6

# INDEX

- Stotzas, defeated by Germanus, VII. xxxix. 12
- Strabo, his account of the Amazons, VIII. iii. 6
- Suania, region near Lazica, VIII. ii. 23; shut off by Mermeroes, VIII. xiv. 53; gained by the Persians, VIII. xvi. 14
- Suartuas, Roman commander of troops sent to the Lombards, VIII. xxv. 11; had been appointed ruler of the Eruil, do.; later commander of troops in Byzantium, VIII. xxv. 11
- Susurmena, village on the boundary of the Trapezuntine territory, VIII. ii. 3
- Sybotæ, islands near Cercyra, VIII. xxi. 30
- Syracuse, besieged by the Goths, VII. xl. 12
- Taginae, town under the Apennines, VIII. xxix. 8
- Tanais River, VIII. iv. 7, v. 23; empties into the Maeotic Lake, VIII. vi. 4; the outlet also of the Maeotic Lake, VIII. iv. 10; rises in the Rhipæan Mountains, VIII. vi. 5; said by some to divide Europe from Asia, VIII. vi. 2, 6, 7, 13, 15; crossed by the Utigurs, VIII. xviii. 22
- Tanaitis, a name given to a wind near the Maeotic Lake, VIII. iv. 10
- Tarentum, captured by Totila, VII. xxxvii. 23; Goths escape thither, VIII. xxvi. 3; commanded by Ragnaris, VIII. xxvi. 4, xxxiv. 9; threatened by Pacurius, VIII. xxxiv. 14, 15
- Taurians, their location, VIII. v. 23
- Taurica, the land of the Taurians, VIII. v. 23
- Teias, a Gothic commander; blocks the roads against Narses, VIII. xxvi. 21, 22, 24; summoned by Totila, VIII. xxix. 1; chosen king of the Goths, VIII. xxxiii. 6, xxxiv. 9, 17; seeks alliance with the Franks, VIII. xxxiii. 7, xxxiv. 9; slays Roman children, VIII. xxxiv. 8; prepares to fight Narses, VIII. xxxiv. 21; reaches Campania, VIII. xxxiv. 23; fights heroically and dies, VIII. xxxv. 20-29
- Terdetes, a notable of the Lazi; betrays Apsilia to the Persians, VIII. x. 2, 3
- Tetraxitæ, a Gothic tribe near the Maeotic Lake, VIII. iv. 9, v. 5; Christians, VIII. iv. 9; their history, VIII. v. 1 ff.; send an embassy to Justinian, VIII. iv. 12, 13; attacked and taken across the Maeotic Lake by the Utigurs, VIII. v. 18-21; in alliance with the Utigurs, VIII. xviii. 22
- Themiscyra, town on the Thermodon River, VIII. ii. 2; traditional seat of the Amazons, VIII. iii. 5
- Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths; establishes the Gothic kingdom in Italy, VII. xxxix. 15, 21, VIII. v. 14; brother of Amalafida, VIII. xxv. 11; grandfather of Atalaric, VIII. xxi. 11; father of Amalasantha, VII. xxxix. 14
- Theodora, consort of Opsites; carried off by Nabedes, VIII. ix. 7; a Roman by birth, VIII. ix. 8
- Theophobius, of the Lazi; betrays Uthimereos, VIII. xvi. 4-13
- Thermodon River, reputed home of the Amazons, VIII. ii. 2, iii. 5, 7
- Thermopylæ, in Greece, VIII. xxvi. 1
- Thessalonice, its capture planned by the Sclaveni, VII. xl. 3; avoided by them, VII. xl. 7; threatened by Huns, VIII. xxi. 22
- Thessaly, VIII. xxv. 19
- Theudibald, succeeds his father Theudibert as king of the Franks, VIII. xxiv. 11; addressed by Leontius, VIII. xxiv. 12-24; replies to him, VIII. xxiv. 25-29; invited by Teias to an alliance, VIII. xxxiv. 17
- Theudibert, king of the Franks; marries his sister to Hermegisclus, VIII. xx. 11; his death, VIII. xxiv. 6; succeeded by Theudibald, VIII. xxiv. 11; had trespassed on Italy, VIII. xxiv. 11, 15; defended by Theudibald, VIII. xxiv. 26; the sister of, VIII. xx. 41
- Thomas, father of John Guzes, VIII. viii. 15, 38, ix. 13, x. 7, xi. 57, 64
- Thorsin, king of the Gepædes by usurpation, VIII. xviii. 3, xxvii. 19; negotiates with Auduin, VIII.



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# INDEX

- his flight and death, VIII. xxxii. 22-30; his death verified by the Romans, VIII. xxxii. 31, 32; another version of his end, VIII. xxxii. 33-36; deposits money in Ticinum, VIII. xxxiii. 7; instigates the murder of Oyprian, VIII. xxxiii. 10; burns many buildings in Rome, VIII. xxxiii. 14; sends many senators into Campania, VIII. xxxiv. 5; sends Roman children as hostages beyond the Po, VIII. xxxiv. 7, 8; deposits money in Ticinum and in Cumae, VIII. xxxiv. 19
- Trachea, a strongly defended pass in Abasgia, VIII. ix. 19, 21, 22
- Trajan, Roman Emperor, VIII. ii. 16
- Trapezuntines, their exact location, VIII. i. 8; extent of their territory, VIII. ii. 3; not neighbours of the Colchians, VIII. ii. 15
- Trapezus, city on the Euxine, VIII. ii. 2; distance from Rhizæum, VIII. ii. 3; its unusual honey, VIII. ii. 4; boundaries of, VIII. iv. 5; refuge of Roman garrisons, VIII. iv. 6
- Tribunus, a physician from Palestine; greatly admired by Chosroes, VIII. x. 11-14; receives a favour from Chosroes, VIII. x. 15, 16
- Troy, its capture, VIII. xxii. 31
- Tuscans, VIII. xxi. 16, 17
- Tuscany, VIII. xxxiii. 9, xxxiv. 22, 24; crossed by Totila, VIII. xxix. 3; its fortress Nepa, VIII. xxxiv. 16
- Tynnichus, an artist, VIII. xxii. 29
- Tzani, a people on the Euxine, VIII. i. 8; their exact location, VIII. i. 9; with the Roman army in Lazica, VIII. xiii. 10
- Tzanica, its mountains, VIII. ii. 5, 6
- Tzibile, fortress in Apsilia, VIII. x. 1, 7; guarding the road to the country of the Abasgi, VIII. xvii. 16
- Tzur, a pass over the Caucasus, VIII. iii. 4
- Tzurullum, town in Thrace, VII. xxxviii. 5
- Ulfus, Roman deserter; commander of Perugia, VIII. xxxiii. 10; slayer of Oyprian, do.; his death, VIII. xxxiii. 11, 12
- Ulgagus, of the Ernli; commander in the Roman army, VIII. ix. 5; sent to Lazica, VIII. ix. 5, 13, xiii. 9; attacks the Abasgi, VIII. ix. 20 ff.
- Ulpiana, city in Illyricum, VIII. xxv. 13
- Usdrilas, commander of the Gothic garrison of Ariminum, VIII. xxviii. 2; writes insolently to Valerian, VIII. xxviii. 2-4; leads a scouting party, VIII. xxviii. 8, 9; killed in a skirmish, VIII. xxviii. 10, 11, xxix. 3
- Ustrigothus, son of Elemundus, VIII. xxvii. 19; deprived of the throne of the Gepædes and flees, VIII. xxvii. 19, 20; his surrender demanded by Thorisin, VIII. xxvii. 26; slain by Auduin, VIII. xxvii. 28, 29
- Uthimereos, fortress in Lazica, VIII. xiv. 51; shut off by Mermeroes, VIII. xiv. 53; betrayed to him, VIII. xvi. 4 ff.; garrisoned by him, VIII. xvi. 16
- Utigur, progenitor of the Utigur Huns, VIII. v. 2
- Utigur Huns, tribe near the Maeotic Lake, VIII. iv. 8; origin of the name, VIII. v. 2-4; feared by the Tetraxitæ, VIII. iv. 13; return home, VIII. v. 17; taking with them the Tetraxitæ, VIII. v. 18-22; receive an embassy from Justinian, VIII. xviii. 18-21; attack the Outrigurs, VIII. xviii. 24, 25, xix. 4, 6; their king, Sandil, VIII. xix. 8. *See also* Cimmerians.
- Valerian, Roman general in Armenia, VIII. viii. 23; captured Bersabus, VIII. xv. 9; writes to John, VIII. xxiii. 4-6; comes to Scardon, VIII. xxiii. 8; exhorts his fleet, VIII. xxiii. 14-22; returns to Ravenna, VIII. xxiii. 42; joins Narses, VIII. xxviii. 1; receives a letter from Usdrilas, VIII. xxviii. 2; commands on the left wing, VIII. xxxi. 4; escorts the Lombards from Italy, VIII. xxxii. 2; encamps near Verona, VIII. xxxiii. 3; receives proposals of surrender, VIII. xxxiii. 4; retires, VIII. xxxiii. 5; sent to guard the Po, VIII. xxxiii. 8; captures Petra Pertusa, VIII. xxxiv. 24; summoned to Campania, do.

# INDEX

- Vandals**, VIII. xix. 7; their original home, VIII. v. 5; emigrate to Libya, VIII. v. 10
- Varases**, a Persarmenian; with the Roman army in Lazica, VIII. xiii. 10
- Varni**, involved in war with Brittia, VIII. xx. 1 ff.; ruled by Hermegisclus, VIII. xx. 11; advised to favour the alliance with the Franks, VIII. xx. 15, 17; close to the Franks, VIII. xx. 15; engage with the islanders, VIII. xx. 23; do not ride on horses, VIII. xx. 31; their king Radigis, VIII. xx. 20
- Vazaine**, district in Persia, VIII. x. 9; distance from Ctesiphon, do.
- Venetia**, largely subject to Theudibert, VIII. xxiv. 6, xxxiii. 5; little of, left the Goths, VIII. xxiv. 8; reached by Narses, VIII. xxvi. 18; Teias summoned from, VIII. xxix. 1
- Venilus**, brother of Buzes; commander in the Roman army, VIII. ix. 5; sent to Lazica, VIII. ix. 5, xiii. 9
- Verona**, held by the Goths, VIII. xxvi. 20-22; threatened by Valerian, VIII. xxxiii. 3, 4
- Verus**, Roman commander; defeated and slain in combat, VII. xxxvii. 28, xxxix. 24
- Vesuvius**, its eruptions described, VIII. xxxv. 1-6; its springs, VIII. xxxv. 7
- Visigoths**, their original home, VIII. v. 5; migrate to Spain, VIII. v. 10
- Vitalian**, uncle of John, VII. xxxix. 10, etc.
- Vittigis**, king of the Goths, VIII. xxvii. 5, 6; brought to Byzantium by Belisarius, VIII. xxv. 12; his death, VII. xxxix. 14
- Zames**, father of Cabades, VIII. xxvi. 13
- Zechi**, an independent people on the Euxine, VIII. iv. 1, 2
- Zens Casius**, VIII. xxii. 25



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BABRIUS AND PHAEDRUS. Ben E. Perry.

## *DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION*

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