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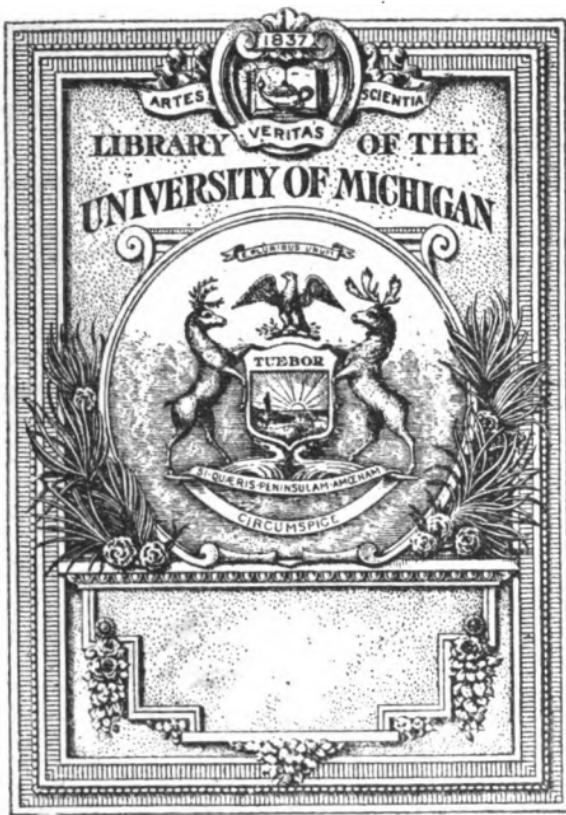
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# Procopius

## Procopius



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# 48

**PROCOPIUS**

I



*Alexander Finsch*

**PROCOPIUS**  
*of Caesarea*

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY  
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES

I

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS I AND II



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN  
NEW YORK : THE MACMILLAN CO.

MCMXIV



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## INTRODUCTION

PROCOPIUS is known to posterity as the historian of the eventful reign of Justinian (527-565 A.D.), and the chronicler of the great deeds of the general Belisarius. He was born late in the fifth century in the city of Caesarea in Palestine. As to his education and early years we are not informed, but we know that he studied to fit himself for the legal profession. He came as a young man to Constantinople, and seems to have made his mark immediately. For as early as the year 527 he was appointed legal adviser and private secretary<sup>1</sup> to Belisarius, then a very young man who had been serving on the staff of the general Justinian, and had only recently been advanced to the office of general. Shortly after this Justinian was called by his uncle Justinus to share the throne of the Roman Empire, and four months later Justinus died, leaving Justinian sole emperor of the Romans. Thus the stage was set for the scenes which are presented in the pages of Procopius. His own activity continued till well nigh

<sup>1</sup> ξύμβουλος, *Proc. Bell.* I. xii. 24. He is elsewhere referred to as πάρεδρος or ὑπογραφεὺς.

## INTRODUCTION

the end of Justinian's life, and he seems to have outlived his hero, Belisarius.

During the eventful years of Belisarius' campaigning in Africa, in Italy, and in the East, Procopius was moving about with him and was an eye-witness of the events he describes in his writings. In 527 we find him in Mesopotamia ; in 533 he accompanied Belisarius to Africa ; and in 536 he journeyed with him to Italy. He was therefore quite correct in the assertion which he makes rather modestly in the introduction of his history, that he was better qualified than anyone else to write the history of that period. Besides his intimacy with Belisarius it should be added that his position gave him the further advantage of a certain standing at the imperial court in Constantinople, and brought him the acquaintance of many of the leading men of his day. Thus we have the testimony of one intimately associated with the administration, and this, together with the importance of the events through which he lived, makes his record exceedingly interesting as well as historically important. One must admit that his position was not one to encourage impartiality in his presentation of facts, and that the imperial favour was not won by plain speaking ; nevertheless we have before us a man who could not obliterate himself enough to play the abject flatterer always, and he gives us the reverse, too, of his brilliant picture, as we shall see presently.

Procopius' three works give us a fairly complete

## INTRODUCTION

account of the reign of Justinian up till near the year 560 A.D., and he has done us the favour of setting forth three different points of view which vary so widely that posterity has sometimes found it difficult to reconcile them. His greatest work, as well as his earliest, is the *History of the Wars*, in eight books. The material is not arranged strictly according to chronological sequence, but so that the progress of events may be traced separately in each one of three wars. Thus the first two books are given over to the Persian wars, the next two contain the account of the war waged against the Vandals in Africa, the three following describe the struggle against the Goths in Italy. These seven books were published together first, and the eighth book was added later as a supplement to bring the history up to about the date of 554, being a general account of events in different parts of the empire. It is necessary to bear in mind that the wars described separately by Procopius overlapped one another in time, and that while the Romans were striving to hold back the Persian aggressor they were also maintaining armies in Africa and in Italy. In fact the Byzantine empire was making a supreme effort to re-establish the old boundaries, and to reclaim the territories lost to the barbarian nations. The emperor Justinian was fired by the ambition to make the Roman Empire once more a world power, and he drained every resource in his eagerness to make possible the fulfilment of this dream. It was

## INTRODUCTION

a splendid effort, but it was doomed to failure ; the fallen edifice could not be permanently restored.

The history is more general than the title would imply, and all the important events of the time are touched upon. So while we read much of the campaigns against the nations who were crowding back the boundaries of the old empire, we also hear of civic affairs such as the great Nika insurrection in Byzantium in 532 ; similarly a careful account is given of the pestilence of 540, and the care shown in describing the nature of the disease shows plainly that the author must have had some acquaintance with the medical science of the time.

After the seventh book of the *History of the Wars* Procopius wrote the *Anecdota*, or *Secret History*. Here he freed himself from all the restraints of respect or fear, and set down without scruple everything which he had been led to suppress or gloss over in the *History* through motives of policy. He attacks unmercifully the emperor and empress and even Belisarius and his wife Antonina, and displays to us one of the blackest pictures ever set down in writing. It is a record of wanton crime and shameless debauchery, of intrigue and scandal both in public and in private life. It is plain that the thing is overdone, and the very extravagance of the calumny makes it impossible to be believed ; again and again we meet statements which, if not absolutely impossible, are at least highly improbable. Many of the events of the *History* are presented

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in an entirely new light ; we seem to hear one speaking out of the bitterness of his heart. It should be said, at the same time, that there are very few contradictions in statements of fact. The author has plainly singled out the empress Theodora as the principal victim of his venomous darts, and he gives an account of her early years which is both shocking and disgusting, but which, happily, we are not forced to regard as true. It goes without saying that such a work as this could not have been published during the lifetime of the author, and it appears that it was not given to the world until after the death of Justinian in 565.

Serious doubts have been entertained in times past as to the authenticity of the *Anecdota*, for at first sight it seems impossible that the man who wrote in the calm tone of the *History* and who indulged in the fulsome praise of the panegyric *On the Buildings* could have also written the bitter libels of the *Anecdota*. It has come to be seen, however, that this feeling is not supported by any unanswerable arguments, and it is now believed to be highly probable at least, that the *Anecdota* is the work of Procopius. Its bitterness may be extreme and its calumnies exaggerated beyond all reason, but it must be regarded as prompted by a reaction against the hollow life of the Byzantine court.

The third work is entitled *On the Buildings*, and is plainly an attempt to gain favour with the emperor. We can only guess as to what the immediate occasion

## INTRODUCTION

was for its composition. It is plain, however, that the publication of the *History* could not have aroused the enthusiasm of Justinian; there was no attempt in it to praise the emperor, and one might even read an unfavourable judgment between the lines. And it is not at all unlikely that he was moved to envy by the praises bestowed upon his general, Belisarius. At any rate the work *On the Buildings* is written in the empty style of the fawning flatterer. It is divided into six short books and contains an account of all the public buildings of Justinian's reign in every district of the empire. The subject was well chosen and the material ample, and Procopius lost no opportunity of lauding his sovereign to the skies. It is an excellent example of the florid panegyric style which was, unfortunately, in great favour with the literary world of his own as well as later Byzantine times. But in spite of its faults, this work is a record of the greatest importance for the study of the period, since it is a storehouse of information concerning the internal administration of the empire.

The style of Procopius is in general clear and straightforward, and shows the mind of one who endeavours to speak the truth in simple language wherever he is not under constraint to avoid it. At the same time he is not ignorant of the arts of rhetoric, and especially in the speeches he is fond of introducing sounding phrases and sententious statements. He was a great admirer of the classical

## INTRODUCTION

writers of prose, and their influence is everywhere apparent in his writing; in particular he is much indebted to the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, and he borrows from them many expressions and turns of phrase. But the Greek which he writes is not the pure Attic, and we find many evidences of the influence of the contemporary spoken language.

Procopius writes at times as a Christian, and at times as one imbued with the ideas of the ancient religion of Greece. Doubtless his study of the classical writers led him into this, perhaps unconsciously. At any rate it seems not to have been with him a matter in which even consistency was demanded. It was politic to espouse the religion of the state, but still he often allows himself to speak as if he were a contemporary of Thucydides.

The text followed is that of Haury, issued in the Teubner series, 1905–1913.



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THE *editio princeps* of Procopius was published by David Hoeschel, Augsburg, 1607; the *Secret History* was not included, and only summaries of the six books of the work *On the Buildings* were given. The edition is not important except as being the first.

The *Secret History* was printed for the first time separately with a Latin translation by Alemannus, Lyon, 1623.

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**PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA**  
**HISTORY OF THE WARS :**  
**BOOK I**  
**THE PERSIAN WAR**

**VOL. I.**

**B**

# ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

## I

- 1 Προκόπιος Καισαρεὺς τοὺς πολέμους ἔνθε-  
γραψεν οὖς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς  
πρὸς βαρβάρους διήνεγκε τούς τε ἐφους καὶ  
ἐσπερίους, ὡς πη· αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ ἔνυνηέχθη γε-  
νέσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη ὁ μέγας αἰών  
λόγου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ  
καταπρόται καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξίτηλα θῆται,  
ῶνπερ τὴν μυήμην αὐτὸς φέτο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι  
καὶ ἔνυοῖσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ  
τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἴ ποτε καὶ  
αὐθις ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὄμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
- 2 ἀνάγκην διάθοιτο. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμησείουσι καὶ  
ἄλλως ἀγωνιουμένοις δυησίν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι  
οἴα τέ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἴστορίας ἐπίδειξι,  
ἀποκαλύπτουσα μὲν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγενη-  
μένοις τὰ τῆς ὄμοίας ἀγωνίας ἔχώρησεν, αἰνισσο-  
μένη δὲ ὅποίαν τινὰ τελευτὴν τοῖς γε ὡς ἄριστα  
βουλευομένοις<sup>1</sup> τὰ παρόντα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξει.
- 3 καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ ἔνυηπίστατο πάντων μάλιστα

<sup>1</sup> βουλευομένοις Dindorf : βουλομένοις MSS.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK I

## THE PERSIAN WAR

### I

Procopius of Caesarea has written the history of the wars which Justinian, Emperor of the Romans, waged against the barbarians of the East and of the West, relating separately the events of each one, to the end that the long course of time may not overwhelm deeds of singular importance through lack of a record, and thus abandon them to oblivion and utterly obliterate them. The memory of these events he deemed would be a great thing and most helpful to men of the present time, and to future generations as well, in case time should ever again place men under a similar stress. For men who purpose to enter upon a war or are preparing themselves for any kind of struggle may derive some benefit from a narrative of a similar situation in history, inasmuch as this discloses the final result attained by men of an earlier day in a struggle of the same sort, and foreshadows, at least for those who are most prudent in planning, what outcome present events will probably have. Furthermore he had assurance that

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- δυνατὸς ὡν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,  
ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβούλῳ ἥρημένῳ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ  
στρατηγῷ σχεδόν τι ἀπασι παραγενέσθαι τοῖς  
4 πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. πρέπειν τε ἡγεῖτο ῥητο-  
ρικὴ μὲν δεινότητα, ποιητικὴ δὲ μυθοποιίαν,  
5 ξυγγραφῆ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ του  
τῶν οἱ ἐς ἄγαν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀπεκρύ-  
ψατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἔκαστα  
ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἴτε εὐ εἴτε πη  
ἄλλῃ αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη.
- 6 Κρεῖσσον δὲ οὐδὲν ἡ ἴσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν  
τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκότων τῷ γε ὡς  
ἀληθῶς τεκμηριούσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται.  
7 πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὡν  
ἀκοῇ ἵσμεν· θαυμαστὰ οἰα, ἦν μή τις τῶν τάδε  
ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα  
διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ  
8 οἰεσθαι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν  
στρατευομένους ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοξότας, ἀγχε-  
μάχους δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδιώτας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄπτα  
ὄνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἐθέλουσι νέμειν, ταύ-  
την τε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐς τοῦτον ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χρό-  
νον ἥκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαίπωρόν γε καὶ τῆς  
πείρας ἀπωτάτω τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν παιούμενοι  
9 δόξαν. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἔννοια  
γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ' Ομήρῳ τοξεύουσιν,  
οἰσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὄνομαξο-  
μένοις ξυνέβαινεν, οὐχ ὑππος ὑπῆν, οὐ δόρυ, οὐκ

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. i. 3-9

he was especially competent to write the history of these events, if for no other reason, because it fell to his lot, when appointed adviser to the general Belisarius, to be an eye-witness of practically all the events to be described. It was his conviction that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to poetry, truth alone is appropriate to history. In accordance with this principle he has not concealed the failures of even his most intimate acquaintances, but has written down with complete accuracy everything which befell those concerned, whether it happened to be done well or ill by them.

It will be evident that no more important or mightier deeds are to be found in history than those which have been enacted in these wars,—provided one wishes to base his judgment on the truth. For in them more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable. There are those, for example, who call the soldiers of the present day "bowmen," while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as "hand-to-hand fighters," "shield-men," and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present,—an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term<sup>1</sup> derived from their art, they were neither carried by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xi. 385 τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπίκα, the only place where τοξότης occurs in Homer.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀσπὶς ἥμανεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυλακτήριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεζὸν μὲν ἐς μάχην ἤεσαν, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἔταιρου<sup>1</sup> του ἐκλεγομένοις ἀσπίδα ἡ στήλη ἐπὶ τοῦ βραχίονος  
 10 τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, ἕνθα οὕτε τρεπομενοι διασώζεσθαι οὕτε φεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι οἷοι τε ἡσαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλά τι<sup>2</sup> κλέπτειν ἐδόκουν ἀεὶ τῶν  
 11 ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ γινομένων. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχρῶντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἴτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίεσαν κωφόν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαύτη μέν τις οὐσα  
 12 ἡ τοξεία φαίνεται πρότερον. οἱ δέ γε ταῦν τοξόται ἵασι μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κυημῆδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυν. ἥρτηται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη,  
 13 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ δόρυ προσαποκρέμαται καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων ἀσπὶς ὁχάνου χωρίς, οἷα τά τε ἀμφὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ <τὸν><sup>3</sup> αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτειν.  
 14 ἵππεύονται δὲ ὡς ἄριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτοῖς ὡς τάχιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐντείνειν οἷοι τέ εἰσιν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα καὶ διώκοντάς  
 15 τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. Ἐλκεται δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἡ νευρὰ παρ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὥτων τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλᾶσα τὸ βέλος, ὥστε τὸν ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὕτε ἀσπίδος ἵσως οὕτε θώρακος

<sup>1</sup> ἔταιρον Maltretus, cod. e : ἔτέρου VP.

<sup>2</sup> τι Maltretus : τῷ V, τὸ P.

<sup>3</sup> <τὸν> Hoeschel.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. i. 9-15

horse nor protected by spear or shield.<sup>1</sup> In fact there was no protection at all for their bodies; they entered battle on foot, and were compelled to conceal themselves, either singling out the shield of some comrade,<sup>2</sup> or seeking safety behind a tombstone on a mound,<sup>3</sup> from which position they could neither save themselves in case of rout, nor fall upon a flying foe. Least of all could they participate in a decisive struggle in the open, but they always seemed to be stealing something which belonged to the men who were engaged in the struggle. And apart from this they were so indifferent in their practice of archery that they drew the bowstring only to the breast,<sup>4</sup> so that the missile sent forth was naturally impotent and harmless to those whom it hit.<sup>5</sup> Such, it is evident, was the archery of the past. But the bowmen of the present time go into battle wearing corselets and fitted out with greaves which extend up to the knee. From the right side hang their arrows, from the other the sword. And there are some who have a spear also attached to them and, at the shoulders, a sort of small shield without a grip, such as to cover the region of the face and neck. They are expert horsemen, and are able without difficulty to direct their bows to either side while riding at full speed, and to shoot an opponent whether in pursuit or in flight. They draw the bowstring along by the forehead about opposite the right ear, thereby charging the arrow with such an impetus as to kill whoever stands in the way, shield and corselet alike

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* v. 192.      <sup>2</sup> Cf. *Iliad* viii. 267; xi. 371.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Iliad* iv. 113.      <sup>4</sup> Cf. *Iliad* iv. 123.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xi. 390.

## PROCOPius OF CAESAREA

16 ἀποκρούεσθαι τι δυναμένου τῆς ρύμης. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τούτων ἡκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ τεθῆπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιτεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κωλύσει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐν 17 τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ἀρξαμένοις μικρὸν ἄνωθεν δσα Ῥωμαίοις ξυνηνέχθη καὶ Μήδοις πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ δρᾶσαι.

### II

1 Ἡνίκα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτᾶν ἡμελλεν (ἥν γάρ οἱ παῖς Θεοδόσιος οὗπω τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγεῖς), διηπορεῦτο ἀμφὶ τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὐ 2 θέσθαι ἀμφω ὡς ἡκιστα ἔχων. ἐγίνετο γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὡς, ἦν μὲν κοινωνόν τινα Θεοδοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζηται, αὐτὸς δὲν τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχροσάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἴη, πολέμουν αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασίλειον περιβε 3 βλημένον ἐπαγαγών, ἦν δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσηται, πολλοὶ μὲν τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβατεύσουσι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ οὐδὲν τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Θεοδόσιον διαφθείραντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυγγενῆ εἶχεν δστις 4 δὲν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἴη. Ὄνωριον γάρ οἱ τὸν θεῖον ἐπαρκέσειν οὐδαμῆ ἥλπισε, ποιηρῶν ἥδη 5 τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων δντων. οὐδὲν δὲ ἥσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσε,

<sup>1</sup> πλέον Maltretus : πλέονa VP.

having no power to check its force. Still there are those who take into consideration none of these things, who reverence and worship the ancient times, and give no credit to modern improvements. But no such consideration will prevent the conclusion that most great and notable deeds have been performed in these wars. And the history of them will begin at some distance back, telling of the fortunes in war of the Romans and the Medes, their reverses and their successes.

## II

WHEN the Roman Emperor Arcadius was at the point of death in Byzantium, having a malechild, Theodosius, who was still unweaned, he felt grave fears not only for him but for the government as well, not knowing how he should provide wisely for both. For he perceived that, if he provided a partner in government for Theodosius, he would in fact be destroying his own son by bringing forward against him a foe clothed in the regal power; while if he set him alone over the empire, many would try to mount the throne, taking advantage, as they might be expected to do, of the helplessness of the child. These men would rise against the government, and, after destroying Theodosius, would make themselves tyrants without difficulty, since the boy had no kinsman in Byzantium to be his guardian. For Arcadius had no hope that the boy's uncle, Honorius, would succour him, inasmuch as the situation in Italy was already troublesome. And he was equally disturbed by the attitude of the Medes, fearing lest

408 A.D.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- δεδιότα μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ούτοι τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καταθέοντες ἡλικίας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα  
6 Ῥωμαίους δράσωσιν. ἐς ταύτην Ἀρκάδιος τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, καίπερ οὐ γεγονὼς εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγχίους, βουλεύεται βουλὴν ἦτεις οἱ τόν τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώσασθαι εὐπετῶς ἵσχυσεν, εἴτε κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίων τισίν, οἷοι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖ παρεδρεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἢ  
7 θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης. διαθήκης γὰρ διαθὲται γράμματα, διάδοχον μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνεῖπε τὸν παῖδα, ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, φῶ δὴ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐπέσκηψε Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν σθένει τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ  
8 ξυνδιασώσασθαι. Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὅδε τήν τε ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἀπενεχθὲν εἶδεν, ὃν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τρόπου μεγαλοφροσύνη διαβόητος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο θαύματός τε πολλοῦ καὶ λόγου  
9 ἀξίαν. τὰς γὰρ Ἀρκαδίου ἐντολὰς ἐν ἀλογίᾳ οὐδεμιᾶ ποιησάμενος εἰρήνη τε ἀφθόνῳ χρώμενος διαγέγονεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πάντα χρονον καὶ  
10 Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεσώσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν γράμματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπίτροπός τε οὐκ ἀπαρνούμενος Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως είναι καὶ πόλεμον ἐπανατεινόμενος, ἦν τις αὐτῷ ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐγχειροίη καθίστασθαι.  
11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδόσιος μὲν ἀνήρ τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἡλικίας πόρρω ἀφίκτο, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο, ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ

these barbarians should trample down the youthful emperor and do the Romans irreparable harm. When Arcadius was confronted with this difficult situation, though he had not shown himself sagacious in other matters, he devised a plan which was destined to preserve without trouble both his child and his throne, either as a result of conversation with certain of the learned men, such as are usually found in numbers among the advisers of a sovereign, or from some divine inspiration which came to him. For in drawing up the writings of his will, he designated the child as his successor to the throne, but appointed as guardian over him Isdigerdes, the Persian King, enjoining upon him earnestly in his will to preserve the empire for Theodosius by all his power and foresight. So Arcadius died, having thus arranged his private affairs as well as those of the empire. But Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he saw this writing which was duly delivered to him, being even before a sovereign whose nobility of character had won for him the greatest renown, did then display a virtue at once amazing and remarkable. For, loyally observing the behests of Arcadius, he adopted and continued without interruption a policy of profound peace with the Romans, and thus preserved the empire for Theodosius. Indeed, he straightway dispatched a letter to the Roman senate, not declining the office of guardian of the Emperor Theodosius, and threatening war against any who should attempt to enter into a conspiracy against him.

When Theodosius had grown to manhood and was in the prime of life, and Isdigerdes had been taken from the world by disease, Vararanes, the Persian King, invaded the Roman domains with a mighty

441 A.D.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

μεγάλῳ, ἔδρασε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἀπρακτος  
 12 ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἀνατό-  
 λιον τὸν τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸν Θεοδόσιος [δ] βασι-  
 λεὺς πρεσβευτὴν ἐσ Πέρσας μόνου αὐτὸν ἐτύγχανε  
 πέμψας· δις ἐπειδὴ ἀγχιστα ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Μήδων  
 στρατοῦ, ἀποθρώσκει μὲν τοῦ ἵππου μόνος, πεζῇ  
 13 δὲ βαδίζων ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνην ἦει. καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐα-  
 ραράνης ἴδων τῶν παρόντων ἀνεπινθάνετο ὅστις  
 ποτὲ ὁ προσιὼν εἴη. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι  
 14 στρατηγὸν ἔφασαν. καταπλαγεὶς οὖν τῷ ὑπερ-  
 βάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς<sup>1</sup> στρέψας  
 τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω ἀπῆλαυνε, καὶ οἱ ἄπας ὁ τῶν  
 15 Περσῶν λεῶς εἴπετο. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν γῇ τῇ  
 οἰκείᾳ τόν τε πρεσβευτὴν ἔνν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ  
 εἶδε, καὶ τὴν εὐρήνην ἔννεχώρησεν οὗτος ὁσπερ  
 Ἀνατόλιος αὐτοῦ ἔχρηζεν, ἐφ' ὧ μέντοι μηδέτεροι  
 ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκείῳ ἐν γειτόνων τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων  
 ὄρίοις δύτι δχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐργάζονται. οὐ  
 δὴ αὐτοῖς ἔξειργασμένου ἐκάτεροι, τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπη  
 ἐβούλοντο ἐπρασσον.

### III

- 1 Χρέων δὲ ὑστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς  
 πρὸς τὸ Οὔννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὗσπερ  
 λευκοὺς ὄνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὄρίων διέ-  
 φερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 2 ἦει. Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ Οὔννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε

army; however he did no damage, but returned to his home without accomplishing anything. This came about in the following way. Anatolius, General of the East, had, as it happened, been sent by the Emperor Theodosius as ambassador to the Persians, alone and unaccompanied; as he approached the Median army, solitary as he was, he leapt down from his horse, and advanced on foot toward Vararanes. And when Vararanes saw him, he enquired from those who were near who this man could be who was coming forward. And they replied that he was the general of the Romans. Thereupon the king was so dumbfounded by this excessive degree of respect that he himself wheeled his horse about and rode away, and the whole Persian host followed him. When he had reached his own territory, he received the envoy with great cordiality, and granted the treaty of peace on the terms which Anatolius desired of him; one condition, however, he added, that neither party should construct any new fortification in his own territory in the neighbourhood of the boundary line between the two countries. When this treaty had been executed, both sovereigns then continued to administer the affairs of their respective countries as seemed best to them.

## III

AT a later time the Persian King Pérozes became involved in a war concerning boundaries with the nation of the Ephthalitae Huns, who are called White Huns, gathered an imposing army, and marched against them. The Ephthalitae are of the stock of the Huns in fact as well as in name; however they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἡ ἐπεχωριάζουσιν Οὔννων τισὶν ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὕτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὅμορον ἔχουσιν οὕτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα φέρονται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὐ δὴ πόλις Γοργὼ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὁρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς 3 ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Ούννικα ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς 4 τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔδρυνται. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποίηνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ξὺν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὔννων οὗτοι λευκοί τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς 5 ὅψεις εἰσίν. οὐ μὴν οὕτε τὴν δίαιταν ὁμοιότροπον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὕτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἡπερ ἐκεῖνοι ξῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἐνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὄρθως καὶ δικαίως ξυμβάλλουσι, 6 Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἡσσον. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἔταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἀν οὕτω τύχοι, ἡ τούτων πλείους, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ξυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος 7 ἔξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὖσης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῷ αὐτοὺς ἔταιρισαμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ξυμβαίη, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος.

8 Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ξυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτής, δις δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρε-

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iii. 2-8

do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us, for they occupy a land neither adjoining nor even very near to them ; but their territory lies immediately to the north of Persia ; indeed their city, called Gorgo, is located over against the Persian frontier, and is consequently the centre of frequent contests concerning boundary lines between the two peoples. For they are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but for a long period have been established in a goodly land. As a result of this they have never made any incursion into the Roman territory except in company with the Median army. They are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances which are not ugly. It is also true that their manner of living is unlike that of their kinsmen, nor do they live a savage life as they do ; but they are ruled by one king, and since they possess a lawful constitution, they observe right and justice in their dealings both with one another and with their neighbours, in no degree less than the Romans and the Persians. Moreover, the wealthy citizens are in the habit of attaching to themselves friends to the number of twenty or more, as the case may be, and these become permanently their banquet-companions, and have a share in all their property, enjoying some kind of a common right in this matter. Then, when the man who has gathered such a company together comes to die, it is the custom that all these men be borne alive into the tomb with him.

Perozes, marching against these Ephthalitae, was accompanied by an ambassador, Eusebius by name, who, as it happened, had been sent to his court by the Emperor Zeno. Now the Ephthalitae made it

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χόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν κατωρρωδη-  
κότες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐσ φυγὴν ὄρμηνται, γεσαν δρόμῳ  
ἐσ χώρον τινα ὅνπερ ὅρη ἀπότομα πάνταχόθεν  
ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐσ ἄγαν  
9 καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὄρῶν προ-  
ιόντι ως πορρωτάτῳ ὁδὸς μέν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν  
μέσῳ εὔρεια ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ  
τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῇ εἰχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐσ αὐτὸν μάλιστα  
10 τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὄρῶν ἔληγε. Περόζης μὲν οὖν,  
δόλου παντὸς ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἐννοῶν τε ως ἐν  
γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε.  
11 τῶν δὲ Οῦννων ὀλίγοι μέν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευ-  
γον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλα-  
θόντες κατὰ οὐτου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων  
στρατοῦ, οὕπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι,  
ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντός τε  
τῶν ὄρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτε ὀπίσω  
12 ἀναστρέφειν οἰοί τε ὀσιν. ὡνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθό-  
μενοι (ἥδη γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν)  
αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν  
ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὔσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἔλιπάρουν  
παραίνεσιν ἐσ τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν  
ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλεύεσθαι  
μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ δια-  
σκοπεῖσθαι ἦν τίς ποτε μηχανὴ ἐσ σωτηρίαν  
13 φέρουσα εἴη. ὁ δὲ Περόζης ἐσ δύψιν ἐλθὼν τύχην  
μὲν τὴν παρούσαν ως ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξά-  
μενος δὲ μυθοποιίας λέοντά ποτε τράγῳ ἔφασκεν  
ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου  
τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν  
λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὄρμῆσαι μὲν ως ἀρπάσοντα,

appear to their enemy that they had turned to flight because they were wholly terrified by their attack, and they retired with all speed to a place which was shut in on every side by precipitous mountains, and abundantly screened by a close forest of wide-spreading trees: Now as one advanced between the mountains to a great distance, a broad way appeared in the valley, extending apparently to an indefinite distance, but at the end it had no outlet at all, but terminated in the very midst of the circle of mountains. So Perozes, with no thought at all of treachery, and forgetting that he was marching in a hostile country, continued the pursuit without the least caution. A small body of the Huns were in flight before him, while the greater part of their force, by concealing themselves in the rough country, got in the rear of the hostile army; but as yet they desired not to be seen by them, in order that they might advance well into the trap and get as far as possible in among the mountains, and thus be no longer able to turn back. When the Medes began to realize all this (for they now began to have a glimmering of their peril), though they refrained from speaking of the situation themselves through fear of Perozes, yet they earnestly entreated Eusebius to urge upon the king, who was completely ignorant of his own plight, that he should take counsel rather than make an untimely display of daring, and consider well whether there was any way of safety open to them. So he went before Perozes, but by no means revealed the calamity which was upon them; instead he began with a fable, telling how a lion once happened upon a goat bound down and bleating on a mound of no very great height, and how the lion, bent upon

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

έμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν  
κυκλοτερῆ ἔχουσαν στενήν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασ-  
μένην (διέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν), ἦν δὴ οἱ τοῦ  
τράγου κύριοι ἔξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπερθεῖν  
τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι  
14 ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας  
ἐς δέος ἥλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφε-  
τέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποίηνται.  
καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἔχώρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ  
15 παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Οὖννοι δὲ ἥδη ἐπό-  
μενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἰσόδον ἐν  
φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω  
16 ἀπελαύνειν οἴοι τε ὡσι. καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ  
λαμπρῶς ἡσθημένοι οὖν ἡσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ  
ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν  
17 κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. ὁ δὲ  
τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην  
τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους  
πέρι ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὐδὲ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ  
τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐν-  
δώσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὔννους αὐτοῦ  
ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἦν γε αὐτὸν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν  
βούλοιτο, ἀτε δεσπότην γεγενημένου, καὶ ὄρκους  
τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὁμονὸς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη μήποτε  
Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι.  
18 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι  
κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελ-  
19 λόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἴη. οἱ δὲ  
μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ ὅπῃ οἱ  
βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι,<sup>1</sup> ἐς μέντοι

<sup>1</sup> διοικήσασθαι : Haury conjectures <δεῖν> διοικήσασθαι.

making a feast of the goat, rushed forward with intent to seize him, but fell into a trench exceedingly deep, in which was a circular path, narrow and endless (for it had no outlet anywhere), which indeed the owners of the goat had constructed for this very purpose, and they had placed the goat above it to be a bait for the lion. When Perozes heard this, a fear came over him lest perchance the Medes had brought harm upon themselves by their pursuit of the enemy. He therefore advanced no further, but, remaining where he was, began to consider the situation. By this time the Huns were following him without any concealment, and were guarding the entrance of the place in order that their enemy might no longer be able to withdraw to the rear. Then at last the Persians saw clearly in what straits they were, and they felt that the situation was desperate; for they had no hope that they would ever escape from the peril. Then the king of the Ephthalitae sent some of his followers to Perozes; he upbraided him at length for his senseless foolhardiness, by which he had wantonly destroyed both himself and the Persian people, but he announced that even so the Huns would grant them deliverance, if Perozes should consent to prostrate himself before him as having proved himself master, and, taking the oaths traditional among the Persians, should give pledges that they would never again take the field against the nation of the Ephthalitae. When Perozes heard this, he held a consultation with the Magi who were present and enquired of them whether he must comply with the terms dictated by the enemy. The Magi replied that, as to the oath, he should settle the matter according to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

20 τὸ ἔτερον σοφίᾳ περιέλθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς υόμου τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσ-  
21 κυνεῦν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη. δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρη-  
σαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν ξυγγενέσθαι μὲν  
ἄμα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμ-  
μένον δέ που πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλιον προσκυνεῖν.  
ταύτῃ γὰρ ἀν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν  
22 ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναιτο. Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφί<sup>τ</sup>  
τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον  
προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἡ ὑποθήκη  
παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων  
στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

## IV

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὄμω-  
μοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὔννους τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως  
2 ἥθελε. πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας  
τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας  
ἡγε, τῶν παίδων ἔνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον  
ἀπολιπὼν (τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἡβηκὼς ἔτυχε), τοὺς δὲ  
λοιποὺς ἄπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα.  
3 Ἐφθαλίται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθό-  
μενοί τε οἱ δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡπάτηντο τὸν  
βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἄτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ  
4 πράγματα. καὶ δις αὐτῶν ξὺν γέλωτι ἐπυνθάνετο  
τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἴη, πότερον τὴν γῆν  
5 ἡ τὰ ὅπλα ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οἱ  
δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι

his own pleasure ; as for the rest, however, he should circumvent his enemy by craft. And they reminded him that it was the custom among the Persians to prostrate themselves before the rising sun each day ; he should, therefore, watch the time closely and meet the leader of the Ephthalitae at dawn, and then, turning toward the rising sun, make his obeisance. In this way, they explained, he would be able in the future to escape the ignominy of the deed. Perozes accordingly gave the pledges concerning the peace, and prostrated himself before his foe exactly as the Magi had suggested, and so, with the whole Median army intact, gladly retired homeward.

IV

Nor long after this, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he was eager to avenge himself upon the Huns for the insult done him. He therefore straightway gathered together from the whole land all the Persians and their allies, and led them against the Ephthalitae ; of all his sons he left behind him only one, Cabades by name, who, as it happened, was just past the age of boyhood ; all the others, about thirty in number, he took with him. The Ephthalitae, upon learning of his invasion, were aggrieved at the deception they had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and bitterly reproached their king as having abandoned them to the Medes. He, with a laugh, enquired of them what in the world of theirs he had abandoned, whether their land or their arms or any other part of their possessions. They thereupon retorted that he had abandoned nothing,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὐ τἄλλα πάντα ἡρτῆσθαι  
 6 ξυμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὑπαντιάζειν  
 πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἡξίουν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν γε τῷ  
 παρόντι ἐκώλυεν. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ  
 ἔφόδῳ ἵσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρ-  
 σαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων  
 7 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἡ ἔμελλον  
 Πέρσαι ἔς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἥθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν  
 πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον  
 εἰργάσατο βαθεῖάν τε καὶ εὔρους ἰκανῶς ἔχουσαν,  
 ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῇ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν  
 8 ὅσον ἵππων ὁδῷ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. καλάμους τε τῇ  
 τάφρῳ ὑπερθεν ἐπιθεὶς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους  
 συναμησάμενος, ταύτη ἐπιπολῆς ἔκρυψεν, Οὕνων  
 τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω  
 ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσον ἔς  
 ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἴέναι,  
 φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἔς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπί-  
 9 πτοιειν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασι-  
 λείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἔς οὗ τὸν ὄρκον Περόζης  
 ὕμοσε πρότερον, διν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὕ-  
 10 νους ἐστράτευσεν. ἔως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἥσυχῇ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔς Γοργὼ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς  
 τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν  
 ὄρίοις τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῷ  
 ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥδη ἴέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείον τοῦ στρα-  
 τοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iv. 5-10

except, forsooth, the one opportunity on which, as it turned out, everything else depended. Now the Ephthalitae with all zeal demanded that they should go out to meet the invaders, but the king sought to restrain them at any rate for the moment. For he insisted that as yet they had received no definite information as to the invasion, for the Persians were still within their own boundaries. So, remaining where he was, he busied himself as follows. In the plain where the Persians were to make their irruption into the land of the Ephthalitae he marked off a tract of very great extent and made a deep trench of sufficient width; but in the centre he left a small portion of ground intact, enough to serve as a way for ten horses. Over the trench he placed reeds, and upon the reeds he scattered earth, thereby concealing the true surface. He then directed the forces of the Huns that, when the time came to retire inside the trench, they should draw themselves together into a narrow column and pass rather slowly across this neck of land, taking care that they should not fall into the ditch.<sup>1</sup> And he hung from the top of the royal banner the salt over which Perozes had once sworn the oath which he had disregarded in taking the field against the Huns. Now as long as he heard that the enemy were in their own territory, he remained at rest; but when he learned from his scouts that they had reached the city of Gorgo which lies on the extreme Persian frontier, and that departing thence they were now advancing against his army, remaining himself with the greater part of his troops inside the trench, he sent forward a small

<sup>1</sup> The trench crossed the plain in an approximately straight line. The army of the Ephthalitae were drawn up behind it, facing the advancing Persians, while a few of them went out beyond the trench to draw the attack of the Persians.

## PROCOPius OF CAESAREA

οφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε  
μακρὰν ἄποθεν, οφθέντας δὲ μόνου εἴτα ἀνὰ κράτος  
φεύγειν ὅπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ<sup>11</sup>  
τῇ κατώρυχι ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα  
ἴκοιντο. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπει τῆς  
διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐς δλίγους σφᾶς ξυ-  
αγαγόντες διέβησαν ἄπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ  
<sup>12</sup> ἀνεμίγνυντο. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτίῳ  
ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχόμενοι,  
ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἄπαντες, οὐχ οἱ  
<sup>13</sup> πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δσοι ὅπισθεν εἶποντο·  
ἄτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ξὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ  
ἐρρίθη, ποιούμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ἥσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ  
δ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ'  
ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμ-  
πεπτωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ  
<sup>14</sup> αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. ἐν οἷς καὶ  
Περόζης ἦν ξὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἄπασι. καὶ αὐ-  
τὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραβρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαι  
φασι τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἥσθησθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὃ  
οἱ λευκότατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἔντιμον  
ἔξ ὠτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ρῦψαι,  
ὅπως δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὅπίσω φοροίη, ἐπει ἀξιοθέα-  
τον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὕπω πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ  
βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες.  
<sup>15</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου  
ότουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἥλθεν, ἀλλ' οἷμαι τό τε οὓς  
αὐτῷ ἐν τουτῷ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ  
<sup>16</sup> μάργαρον ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. ὅπερ ὁ Ῥω-  
μαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθα-  
λιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν.

detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy in the plain, and, when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed to the rear, keeping in mind his command concerning the trench as soon as they drew near to it. They did as directed, and, as they approached the trench, they drew themselves into a narrow column, and all passed over and joined the rest of the army. But the Persians, having no means of perceiving the stratagem, gave chase at full speed across a very level plain, possessed as they were by a spirit of fury against the enemy, and fell into the trench, every man of them, not alone the first but also those who followed in the rear. For since they entered into the pursuit with great fury, as I have said, they failed to notice the catastrophe which had befallen their leaders, but fell in on top of them with their horses and lances, so that, as was natural, they both destroyed them, and were themselves no less involved in ruin. Among them were Perozes and all his sons. And just as he was about to fall into this pit, they say that he realized the danger, and seized and threw from him the pearl which hung from his right ear,—a gem of wonderful whiteness and greatly prized on account of its extraordinary size—in order, no doubt, that no one might wear it after him; for it was a thing exceedingly beautiful to look upon, such as no king before him had possessed. This story, however, seems to me untrustworthy, because a man who found himself in such peril would have thought of nothing else; but I suppose that his ear was crushed in this disaster, and the pearl disappeared somewhere or other. This pearl the Roman Emperor then made every effort to buy from the Ephthalitae, but was utterly unsuccessful.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς εὑρέσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ζήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλίτας εὑρομένους αὐτὸν ὑστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι.

- 17 "Οσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· ἵσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ 18 παντάπασιν ἀπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἔστι, νῆχεσθαι δὲ τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτης ηἰόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀνεωγέναι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφῳ τὰ δστρακα, ὃν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἴκασθῆναι οὐδαμῆ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ 19 παντὸς χρόνου. κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυâ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἵχνος αὐτῷ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ήμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ήνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθείη, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδίμων, εύροντα δέ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἔσθίειν μὲν δτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος 20 αὐθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπίπλασθαι. καὶ ποτε τῶν τινα γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιδεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκυῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἕς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόζην ἀπαντα τὸν 21 λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἡ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπείαις τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον 22 καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπάραι. δν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότῃ οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν “Ω δέσποτα, ποθεινὰ μὲν ἀν-

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iv. 16-22

For the barbarians were not able to find it although they sought it with great labour. However, they say that the Ephthalitae found it later and sold it to Cabades.

The story of this pearl, as told by the Persians, is worth recounting, for perhaps to some it may not seem altogether incredible. For they say that it was lodged in its oyster in the sea which washes the Persian coast, and that the oyster was swimming not far from the shore; both its valves were standing open and the pearl lay between them, a wonderful sight and notable, for no pearl in all history could be compared with it at all, either in size or in beauty. A shark, then, of enormous size and dreadful fierceness, fell in love with this sight and followed close upon it, leaving it neither day nor night; even when he was compelled to take thought for food, he would only look about for something eatable where he was, and when he found some bit, he would snatch it up and eat it hurriedly; then overtaking the oyster immediately, he would sate himself again with the sight he loved. At length a fisherman, they say, noticed what was passing, but in terror of the monster he recoiled from the danger; however, he reported the whole matter to the king, Perozes. Now when Perozes heard his account, they say that a great longing for the pearl came over him, and he urged on this fisherman with many flatteries and hopes of reward. Unable to resist the importunities of the monarch, he is said to have addressed Perozes as follows: "My master, precious to a man is money,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- θρώπω χρήματα, ποθεινοτέρα δὲ ἡ ψυχή, πάντων  
23 μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. ὃν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκα-  
σθεὶς φύσει ἵσως ἄν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν.  
ἔγω τοίνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ  
24 μαργάρου σε κύριον θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα ἔχω. καὶ  
ἡν μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὔδηλον ὡς  
ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι.  
σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε  
βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀπο-  
χρήσει, καίπερ οὐδέν, ἣν οὕτω τύχοι, κεκομισμέ-  
νῳ, τὸ δεσπότου εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενήσθαι.  
25 εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἀλῶναι, σὸν δὴ  
ἔργον ἔσται, ὡς βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς  
26 θανάτου τοῦ πατρόφου ἀμείψασθαι. οὕτω γὰρ  
ἔγω μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις  
ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀποίσῃ  
μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὡφελῶν εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ  
δισπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῆ  
εἴσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἣν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος  
γένοιτο μόνη ἡ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα.”  
27 τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν  
χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεὶς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ  
κύων αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ἔπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας  
ἐκάθητό τινος, καιροφυλακῶν εἰς πως ἔρημόν ποτε  
28 τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἑραστοῦ λάβοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ  
κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδείως  
ἔχόντων ἐντετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο  
διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἀλιεὺς  
τούς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἐπομένους τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺς  
τοῦ κτένὸς σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἤσι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἥδη  
λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἡπειρυτο.  
29 οὐ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἴδων

more precious still is his life, but most prized of all are his children ; and being naturally constrained by his love for them a man might perhaps dare anything. Now I intend to make trial of the monster, and hope to make thee master of the pearl. And if I succeed in this struggle, it is plain that henceforth I shall be ranked among those who are counted blessed. For it is not unlikely that thou, as King of Kings, wilt reward me with all good things ; and for me it will be sufficient, even if it so fall out that I gain no reward, to have shown myself a benefactor of my master. But if it must needs be that I become the prey of this monster, thy task indeed it will be, O King, to requite my children for their father's death. Thus even after my death I shall still be a wage-earner among those closest to me, and thou wilt win greater fame for thy goodness,—for in helping my children thou wilt confer a boon upon me, who shall have no power to thank thee for the benefit—because generosity is seen to be without alloy only when it is displayed towards the dead.” With these words he departed. And when he came to the place where the oyster was accustomed to swim and the shark to follow, he seated himself there upon a rock, watching for an opportunity of catching the pearl alone without its admirer. As soon as it came about that the shark had happened upon something which would serve him for food, and was delaying over it, the fisherman left upon the beach those who were following him for this service, and made straight for the oyster with all his might ; already he had seized it and was hastening with all speed to get out of the water, when the shark noticed him and rushed to the rescue. The fisherman saw him coming, and,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τε αὐτὸν ὁ σαγηνευτής, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι  
τῆς ἡιόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν θήραμα  
ἡκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ  
30 ἀλοὺς διεφθάρη οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ἀνελόμενοι  
δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμένοι τῷ  
τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ἔνυνεχθέντα  
31 πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργά-  
ρῳ τούτῳ τῇδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ἔνυνεχθῆ-  
ναι φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον  
ἐπάνειμι.

32 Οὗτῳ μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ἔύμπασα  
ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὼς  
ἐσ τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων  
33 ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθειται  
Πέρσαις μή ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ ἐλαύνοντας  
δίωξιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα, ἦν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς  
34 ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπήναι ἔνυμβαίη. ὅσοι μέντοι  
Περόζη οὐ ἔνστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν  
ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἴλον-  
το τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου νιόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα  
35 περιήν μόνος. τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐσ  
φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἔως Καβάδης  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἴσχυρότατα κρατοῦν ἀμένος φόρον αὐ-  
τοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἤξιον. ἥρξαν  
δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

## V

1 Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ  
χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐσ τὴν πολιτειαν  
εἰσῆγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶ<sup>1</sup>  
μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας· ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῆ ἥρε-

when he was about to be overtaken not far from the beach, he hurled his booty with all his force upon the land, and was himself soon afterwards seized and destroyed. But the men who had been left upon the beach picked up the pearl, and, conveying it to the king, reported all that had happened. Such, then, is the story which the Persians relate, just as I have set it down, concerning this pearl. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

Thus Perozes was destroyed and the whole Persian army with him. For the few who by chance did not fall into the ditch found themselves at the mercy of the enemy. As a result of this experience a law was established among the Persians that, while marching in hostile territory, they should never engage in any pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been driven back by force. Thereupon those who had not marched with Perozes and had remained in their own land chose as their king Cabades, the youngest son of Perozes, who was then the only one surviving. At that time, then, the Persians became subject and tributary to the Ephthalitae, until Cabades had established his power most securely and no longer deemed it necessary to pay the annual tribute to them. And the time these barbarians ruled over the Persians was two years.

10  
484 A.D.

V

BUT as time went on Cabades became more high-handed in the administration of the government, and introduced innovations into the constitution, among which was a law which he promulgated providing

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε  
 2 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δῆσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. καὶ  
 βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσην τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν  
 εἶλοντο, ἐπειδὴ<sup>1</sup> γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρην  
 Περόζη, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο. Πέρσαις δὲ  
 οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐσ τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι  
 ἴδιωτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἔξιτήλου παντάπασι γένους  
 3 τοῦ βασιλείου δυτος· Βλάσης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν  
 παραλιθὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε  
 καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο· τού  
 γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτιννύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις  
 4 τοῖς πλείοσιν. ἔνθα δὴ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν  
 γυνῶμαι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν  
 τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, δνομα μὲν Γουσαν-  
 στάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα (εἴη δ' ἀν ἐν  
 Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτο γε), πρὸς αὐταῖς που  
 ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων  
 ἐν χώρᾳ ἡ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὅμορός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν  
 μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἡ τῶν ὄνυχων τὰ προῦχοντα  
 Πέρσαι εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι,<sup>2</sup> μῆκος μὲν ὅσον  
 δακτύλου ἄνδρος, πάχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον  
 5 δακτύλου ἔχουσαν “Ταύτην ὄρâτε,” εἶπε, “τὴν  
 μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὖσαν· αὕτη  
 μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οὐα τέ ἐστιν,  
 ὅπερ εὐ ἵστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὡ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι,  
 μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἄνδρῶν ἔξεργα-  
 6 ζεσθαι οὐκ ἀν δύναιντο.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, παρα-  
 δηλῶν ὡς, ἦν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα  
 7 πράγματα Πέρσαις περιών παρέξει. οἱ δὲ κτεῖναι  
 ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἴματος οὐδὲ δλως<sup>3</sup> ἔγνωσαν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ Dindorf: ἐπει δὲ VP, ἐπει G.

<sup>2</sup> ἀποτέμνεσθαι: ἀποκόπτειν G.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ δλως V: οὐδαμῶς G, οὐδόλως P.

486 A.D.

that Persians should have communal intercourse with their women, a measure which by no means pleased the common people. Accordingly they rose against him, removed him from the throne, and kept him in prison in chains. They then chose Blases, the brother of Perozes, to be their king, since, as has been said, no male offspring of Perozes was left, and it is not lawful among the Persians for any man by birth a common citizen to be set upon the throne, except in case the royal family be totally extinct. Blases, upon receiving the royal power, gathered together the nobles of the Persians and held a conference concerning Cabades; for it was not the wish of the majority to put the man to death. After the expression of many opinions on both sides there came forward a certain man of repute among the Persians, whose name was Gousanastades, and whose office that of "chanaranges" (which would be the Persian term for general); his official province lay on the very frontier of the Persian territory in a district which adjoins the land of the Ephthalitae. Holding up his knife, the kind with which the Persians were accustomed to trim their nails, of about the length of a man's finger, but not one-third as wide as a finger, he said: "You see this knife, how extremely small it is; nevertheless it is able at the present time to accomplish a deed, which, be assured, my dear Persians, a little later two myriads of mail-clad men could not bring to pass." This he said hinting that, if they did not put Cabades to death, he would straightway make trouble for the Persians. But they were altogether unwilling to put to death a man of the royal blood, and decided to confine him

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀλλ' ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι δπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν  
 8 νεομίκασιν. ἦν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχη,  
 οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ  
 θάνατος τῷ ὄνομακότι ἡ ζημία ἐστί· διὸ δὴ καὶ  
 τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν.  
 9 ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἴστορία φησὶ νόμου  
 τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελύσθαι τὴν  
 δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
- 10 Πόλεμός ποτε Πέρσαις τε καὶ Ἀρμενίοις ἀκή-  
 ρυκτος γέγονεν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπὶ  
 Πακουρίου μὲν Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, Ἀρμενίων  
 δὲ Ἀρσάκου Ἀρσακίδου ἀνδρός. τούτῳ τε τῷ  
 πολέμῳ μηκυνομένῳ κεκακώσθαι μὲν ἐς ἄγαν  
 ἀμφοτέρους ξυνέβη καὶ διαφερόντως<sup>1</sup> τοὺς Ἀρ-  
 11 μενίους. ἀπιστίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχόμενοι  
 ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐδέτεροι  
 εἶχον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πέρσας τετύχηκε πόλεμον  
 πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τινὰς οὐ πόρρω Ἀρμενίων  
 12 ὥκημένους διενεγκεῖν. οἵ τε Ἀρμένιοι ἐν σπουδῇ  
 ἔχοντες ἐπίδειξιν ἐς Πέρσας τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιας  
 τε καὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσασθαι, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τούτων  
 δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν γῆν ἔγυνωσαν, δηλώσαντες  
 13 τοῦτο πρότερον Πέρσαις. ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοὶ  
 ἐπιπεσόντες σχεδόν τι ἄπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν.  
 ὃ τε Πακούριος τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπερησθείς,  
 πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀρσάκην τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων  
 τινὰς τά τε πιστά οἱ παρασχόμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 14 μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἀφί-  
 κετο, τῆς τε ἄλλης αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνης ἤξιώσε  
 15 καὶ ἄτε ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἵση καὶ ὄμοιᾳ ἐσχε. καὶ  
 τότε μὲν ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην

in a castle which it is their habit to call the "Prison of Oblivion." For if anyone is cast into it, the law permits no mention of him to be made thereafter, but death is the penalty for the man who speaks his name ; for this reason it has received this title among the Persians. On one occasion, however, the History of the Armenians relates that the operation of the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was suspended by the Persians in the following way.

There was once a truceless war, lasting two and thirty years, between the Persians and the Armenians, when Pacurius was king of the Persians, and of the Armenians, Arsaces, of the line of the Arsacidae. And by the long continuance of this war it came about that both sides suffered beyond measure, and especially the Armenians. But each nation was possessed by such great distrust of the other that neither of them could make overtures of peace to their opponents. In the meantime it happened that the Persians became engaged in a war with certain other barbarians who lived not far from the Armenians. Accordingly the Armenians, in their eagerness to make a display to the Persians of their goodwill and desire for peace, decided to invade the land of these barbarians, first revealing their plan to the Persians. Then they fell upon them unexpectedly and killed almost the whole population, old and young alike. Thereupon Pacurius, who was overjoyed at the deed, sent certain of his trusted friends to Arsaces, and giving him pledges of security, invited him to his presence. And when Arsaces came to him he showed him every kindness, and treated him as a brother on an equal footing with himself. Then he bound him by the most solemn oaths, and he himself swore likewise,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

*καταλαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι ἡσσον ὁμωμοκῶς  
ἢ μὴν εὔνους τε καὶ ξυμμάχους Πέρσας τε τὸ  
λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, αὐτίκα δὴ  
αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ἀφῆκεν ιέναι.*

- 16 *Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διέβαλον τὸν  
Ἀρσάκην τινὲς ὡς δὴ πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχει-  
ρεῖν βούλοιτο. οἰσπερ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ Πακούριος  
αὐθις αὐτὸν μετεπέμπετο, ὑπειπὼν δτι δὴ αὐτῷ  
τι κοινολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δλων ἐπιμελὲς εἴη.*
- 17 *καὶ δι οὐδέν τι μελλήσας ἐς<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν ἥλθεν, ἄλλους  
τε τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις μαχιμωτάτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ  
Βασίκιον ὅσπερ αὐτῷ στρατηγός τε καὶ ξύμβου-  
λος ἦν· ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον*
- 18 *ἀφίκτο. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Πακούριος ἄμφω, τόν τε Ἀρ-  
σάκην καὶ Βασίκιον, πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν,  
εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότε οὕτω δὴ τάχιστα ἐς  
ἀπόστασιν ἴδοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπηρνοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπώ-  
μνυνον ἐνδελεχέστατα μηδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς βεβου-*
- 19 *λεῦσθαι τοιοῦτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα ὁ Πακούριος  
αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν μάγων*
- 20 *ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὃ τι οἱ ποιητέα ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴη. οἱ  
δὲ μάγοι τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων καὶ οὐ διαρρήδην  
ἐληλεγμένων καταγινώσκειν οὐδαμῆ ἐδικαίουν,  
ὑποθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ τινα ἔφραζον, ὅπως ἀν Ἀρσά-  
κης αὐτὸς ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἀναγκά-  
ζοιτο. τὸ γὰρ τῆς Βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κόπρῳ  
καλύπτειν ἐκέλευον, ἥμισυ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν*
- 21 *χώρας, θάτερον δὲ ἥμισυ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ ὁ*
- 22 *Βασίλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. τοτε δὴ οἱ μάγοι  
τὴν σκηνὴν δλην μαγεύαις τισὶ καταλαβόντες*

<sup>1</sup> *εἰς VP: επ' G.*

that in very truth the Persians and Armenians should thenceforth be friends and allies to each other; thereafter he straightway dismissed Arsaces to return to his own country.

Not long after this certain persons slandered Arsaces, saying that he was purposing to undertake some seditious enterprise. Pacurius was persuaded by these men and again summoned him, intimating that he was anxious to confer with him on general matters. And he, without any hesitation at all, came to the king, taking with him several of the most warlike among the Armenians, and among them Bassicius, who was at once his general and counsellor; for he was both brave and sagacious to a remarkable degree. Straightway, then, Pacurius heaped reproach and abuse upon both Arsaces and Bassicius, because, disregarding the sworn compact, they had so speedily turned their thoughts toward secession. They, however, denied the charge, and swore most insistently that no such thing had been considered by them. At first, therefore, Pacurius kept them under guard in disgrace, but after a time he enquired of the Magi what should be done with them. Now the Magi deemed it by no means just to condemn men who denied their guilt and had not been explicitly found guilty, but they suggested to him an artifice by which Arsaces himself might be compelled to become openly his own accuser. They bade him cover the floor of the royal tent with earth, one half from the land of Persia, and the other half from Armenia. This the king did as directed. Then the Magi, after putting the whole tent under a spell by means of some magic rites, bade the king take his walk there

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- έκέλευον τὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ Ἀρσάκη τοὺς περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπικαλοῦντα τοῖς τε
- 23 ξυγκειμένοις καὶ ὄμωμοσμένοις λυμήνασθαι. δεῖν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ διαλόγῳ παραγενέσθαι. οὗτω γὰρ ἀν τῶν λόγων μάρτυρες ἀπάντων εἰεν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ὁ Πακούριος τὸν Ἀρσάκην μεταπεμψάμενος διαύλους ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐποιεῖτο, παρόντων σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάγων, καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τὰ ὄμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκώς εἴτα Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους αὐθις τρίβειν
- 24 ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς ἐγχειροίῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης, ἔως μὲν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο οὐδὲ ὁ χοῦς ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐπέκειτο, ἀπηρνεῖτο τε καὶ ὅρκοις τοῖς δεινοτάτοις πιστούμενος ἀνδράποδον
- 25 ἴσχυρίζετο εἶναι Πακουρίου πιστόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ μεταξὺ λέγων ἐς τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ μέσον ἀφίκτο, ἵνα δὴ κόπρον τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκ οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς λόγους μὲν τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ θρασύτερον ἔξαπιναίως μεταβιβάζει, ἀπειλῶν δὲ τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ καὶ Πέρσαις οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλὰ τίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγέλλετο ὑβρεως τῆσδε ἐπει-
- 26 δὰν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τάχιστα κύριος γένοιτο. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων τε καὶ νεανιευόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν περίπατον δλον, ἔως ἀναστρέψας ἐς κόπρον αὐθις τὴν ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἀφίκετο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ πάλιν ὕσπερ τινὰ παλινφθίαν ἄδων ἰκέτης τε ἦν καὶ οἰκτρούς τινας τῷ Πακουρίῳ προϋφερε λόγους.
- 27 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χοῦν αὐθις τὸν<sup>1</sup> Ἀρμενίων ἥλθεν, ἐς τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀπεχώρησε. καὶ πολλάκις οὗτω μεταβληθεὶς ἐφ' ἔκάτερα ἔκρυψε τῶν οἱ ἀπορρήτων οὐδέν. τότε δὴ οἱ μάγοι κατέγνωσαν

<sup>1</sup> τὸν Dindorf: τῶν MSS.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. v. 22-28

in company with Arsaces, reproaching him meanwhile with having violated the sworn agreement. They said, further, that they too must be present at the conversation, for in this way there would be witnesses of all that was said. Accordingly Pacurius straightway summoned Arsaces, and began to walk to and fro with him in the tent in the presence of the Magi; he enquired of the man why he had disregarded his sworn promises, and was setting about to harass the Persians and Armenians once more with grievous troubles. Now as long as the conversation took place on the ground which was covered with the earth from the land of Persia, Arsaces continued to make denial, and, pledging himself with the most fearful oaths, insisted that he was a faithful subject of Pacurius. But when, in the midst of his speaking, he came to the centre of the tent where they stepped upon Armenian earth, then, compelled by some unknown power, he suddenly changed the tone of his words to one of defiance, and from then on ceased not to threaten Pacurius and the Persians, announcing that he would have vengeance upon them for this insolence as soon as he should become his own master. These words of youthful folly he continued to utter as they walked all the way, until turning back, he came again to the earth from the Persian land. Thereupon, as if chanting a recantation, he was once more a suppliant, offering pitiable explanations to Pacurius. But when he came again to the Armenian earth, he returned to his threats. In this way he changed many times to one side and the other, and concealed none of his secrets. Then at length the Magi passed judgment

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὐτοῦ ἔστι τὰς σπουδὰς καὶ τοὺς δρκους ἡδικη-  
κέναι. Πάκούριος δὲ Βασικίου μὲν τὸ δέρμα  
ἐκδείρας ἀσκόν τε αὐτὸν πεποιημένος καὶ ἀχύρων  
ἔμπλησάμενος ὅλον ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς  
29 ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. τὸν μέντοι Ἀρσάκην (ἀποκτεῖναι  
γάρ ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἴματος δυτα οὐδαμῆ  
εἰχεν) ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξε.  
30 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ τε  
Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων καὶ οἱ ἐπι-  
σπομένων<sup>1</sup> ἔστι τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη ἵόντι, Πέρσαις ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τι ἔθνος ἴοντι βαρβαρικὸν ξυνεστράτευσεν· διὸ δὴ  
ἄνήρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, ὁρῶντος  
Πακουρίου τὰ ποιούμενα, γέγονε καὶ τῆς νίκης  
31 αἰτιώτατος Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Πακούριος  
ὅτι ἀν βούλοιτο αἰτεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ισχυρισάμενος  
32 ὅτι δὴ οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο  
οἱ οὐδὲν γενέσθαι ἡξίου ἦ ὥστε τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἐν  
33 ἡμέρᾳ μᾶ ὑεραπεῦσαι ἦ βούλοιτο. τοῦτο τὸν  
βασιλέα ἡνίασε μὲν ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα, εἰ λύειν  
νόμον οὕτω δὴ παλαιὸν ἀναγκάζοιτο,<sup>2</sup> διπος μέντοι  
παντάπασιν ἀληθίζηται, ξυνεχώρει τὴν δέησιν  
34 ἐπιτελῆ γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαν-  
τος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ, ἡσπάσαστο  
μὲν τὸν Ἀρσάκην, ἄφμω δὲ ἀλλήλοιν περι-  
βαλόντε ἐθρηνησάτην τε ἡδύν τινα θρῆνον καὶ  
ἀπολοφυραμένω τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην μόλις ἀπ'  
ἀλλήλοιν διαλύειν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας ἐκάτερος  
35 ἔσχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὁδυρμῶν ἐσ κόρον ἐλθόντες  
ἐπαύσαντο, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὸν Ἀρσάκην

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισπομένων : ἐπισπόμενος V, ἐπισπόμενος P.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναγκάζοιτο G pr. m. : ἀναγκάζηται VG corr., ἀναγκά-  
ζεται P.

against him as having violated the treaty and the oaths. Pacurius flayed Bassicius, and, making a bag of his skin, filled it with chaff and suspended it from a lofty tree. As for Arsaces, since Pacurius could by no means bring himself to kill a man of the royal blood, he confined him in the Prison of Oblivion.

After a time, when the Persians were marching against a barbarian nation, they were accompanied by an Armenian who had been especially intimate with Arsaces and had followed him when he went into the Persian land. This man proved himself a capable warrior in this campaign, as Pacurius observed, and was the chief cause of the Persian victory. For this reason Pacurius begged him to make any request he wished, assuring him that he would be refused nothing by him. The Armenian asked for nothing else than that he might for one day pay homage to Arsaces in the way he might desire. Now it annoyed the king exceedingly, that he should be compelled to set aside a law so ancient; however, in order to be wholly true to his word, he permitted that the request be granted. When the man found himself by the king's order in the Prison of Oblivion, he greeted Arsaces, and both men, embracing each other, joined their voices in a sweet lament, and, bewailing the hard fate that was upon them, were able only with difficulty to release each other from the embrace. Then, when they had sated themselves with weeping and ceased from tears, the Armenian bathed Arsaces, and completely

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καὶ τἄλλα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ἐκόσμησε, σχῆμα  
δὲ αὐτῷ περιθέμενος τὸ βασίλειον ἐπὶ στιβάδος<sup>1</sup>  
36 ἀνέκλινεν. ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς παρόντας Ἀρσάκης  
37 βασιλικῶς είστια ἥπερ εἰώθει τὰ πρότερα. ἐν  
ταύτῃ τῇ θοίνῃ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ κύλικι<sup>2</sup> λόγοι  
ἐλέχθησαν οἵπερ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἴκανῶς ἡρεσκον,  
πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς μέσον ἥλθεν ἅπερ αὐτῷ ἐν  
ἥδονῇ ἦν· μηκυνομένου τε τοῦ πότου ἄχρι ἐς  
μύκτα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄμιλίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἥσθη-  
σαν, μόλις δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀπαλλαγέντες διελύθησαν,  
38 καταβεβρεγμένοι τῇ εὐπαθείᾳ. τότε δὴ λέγουσι  
τὸν Ἀρσάκην εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡμέραν τὴν ἥδιστην δια-  
τελέσας ἐν ταύτῃ τε ξυγγενόμενος τῷ ποθει-  
νοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οὐκ ἀν ἔτι ἔκών γε  
39 εἶναι ὑποσταίη τὰ φλαῦρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ ταῦτα  
εἰπόντα μαχαίρᾳ ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι<sup>3</sup> ἦν περ ἐν  
τῇ θοίνῃ ἔξεπίτηδες κεκλοφὼς ἔτυχεν, οὕτω τε  
40 αὐτὸν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων  
συγγραφὴ λέγει ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, κεχωρηκέναι,  
καὶ τὸν νόμον τότε ἀμφὶ τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ  
λελύσθαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἔξεβην ίτέον.

## VI

1 Καθειρχθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ  
γυνὴ ἐσιοῦσά<sup>4</sup> τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
ἐσκομίζουσα· ἦν δὴ ὁ τῆς είρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν<sup>5</sup>  
ἥρξατο· ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπής.

<sup>1</sup> στιβάδος: παστάδος G.      <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ κύλικι: ἐπικυλίκιοι V.

<sup>3</sup> διαχειρίσασθαι VP corr.: διαχειρίσασθαι G, χρήσασθαι P  
pr. m., διαχρήσασθαι Hoeschel in marg.

<sup>4</sup> ἐσιοῦσα P: ἐπιοῦσα VG.      <sup>5</sup> πειρᾶν: ἐρᾶν Theophylactus.

adorned his person, neglecting nothing, and, putting on him the royal robe, caused him to recline on a bed of rushes. Then Arsaces entertained those present with a royal banquet just as was formerly his custom. During this feast many speeches were made over the cups which greatly pleased Arsaces, and many incidents occurred which delighted his heart. The drinking was prolonged until nightfall, all feeling the keenest delight in their mutual intercourse; at length they parted from each other with great reluctance, and separated throughly imbued with happiness. Then they tell how Arsaces said that after spending the sweetest day of his life, and enjoying the company of the man he had missed most of all, he would no longer willingly endure the miseries of life; and with these words, they say, he dispatched himself with a knife which, as it happened, he had purposely stolen at the banquet, and thus departed from among men. Such then is the story concerning this Arsaces, related in the Armenian History just as I have told it, and it was on that occasion that the law regarding the Prison of Oblivion was set aside. But I must return to the point from which I have strayed.

VI

WHILE Cabades was in the prison he was cared for by his wife, who went in to him constantly and carried him supplies of food. Now the keeper of the prison began to make advances to her, for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon. And when

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 2 ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν,  
 ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὃ τι βού-  
 λοιτο χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν  
 ξυνελθὼν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων ἡράσθη τε αὐτῆς  
 3 ἕρωτα ἔξαίσιον οἶον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει  
 παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπη ἀν  
 αὐτῇ βουλομένῃ εἴη, καὶ αὐθις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσ-  
 σεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν ἴσταμένου. ἦν δέ τις  
 τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδη  
 4 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο  
 διατριβὴν είχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἰς πως αὐτὸν ἐνδο-  
 5 θεν<sup>1</sup> ἔξελέσθαι δυνήσεται. διά τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ  
 Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαινεν ὡς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν  
 παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὅντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ  
 6 μακρὰν ἀποθεν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. καὶ  
 ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν γυναικὰ  
 Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δοῦναι, τὰ  
 δὲ<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἴμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς είρκτῆς ἀντ'  
 7 αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι, οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθητο. οὕτω μὲν  
 οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου.  
 κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῇ ἐπέκειτο  
 τὴν γυναικὰ ὑπετόπαξον εἶναι· ταῦτά τοι οὔτε  
 κωλύειν οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν.  
 8 ἂμα τε ἡμέρᾳ τὴν γυναικὰ ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς  
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἴματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμ-  
 μένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς φόντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι.  
 ἢ τε δόκησις αὐτῇ ἐν ἡμέραις συχναῖς ἥκμαζεν,  
 9 ἕως Καβάδης πόρρω που τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνενεχθέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς  
 φῶς ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἥλθε, καὶ ὅντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον

<sup>1</sup> ἐνδοθεν P : ἐνθένδεν VG.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ δὲ V : τὰ δὲ G, αὐτὴν δὲ τὰ P.

Cabades learned this from his wife, he bade her give herself over to the man-to treat as he wished. In this way the keeper of the prison came to be familiar with the woman, and he conceived for her an extraordinary love, and as a result permitted her to go in to her husband just as she wished, and to depart from there again without interference from anyone. Now there was a Persian notable, Seoses by name, a devoted friend of Cabades, who was constantly in the neighbourhood of this prison, watching his opportunity, in the hope that he might in some way be able to effect his deliverance. And he sent word to Cabades through his wife that he was keeping horses and men in readiness not far from the prison, and he indicated to him a certain spot. Then one day as night drew near Cabades persuaded his wife to give him her own garment, and, dressing herself in his clothes, to sit instead of him in the prison where he usually sat. In this way, therefore, Cabades made his escape from the prison. For although the guards who were on duty saw him, they supposed that it was the woman, and therefore decided not to hinder or otherwise annoy him. At daybreak they saw in the cell the woman in her husband's clothes, and were so completely deceived as to think that Cabades was there, and this belief prevailed during several days, until Cabades had advanced well on his way. As to the fate which befell the woman after the stratagem had come to light, and the manner in which they punished her,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὄμολογούσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήκοις· διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφίνημι.

- 10 Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόση ἐς Οῦννους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὗτῳ τε στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἄτε κηδεστῇ
  - 11 ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῇ ἥθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ
  - 12 ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσαναστάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἰπε πῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ὡς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκείνον, διὸ ἀν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὅψιν ἤκων ὑπουργεῖν
  - 13 βούλοιτο. εἰπόντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἡδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐσήει, διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔᾳ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει.
  - 14 ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἵκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενῆς ὡν, τόν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζηται λύειν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται.
  - 15 ταῦτα δέ οἱ ἐν οὐφῇ ἔχουσι τις τύχῃ ὥστε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἰναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἤκων, νεανίας ἀνήρ, ξυγγενῆς τε ὡν τῷ Γουσαναστάδῃ
  - 16 καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. διὸ δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος, ἔδειτό τέ οἱ ἄτε δούλῳ ὃ
  - 17 τι βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι. Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. vi. 9-17

I am unable to speak with accuracy. For the Persian accounts do not agree with each other, and for this reason I omit the narration of them.

Cabades, in company with Seoses, completely escaped detection, and reached the Ephthalitae Huns; there the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and then, since Cabades was now his son-in-law, he put under his command a very formidable army for a campaign against the Persians. This army the Persians were quite unwilling to encounter, and they made haste to flee in every direction. And when Cabades reached the territory where Gousanastades exercised his authority, he stated to some of his friends that he would appoint as chanaranges the first man of the Persians who should on that day come into his presence and offer his services. But even as he said this, he repented his speech, for there came to his mind a law of the Persians which ordains that offices among the Persians shall not be conferred upon others than those to whom each particular honour belongs by right of birth. For he feared lest someone should come to him first who was not a kinsman of the present chanaranges, and that he would be compelled to set aside the law in order to keep his word. Even as he was considering this matter, chance brought it about that, without dishonouring the law, he could still keep his word. For the first man who came to him happened to be Adergoudounbades, a young man who was a relative of Gousanastades and an especially capable warrior. He addressed Cabades as "Lord," and was the first to do obeisance to him as king, and besought him to use him as a slave for any service whatever. So Cabades made his way into the royal palace without

488 A.D.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Βλάσην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἔξετύφλωσε,  
τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς  
κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἔφοντες καὶ αὐτὸ  
ῷς μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς οὔτι μύοντας  
ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν πυρακτοῦντες  
ταῦτη τε τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ  
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν  
18 ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάδην  
κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατε-  
στήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ  
Σεόσην ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνεῖπε.  
δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ  
19 στρατιώταις ἄπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης  
τὴν ἀρχὴν πρώτος τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις  
ἔσχεν· οὕτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τινι  
γέγονε· τὴν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο  
καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγ-  
χίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἥσσον.

## VII

- 1 Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ  
Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὥφειλεν, ἀπέρ ἐπεὶ ἀποτιν-  
νύναι οἱ οὐχ οἰός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥω-  
μαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἤτει ταῦτα οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ  
χρήματα· ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
τισὸν ἐπυνθάνετο εἴ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἴη.
- 2 οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἴων.  
ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιοτέραν  
τοῖς πολεμόις χρήμασιν οἰκείοις ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθα-  
λίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὓς δὴ ἐς ἀλλή-

any trouble, and, taking Blases destitute of defenders, he put out his eyes, using the method of blinding commonly employed by the Persians against malefactors, that is, either by heating olive oil and pouring it, while boiling fiercely, into the wide-open eyes, or by heating in the fire an iron needle, and with this pricking the eyeballs. Thereafter Blases was kept in confinement, having ruled over the Persians two years. Gousanastades was put to death and Adergoudounbades was established in his place in the office of chanaranges, while Seoses was immediately proclaimed "adrastadarān salānes,"—a title designating the one set in authority over all magistrates and over the whole army. Seoses was the first and only man who held this office in Persia; for it was conferred on no one before or after that time. And the kingdom was strengthened by Cabades and guarded securely; for in shrewdness and activity he was surpassed by none.

## VII.

A LITTLE later Cabades was owing the king of the Ephthalitae a sum of money which he was not able to pay him, and he therefore requested the Roman emperor Anastasius to lend him this money. Whereupon Anastasius conferred with some of his friends and enquired of them whether this should be done; and they would not permit him to make the loan. For, as they pointed out, it was inexpedient to make more secure by means of their money the friendship between their enemies and the Ephthalitae; indeed it was better for the Romans to disturb their

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λους ξυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσιν ἄμεινον  
 3 είναι. διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω  
 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν  
 αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ  
 αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ληισάμενος ἐς  
 Ἀμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ  
 αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἃς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορ-  
 4 κίαν καθίστατο. Ἀμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μέν,  
 ἄτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρ-  
 όντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντά-  
 πασιν ὅντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα  
 προσχωρεῖν ἥθελον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ  
 τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον.

5    Ἡν δέ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος  
 ὅνομα, φ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἥσκητο.  
 οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης  
 ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὐτὸν  
 καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὔσε-  
 6 βειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτη  
 ἀνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γυνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 περιέβαλον, οὐ ξυνημμένοις μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς  
 πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὄρāν τε τοὺς προσ-  
 7 ιόντας καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἶόν τε είναι. καὶ  
 στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτήναντο βραχὺν ὑπερθεν, ὅσον  
 ὅμβρους τε καὶ νιφετούς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα  
 οὗτος [ό] ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῆστο, πινύγει μὲν  
 ἡ ψύχει ὡς ἥκιστα εἴκων, σπέρμασι δέ τισιν  
 ἀποζῶν, οἰσπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου  
 8 πολλοῦ σιτίζεσθαι εἰώθει. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. vii. 2-8

502 A.D.

relations as much as possible. It was for this reason, and for no just cause, that Cabades decided to make an expedition against the Romans. First he invaded the land of the Armenians, moving with such rapidity as to anticipate the news of his coming, and, after plundering the greater part of it in a rapid campaign, he unexpectedly arrived at the city of Amida, which is situated in Mesopotamia, and, although the season was winter, he invested the town. Now the citizens of Amida had no soldiers at hand, seeing that it was a time of peace and prosperity, and in other respects were utterly unprepared; nevertheless they were quite unwilling to yield to the enemy, and shewed an unexpected fortitude in holding out against dangers and hardships.

Now there was among the Syrians a certain just man, Jacobus by name, who had trained himself with exactitude in matters pertaining to religion. This man had confined himself many years before in a place called Endielon, a day's journey from Amida, in order that he might with more security devote himself to pious contemplation. The men of this place, assisting his purpose, had surrounded him with a kind of fencing, in which the stakes were not continuous, but set at intervals, so that those who approached could see and hold converse with him. And they had constructed for him a small roof over his head, sufficient to keep off the rain and snow. There this man had been sitting for a long time, never yielding either to heat or cold, and sustaining his life with certain seeds, which he was accustomed to eat, not indeed every day, but only at long intervals. Now some of the Ephthalitae

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ίάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ  
ἐκείνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῆ πολλῆ  
ἐντεινάμενοι βάλλειν ἥθελον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι  
αἱ χεῖρες γεγονοῦνται τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῆ  
9 εἶχον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερό-  
μενον ἔστι Καβάδην ἡλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ  
ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἵδων τε ἐν θάμβῳ  
μεγάλῳ ξὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ  
τὸν Ίάκωβον ἐλιπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις  
τὸ ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκε τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ  
10 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν  
αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὃ τι ἀν αὐτῷ βουλο-  
μένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰ-  
τήσειν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιευσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς  
11 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχῆσει. ὁ δέ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι δοσοὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ  
καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἰκωνται. ταύτην  
Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτελῇ ἐποίει καὶ γράμ-  
ματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ  
γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο·  
περιβόλητος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν  
ῳδέ πη ἔσχε.

12 Καβάδης δὲ Ἀμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν  
μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε.  
καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἀεὶ δοκοῖς τισιν  
ἐγκαρσίαίς ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἔως  
13 ταύτη ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. πολλάκις  
γὰρ ἐμβαλὼν καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἦ<sup>2</sup>  
κατασεῖσαι ἥκιστα ἵσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἦ

<sup>1</sup> δέησιν VP: αἰτησιν G.

<sup>2</sup> ἥ: καὶ V.

who were overrunning the country thereabout saw this Jacobus and with great eagerness drew their bows with intent to shoot at him. But the hands of every one of them became motionless and utterly unable to manage the bow. When this was noised about through the army and came to the ears of Cabades, he desired to see the thing with his own eyes; and when he saw it, both he and the Persians who were with him were seized with great astonishment, and he entreated Jacobus to forgive the barbarians their crime. And he forgave them with a word, and the men were released from their distress. Cabades then bade the man ask for whatever he wished, supposing that he would ask for a great sum of money, and he also added with youthful recklessness that he would be refused nothing by him. But he requested Cabades to grant to him all the men who during that war should come to him as fugitives. This request Cabades granted, and gave him a written pledge of his personal safety. And great numbers of men, as might be expected, came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there; for the deed became widely known. Thus, then, did these things take place.

Cabades, in besieging Amida, brought against every part of the defences the engines known as rams; but the townspeople constantly broke off the heads of the rams by means of timbers thrown across them.<sup>1</sup> However, Cabades did not slacken his efforts until he realized that the wall could not be successfully assailed in this way. For, though he battered the wall many times, he was quite unable to break down any portion of the defence, or even to shake it; so secure

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. ii. 76, 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οἰκοδομία τοῖς δειμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἰργαστο.

- 14 τούταν δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχών, λόφου τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τείχους τὸ μῆκος, οὐ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατώρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρᾳ ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἔκτὸς ἐφ' οὖπερ ἐγεγόνει σχήματος ἔμενεν οὐδενὶ αἴ-  
 15 σθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρασσομένου. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαί-  
 νοντες ἔν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διεμοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὁμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπεσὼν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδόν τι  
 16 ἄπαντας ἔκτεινε. Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύειν ἔγω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν  
 17 ἐπήγγειλε. τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἀτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρ-  
 βάρους<sup>1</sup> ἔνν γέλωτι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτώθαξον.  
 18 καὶ τινες ἔταιραι ἀνελκύσασαι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδη ἄγχιστά που ἐστηκότι ἐδεί-  
 κυνον ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν  
 19 οὐ θέμις. ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βα-  
 σιλεῖν ἐς ὅψιν ἥλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκώλυνον,  
 ξυμβαλεῖν ἵσχυριζόμενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἄπαντα Καβάδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτό-  
 μενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δείξαντιν. οὕτω μὲν τὰ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς βαρβάρους Maltretus: τοῦ βαρβάρου VP, τοῦ βαβά-  
 ρου G.

had been the work of the builders who had constructed it long before. Failing in this, Cabades raised an artificial hill to threaten the city, considerably overtopping the wall; but the besieged, starting from the inside of their defences, made a tunnel extending under the hill, and from there stealthily carried out the earth, until they hollowed out a great part of the inside of the hill. However, the outside kept the form which it had at first assumed, and afforded no opportunity to anyone of discovering what was being done. Accordingly many Persians mounted it, thinking it safe, and stationed themselves on the summit with the purpose of shooting down upon the heads of those inside the fortifications. But with the great mass of men crowding upon it with a rush, the hill suddenly fell in and killed almost all of them. Cabades, then, finding no remedy for the situation, decided to raise the siege, and he issued orders to the army to retreat on the morrow. Then indeed the besieged, as though they had no thought of their danger, began laughingly from the fortifications to jeer at the barbarians. Besides this some courtesans shamelessly drew up their clothing and displayed to Cabades, who was standing close by, those parts of a woman's body which it is not proper that men should see uncovered. This was plainly seen by the Magi, and they thereupon came before the king and tried to prevent the retreat, declaring as their interpretation of what had happened that the citizens of Amida would shortly disclose to Cabades all their secret and hidden things. So the Persian army remained there.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

20 Ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστε-  
 ρον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονό-  
 μου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ καὶ τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμ-  
 μένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν  
 21 συχναῖς. νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἥκων καὶ  
 τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περι-  
 βόλου ἐγένετο. ἂμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πάντα λόγον  
 Καβάδῃ ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐπιγνομένης νυκτὸς  
 κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις  
 τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἥλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνη-  
 22 νέχθη τύχη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὸν πύργον, διὰ δὴ  
 τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὃν, φυλάσ-  
 σειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον,  
 οὕσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νενομίκασι. τούτους  
 ἐορτήν τινα τῷ θεῷ<sup>1</sup> ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνη τῇ  
 23 ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. ἐπειὶ τε ἡ νὺξ ἐπεγένετο,  
 ἅπαντες, ἀτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανή-  
 γυριν ὁμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου  
 σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὑπνον  
 τινὰ ἥδυν τε καὶ πρᾶον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 24 ὡς ἕκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἥσθάνοντο. Πέρσαι  
 γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ'  
 ὀλίγους<sup>2</sup> γενούμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινορ, καὶ  
 τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν  
 25 ἅπαντας. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλί-  
 μακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου  
 26 προσῆγεν. ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἥδη. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδη-  
 νῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἔχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθό-  
 27 μενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα.  
 ὡθισμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφότεροι ἐσ-

<sup>1</sup> τῷ θεῷ G : om. VP.

<sup>2</sup> κατ' ὀλίγους P : κατὰ λόγους VG.

Not many days later one of the Persians saw close by one of the towers the mouth of an old underground passage, which was insecurely concealed with some few small stones. In the night he came there alone, and, making trial of the entrance, got inside the circuit-wall; then at daybreak he reported the whole matter to Cabades. The king himself on the following night came to the spot with a few men, bringing ladders which he had made ready. And he was favoured by a piece of good fortune; for the defence of the very tower which happened to be nearest to the passage had fallen by lot to those of the Christians who are most careful in their observances, whom they call monks. These men, as chance would have it, were keeping some annual religious festival to God on that day. When night came on they all felt great weariness<sup>1</sup> on account of the festival, and, having sated themselves with food and drink beyond their wont, they fell into a sweet and gentle sleep, and were consequently quite unaware of what was going on. So the Persians made their way through the passage inside the fortifications, a few at a time, and, mounting the tower, they found the monks still sleeping and slew them to a man. When Cabades learned this, he brought his ladders up to the wall close by this tower. It was already day. And those of the townsmen who were keeping guard on the adjoining tower became aware of the disaster, and ran thither with all speed to give assistance. Then for a long time both sides

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book VII. xxvi. 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀλλήλων ἐχρώντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἥδη Ἀμιδηνοὶ  
ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινον.  
καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλιμάκων ἀνέστελλον, καὶ τοῦ  
ἀπεῶσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακράν που ἐγένουντο.
- 28 ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτὸς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος  
καὶ αὐτῷ ἀεὶ δεδισσόμενος ἐς τὰς κλίμακας ὄρμῶν  
οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς Πέρσας, θάνατός τε ἦν ἡ ζημία
- 29 τοῖς ἐνθένδε ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. διὸ δὴ πλή-  
θει πολλῷ οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων  
γενόμενοι ἐνίκησάν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ  
κράτος ἡ πόλις ἦλω ὁγδοηκοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορ-  
30 κίας ἡμέρᾳ. φόνος τε Ἀμιδηνῶν πολὺς ἐγεγόνει,  
ἔως ἐσελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβάδη τῶν τις  
Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἵερεὺς προσελθὼν<sup>1</sup> εἰπεν  
ὡς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεύειν τοὺς ἥλωκότας εἴη.
- 31 Καβάδης μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο,  
“Διὰ τί γάρ μοι πολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;” ὁ δὲ ὑπολα-  
βῶν αὐτίκα ἔφη, ““Οτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμετέρᾳ  
γνώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σῇ ἀρετῇ παραδιδόναι σοι Ἀμιδαν  
32 ἥθελε.” τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἥσθεις κτείνειν  
οὐδένα τὸ λοιπὸν εἰαστεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε χρήματα  
ληίζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιουντας ἐν  
ἀνδραπόδων ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελέσθαι  
ἄπαντας αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν.
- 33 Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χιλίους ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ  
ἐνταῦθα λιπὼν ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας  
Γλώνην, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἀν-  
θρώπους τινὰς δλίγους οἰκτρούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν  
δίαιταν ὑπηρετήσειν Πέρσαις ἔμελλον, αὐτοῖς  
παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ τοὺς ἥλωκότας ἔχων ἐπ-

<sup>1</sup> προσελθὼν P : ἐλθὼν VG.

struggled to crowd back the other, and already the townsmen were gaining the advantage, killing many of those who had mounted the wall, and throwing back the men on the ladders, and they came very near to averting the danger. But Cabades drew his sword and, terrifying the Persians constantly with it, rushed in person to the ladders and would not let them draw back, and death was the punishment for those who dared turn to leave. As a result of this the Persians by their numbers gained the upper hand and overcame their antagonists in the fight. So the city was captured by storm on the eightieth day after the beginning of the siege. There followed a great massacre of the townspeople, until one of the citizens—an old man and a priest—approached Cabades as he was riding into the city, and said that it was not a kingly act to slaughter captives. Then Cabades, still moved with passion, replied: "But why did you decide to fight against me?" And the old man answered quickly: "Because God willed to give Amida into thy hand not so much because of our decision as of thy valour." Cabades was pleased by this speech, and permitted no further slaughter, but he bade the Persians plunder the property and make slaves of the survivors, and he directed them to choose out for himself all the notables among them.

Jan. 11  
503 A.D.

A short time after this he departed, leaving there to garrison the place a thousand men under command of Glones, a Persian, and some few unfortunates among the citizens of Amida who were destined to minister as servants to the daily wants of the Persians; he himself with all the remainder of the army and the captives marched away homeward.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

34 οἰκου ἀπήλαυνεν. ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ πρεπούσῃ· χρόνου γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆ-  
35 κεν ἵέναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, ὃ τε 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια· φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἔτη ἐπτὰ ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῆ τε καὶ ἴδιᾳ ἔκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

## VIII

- 1 Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἀμιδαν στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκὲς ἔπειμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἡσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγὸι δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδός τε, Ὁλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον,
- 2 τῆς ἐώας δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὡν· καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ (μάγιστρον Ῥωμαῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν). ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιος τε ὁ Φρὺξ καὶ Ἄπατιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς· οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες<sup>1</sup> στρα-
- 3 τηγοὶ ἡσαν. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστῖνος, διὸ δὴ ὑστερὸν Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί,

<sup>1</sup> τέσσαρες : δὴ G.

These captives were treated by Cabades with a generosity befitting a king ; for after a short time he released all of them to return to their homes, but he pretended that they had escaped from him by stealth ;<sup>1</sup> and the Roman Emperor, Anastasius, also shewed them honour worthy of their bravery, for he remitted to the city all the annual taxes for the space of seven years, and presented all of them as a body and each one of them separately with many good things, so that they came fully to forget the misfortunes which had befallen them. But this happened in later years.

## VIII

At that time the Emperor Anastasius, upon learning that Amida was being besieged, dispatched with all speed an army of sufficient strength. But in this army there were general officers in command of every symmory,<sup>2</sup> while the supreme command was divided between the following four generals : Areobindus, at that time General of the East, the son-in-law of Olyvrius, who had been Emperor in the West not long before ; Celer, commander of the palace troops (this officer the Romans are accustomed to call "magister") ; besides these still, there were the commanders of troops in Byzantium, Patricius, the Phrygian, and Hypatius, the nephew of the emperor ; these four, then, were the generals. With them also was associated Justinus, who at a later time became emperor upon the death of Anastasius, and Patriciolus with his son Vitalianus,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thuc. i. 128.

<sup>2</sup> A division of no fixed number.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὅς ὅπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ οὐ πολλῷ  
ὑστερον ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος  
μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμα,  
καὶ Γοδίδισκλός τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες,  
Γότθων τῶν 'οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θευδερίχῳ ἐς  
'Ιταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἴόντι, γενναίω τε ὑπερφυῶς  
ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων  
ἐμπείρω, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἴποντο.

4 στράτευμα γὰρ τοιοῦτο φασιν οὔτε πρότερον  
οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις ξυστῆναι.  
οὗτοι μέντοι ἄπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταῦτὸ ἀγηγερμένοι  
οὐδὲ στράτευμα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἥεσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς  
ἔκαστος τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἔξηγεῖτο  
5 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρα-  
τοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ  
ἐν πατρικίοις ἐπιφανῆς τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ  
μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κοινωνὸν τῆς βασι-  
λείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνεῖπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἔξουσία εἴη  
τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἥ βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι.

6 'Ο μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὗτος χρόνῳ τε ξυνελέγοντο  
καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρ-  
βάρους ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὑροιν, ἐπεὶ ἔξ  
ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἔφοδον ποιησάμενοι  
αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ἀνεχώρησαν<sup>1</sup> ξὺν  
7 πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς  
πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολειμμένων ἐν τῷ  
παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἥθελε· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομί-  
σασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον· ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν  
πολεμίων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν  
8 σπουδῇ εἶχον. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεχώρησαν : ηλθον V.

who raised an armed insurrection against the Emperor Anastasius not long afterwards and made himself tyrant; also Pharesmanes, a native of Colchis, and a man of exceptional ability as a warrior, and the Goths Godidisklus and Bessas, who were among those Goths who had not followed Theoderic when he went from Thrace into Italy, both of them men of the noblest birth and experienced in matters pertaining to warfare; many others, too, who were men of high station, joined this army. For such an army, they say, was never assembled by the Romans against the Persians either before or after that time. However, all these men did not assemble in one body, nor did they form a single army as they marched, but each commander by himself led his own division separately against the enemy. And as manager of the finances of the army Apion, an Aegyptian, was sent, a man of eminence among the patricians and extremely energetic; and the emperor in a written statement declared him partner in the royal power, in order that he might have authority to administer the finances as he wished.

Now this army was mustered with considerable delay, and advanced with little speed. As a result of this they did not find the barbarians in the Roman territory; for the Persians had made their attack suddenly, and had immediately withdrawn with all their booty to their own land. Now no one of the generals desired for the present to undertake the siege of the garrison left in Amida, for they learned that they had carried in a large supply of provisions; but they made haste to invade the land of the enemy. However they did not advance together against the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- γέσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδευόμενοι  
 ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν (ἄγχιστα  
 γάρ που ἐτύγχανεν ὅν) ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων δρια κατὰ  
 9 τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπῆρχαζεν. οὕπω μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι  
 τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἱέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν φόντο στράτευμα βραχύ<sup>10</sup>  
 10 τι ἐνταῦθα είναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρξάμων, ἀπέχοντι  
 Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ  
 ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὄπατιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος,  
 ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ πεντήκοντα  
 καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γάρ  
 οὕπω ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκτο.
- 11 Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ  
 στρατῷ ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ἐπύθετο, ἀπολιπών τὸ  
 στρατόπεδον ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἄπασιν ἐς φυγὴν  
 ὥρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἔχώρει.  
 12 ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολέμιοι ἔρημον  
 ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον.<sup>2</sup>  
 ἔνθεν τε<sup>2</sup> κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο  
 13 στράτευμα γέσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ  
 Ὄπατιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίοις οἱ  
 τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν γέσαν, σχεδόν τι  
 14 ἄπαντας ἔκτειναν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ  
 τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ πεπυσμένοι, ἀτε νευκηκότες,  
 ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαιτῇ ἔχρωντο. τὰ γοῦν ὅπλα  
 καταθέμενοι ἄριστον σφίσιν ἤτοίμαζον. ἦδη γάρ  
 15 τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἥγε. δύναξ δέ τις  
 ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα

<sup>1</sup> εἶλον P : ἀνεῖλον VG.

<sup>2</sup> ἔνθεν τε V : ἐνθένδε τε G, ἐνθένδε P.

barbarians but they encamped apart from one another as they proceeded. When Cabades learned this (for he happened to be close by), he came with all speed to the Roman frontier and confronted them. But the Romans had not yet learned that Cabades was moving against them with his whole force, and they supposed that some small Persian army was there. Accordingly the forces of Areobindus established their camp in a place called Arzamon, at a distance of two days' journey from the city of Constantina, and those of Patricius and Hypatius in a place called Siphrios, which is distant not less than three hundred and fifty stades from the city of Amida. As for Celer, he had not yet arrived.

Areobindus, when he ascertained that Cabades was coming upon them with his whole army, abandoned his camp, and, in company with all his men, turned to flight and retired on the run to Constantina. And the enemy, coming up not long afterwards, captured the camp without a man in it and all the money it contained. From there they advanced swiftly against the other Roman army. Now the troops of Patricius and Hypatius had happened upon eight hundred Ephthalitae who were marching in advance of the Persian army, and they had killed practically all of them. Then, since they had learned nothing of Cabades and the Persian army, supposing that they had won the victory, they began to conduct themselves with less caution. At any rate they had staked their arms and were preparing themselves a lunch; for already the appropriate time of day was drawing near. Now a small stream flowed in this place and in it the Romans began to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καθαίρειν ἡρξαντο οἱς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον.

16 τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πυνγεὶ καὶ λοῦσθαι ἡξίουν,  
ταύτῃ τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ρύακος ὕδωρ πρόσω  
ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ξυμ-  
πεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος

17 ἦει· κατιδών τε συγκεχυμένου τὸ τοῦ ρύακος  
ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβαλὼν τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπα-  
ρασκεύους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος  
ἡδη ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευνεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐ-  
τοῖς ἐστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὖσιν ἐπέστη-

18 σαν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς  
ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ  
ὡς ἔκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν κατα-  
λαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος  
ὅ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρη-

19 μνῶδες ξὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. ὅθεν δὴ  
οὐδένα σεσῶσθαι φασι. Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὁπά-  
τεος κατ’ ἀρχὰς τῆς ἔφοδου διαφυγεῖν ἵσχυσαν.  
ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὔννων πολεμίων ἐς γῆν τὴν  
αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ’ οἴκου  
ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος

20 τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. ἐν  
τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ἥλθε,  
λόγου μέντοι ἀξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτο-  
κράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδείς, ἀλλ’ ἵσοι  
πρὸς ἄλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅντες ἀντεστάτουν  
τε ἄλλήλων ταῖς γυνάμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ

21 αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἥθελον. Κέλερ. δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπο-  
μένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐσβολὴν τίμα ἐς

22 τὴν Ἀρξανηῆτην ἐποιήσατο. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες G: οὐκ ἐπενεγκυότες V, οὐχ ὑπενεγκόντες P.

Aug.,  
509 A.D.

wash the pieces of meat which they were about to eat; some, too, distressed by the heat, were bathing themselves in the stream; and in consequence the brook flowed on with a muddy current. But while Cabades, learning what had befallen the Ephthalitae, was advancing against the enemy with all speed, he noticed that the water of the brook was disturbed, and divining what was going on, he came to the conclusion that his opponents were unprepared, and gave orders to charge upon them immediately at full speed. Straightway, then, they fell upon them feasting and unarmed. And the Romans did not withstand their onset, nor did they once think of resistance, but they began to flee as each one could; and some of them were captured and slain, while others climbed the hill which rises there and threw themselves down the cliff in panic and much confusion. And they say that not a man escaped from there; but Patricius and Hypatius had succeeded in getting away at the beginning of the onset. After this Cabades retired homeward with his whole army, since hostile Huns had made an invasion into his land, and with this people he waged a long war in the northerly portion of his realm. In the meantime the other Roman army also came, but they did nothing worth recounting, because, it seems, no one was made commander-in-chief of the expedition; but all the generals were of equal rank, and consequently they were always opposing one another's opinions and were utterly unable to unite. However Celer, with his contingent, crossed the Nymphius River and made some sort of an invasion into Arzanene. This

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτῳ, Ἀμίδης δὲ  
ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὴ ληισάμενοι  
τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐπανῆλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.  
δι’ ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

### IX

- 1 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βα-  
σιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἀμιδαν  
ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθί-  
σταντο. καὶ βίᾳ μὲν ἐλεῦν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ  
πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἵσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ  
τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον· πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολι-  
2 ορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. ἀλλ’ οἱ  
στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμών  
τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ προσεδρείᾳ  
καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθομένους ἐώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ  
Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤξειν οὐκ εἰς μα-  
κρὰν ὑπετόπαξον, τρόπῳ δτῷ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλ-  
3 λάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. οἵ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ  
ἔχοντες τίνες ἀν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιντο,  
τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς  
ἐκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι  
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἴη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν  
4 τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἥθελον. γίνονται  
οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ’ ω δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας  
χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδώσουσι ‘Ρωμαίοις  
τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάτεροί τε ἀσμενοὶ τὰ ξυγκείμενα  
ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίουν, τά τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ

river is one very close to Martyropolis, about three hundred stades from Amida. So Celer's troops plundered the country thereabout and returned not long after, and the whole invasion was completed in a short time.

## IX

AFTER this Areobindus went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, while the other generals reached Amida, and, in spite of the winter season, invested it. And although they made many attempts they were unable to carry the fortress by storm, but they were on the point of accomplishing their object by starvation; for all the provisions of the besieged were exhausted. The generals, however, had ascertained nothing of the straits in which the enemy were; but since they saw that their own troops were distressed by the labour of the siege and the wintry weather, and at the same time suspected that a Persian army would be coming upon them before long, they were eager to quit the place on any terms whatever. The Persians, on their part, not knowing what would become of them in such terrible straits, continued to conceal scrupulously their lack of the necessities of life, and made it appear that they had an abundance of all provisions, wishing to return to their homes with the reputation of honour. So a proposal was discussed between them, according to which the Persians were to deliver over the city to the Romans upon receipt of one thousand pounds of gold. Both parties then gladly executed the terms of the agreement, and the son of Glones, upon receiving the money, delivered over Amida to the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Γλώνου νίος Ἀμίδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλώνης γάρ ἥδη ἐτετελευτήκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

- 5 Οὕπω μὲν στρατοπεδευσαμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὅντων οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ<sup>1</sup> εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιὼν λάθρα δρυς τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ωραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθὼν Γλώνην οἱ ἐς χείρας παραδώσειν ξὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίοις ὑπέσχετο, ἦν τινος ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα  
 6 λαβὼν παρὸν αὐτοῦ εἴη. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ δις τά τε ἴματια δέινῶς διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἐοικὼς ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
 7 εἰσῆλθε. παρά τε τὸν Γλώνην ἥκων τάς τε τρίχας τίλλων, “Ἐτύγχανον μέν, ὡ δέσποτα,” εἶπεν, “ἀπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τάγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι (καὶ γάρ που ἐς <τὰ><sup>2</sup> ταύτη χωρία κατ’ ὀλίγους περιόντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζουνται), πληγάς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ λησταὶ φέροντο, οἵ δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι  
 8 νόμος. ἀλλ’ ὅπως, ὡ δέσποτα, σαυτῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνης. ἦν γάρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγετήσων ἵης, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γάρ ἡ τέτταρας οἱ  
 9 κατάρατοι περιόντες λωποδυτοῦσιν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλώνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἴεται οἱ  
 10 ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἰκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πεντήκοντα

<sup>1</sup> Ὅσπερ Haury: Ὅσπερ MSS.      <sup>2</sup> <τὰ> Dindorf.

Romans. For Glones himself had already died in the following manner.

When the Romans had not yet encamped before the city of Amida but were not far from its vicinity, a certain countryman, who was accustomed to enter the city secretly with fowls and loaves and many other delicacies, which he sold to this Glones at a great price, came before the general Patricius and promised to deliver into his hands Glones and two hundred Persians, if he should receive from him assurance of some requital. And the general promised that he should have everything he desired, and thus dismissed the fellow. He then tore his garments in a dreadful manner, and, assuming the aspect of one who had been weeping, entered the city. And coming before Glones, and tearing his hair he said : " O Master, I happened to be bringing in for you all the good things from my village, when some Roman soldiers chanced upon me (for, as you know, they are constantly wandering about the country here in small bands and doing violence to the miserable country-folk), and they inflicted upon me blows not to be endured, and, taking away everything, they departed,—the robbers, whose ancient custom it is to fear the Persians and to beat the farmers. But do you, O Master, take thought to defend yourself and us and the Persians. For if you go hunting into the outskirts of the city, you will find rare game. For the accursed rascals go about by fours or fives to do their robbery." Thus he spoke. And Glones was persuaded, and enquired of the fellow about how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for him to carry out the enterprise. He

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἀν  
 αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἦ κατὰ πέντε ὄδῳ ἰοῦσι  
 ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι  
 ξυμβῆναι οὐδέν τι χείρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον  
 ἐπαγαγέσθαι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ  
 παντὶ ἅμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ πε-  
 11 ριόντος οὐκ ἀν γένοιτο. Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἵππεας  
 διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσιν  
 12 ἔξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἅμεινον ἴσχυρίζετο  
 εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον,  
 καὶ ἦν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιόντας  
 Ῥωμαίους ἴδων ἀπαγγείλῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι  
 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον Πέρσας. εὖ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν  
 ἔδοξε τῷ Γλώνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο.  
 13 παρά τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρίκιον ἥκων ἀπαντα  
 ἔφραξε· καὶ δις τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο  
 14 καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπειμψεν. οὓς  
 δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίους τεσσαρά-  
 κοντα Αμίδης διέχουσαν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις  
 ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις  
 δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπέστελλεν, ἃς τε τὴν πόλιν  
 15 δρόμῳ ἔχώρει. καὶ τῷ Γλώνῃ ἔτοιμον εἰπὼν τὸ  
 θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἔξηγή-  
 σατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε  
 διέβησαν τὸν χῶρον οὐ προλοχίζοντες<sup>1</sup> Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι ἐκάθηντο,<sup>2</sup> Γλώνην τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθὼν  
 ἀπαντας, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους  
 ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν.  
 16 οὖσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴόντας κατεῖδον Πέρσαι,

<sup>1</sup> οὐ προλοχίζοντες Haury: οὐ προλοχίζεσθαι VG, οὐπερ  
 ἐλλοχίζοντες P.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκάθηντο VG: ἐκάθηντο καὶ αὐτῶν πρόσω ἔγένοντο P.

said that about fifty would do, for they would never meet more than five of them going together ; however, in order to forestall any unexpected circumstance, it would do no harm to take with him even one hundred men ; and if he should double this number it would be still better from every point of view ; for no harm could come to a man from the larger number. Glones accordingly picked out two hundred horsemen and bade the fellow lead the way for them. But he insisted that it was better for him to be sent first to spy out the ground, and, if he should bring back word that he had seen Romans still going about in the same districts, that then the Persians should make their sally at the fitting moment. Accordingly, since he seemed to Glones to speak well, he was sent forward by his own order. Then he came before the general Patricius and explained everything ; and the general sent with him two of his own body-guard and a thousand soldiers. These he concealed about a village called Thilasamon, forty stades distant from Amida, among valleys and woody places, and instructed them to remain there in this ambush ; he himself then proceeded to the city on the run, and telling Glones that the prey was ready, he led him and the two hundred horsemen upon the ambush of the enemy. And when they passed the spot where the Romans were lying in wait, without being observed by Glones or any of the Persians, he roused the Romans from their ambuscade and pointed out to them the enemy. And when the Persians saw the men coming against them, they were astounded

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ ἀμη-  
χανίᾳ πολλῆς εἴχοντο. οὕτε γὰρ ὅπίσω ἀπελαύ-  
νειν οἷοί τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νάτου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν  
ἐναντίων, οὕτε πη ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ  
17 ἔδύναντο. ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην  
ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμίνυστο, τῷ τε πλήθει  
παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἤσσηθησάν τε καὶ ξὺν  
18 τῷ Γλώνῃ ἄπαντες διεφθάρησαν. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ  
ὅ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλγήσας τε καὶ τῷ  
θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἰχε, τὸν  
Συμεὼνον μεὰν ἔκαυσεν, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ  
19 Γλώνης κατέλινε. καίτοι ἄλλην τινὰ σίκεδομίαν  
οὕτε Γλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν  
τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὕτε τῷ ἄλλῳ  
ἀφανίζειν τρόπῳ ἐν γε Ἀμίδῃ ἡ ταύτης ἐκτός.  
ἔγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγου ἐπάνειμι.  
20 Οὕτω μὲν Ἀμίδαι· Ρωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες  
ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῦς ὕστερον ἡ πρὸς τῶν  
πολεμίων ἑάλω. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἡ  
τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγωρία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς  
21 διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα  
λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἔξελη-  
λυθότων τὸν ὅμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἐπτὰ μάλιστα  
ἡμερῶν ηὗρισκον διπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελεῖ-  
φθαι, καίπερ Γλώνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς  
ἐνδεεστέρως ἡ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν πολλοῦ χρόνου  
22 ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. Ρωμαίοις γὰρ  
τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ξὺν  
αὐτοῖς μείνασιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνω-

at the suddenness of the thing, and were in much distress what to do. For neither could they retire to the rear, since their opponents were behind them, nor were they able to flee anywhere else in a hostile land. But as well as they could under the circumstances, they arrayed themselves for battle and tried to drive back their assailants; but being at a great disadvantage in numbers they were vanquished, and all of them together with Glones were destroyed. Now when the son of Glones learned of this, being deeply grieved and at the same time furious with anger because he had not been able to defend his father, he fired the sanctuary of Symeon, a holy man, where Glones had his lodging. It must be said, however, that with the exception of this one building, neither Glones nor Cabades, nor indeed any other of the Persians, saw fit either to tear down or to destroy in any other way any building in Amida at any rate, or outside this city. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

Thus the Romans by giving the money recovered Amida two years after it had been captured by the enemy. And when they got into the city, their own negligence and the hardships under which the Persians had maintained themselves were discovered. For upon reckoning the amount of grain left there and the number of barbarians who had gone out, they found that rations for about seven days were left in the city, although Glones and his son had been for a long time doling out provisions to the Persians more sparingly than they were needed. For to the Romans who had remained with them in the city, as I have stated above, they had decided to dispense nothing at all from the time when their

504 A.D.

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σαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἱ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀγθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἀψάμενοι πάντων,  
23 εἴτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. διὸ δὴ ἔξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἥσθοντο καὶ τοῦς στρατιώτας τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλώνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἐλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήμata ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἰσχός τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἀμιδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς  
24 Περσῶν ἔλαβον. ὑστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὔννους πολέμου σφίσι μηκυνομένου, ἐς σπουδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνίασιν, αἴπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ' οἴκου τε ἀμφότεροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.  
25 οὕτω μέν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τόδε ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ξυνενεχθέντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

## X

- 1 Τὸ Κιλίκων ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἰβηρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοα ταύτη φέγηνται.
- 2 ἔξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν, προϊόντι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα εὑρουσι τε καὶ

enemy began the siege; and so these men at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and laid hold on every forbidden thing, and at the last they even tasted each other's blood. So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their lack of self-control, because they had shown themselves wanting in obedience to them, when it was possible to capture as prisoners of war such a multitude of Persians and the son of Glones and the city itself, while they had in consequence attached to themselves signal disgrace by carrying Roman money to the enemy, and had taken Amida from the Persians by purchasing it with silver. After this the Persians, since their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes; both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace. Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the events touching the Caspian Gates.

506 A.D.

## X

THE Taurus mountain range of Cilicia passes first Cappadocia and Armenia and the land of the so-called Persarmenians, then also Albania and Iberia and all the other countries in this region, both independent and subject to Persia. For it extends to a great distance, and as one proceeds along this range, it always spreads out to an extraordinary

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

3 ὑψους διήκει. ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβηρων ὄρους  
ἀτραπός τίς ἐστιν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ<sup>4</sup>  
σταδίους πεντήκοντα ἔξικυνουμένη. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ δλως ἀβατον τε-  
λευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαί-  
νεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον  
πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἔξευρεν, ἢ Κασπία ἐκ<sup>5</sup>  
παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. τὸ δὲ ἐμθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν  
ἰππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα,  
καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἵπποβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία.<sup>6</sup>  
οὐδὲ δὴ τὰ Οὔννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἀπαντα ἴδρυται<sup>7</sup>  
ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκοντα λίμνην. οὗτοι ἦν  
μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἡς ἄρτι ἐμυήσθην ἰωσιν ἐς τὰ  
Περσῶν τε καὶ Ρωμαίων ἥθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς  
ἴπποις ἵασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι  
οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς  
πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις οἰσπερ εἰς τοὺς<sup>8</sup>  
Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. ἐπ'  
ἄλλας δέ τινας ἔξόδους ιόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ  
παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς  
αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περι-  
ιέναι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις.<sup>9</sup>  
ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατεύνησε,  
πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τῷ εἱρημένῳ καὶ  
φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. δ δὴ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ<sup>10</sup>  
προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οúnνος  
μὲν γένος, Ρωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ  
φίλος. οὗτος Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἐς τε γῆρας  
ἀφίκτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτᾶν ἐμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ  
τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ἦτει, ἐφ' ω  
τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐν-

breadth and rises to an imposing height. And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of old the Caspian Gates. From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides. When this was observed by Alexander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in the aforesaid place and established a fortress there. And this was held by many men in turn as time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Anastasius. Now when this Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 11 δώσει Ῥωμαίοις. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος (δρᾶν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἡπίστατο οὔτε εἰώθει) λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῆ ἐν γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ώμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργουν  
 12 τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἔσχεν.  
 13 Ἀναστάσιός τε βασιλεύς, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ πρὸς Καβάδην σπουδαί, πόλιν ἐδείματο ἐν χωρίῳ Δάρας ὄχυράν τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ λόγουν  
 14 ἀξίαν, αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. ἀπέχει δὲ αὗτῇ πόλεως μὲν Νισίβιδος σταδίους ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντας, χώρας δὲ ἡ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν  
 15 διορίζει ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα. Πέρσαι δὲ κωλύειν τὴν οἰκοδομάν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες οὐδαμῆ ἵσχυνον ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον τὸν Οὐννικὸν  
 16 πιεζόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ τε αὐτὸν τάχιστα Καβάδης κατέλυσε, πέμψας παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἥτιάτο πόλιν αὐτοὺς οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἄγχιστά που τῶν σφετέρων ὄρίων, ἀπειρημένον τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις τε  
 17 καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυγκειμένοις τὰ πρότερα. τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀναστάσιος τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ φιλίαν τε τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενος καὶ χρήμασιν οὐ φαύλοις δωρούμενος, παρακρούεσθαι τε καὶ τὴν  
 18 αἰτίαν ἐκλύειν ἥθελε. καὶ πόλιν δὲ ἄλλην ταύτην ὁμοίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχοτάτῳ

**Gates to the Romans.** But the Emperor Anastasius was incapable of doing anything without careful investigation, nor was it his custom to act thus; reasoning, therefore, that it was impossible for him to support soldiers in a place which was destitute of all good things, and which had nowhere in the neighbourhood a nation subject to the Romans, he expressed deep gratitude to the man for his good-will toward him, but by no means accepted this proposition. So Ambazouces died of disease not long afterwards, and Cabades overpowered his sons and took possession of the Gates.

The Emperor Anastasius, after concluding the treaty with Cabades, built a city in a place called Daras, exceedingly strong and of real importance, bearing the name of the emperor himself. Now this place is distant from the city of Nisibis one hundred stades lacking two, and from the boundary line which divides the Romans from the Persians about twenty-eight. And the Persians, though eager to prevent the building, were quite unable to do so, being constrained by the war with the Huns in which they were engaged. But as soon as Cabades brought this to an end, he sent to the Romans and accused them of having built a city hard by the Persian frontier, though this had been forbidden in the agreement previously made between the Medes and the Romans.<sup>1</sup> At that time, therefore, the Emperor Anastasius desired, partly by threats, and partly by emphasizing his friendship with him and by bribing him with no mean sum of money, to deceive him and to remove the accusation. And another city also was built by this emperor, similar

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. i. 15.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

έδείματο τῶν Περσαρμενίας ὄρίων, ἡ κώμη μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, πόλεως δὲ ἀξίωμα μέχρι ἐς τὸ δυνομα πρὸς Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως λαβούσα 19 ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει. ἀλλ' Ἀναστάσιος τείχει αὐτὴν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλλὼν πράγματα Πέρσαις οὐδέν τι ἥσσον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρας παρέσχετο· ἐπιτειχίσματα γάρ αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἄμφω.

## XI

- 1 Ἀναστασίου δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Ἰουστῖνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἀπεληλαμένων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀναστασίου ἔυγγενῶν ἀπάντων, καίπερ πολλῶν τε καὶ λίαν ἐπιφανῶν ὅντων.
- 2 τότε δὴ μέριμνά τις Καβάδῃ ἐγένετο μή τι Πέρσαι νεωτερίσωσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον, ἐπειδὸν τάχιστα αὐτὸς τελευτήση τὸν βίον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλογίας χωρὶς ἐς τῶν παίδων τινὰ παραπέμψαι τὴν ἀρχὴν 3 ἔμελλε. τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Καόσην τῆς μὲν ἡλικίας ἔνεκα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ Καβάδην οὐδαμῇ ἡρεσκεν. ἐβιάζετο δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἡ τοῦ 4 πατρὸς γνώμη. Ζάμην δέ, διὰ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐφέρετο, τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν τὸν ἔτερον ἐκκεκομμένον ἐκώλυνεν ὁ νόμος. ἐτερόφθαλμον γάρ ἡ ἄλλῃ τινὶ λώβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐ θέμις Πέρσαις βασιλέα καθίστασθαι. 5 Χοσρόην δέ, διὰ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπεβέδου ἀδελφῆς ἐγεγόνει, ὑπερηγάπα μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ὄρῶν δὲ Πέρσας

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. x. 18-xi. 5

to the first, in Armenia, hard by the boundaries of Persarmenia ; now in this place there had been a village from of old, but it had taken on the dignity of a city by the favour of the Emperor Theodosius even to the name, for it had come to be named after him.<sup>1</sup> But Anastasius surrounded it with a very substantial wall, and thus gave offence to the Persians no less than by the other city ; for both of them are strongholds menacing their country.

## XI

AND when a little later Anastasius died, Justinus received the empire, forcing aside all the kinsmen of Anastasius, although they were numerous and also very distinguished. Then indeed a sort of anxiety came over Cabades, lest the Persians should make some attempt to overthrow his house as soon as he should end his life; for it was certain that he would not pass on the kingdom to any one of his sons without opposition. For while the law called to the throne the eldest of his children Caoses by reason of his age, he was by no means pleasing to Cabades ; and the father's judgment did violence to the law of nature and of custom as well. And Zames, who was second in age, having had one of his eyes struck out, was prevented by the law. For it is not lawful for a one-eyed man or one having any other deformity to become king over the Persians. But Chosroes, who was born to him by the sister of Aspebedes, the father loved exceedingly ; seeing, however, that all the Persians, practically speaking, felt an extravagant

Aug. 1,  
518 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Modern Erzeroum.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- σχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἄπαντας τεθηπότας τὴν Ζάμου  
ἀνδρείαν (ἥν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμα) καὶ τὴν  
ἄλλην ἀρετὴν σέβοντας, ἔδεισε μὴ Χοσρόη  
ἐπαναστάντες ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν
- 6 βασιλείαν ἐργάσωνται. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἄριστον  
εἶναι τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας  
διαλύσαι· 'Ρωμαίοις, ἐφ' φ' Χοσρόης παῖς ἐσποιη-  
τὸς Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ γένοιτο· οὕτω γάρ οἱ  
μόνως τὸ ὄχυρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διασώσασθαι.<sup>1</sup>  
διὸ δὴ πρέσβεις τε ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ γράμματα ἐς
- 7 Βυζάντιον Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἐπεμψεν. ἔδηλον δὲ  
ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Οὐ δίκαια μὲν πεπονθέναι πρὸς  
'Ρωμαίων ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς οἰσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ  
ἐγκλήματα πάντα ἀφεῖναι παντελῶς ἔγινωκα,  
ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ώς οὗτοι ἀν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
νικῶεν, οἵ γε, προσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου, εἴτα  
ἔλασσούμενοι ἔκόντες εἶναι τῶν φίλων ἡσσῶν-
- 8 ται. χάριν μέντοι αἰτοῦμαι σε ὑπὲρ τούτων τινά,  
ἢ ἀν οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρου  
ὑπήκοον ἄπαν ἐς τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς συνδέουσα καὶ  
τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ώς τὸ εἰκὸς εἴνοιαν, ἐς κόρον δὴ  
που τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καταστήσασθαι
- 9 ἵκανὴ εἴη. λέγω δὲ ὅπως ἀν Χοσρόην τὸν ἐμόν,  
ὅς μοι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχος ἔσται, εἰσποιητὸν  
παῖδα ποιήσαιο."
- 10 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα Ἰουστίνος βασιλεὺς  
εἶδεν, αὐτός τε περιχαρῆς ἐγένετο καὶ Ἰουστίνι-  
ανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφίδοῦς, διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν
- 11 βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. καὶ κατὰ  
τάχος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡπειργέσθην τὴν ἐσποίησιν

<sup>1</sup> διασώσεσθαι Herwerden.

admiration for the manliness of Zames (for he was a capable warrior), and worshipped his other virtues, he feared lest they should rise against Chosroes and do irreparable harm to the family and to the kingdom. Therefore it seemed best to him to arrange with the Romans to put an end both to the war and the causes of war, on condition that Chosroes be made an adopted son of the Emperor Justinus; for only in this way could he preserve stability in the government. Accordingly he sent envoys to treat of this matter and a letter to the Emperor Justinus in Byzantium. And the letter was written in this wise: "Unjust indeed has been the treatment which we have received at the hands of the Romans, as even you yourself know, but I have seen fit to abandon entirely all the charges against you, being assured of this, that the most truly victorious of all men would be those who, with justice on their side, are still willingly overcome and vanquished by their friends. However I ask of you a certain favour in return for this, which would bind together in kinship and in the good-will which would naturally spring from this relation not only ourselves but also all our subjects, and which would be calculated to bring us to a satiety of the blessings of peace. My proposal, then, is this, that you should make my son Chosroes, who will be my successor to the throne, your adopted son."

When this message was brought to the Emperor Justinus, he himself was overjoyed and Justinian also, the nephew of the emperor, who indeed was expected to receive from him the empire. And they were making all haste to perform the act of

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐν γράμμασι θέσθαι ἡ νόμος Ῥωμαίοις, εἰ μὴ  
Πρόκλος ἐκώλυσεν, ὃς βασιλεῖ τότε παρήδρευε  
τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχων,  
ἀνὴρ δίκαιος τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδωρό-  
12 τατος. διὸ δὴ οὕτε νόμον τινὰ εὐπετῶς ἔγραφεν  
οὕτε τι τῶν καθεστώτων κινεῖν ἥθελεν, ὃς καὶ  
13 τότε ἀνταίρων ἔλεξε τοιάδε· “Νεωτέροις μὲν  
ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν οὕτε εἴωθα καὶ ἄλλως  
δέδοικα πάντων μάλιστα, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῷ  
νεωτεροποιῷ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῶς σώζεται.  
14 δοκῶ δέ μοι, εἰ καὶ λίαν τις ἦν περὶ ταῦτα  
θρασύς, ἀποκνῆσαι ἀν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ  
15 κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάλον· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο  
οὐδὲν οἷμαι ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι ἡμῖν ἐν βουλῇ  
εἶναι ἡ ὅπως ἀν τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις  
εὐπρεπεῖ παραδοίημεν λόγῳ, οὗ γε οὐκ ἐγκρυφιά-  
ζοντες οὐδὲ παραπετάσμασί τισι χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ  
διαρρήδην ὁμολογοῦντες τὸ βούλευμα, οὕτως  
ἀνέδην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι,  
τῷ μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης φανερῷ τὴν ἀφέλειαν προῖ-  
σχόμενοι, λόγῳ δὲ ἀναιδεῖ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην  
16 προβεβλημένοι. καίτοι χρῆν ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν  
ταύτην τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν πεῖραν παντὶ ἀπο-  
κρούεσθαι σθένει· σὲ μέν, ὡς βασιλεὺς, ὅπως δὴ  
μὴ Ῥωμαίων εἴης βασιλεὺς ὕστατος, σὲ δέ, ὡς  
στρατηγέ, ὅπως ἀν μὴ σαυτῷ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν  
17 ἐμποδὼν γένοιο. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα σοφίσματα  
λόγου ως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σεμνότητι καλυπτόμενα  
ἴσως ἀν που καὶ ἐρμηνέως τοῖς πολλοῖς δέοιτο,

setting down in writing the adoption, as the law of the Romans prescribes—and would have done so, had they not been prevented by Proclus, who was at that time a counsellor to the emperor, holding the office of quaestor, as it is called, a just man and one whom it was manifestly impossible to bribe ; for this reason he neither readily proposed any law, nor was he willing to disturb in any way the settled order of things ; and he at that time also opposed the proposition, speaking as follows : “To venture on novel projects is not my custom, and indeed I dread them more than any others ; for where there is innovation security is by no means preserved. And it seems to me that, even if one should be especially bold in this matter, he would feel reluctance to do the thing and would tremble at the storm which would arise from it ; for I believe that nothing else is before our consideration at the present time than the question how we may hand over the Roman empire to the Persians on a seemly pretext. For they make no concealment nor do they employ any blinds, but explicitly acknowledging their purpose they claim without more ado to rob us of our empire, seeking to veil the manifestness of their deceit under a show of simplicity, and hide a shameless intent behind a pretended unconcern. And yet both of you ought to repel this attempt of the barbarians with all your power ; thou, O Emperor, in order that thou mayst not be the last Emperor of the Romans, and thou, O General, that thou mayst not prove a stumbling block to thyself as regards coming to the throne. For other crafty devices which are commonly concealed by a pretentious show of words might perhaps need an interpreter for the many,

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- αῦτη δὲ ἄντικρυς ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθὺς ἡ πρεσβεία  
τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ Χοσρόην τοῦτον, δστις  
18 ποτέ ἔστι, κληρονόμου εἰσποιεῖν βούλεται. οὐ-  
τωσὶ γάρ μοι περὶ τούτων διαλογίζεσθε.<sup>1</sup> φύσει  
τοῖς παισὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων ὄφείλεται, οἵ τε νόμοι  
τῷ διαλλάσσοντι ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-  
ποις μαχόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ  
πᾶσι βαρβάροις ξυνίασί τε καὶ ξυνομολογοῦντες  
ἀλλήλοις κυρίους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι  
τοῦ [τοῦ] πατρὸς κλήρου. ὥστε τὰ πρῶτα  
ἔλομένοις ὑμῖν πάντα λελείψεται τὰ λοιπὰ  
ξυγχωρεῖν.”
- 19 Πρόκλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ  
οἱ βασιλέως ἀδελφίδοῦς τούς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο  
20 καὶ τὰ πρακτέον ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν τούτῳ  
δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Καβάδης γράμματα πρὸς Ἰουστῖνον  
βασιλέα πέμψας, ἀνδρας τε αὐτὸν στεῖλαι δοκί-  
μους ἡξίου, ἐφ' ὃ τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν  
θήσονται, καὶ γράμμασι τὸν τρόπον σημῆναι  
καθ' ὃν ἀν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσποίησιν  
21 θέσθαι βουλομένῳ εἴη. καὶ τότε δὴ Πρόκλος  
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον τὴν Περσῶν πεῖραν  
διέβαλλε, μέλειν τε αὐτοῖς ἵσχυρίζετο ὅπως δὴ  
τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀσφαλέ-  
22 στατα προσποιήσωνται. καὶ γνώμην ἀπέφαινε  
τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα περαι-  
νεσθαι, ἀνδρας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπ'  
αὐτῇ στέλλεσθαι, οὓς δὴ δεήσει πυνθανομένῳ τῷ  
Καβάδῃ καθ' ὃ τι δεῖ<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐσποίησιν Χοσρόη

<sup>1</sup> διαλογίζεσθε edd.: διαλογίζεσθαι VPW, διαλογίζεσθαι  
ἴπεισι G.

<sup>2</sup> δεῖ P: δὴ VG.

but this embassy openly and straight from the very first words means to make this Chosroes, whoever he is, the adopted heir of the Roman Emperor. For I would have you reason thus in this matter : by nature the possessions of fathers are due to their sons and while the laws among all men are always in conflict with each other by reason of their varying nature, in this matter both among the Romans and among all barbarians they are in agreement and harmony with each other, in that they declare sons to be masters of their fathers' inheritance. Take this first resolve if you choose : if you do you must agree to all its consequences."

Thus spoke Proclus ; and the emperor and his nephew gave ear to his words and deliberated upon what should be done. In the meantime Cabades sent another letter also to the Emperor Justinus, asking him to send men of repute in order to establish peace with him, and to indicate by letter the manner in which it would be his desire to accomplish the adoption of his son. And then, indeed, still more than before Proclus decried the attempt of the Persians, and insisted that their concern was to make over to themselves as securely as possible the Roman power. And he proposed as his opinion that the peace should be concluded with them with all possible speed, and that the noblest men should be sent by the emperor for this purpose ; and that these men must answer plainly to Cabades, when he enquired in what manner the adoption of Chosroes should be

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

γενέσθαι, διαρρήδην ἀποκρίνασθαι δτὶ δεῖ<sup>1</sup> ὡς  
 βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, δηλῶν<sup>2</sup> δτὶ οὐ γράμμασιν  
 οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παῖδας <ἐς>ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ'  
 23 ὅπλων σκευῆ. οὕτω τοίνυν τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 Ἰουστῖνος βασιλεὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας τοὺς  
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστους ἐψεσθαι σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν  
 ὑποσχόμενος, οἳ τά τε ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῷ  
 24 Χοσρόῃ ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσονται. γράμμασί τε  
 Καβάδην κατὰ ταῦτὸ ήμείψατο. στέλλονται  
 τοίνυν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων Τπάτιος, Ἀναστασίου  
 τοῦ πρώην βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς, πατρίκιος  
 τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔω τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων, καὶ  
 Ῥουφῖνος ὁ Σιλβανοῦ παῖς, ἐν τε πατρικίοις ἀνὴρ  
 δόκιμος καὶ Καβάδη ἐκ πατέρων αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> γνώ-  
 25 ριμος· ἐκ Περσῶν δὲ ἀνὴρ δυνατώτατός τε καὶ  
 ἔξουσίᾳ πολλῆ χρώμενος, διομα μὲν Σεόσης,  
 ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάντης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ Με-  
 26 βόδης, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἔχων ἀρχὴν. οἱ δὴ  
 ἐς χῶρόν τινα ξυνιόντες δις γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει, ἀλλῆλοις τε ξυγγινό-  
 μενοι ἐπρασσον δπως τά τε διάφορα διαλυσουσι  
 27 καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ εὖ θήσονται. ἥκε δὲ καὶ  
 Χοσρόης ἐς ποταμὸν Τύγρην, δις δὴ πόλεως Νισί-  
 βιδος διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ μάλιστα, δπως,  
 ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκατέροις δοκῆ ὡς ἄρι-  
 28 στα ἔχειν, αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλοιτο. πολλοὶ  
 μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὲρ  
 τῶν ἐν σφίσι διαφόρων ἐλέγοντο, καὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> δεῖ Haury : δῇ MSS.      <sup>2</sup> δηλῶν δτὶ VG : δηλοῦντι PW.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν Haury : αὐτῷ VGH, αὐτοῦ P.

accomplished, that it must be of the sort befitting a barbarian, and his meaning was that the barbarians adopt sons, not by a document, but by arms and armour.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the Emperor Justinus dismissed the envoys, promising that men who were the noblest of the Romans would follow them not long afterwards, and that they would arrange a settlement regarding the peace and regarding Chosroes in the best possible way. He also answered Cabades by letter to the same effect. Accordingly there were sent from the Romans Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius, the late emperor, a patrician who also held the office of General of the East, and Rufinus, the son of Silvanus, a man of note among the patricians and known to Cabades through their fathers; from the Persians came one of great power and high authority, Seoses by name, whose title was adrastadarān salanes, and Mebodes, who held the office of magister. These men came together at a certain spot which is on the boundary line between the land of the Romans and the Persians; there they met and negotiated as to how they should do away with their differences and settle effectually the question of the peace. Chosroes also came to the Tigris River, which is distant from the city of Nisibis about two days' journey, in order that, when the details of the peace should seem to both parties to be as well arranged as possible, he might betake himself in person to Byzantium. Now many words were spoken on both sides touching the differences between them, and in particular Seoses made mention of the land of Colchis, which is now called

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "by force."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Κολχίδα ἡ νῦν Λαζικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται Σεόσης ἔλεγε  
 Περσῶν κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οὖσαν βιασα-  
 29 μένους λόγῳ οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. ταῦτα  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ καὶ  
 Λαζικὴ πρὸς Περσῶν ἀντιλέγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ  
 τὴν ἐσπούησιν ἔφασκον δεῖν γενέσθαι Χοσρόη  
 οὗτως ὥσπερ Βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ  
 30 Πέρσαις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἑκάτεροι οὖν διαλιθέντες  
 ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ Χοσρόης ἅπρακτος  
 πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπὶών ὥχετο, περιώδυνός τε ὁν  
 τοὺς ξυμπεσούσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐχόμενος τῆς  
 ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως τίσασθαι.

31 Μετὰ δὲ Μεθόδης μὲν τὸν Σεόσην διέβαλλε  
 Καβάδη, ὡς δὴ ἔξεπίτηδες, οὐ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι  
 πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότου, τὸν Λαζικῆς λόγου προθείη,  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκκρούων Ἄπατιώ τε κοινολογησά-  
 μενος πρότερον, διὸ δὴ βασιλεῖ τῷ οἰκείῳ εὐνοϊκῶν  
 ως ἥκιστα ἔχων τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν Χοσρόου  
 ἐσπούησιν ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ οὐκ ἐψή γενέσθαι, πολλὰ  
 δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατηγοροῦντες οἱ ἔχθροὶ τὸν Σεόσην  
 32 ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. Περσῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ  
 ξύμπασα φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἡ νόμῳ ξυνειλεγμένοι  
 ἐδίκαζον. τῇ τε γὰρ ἀρχῇ οὐ ξυνειθισμένη  
 σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἥχθοντο καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ  
 33 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαλεπῶς εἶχον. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σεόσης  
 χρημάτων μὲν ἀδωρότατος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπι-  
 μελητῆς ἀκριβέστατος, ἀλαζονεύεις δὲ νόσῳ ἐχό-  
 μενος οὐδὲν ὄμαιώς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις.  
 ξυμφυὲς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρ-  
 χουσι τοῦτό γε ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεόσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ φοντο

Lazica, saying that it had been subject to the Persians from of old and that the Romans had taken it from them by violence and held it on no just grounds. When the Romans heard this, they were indignant to think that even Lazica should be disputed by the Persians. And when they in turn stated that the adoption of Chosroes must take place just as is proper for a barbarian, it seemed to the Persians unbearable. The two parties therefore separated and departed homeward, and Chosroes with nothing accomplished was off to his father, deeply injured at what had taken place and vowing vengeance on the Romans for their insult to him.

After this Mebodes began to slander Seoses to Cabades, saying that he had proposed the discussion of Lazica purposely, although he had not been instructed to do so by his master, thereby frustrating the peace, and also that he had had words previously with Hypatius, who was by no means well-disposed toward his own sovereign and was trying to prevent the conclusion of peace and the adoption of Chosroes ; and many other accusations also were brought forward by the enemies of Seoses, and he was summoned to trial. Now the whole Persian council gathered to sit in judgment moved more by envy than by respect for the law. For they were thoroughly hostile to his office, which was unfamiliar to them, and also were embittered by the natural temper of the man. For while Seoses was a man quite impossible to bribe, and a most exact respecter of justice, he was afflicted with a degree of arrogance not to be compared with that of any other. This quality, indeed, seems to be inbred in the Persian officials, but in Seoses even they thought that the

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ὑπερφυῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαι.  
34 ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ταῦτα τε ἄπερ μοι προδε-  
δήλωται καὶ ως ἡκιστα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βουλομένῳ  
εἶη ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν ἢ περι-  
35 στέλλειν τὰ Περσῶν νόμιμα. καὶνά τε γάρ  
αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἔναγχος  
τὴν γυναικα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένου τοῖς Περσῶν  
νόμοις γῇ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα.  
36 οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου  
κατέγνωσαν, Καβάδης δὲ ὥσπερ μὲν ξυναλγοῦντι  
ἄτε φίλῳ τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐφέκει, ἔξελέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν  
37 οὐδαμῆ ηθελεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν δι' ὄργῆς  
ἔχοι ἔξηνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλύειν τοὺς  
Περσῶν νόμους οὐκ ἐβούλετο, καίπερ ζωάγρια  
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁφείλων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σεόσης αἰτιώτατος  
γέγονε βιώναι τε καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐναι. οὗτω μὲν ὁ  
Σεόσης καταγνωσθεὶς ἔξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο.  
38 ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἔξ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύ-  
τησεν. ἔτερος γάρ τις ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνης  
οὐδεὶς γέγονε. καὶ Ῥουφίνος δὲ Ἄπατιον ἐς  
39 βασιλέα διέβαλλε. διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε παρέλυσε  
τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς  
πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος οὐδὲν ὑγίες ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
διαβολῇ τὸ παράπαν εύρε, κακὸν μέντοι οὐδὲν  
Ἄπατιον ἄλλο εἰργάσατο.

## XII

1 Εὐθὺς δὲ Καβάδης, καίπερ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων  
ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν,  
οὐδαμῆ ἵσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐναντίωμα τοιόνδε

malady had developed to an altogether extraordinary degree. So his accusers said all those things which have been indicated above, and added to this that the man was by no means willing to live in the established fashion or to uphold the institutions of the Persians. For he both revered strange divinities, and lately, when his wife had died, he had buried her, though it was forbidden by the laws of the Persians ever to hide in the earth the bodies of the dead. The judges therefore condemned the man to death, while Cabades, though seeming to be deeply moved with sympathy as a friend of Seoses, was by no means willing to rescue him. He did not, on the other hand, make it known that he was angry with him, but, as he said, he was not willing to undo the laws of the Persians, although he owed the man the price of his life, since Seoses was chiefly responsible both for the fact that he was alive and also that he was king. Thus, then, Seoses was condemned and was removed from among men. And the office which began with him ended also with him. For no other man has been made adrastadarān salānes. Rufinus also slandered Hypatius to the emperor. As a result of this the emperor reduced him from his office, and tortured most cruelly certain of his associates only to find out that this slander was absolutely unsound; beyond this, however, he did Hypatius no harm.

## XII

IMMEDIATELY after this, Cabades, though eager to make some kind of an invasion into the land of the Romans, was utterly unable to do so on account of

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2 ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Ἱβηρες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ  
οἰκοῦσι πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Κασπίαις ἴδρυνται  
πύλαις, αἴπερ αὐτοῖς εἰσι πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον.  
καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν ἔχομένη πρὸς τὰς  
ἡλίου δυσμὰς Λαζική ἐστιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ πρὸς  
3 ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη. οὗτος ὁ λεὼς  
Χριστιανοί τέ εἰσι καὶ τὰ νόμιμα τῆς δόξης  
φυλάσσουσι ταύτης πάντων μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων  
ῶν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, κατήκοοι μέντοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦ  
4 Περσῶν βασιλέως τυγχάνουσιν ὅντες. τότε δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἥθελε Καβάδης ἐς τὰ νόμιμα τῆς αὐτοῦ  
δόξης βιάζεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Γουρ-  
γένη ἐπέστελλε τά τε ἄλλα ποιεῖν ἢ Πέρσαι  
νομίζουσι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῇ γῇ ὡς ἥκιστα  
κρύπτειν, ἀλλ' ὅρνισί τε ριπτεῖν καὶ κυσίν  
5 ἄπαντας. διὸ δὴ Γουργένης προσχωρεῖν Ἰου-  
στίνφ βασιλεῖ ἥθελε τά τε πιστὰ ἡξίου λαβεῖν  
ῶς οὕποτε Ἱβηρας καταπροήσονται Πέρσαις  
6 Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα τε αὐτῷ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ  
πολλῇ ἔδίδουν καὶ Πρόβον τὸν Ἀναστασίου τοῦ  
βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον,  
ξὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἐπεμψειν, ἐφ'  
ῳ στράτευμα Οὔννων χρήμασιν ἀναπείσας  
7 Ἱβηρσι πέμψῃ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλις  
ἐπιθαλασσία ἡ Βόσπορος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν  
ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον, Χερ-  
σῶνος δὲ πόλεως, ἡ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχάτη  
ἐστίν, ὁδῷ διέχουσα ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν. ὃν δὴ τὰ  
8 ἐν μέσῳ ἄπαντα Οὔννοι ἔχουσιν. οἱ δὲ Βοσπο-  
ρῖται αὐτόνομοι μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν φέουν, Ἰουστίνφ  
9 δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐναγχος προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. ἐπεὶ

the following obstacle which happened to arise. The Iberians, who live in Asia, are settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates, which lie to the north of them. Adjoining them on the left towards the west is Lazica, and on the right towards the east are the Persian peoples. This nation is Christian and they guard the rites of this faith more closely than any other men known to us, but they have been subjects of the Persian king, as it happens, from ancient times. And just then Cabades was desirous of forcing them to adopt the rites of his own religion. And he enjoined upon their king, Gourgenes, to do all things as the Persians are accustomed to do them, and in particular not under any circumstances to hide their dead in the earth, but to throw them all to the birds and dogs. For this reason, then, Gourgenes wished to go over to the Emperor Justinus, and he asked that he might receive pledges that the Romans would never abandon the Iberians to the Persians. And the emperor gave him these pledges with great eagerness, and he sent Probus, the nephew of the late emperor Anastasius, a man of patrician rank, with a great sum of money to Bosphorus, that he might win over with money an army of Huns and send them as allies to the Iberians. This Bosphorus is a city by the sea, on the left as one sails into the so-called Euxine Sea, twenty days' journey distant from the city of Cherson, which is the limit of the Roman territory. Between these cities everything is held by the Huns. Now in ancient times the people of Bosphorus were autonomous, but lately they had decided to become subject to the Emperor Justinus. Probus, however, departed.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δὲ Πρόβος ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Πέτρον  
 στρατηγὸν σὺν Ούννοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικὴν βασι-  
 λεὺς ἔπειμψε Γουργένη ὅση δύναμις ξυμμαχή-  
 10 σοντα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καβάδης στράτευμα λόγου  
 πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐπί τε Γουργένην καὶ Ἰβηρας  
 ἔπειμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, οὐαρίζην  
 11 μὲν τὸ ἄξιωμα, Βόην δὲ ὄνομα. ὃ τε Γουργένης  
 ἐλάσσων ὀφθεὶς ἦ φέρειν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον,  
 . ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκ Ρωμαίων οὐχ ἴκανὰ ἦν, ξὺν Ἰβήρων  
 τοῖς λογίμοις ἅπασιν ἐς Λαζικὴν ἔφυγε,<sup>1</sup> τὴν  
 τε γυναικα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς  
 ἐπαγόμενος, ὃν δὴ Περάνιος ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν.  
 12 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὄριοις γενόμενοι ἔμενον, ταῖς  
 τε δυσχωρίαις φραξάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφί-  
 13 σταντο. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ  
 τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἐπρασσον, τοῦ πράγματος  
 σφίσι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατοῦντος.

14 Ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ τε Ἰβηρες ἐς Βυζάντιον παρε-  
 γένοντο καὶ Πέτρος ἐς βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος  
 ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς Λαζοῖς οὐ βουλο-  
 μένοις ξυμφυλάσσειν τὴν χώραν ἡξίου, στρά-  
 15 τευμά τε καὶ Εἰρηναῖον ἄρχοντα πέμψας. ἔστι  
 δὲ φρούρια ἐν Λαζοῖς δύο εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι ἐκ τῶν  
 Ἰβηρίας ὄριων, ὃν ἡ φυλακὴ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐκ  
 παλαιοῦ ἐπιμελής ἦν, καίπερ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ  
 ἔχομένοις, ἐπεὶ οὔτε σῆτος ἐνταῦθα οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε  
 16 ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίνεται. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἐτέρωθεν  
 ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οἰόν τέ ἔστιν,  
 17 ὅτι μὴ φερόντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐλύμοις μέντοι τισὶν

<sup>1</sup> Φυγε edd.: φεύγει MSS.

from there without accomplishing his mission, and the emperor sent Peter as general with some Huns to Lazica to fight with all their strength for Gourgenes. Meanwhile Cabades sent a very considerable army against Gourgenes and the Iberians, and as general a Persian bearing the title of "varizes," Boes by name. Then it was seen that Gourgenes was too weak to withstand the attack of the Persians, for the help from the Romans was insufficient, and with all the notables of the Iberians he fled to Lazica, taking with him his wife and children and also his brothers, of whom Peranius was the eldest. And when they had reached the boundaries of Lazica, they remained there, and, sheltering themselves by the roughness of the country, they took their stand against the enemy. And the Persians followed after them but did nothing deserving even of mention since the circumstance of the rough country was against them.

Thereafter the Iberians presented themselves at Byzantium and Petrus came to the emperor at his summons ; and from then on the emperor demanded that he should assist the Lazi to guard their country, even against their will, and he sent an army and Erenaeus in command of it. Now there are two fortresses in Lazica<sup>1</sup> which one comes upon immediately upon entering their country from the boundaries of Iberia, and the defence of them had been from of old in charge of the natives, although they experienced great hardship in this matter ; for neither corn nor wine nor any other good thing is produced there. Nor indeed can anything be carried in from elsewhere on account of the narrowness of the paths, unless it be carried by men.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book VIII. xiii. 15.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ένταῦθα γιγνομένοις εἰθισμένον σφίσιν οἱ Λαζοὶ  
18 ἀποξῆν ἴσχυον. τούτους ἔξαναστήσας ἐνθένδε  
βασιλεὺς τοὺς φρουρούς, στρατιώτας ὑπαρχόντες  
ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν φρουρίων καθί-  
19 στασθαι. οἵς δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπιτήδεια μόλις  
Λαζοὶ ἔφερον, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τὴν  
ὑπουργίαν ἀπεῖπον καὶ ὑπαρχόντες τὰ φρούρια  
ταῦτα ἔξελιπον, οἵ τε Πέρσαι πόνῳ αὐτὰ οὐδενὶ  
ἔσχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Λαζοῖς γέγονε.  
20 ὑπαρχόντες τε καὶ Βελισαρίου ἡγου-  
μένων σφίσιν, ἐς Περσαρμενίαν τὴν Περσῶν  
κατήκοον ἐσβαλόντες χώραν τε πολλὴν ἐλη-  
σαντο καὶ Ἀρμενίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος ἀνδρα-  
21 ποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρε  
νεανίᾳ μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτα ἡστην, Ἰουστι-  
νιανοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ δορυφόρω, δος δὴ χρόνῳ  
ὕστερον ξὺν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ θείῳ τὴν βασιλείαν  
ἔσχεν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἐσβολῆς ὑπαρχόντες τοὺς ὑπαρ-  
μενίων γεγενημένης Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος παρὰ  
22 δόξαν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἐις χεῖρας ἥλθον. οἱ οὐ  
πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐις ὑπαρχόντες τοὺς ὑπαρχόντες τοὺς ἄμφι Σίτταν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξυμ-  
23 βαλόντες τὸ πλέον ἔσχον. εἰσέβαλε δὲ καὶ  
ἄμφι πόλιν Νίσιβιν ἄλλῃ ὑπαρχόντες τούς τοὺς  
Λιβελάριος ἐκ Θράκης ἥρχεν. οἱ φεύγοντες  
εὐθυωρὸν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καίπερ  
24 οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος. διὸ δὴ Λιβελάριον  
μὲν παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, Βελισάριον  
δὲ ἄρχοντα καταλόγων τῶν ἐν Δάρας κατεστή-  
σατο. τότε δὴ αὐτῷ ξύμβουλος ἥρεθη Προκόπιος  
δις τάδε ξυνέγραψε.

However, the Lazi were able to live on a certain kind of millet which grows there, since they were accustomed to it. These garrisons the emperor removed from the place and commanded that Roman soldiers should be stationed there to guard the fortresses. And at first the Lazi with difficulty brought in provisions for these soldiers, but later they gave up the service and the Romans abandoned these forts, whereupon the Persians with no trouble took possession of them. This then happened in Lazica.

And the Romans, under the leadership of Sittas and Belisarius, made an inroad into Persarmenia, a territory subject to the Persians, where they plundered a large tract of country and then withdrew with a great multitude of Armenian captives. These two men were both youths and wearing their first beards,<sup>1</sup> body-guards of the general Justinian, who later shared the empire with his uncle Justinus. But when a second inroad had been made by the Romans into Armenia, Narses and Aratius unexpectedly confronted them and engaged them in battle. These men not long after this came to the Romans as deserters, and made the expedition to Italy with Belisarius; but on the present occasion they joined battle with the forces of Sittas and Belisarius and gained the advantage over them. An invasion was also made near the city of Nisibis by another Roman army under command of Libelarius of Thrace. This army retired abruptly in flight although no one came out against them. And because of this the emperor reduced Libelarius from his office and appointed Belisarius commander of the troops in Daras. It was at that time that Procopius, who wrote this history, 527 A.D. was chosen as his adviser.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Iliad* xxiv. 348; *Odyssey* x. 279.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XIII

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὥστερον Ἰουστῖνος βασι-  
 λέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀνε-  
 πὼν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐς μόνον Ἰουστι-  
 2 νιανὸν ἡ βασιλεία ἤλθεν. οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς  
 ἐκέλευε Βελισάριον δείμασθαι φρούριον ἐν χωρίῳ  
 Μίνδουσος, διὰ τοῦτος ἐστι τοῦ Περσῶν ὄροις,  
 3 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Νίσιβιν ἴόντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν σπουδῇ  
 πολλῇ τὰ βασιλεῖς δόξαντα ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει, τό τε  
 ὀχύρωμα ἐς ὑψος ἥδη πολυναυθρωπία τεχνιτῶν  
 4 ἥρετο. Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπεῖπον μὴ οἰκοδομήσασθαι  
 περαιτέρω μηδέν, οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἔργοις διακωλυταὶ ἀπειλοῦντες οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν  
 5 ἔσεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν (οὐ γὰρ  
 οἶός τε ἡνὶ Βελισάριος Πέρσας ἐνθένδε τῷ παρόντι  
 στρατῷ ἀποκρούεσθαι), ἀλλην τε στρατιὰν ἐπήγ-  
 γελλεν αὐτόσει ἵέναι καὶ Κούτζην τε καὶ Βούζην,  
 οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἥρχον τότε. τούτῳ  
 δὲ ἀδελφῷ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἥστην, νέω δὲ ἄμφω  
 καὶ οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χείρας  
 6 ἴόντε. ἕκάτεροι μὲν οὖν ξυλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν  
 οἰκοδομίαν ἀθρόοι ἥεσαν,<sup>1</sup> Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτὴν  
 παντὶ σθένει διακωλύσοντες, Ρωμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς  
 7 τεκταινομένοις ἐπαμυνοῦντες. μάχης δὲ καρ-  
 τερᾶς γενομένης ἥσσωνται Ρωμαῖοι, φόνος τε  
 αὐτῶν πολὺς γέγονε, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἔξωγρησαν οἱ  
 8 πολέμιοι. ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ Κούτζης. οὗδε δὴ  
 οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπαντας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἥθη ἀπαγαγόντες,  
 δῆσαντές τε τὸν ἀπαντα χρονον ἐν σπηλαίῳ  
 καθεῖρξαν, καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν οἰκοδομίαν

<sup>1</sup> ἥεσαν Braun: ἥσαν MSS.

## XIII

Not long after this Justinus, who had declared his nephew Justinian emperor with him, died, and thus the empire came to Justinian alone. This Justinian commanded Belisarius to build a fortress in a place called Mindouos, which is over against the very boundary of Persia, on the left as one goes to Nisibis. He accordingly with great haste began to carry out the decision of the emperor, and the fort was already rising to a considerable height by reason of the great number of artisans. But the Persians forbade them to build any further, threatening that, not with words alone but also with deeds, they would at no distant time obstruct the work. When the emperor heard this, inasmuch as Belisarius was not able to beat off the Persians from the place with the army he had, he ordered another army to go thither, and also Coutzes and Bouzes, who at that time commanded the soldiers in Libanus.<sup>1</sup> These two were brothers from Thrace, both young and inclined to be rash in engaging with the enemy. So both armies were gathered together and came in full force to the scene of the building operations, the Persians in order to hinder the work with all their power, and the Romans to defend the labourers. And a fierce battle took place in which the Romans were defeated, and there was a great slaughter of them, while some also were made captive by the enemy. Among these was Coutzes himself. All these captives the Persians led away to their own country, and, putting them in chains, confined them permanently in a cave; as for the fort, since no

Apr. 1, 527

Aug. 1, 527

<sup>1</sup> Lebanon.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀμυνομένου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον.

- 9    "Τστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν τῆς ἕω Βελισάριον καταστησάμενος, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ στρατιὰν λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀγείρας ἐς Δάρας ἤλθε. καὶ οἱ Ἐρμογένης ξυνδιακοσμήσων τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, ὃς Βιταλιανῷ παρήδρευε πρότερον ἡνίκα
- 10   πολλοὺς ἀξίαν ἀγείρας ἐς Δάρας ἤλθε. καὶ οἱ Ἐρμογένης ξυνδιακοσμήσων τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, ὃς Βιταλιανῷ παρήδρευε πρότερον ἡνίκα
- 11   βασιλεῖ Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμιος ἦν. καὶ Ῥουφίνον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν, διν δὴ ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευε. λόγοι γὰρ ἥδη πολλοὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγίνοντο.
- 12   ἄφνω δέ τις Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἐρμογένει ἀπήγγελλεν ώς Πέρσαι ἐσβάλλειν ἐπίδοξοί εἰσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, πόλιν Δάρας αἱρήσειν ἐν
- 13   σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύοντο ὡδε. τῆς πύλης ἡ πόλεως Νισίβιδος καταντικρὺ κεῖται οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον λίθου βολήν, τάφρον βαθείαν τινα ὥρυξαν, διεξόδους πολλὰς ἔχουσαν. οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας μέντοι ἡ τάφρος ἥδε ὀρώρυκτο, ἀλλὰ
- 14   τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέσον βραχεῖά τις ἐγεγόνει εὐθεῖα, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτῆς ὀρθαὶ κεραῖαι πεποίηντο δύο, ἐς τε τὰ πέρατα ταῦν ὀρθαῖν κεραίαιν αὐθις τὰς τάφρους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
- 15   εὐθείας ἔξηγον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἤλθον, ἐν τέ Ἀμμώδιος χωρίῳ, πόλεως Δάρας μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντι,
- 16   ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπαυτες. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἄλλοι

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one defended it any longer, they razed what had been built to the ground.

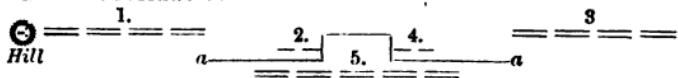
After this the Emperor Justinian appointed Belisarius General of the East and bade him make an expedition against the Persians. And he collected a very formidable army and came to Daras. Hermogenes also came to him from the emperor to assist in setting the army in order, holding the office of magister; this man was formerly counsellor to Vitalianus at the time when he was at war with the Emperor Anastasius. The emperor also sent Rufinus as ambassador, commanding him to remain in Hierapolis on the Euphrates River until he himself should give the word. For already much was being said on both sides concerning peace. Suddenly, however, someone reported to Belisarius and Hermogenes that the Persians were expected to invade the land of the Romans, being eager to capture the city of Daras. And when they heard this, they prepared for the battle as follows. Not far from the gate which lies opposite the city of Nisibis, about a stone's throw away, they dug a deep trench with many passages across it. Now this trench was not dug in a straight line, but in the following manner. In the middle there was a rather short portion straight, and at either end of this there were dug two cross trenches at right angles to the first; and starting from the extremities of the two cross trenches, they continued two straight trenches in the original direction to a very great distance. Not long afterwards the Persians came with a great army, and all of them made camp in a place called Ammodios, at a distance of twenty stades from the city of Daras. Among the leaders

July,  
530

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τε ἡσαν καὶ Πιτυάξης καὶ Βαρεσμανᾶς ἑτερόφθαλμος. στρατηγὸς δὲ εἰς ἄπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρσης ἀνήρ, μιρράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα (οὗτῳ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι), Περόζης δὲ ὄνομα.
- 17 δὲ δὴ αὐτίκα παρὰ Βελισάριου πέμψας τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι λοῦσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένῳ εἶναι.
- 18 διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔυμβολὴν καρτερώτατα ἐξηρτύνοντο, ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ μαχούμενοι.
- 19 Ἀμα τε ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ σφᾶς προιόντας ὁρῶντες ἐτάξαντο ὡδε. εὐθείας μὲν τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ἐνερθεν ἢν τῆς ὁρθῆς κεραίας μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον δὲ ταύτη ἀνέχει, Βούζης εἰχε ἔνν ιππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ
- 20 Φάρας Ἐρουλος ἔνν ὁμογενέσι τριακοσίοις. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τάφρου ἐκτὸς κατὰ τὴν γωνίαν ἢν ἡ τε ὁρθὴ κεραία καὶ ἡ ἐνθένδε εὐθεῖα ἐποίει, Σουνίκας τε ἢν καὶ Ἀϊγάν, Μασσαγέται γένος, ἔνν ιππεῦσιν ἔξακοσίοις, ὅπως, ἢν οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν τραπεῖεν, αὐτοὶ πλάγιοι κατὰ τάχος ἴόντες κατὰ υπότου τε τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνη Ῥωμαίοις ἀμύνειν εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτετάχατο· τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐθείας τὰ ἔσχατα ιππεῖς πολλοὶ είχον, ὡν Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Νικήτου ἥρχε καὶ Κύριλλός τε καὶ Μάρκελλος· ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γερμανὸς καὶ Δωρόθεος· ἐς γωνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ιππεῖς ἐτάξαντο ἔξακόσιοι, ὡν Σίμμας τε καὶ
- 21

<sup>1</sup> Roman formation.



of this army were Pityaxes and the one-eyed Baresmanas. But one general held command over them all, a Persian, whose title was "mirranes" (for thus the Persians designate this office), Perozes by name. This Perozes immediately sent to Belisarius bidding him make ready the bath: for he wished to bathe there on the following day. Accordingly the Romans made the most vigorous preparations for the encounter, with the expectation that they would fight on the succeeding day.

At sunrise, seeing the enemy advancing against them, they arrayed themselves as follows.<sup>1</sup> The extremity of the left straight trench which joined the cross trench, as far as the hill which rises here, was held by Bouzes with a large force of horsemen and by Pharas the Eruolian with three hundred of his nation. On the right of these, outside the trench, at the angle formed by the cross trench and the straight section which extended from that point, were Sunicas and Aigan, Massagetae by birth, with six hundred horsemen, in order that, if those under Bouzes and Pharas should be driven back, they might, by moving quickly on the flank, and getting in the rear of the enemy, be able easily to support the Romans at that point. On the other wing also they were arrayed in the same manner; for the extremity of the straight trench was held by a large force of horsemen, who were commanded by John, son of Nicetas, and by Cyril and Marcellus; with them also were Germanus and Dorotheus; while at the angle on the right six hundred horsemen took their stand, commanded by Simmas and

*a—a, trench.*

1. Bouzes and Pharas.

2. Sunicas and Aigan.

3. John, Cyril, Marcellus, Germanus, and Dorotheus.

4. Simmas and Ascan.

5. Belisarius and Hermogenes.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- Ασκὰν Μασσαγέται ἡρχου, ἵνα, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τρεπομένων, ἀν οὗτῳ τύχῃ, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἔξανιστάμενοι κατὰ νότου τῶν
- 22 Περσῶν ἴωσι. πανταχῆ δὲ τῆς τάφρου οἵ τε τῶν ἱππέων κατάλογοι καὶ οἱ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἵστατο. ὃν δὴ ὅπισθεν οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βελισάριου καὶ Ἐρμογένην
- 23 κατὰ μέσους είστήκεσαν. ὃδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ δισμυρίους ξυνιόντες ἐτάξαντο, Περσῶν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς μυριάδες μὲν τέσσαρες ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἦσαν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἄπαντες μετωπηδὸν ἵσταντο, ὡς βαθύτατον τῆς
- 24 φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν μάχης ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐδέτεροι ἡρχου, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσί τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν Πέρσαι ἐώκεσαν καὶ ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παρούσιν ἀπορουμένοις.
- 25 Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ δείλην ὄφίαν μοῖρά τις τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἰχον, ἀποσχισθέντες τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βούζην
- 26 τε καὶ Φάραν ἐπῆλθον. οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, κύκλωσιν, οἷμπι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ δείσαντες. μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥρη μησαν. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ αὐθις οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φύραν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐτάξαντο.
- 28 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Περσῶν ἐπτὰ ἔπεσον, ὃν δὴ τῶν σωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
- 29 ἡσυχάζοντες ἐν τάξει ἐκάτεροι ἔμενον. εἰς δὲ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης νεανίας, ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσσας, προύκαλεῖτο ἄπαντας

Ascan, Massagetae, in order that, as has been said, in case the forces of John should by any chance be driven back, they might move out from there and attack the rear of the Persians. Thus all along the trench stood the detachments of cavalry and the infantry. And behind these in the middle stood the forces of Belisarius and Hermogenes. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves, amounting to five-and-twenty thousand ; but the Persian army consisted of forty thousand horse and foot, and they all stood close together facing the front, so as to make the front of the phalanx as deep as possible. Then for a long time neither side began battle with the other, but the Persians seemed to be wondering at the good order of the Romans, and appeared at a loss what to do under the circumstances.

In the late afternoon a certain detachment of the horsemen who held the right wing, separating themselves from the rest of the army, came against the forces of Bouzes and Pharas. And the Romans retired a short distance to the rear. The Persians, however, did not pursue them, but remained there, fearing, I suppose, some move to surround them on the part of the enemy. Then the Romans who had turned to flight suddenly rushed upon them. And the Persians did not withstand their onset and rode back to the phalanx, and again the forces of Bouzes and Pharas stationed themselves in their own position. In this skirmish seven of the Persians fell, and the Romans gained possession of their bodies ; thereafter both armies remained quietly in position. But one Persian, a young man, riding up very close to the Roman army, began to challenge all of them,

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30 εἴ τις οἱ βούλοιτο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. καὶ τῶν μὲν  
ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐτόλμα οὐδείς,  
Ἄνδρεας δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκείοις, οὐ  
στρατιώτης μὲν οὐδέ τι ἀσκήσας τῶν κατὰ τὸν  
πόλεμον πώποτε, παιδοτρίβης δὲ καὶ παλαίστρα  
31 τινὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐφεστηκώς. διὸ δὴ καὶ τῷ  
στρατῷ εἶπετο, ἄτε τοῦ Βούζου σώματος ἐν βαλα-  
νείῳ ἐπιμελούμενος, γένος δὲ Βυζάντιος ἦν. οὗτος  
ἐθάρσησε μόνος, οὕτε Βούζου οὕτε ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν  
ἐπαγγείλαντος, αὐτόματος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς μονο-  
μαχίαν ἐπεξιέναι. φθύσας δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον  
ἔτι περισκοπούμενον ὅπῃ ὁρμήσεται, παρὰ μαζὸν  
32 τὸν δεξιὸν τῷ δόρατι παίει. ὁ δὲ πληγὴν ἀν-  
δρὸς ἴσχυροῦ λίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς  
ἔδαφος πίπτει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἄνδρέας μαχαίρᾳ τινὶ  
βραχείᾳ ὥσπερ ἱερείον ὑπτίως κείμενον ἔθυσε,  
κραυγὴ τε ὑπερφυὴς ἔκ τε τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ  
33 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἥρθη. Πέρσαι δὲ τῷ  
γεγονότι περιαλγήσαντες ἔτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν  
πρᾶξιν ἵππεα καθῆκαν, ἀνδρείον μὲν καὶ μεγέθους  
σώματος πέρι εὐ ἥκουντα, οὐ νεανίαν δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
34 τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν πολιὸν ὄντα. δις  
δὴ παρὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἐπὶών, ἐπὶ  
πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν μάστιγα σείων ἦ παίειν τὸν  
ἵππον εἰώθει, Ῥωμαίων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς μάχην  
35 ἐκάλει. οὐδενὸς δέ οἱ ἐπεξιόντος, Ἄνδρέας αὐθις  
ἀπαντας λαθὼν ἐς μέσον ἥλθε, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς  
36 τοῦ Ἐρμογένους ἀπειρημένον. ἄμφω γοῦν τοῖς  
δόρασιν ἐς ἄλλήλους θυμῷ πολλῷ ἔχόμενοι  
ῶρμησαν, καὶ τά τε δόρατα τοῖς θώραξιν ἐρει-

calling for whoever wished to do battle with him. And no one of the whole army dared face the danger, except a certain Andreas, one of the personal attendants of Bouzes, not a soldier nor one who had ever practised at all the business of war, but a trainer of youths in charge of a certain wrestling school in Byzantium. Through this it came about that he was following the army, for he cared for the person of Bouzes in the bath ; his birthplace was Byzantium. This man alone had the courage, without being ordered by Bouzes or anyone else, to go out of his own accord to meet the man in single combat. And he caught the barbarian while still considering how he should deliver his attack, and hit him with his spear on the right breast. And the Persian did not bear the blow delivered by a man of such exceptional strength, and fell from his horse to the earth. Then Andreas with a small knife slew him like a sacrificial animal as he lay on his back, and a mighty shout was raised both from the city wall and from the Roman army. But the Persians were deeply vexed at the outcome and sent forth another horseman for the same purpose, a manly fellow and well favoured as to bodily size, but not a youth, for some of the hair on his head already shewed grey. This horseman came up along the hostile army, and, brandishing vehemently the whip with which he was accustomed to strike his horse, he summoned to battle whoever among the Romans was willing. And when no one went out against him, Andreas, without attracting the notice of anyone, once more came forth, although he had been forbidden to do so by Hermogenes. So both rushed madly upon each other with their spears, and the weapons, driven

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σθέντα δεινώς ἀπεκρούσθη οἵ τε ἵπποι ἐς τὰς  
κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλοις συγκρούσαντες ἔπεσόν τε  
37 αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπέβαλον. τῷ δὲ  
ἄνδρε τούτῳ ἄγχιστά· πη πεσόντε ἀλλήλοιν  
ἔξανίστασθαι σπουδῆ πολλῆ ἀμφω ἡπειρέσθην,  
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πέρσης τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἀτε οἱ τοῦ μεγέ-  
θους ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὐκ εὐπετῶς εἶχεν, Ἀνδρέας  
δὲ προτερήσας (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ κατὰ τὴν  
παλαίστραν μελέτη ἐδίδου) τῷ τε γόνατι ἔξανι-  
στάμενον αὐτὸν ἔτυψε καὶ αὐθις εἰς τὸ ἕδαφος  
38 πεσόντα ἔκτεινε. κραυγή τε ἐκ τοῦ τείχους καὶ  
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ οὐδέν τι ἡσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ  
μᾶλλον, ἥρθη· καὶ οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀμμώδιος  
τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ  
Ῥωμαῖοι παιανίσαντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγέ-  
39 νοντο. ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἔννεσκόταζεν. οὗτω τε  
ἀμφότεροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὔλισαντο.

## XIV

- 1 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσαις μὲν στρατιώται μύριοι  
ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως μετάπεμπτοι ἥλθον, Βελι-  
σάριος δὲ καὶ Ἐρμογένης πρὸς Μιρράνην ἔγραψαν  
τάδε, “Πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην είναι ὡμολογη-  
ται παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἵ τι καὶ κατὰ [τὸ]  
2 βραχὺ λογισμοῦ μέτεστιν. ὥστε ἡν τις διαλυτὴς  
αὐτῆς γένοιτο, τῶν κακῶν αἴτιώτατος ἀν οὐ τοῖς  
πέλας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμογενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ εἴη.  
στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ἄριστος οὗτος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, δις  
δὴ ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην διατίθεσθαι ἰκανὸς πέφυκε.  
3 σὺ· δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστώτων Ῥωμαίοις  
τε καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμον ἐπάγειν ήμῖν αἰτίαν οὐκ

against their corselets, were turned aside with mighty force, and the horses, striking together their heads, fell themselves and threw off their riders. And both the two men, falling very close to each other, made great haste to rise to their feet, but the Persian was not able to do this easily because his size was against him, while Andreas, anticipating him (for his practice in the wrestling school gave him this advantage), smote him as he was rising on his knee, and as he fell again to the ground dispatched him. Then a roar went up from the wall and from the Roman army as great, if not greater, than before; and the Persians broke their phalanx and withdrew to Ammodios, while the Romans, raising the pæan, went inside the fortifications; for already it was growing dark. Thus both armies passed that night.

#### XIV

On the following day ten thousand soldiers arrived who had been summoned by the Persians from the city of Nisibis, and Belisarius and Hermogenes wrote to the mirranes as follows: "The first blessing is peace, as is agreed by all men who have even a small share of reason. It follows that if any one should be a destroyer of it, he would be most responsible not only to those near him but also to his whole nation for the troubles which come. The best general, therefore, is that one who is able to bring about peace from war. But you, when affairs were well settled between the Romans and the Persians, have seen fit to bring upon us a war without cause,

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ἔχοντα ἔγνωκας, καίπερ ἐκατέρου μὲν βασιλέως εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένου, πρέσβεων δὲ παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἥδη, οὐ δὴ τὰ διάφορα τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὄμιλίᾳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαλύσουσιν, ἦν μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐφόδου ἔνυθιστον ταύτην

4 ἡμῖν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἴσχύσῃ. ἀλλ' ἀπαγε ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη, μηδὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐμποδὼν ἵστασο, μή ποτε Πέρσαις, ως τὸ εἰκός, εἴης τῶν ἔνυθιστον ταύτην

5 δεινῶν αἰτιος." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Μιρράνης ἀπενεχθέντα τὰ γράμματα εἶδεν, ἀμείβεται ὡδε, "Ἐποίησα ἀν τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀναπεισθείς, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα, οἷς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι πρόχειρόν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελεῖν χαλεπώτατόν τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ ὅρκοις τισὶ

6 κυρώσητε τὰ ἔνυθιστον. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπειπόντες ἀπάτην, ἐν ὅπλοις ἡναγκάσ μεθα παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤκειν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸ λοιπὸν οἰεσθε ἡ πολεμητέα ὑμῖν ἐς Πέρσας εἰναι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ τεθνάναι ἡ καταγηράσκειν δεήσει, ἔως ἔργῳ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς θήσεσθε." τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Μιρράνης

7 ἀντέγραψεν. αὐθις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριου ἔγραψαν ὡδε, "Οὐ πάντα χρή, ὡ βέλτιστε Μιρράνη, τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ χαρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς πέλας ἐπιφέρειν

8 ὀνείδη τὰ μηδαμόθεν προσήκοντα. Ῥουφίνον γὰρ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἤκοντα οὐκ ἀποθεν εἰναι ἡμεῖς τε εἴπομεν ἔνν τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν

9 εἴσῃ. γλιχομένοις δὲ ὑμῖν πολεμίων ἔργων ἀντι-

although the counsels of each king are looking toward peace, and although our envoys are already present in the neighbourhood, who will at no distant time settle all the points of dispute in talking over the situation together, unless some irreparable harm coming from your invasion proves sufficient to frustrate for us this hope. But lead away as soon as possible your army to the land of the Persians, and do not stand in the way of the greatest blessings, lest at some time you be held responsible by the Persians, as is probable, for the disasters which will come to pass." When the mirranes saw this letter brought to him, he replied as follows : " I should have been persuaded by what you write, and should have done what you demand, were the letter not, as it happens, from Romans, for whom the making of promises is easy, but the fulfilment of the promises in deed most difficult and beyond hope, especially if you sanction the agreement by any oaths. We, therefore, despairing in view of your deception, have been compelled to come before you in arms, and as for you, my dear Romans, consider that from now on you will be obliged to do nothing else than make war against the Persians. For here we shall be compelled either to die or grow old until you accord to us justice in deed." Such was the reply which the mirranes wrote back. And again Belisarius and his generals wrote as follows : " O excellent mirranes, it is not fitting in all things to depend upon boasting, nor to lay upon one's neighbours reproaches which are justified on no grounds whatever. For we said with truth that Rufinus had come to act as an envoy and was not far away, and you yourself will know this at no remote time. But since you are eager for deeds of war, we shall array

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ταξόμεθα ξὺν θεῷ, δν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ξυλλήψεσθαι ἵσμεν, ἡγμένον μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ τῇ Περσῶν νεμεσήσαντα καὶ οἰς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλουμένοις  
10 ἡμῖν είτα ἀντείνειν ἐγνώκατε. ἀντιταξόμεθα δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα παρ' ἑκατέρων ἀπ' ἄκρων σημείων  
11 ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀναψάμενοι." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Μιρράνης δὲ καὶ αὐθις ἀμείβεται ὡδε, "Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ θεῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθιστάμεθα, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥξομεν, οὕσπερ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσας ἐς Δάρας  
12 ἐσβιβάσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. ἀλλά μοι τό τε βαλανεῖον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γινέσθω." ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριου ἀναλεξάμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν.  
13 Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Πέρσας ἅπαντας περὶ ἥλιου ἀνατολὰς ξυγκαλέσας Μιρράνης ἔλεξε τοιάδε, "Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ώς οὐ λόγοις τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ τε οἰκείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδοῖ  
14 θαρσεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰώθασι Πέρσαι. ὄρῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς διαλογιζομένους τί δήποτε οὐ συνειθισμένον Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον ἄνευ θορύβων τε καὶ ἀταξίας εἰς μάχην ἴέναι, οἱ δὲ ξὺν κόσμῳ τινὶ ἔναγχος οὐδαμόθεν σφίσι προσήκοντι Πέρσας ἐπιόντας ὑπέστησαν, τοῦδε εἴνεκα παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαι τινα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐγνωκα, ὅπως μὴ δόξῃ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ χρω-  
15 μένοις ὑμῖν σφαλῆναι συμβαίη. μὴ γὰρ οἰεσθε Ῥωμαίους ἀμείνους τὰ πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς τι ἡ ἐμπειρίας κεκτῆσθαι

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ourselves against you with the help of God, who will, we know, support us in the danger, being moved by the peaceful inclination of the Romans, but rebuking the boastfulness of the Persians and your decision to resist us when we invite you to peace. And we shall array ourselves against you, having prepared for the conflict by fastening the letters written by each of us on the top of our banners." Such was the message of this letter. And the mirranes again answered as follows : " Neither are we entering upon the war without our gods, and with their help we shall come before you, and I expect that on the morrow they will bring the Persians into Daras. But let the bath and lunch be in readiness for me within the fortifications." When Belisarius and his generals read this, they prepared themselves for the conflict.

On the succeeding day the mirranes called together all the Persians at about sunrise and spoke as follows : " I am not ignorant that it is not because of words of their leaders, but because of their individual bravery and their shame before each other that the Persians are accustomed to be courageous in the presence of dangers. But seeing you considering why in the world it is that, although the Romans have not been accustomed heretofore to go into battle without confusion and disorder, they recently awaited the advancing Persians with a kind of order which is by no means characteristic of them, for this reason I have decided to speak some words of exhortation to you, so that it may not come about that you be deceived by reason of holding an opinion which is not true. For I would not have you think that the Romans have suddenly become better warriors, or that they have acquired any more valour or ex-

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πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι μᾶλλον ἡ τὰ πρότερα ὅντες ἐτύγχανον· οὗτοι γε οὗτω Πέρσας δεδίασιν ὥστε οὐδὲ τάφρου χωρὶς ἐσ

16 τὴν φάλαγγα καθίστασθαι τετολμήκασιν. οὐδὲ ξὺν ταύτῃ μάχης τινὸς ἥρξαν, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἐσ χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς ἥλθομεν, ἄσμενοί τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος τὰ πράγματα σφίσι κεχωρηκέναι οἰόμενοι

17 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἔχώρησαν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ξυντεταράχθαι τετύχηκεν, οὕπω εἰς κίνδυνον πολέμου ἐλθοῦσιν. ἦν δέ γε ἡ μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γένηται, ὁρωδία τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειρίᾳ<sup>1</sup> περιλαβοῦσαι ἐσ ἀκοσμίαν τὴν συνήθη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσουσι.

18 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων τοιαῦτά ἔστιν· ὑμᾶς δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, τοῦ βασιλέων βασιλέως ἡ κρίσις

19 εἰσίτω. ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἐπαξίως τῆς Περσῶν ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ

20 εὐκλεής περιστήσεται.” οὗτοι μὲν Μιρράνης παρακελευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα ἤγε. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἐρμογένης πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀγείραντες παρεκελεύ-

21 σαντο ὡδε, “‘Ως μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι Πέρσαι οὐδὲ κρείσσους ἡ θυήσκειν ἐπίστασθε δὴ που, μάχῃ τῇ προτέρᾳ σταθμώμενοι· ὡς δὲ τῇ τε ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ σώματος ἵσχυΐ περιόντες αὐτῶν, μόνῳ ἡττᾶσθε τῷ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθέστεροι εἶναι,

22 οὐδεὶς ἀν ἀντείποι. ὅπερ ἐπανορθοῦν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑμῖν πάρεστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα σπουδῇ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, γνώμη δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειρίᾳ GP : ἀπορίᾳ V.

perience, but that they have become more cowardly than they were previously ; at any rate they fear the Persians so much that they have not even dared to form their phalanx without a trench. And not even with this did they begin any fighting, but when we did not join battle with them at all, joyfully and considering that matters had gone better for them than they had hoped, they withdrew to the wall. For this reason too it happened that they were not thrown into confusion, for they had not yet come into the dangers of battle. But if the fighting comes to close quarters, fear will seize upon them, and this, together with their inexperience, will throw them, in all probability, into their customary disorder. Such, therefore, is the case with regard to the enemy ; but do you, O men of Persia, call to mind the judgment of the King of Kings. For if you do not play the part of brave men in the present engagement, in a manner worthy of the valour of the Persians, an inglorious punishment will fall upon you." With this exhortation the mirranes began to lead his army against the enemy. Likewise Belisarius and Hermogenes gathered all the Romans before the fortifications, and encouraged them with the following words : " You know assuredly that the Persians are not altogether invincible, nor too strong to be killed, having taken their measure in the previous battle ; and that, although superior to them in bravery and in strength of body, you were defeated only by reason of being rather heedless of your officers, no one can deny. This thing you now have the opportunity to set right with no trouble. For while the adversities of fortune are by no means such as to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ῥᾳδίως ἀν ἀνθρώπῳ ἰατρὸς  
 23 γένοιτο· ὅστε ἦν τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατ-  
 ακούειν ἡ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀναδήσεσθε  
 τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἡ  
 τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀκόσμῳ θαρσοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκουσι.  
 24 σφαλέντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος ὁμοίως  
 τῇ προλαβούσῃ ξυμβολῇ ἀπαλλάξουσι. καὶ τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, φὰ μάλιστα δεδίττονται,  
 25 ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῦν ἄξιον. τὸ γὰρ πεζὸν ἄπαν οὐδὲν  
 ἄλλο ἢ ὅμιλός ἐστιν ἀγροίκων οἴκτρῶν, οἱ ἐς τὴν  
 παράταξιν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδὲν ἔρχονται ἢ τεῖχός τε  
 διορύττειν καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας σκυλεύειν καὶ  
 26 τὰλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ δὴ ὅπλα  
 μὲν οὓς ἀν καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνοχλοῦν οὐδαμῆ  
 ἔχουσι, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μέγεθος προ-  
 βέβληνται μόνον ὅπως αὐτοὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
 27 ἥκιστα βάλλωνται. οὐκοῦν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε  
 τῷ κινδύνῳ<sup>1</sup> γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μόνον  
 Πέρσας νικήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας κολά-  
 σετε, ὡς μήποτε αὐθις εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 στρατεύσονται.”
- 28 Ταύτην Βελισάριος τε καὶ Ἐρμογένης τὴν  
 παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ Πέρσας ὁδῷ ἴόν-  
 τας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ  
 29 τάχος τοὺς στρατιώτας διέταξαν. καὶ οἱ βάρ-  
 βαροὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουντες μετωπηδὸν ἔστησαν.  
 οὐχ ἄπαντας μέντοι Πέρσας ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντίους  
 τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ  
 30 ἄλλους ὅπισθεν μένειν εἴασεν. οἱ δὴ τοὺς μαχο-  
 μένους ἐκδεχόμενοι ἔμελλον ἀκμῆτες ἐπιθήσεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> κινδύνῳ VG: πολέμῳ P.

be set right by an effort, reason may easily become for a man a physician for the ills caused by himself. If therefore you are willing to give heed to the orders given, you will straightway win for yourselves the superiority in battle. For the Persians come against us basing their confidence on nothing else than our disorder. But this time also they will be disappointed in this hope, and will depart just as in the previous encounter. And as for the great numbers of the enemy, by which more than anything else they inspire fear, it is right for you to despise them. For their whole infantry is nothing more than a crowd of pitiable peasants who come into battle for no other purpose than to dig through walls and to despoil the slain and in general to serve the soldiers. For this reason they have no weapons at all with which they might trouble their opponents, and they only hold before themselves those enormous shields in order that they may not possibly be hit by the enemy. Therefore if you show yourselves brave men in this struggle, you will not only conquer the Persians for the present, but you will also punish them for their folly, so that they will never again make an expedition into the Roman territory."

When Belisarius and Hermogenes had finished this exhortation, since they saw the Persians advancing against them, they hastily drew up the soldiers in the same manner as before. And the barbarians, coming up before them, took their stand facing the Romans. But the mirranes did not array all the Persians against the enemy, but only one half of them, while he allowed the others to remain behind. These were to take the places of the men who were fighting

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπως ἀεὶ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἄπαντες  
31 μάχωνται. μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν ἀθανάτων λεγομένων  
λόχον ἡσυχῆ μένειν, ἔως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευεν.  
32 αὐτὸς τε κατὰ μέσον τοῦ μετώπου ταξάμενος,  
Πιτυάξην μὲν τοῖς ἐν δεξιᾷ, Βαρεσμανᾶν δὲ  
τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας ἐπέστησεν. οὕτω μὲν  
ἀμφότεροι ἐτετάχατο. Φάρας δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ  
33 Ἐρμογένει παραστὰς εἶπεν, “Οὐδέν μοι δοκῶ ἐν-  
ταῦθα ξὺν τοῖς Ἐρούλοις μένων τοὺς πολεμίους  
ἐργάσασθαι μέγα· ἦν δὲ κρυπτόμενοι ἐς τὸ κάταν-  
τες τοῦτο, εἴτα, ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται  
Πέρσαι, διὰ τοῦτο λόφου ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ  
αὐθινδίου κατὰ ωτούν αὐτῶν ἵωμεν ὅπισθεν βάλ-  
λοντες, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, δρά-  
σομεν.” ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Βελισάριουν ἥρεσκε, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει.  
34 Μάχης δὲ ἄχρι ἐς ἡμέραγ μέσην οὐδέτεροι  
ἡρχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἡ μεσημβρία παρῳ-  
χηκεν, ἔργους οἱ βάρβαροι εἰχοντο, τοῦδε εἴνεκα ἐς  
τούτον τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν καιρὸν τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀπο-  
θέμενοι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν σιτίοις ἐς δείλην ὄψιαν  
χρῆσθαι μόνον εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸ τῆς  
μεσημβρίας, ὥστε οὕποτε φοντο αὐτοὺς ὄμοιώς  
35 ἀνθέξειν, ἦν πεινῶσιν ἐπιθῶνται. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
πρῶτα τοξεύμασιν ἔχρωντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι,  
καὶ τινα τὰ βέλη τῷ πλήθει ἀχλὺν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
ἐποίει, ἐκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἐπιπτον, πολλῷ  
δὲ συχνότερα τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων βέλη ἐφέρετο.  
36 ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀκμῆτες ἐμάχοντο, αἰ-  
σθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἡκιστα  
παρεχόμενοι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἔλασ-

and to fall upon their opponents with their vigour intact, so that all might fight in constant rotation. But the detachment of the so-called Immortals alone he ordered to remain at rest until he himself should give the signal. And he took his own station at the middle of the front, putting Pityaxes in command on the right wing, and Baresmanas on the left. In this manner, then, both armies were drawn up. Then Pharas came before Belisarius and Hermogenes, and said : "It does not seem to me that I shall do the enemy any great harm if I remain here with the Eruli ; but if we conceal ourselves on this slope, and then, when the Persians have begun the fight, if we climb up by this hill and suddenly come upon their rear, shooting from behind them, we shall in all probability do them the greatest harm." Thus he spoke, and, since it pleased Belisarius and his staff, he carried out this plan.

But up to midday neither side began battle. As soon, however, as the noon hour was passed, the barbarians began the fight, having postponed the engagement to this time of the day for the reason that they are accustomed to partake of food only towards late afternoon, while the Romans have their meal before noon ; and for this reason they thought that the Romans would never hold out so well, if they assailed them while hungry. At first, then, both sides discharged arrows against each other, and the missiles by their great number made, as it were, a vast cloud ; and many men were falling on both sides, but the missiles of the barbarians flew much more thickly. For fresh men were always fighting in turn, affording to their enemy not the slightest opportunity to observe what was being done ; but even so the Romans did

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σον εἰχον. πνεῦμα γάρ ἐνθένδε ἐπίφορον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιπεσὸν οὐ λίαν αὐτῶν τὰ  
37 τοξεύματα ἐνεργεῖν εἴᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπαντα ἑκατέρους τὰ βέλη ἡδη ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῖς τε δόρασιν  
ἔστι ἀλλήλους ἔχρωντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ  
χειρὸς ἐγεγόνει. Ὁ ρωμαίων δὲ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν  
38 μᾶλιστα ἔκαμνε. Καδισηνοὶ γάρ, οἱ ταύτη  
ξὺν τῷ Πιτυαξῷ ἐμάχοντο, πολλοὶ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ἐξαπιναίως ἐτρέψαντό τε τοὺς πολεμίους  
καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐγκείμενοι ἵσχυρότατα συχνοὺς  
39 ἔκτεινον. ὃ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σουνίκᾳ  
τε καὶ Ἀιγάν, δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἥσεαν.  
πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ τριακόσιοι ξὺν τῷ Φάρᾳ Ἐρουλοὶ  
ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ οώτου τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενοι,  
ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἔστι τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς  
40 Καδισηνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυντο. οἱ δὴ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Σουνίκαν πλαγίους ἡδη ἀνιόντας ἐπ’  
41 αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἔστι φυγὴν ὕρμηντο. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς  
λαμπρᾶς γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν  
οἱ ταύτη Ῥωμαῖοι, γέγονε φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων  
42 πολύς. καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐχ  
ἥσσους ἡ τρισχῖλιοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀπέθανον,  
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐστὴν φάλαγγα μόλις καταφυγόντες  
43 ἐσώθησαν. Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ’ ἐν  
τῇ παρατάξει ἐκάτεροι ἐστησαν ἀντίοι ἀλλήλοις.  
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῆδε.

44 Μιρράνης δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς  
ἀθανάτους λεγομένους ἄπαντας ἔστι μέρος τὸ ἀριστερὸν λάθρα ἐπεμψεν. οὓς δὴ κατιδόντες  
Βελισάριος τε καὶ Ἐρμογένης, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σουνίκαν τε καὶ Ἀιγάν ἐξακοσίους ἔστι γωνίαν τὴν ἐν  
δεξιᾷ ἐκέλευον ἴεναι, οὐδὲ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σίμμα τε

not have the worst of it. For a steady wind blew from their side against the barbarians, and checked to a considerable degree the force of their arrows. Then, after both sides had exhausted all their missiles, they began to use their spears against each other, and the battle had come still more to close quarters. On the Roman side the left wing was suffering especially. For the Cadiseni, who with Pityaxes were fighting at this point, rushing up suddenly in great numbers, routed their enemy, and, crowding hard upon the fugitives, were killing many of them. When this was observed by the men under Sunicas and Aigan, they charged against them at full speed. But first the three hundred Eruli under Pharas from the high ground got in the rear of the enemy and made a wonderful display of valorous deeds against all of them and especially the Cadiseni. And the Persians, seeing the forces of Sunicas too already coming up against them from the flank, turned to a hasty flight. And the rout became complete, for the Romans here joined forces with each other, and there was a great slaughter of the barbarians. On the Persian right wing not fewer than three thousand perished in this action, while the rest escaped with difficulty to the phalanx and were saved. And the Romans did not continue their pursuit, but both sides took their stand facing each other in line. Such was the course of these events.

But the mirranes stealthily sent to the left a large body of troops and with them all the so-called Immortals. And when these were noticed by Belisarius and Hermogenes, they ordered the six hundred men under Sunicas and Aigan to go to the angle on the right, where the troops of Simmas

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἵσταντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὅπισθεν τῶν  
45 Βελισαρίφ ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἔστησαν. Πέρσαι  
μὲν οὖν οἱ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν εἰχον Βαρεσμανᾶ  
ἡγουμένου σφίσι ξὺν τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἐς τοὺς κατ'  
αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους δρόμῳ ἐσέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐχ  
46 ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. τότε  
δὴ οἵ τε ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν  
ὅπισθεν ἦσαν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς διώ-  
47 κουντας ἤεσαν. ἄτε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐγκάρσιοι  
ἰόντες, διεῖλον αὐτῶν δίχα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ  
τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰχον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ  
ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐποιήσαντο. ἐν  
τοῖς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Βαρεσμανᾶ τὸ σημεῖον φέροντα  
ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, δὲν δὴ ὁ Σουνίκας τῷ δόρατι  
48 ἐπελθὼν παίει. ἥδη τε Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώ-  
τοις διώκοντες, αὐσθόμενοι οὐ νῆσαν κακοῦ, στρέ-  
ψαντές τε τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὴν δίωξιν καταπαύ-  
σαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμφί-  
49 βολοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο. ξυνέντες  
γὰρ τῶν ποιουμένων οἱ φεύγοντες ἀνέστρεφον  
αὖθις. οἵ τε γοῦν ἄλλοι Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ τῶν  
ἀθανάτων λόχος, κεκλιμένον τε τὸ σημεῖον  
ἰδόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς  
ἐκείνη Ῥωμαίους ξὺν τῷ Βαρεσμανῷ ὥρμησαν.  
50 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὑπηντίαζον. καὶ πρῶτος<sup>1</sup> Σουνίκας  
τὸν Βαρεσμανᾶν ἔκτεινέ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς  
τὸ ἔδαφος ἔρριψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος μέγα  
οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλκῆς μὲν οὐκέτι  
ἐμέμνηντο, ἀκοσμίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐφευγον.  
51 καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι κύκλωσίν τενα ποιησάμενοι  
πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔκτειναν. οὗτοι τε τὰ

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτος GP : πρῶτον V.

and Ascan were stationed, and behind them they placed many of Belisarius' men. So the Persians who held the left wing under the leadership of Baresmanas, together with the Immortals, charged on the run upon the Romans opposite them, who failed to withstand the attack and beat a hasty retreat. Thereupon the Romans in the angle, and all who were behind them, advanced with great ardour against the pursuers. But inasmuch as they came upon the barbarians from the side, they cut their army into two parts, and the greater portion of them they had on their right, while some also who were left behind were placed on their left. Among these happened to be the standard bearer of Baresmanas, whom Sunicas charged and struck with his spear. And already the Persians who were leading the pursuit perceived in what straits they were, and, wheeling about, they stopped the pursuit and went against their assailants, and thus became exposed to the enemy on both sides. For those in flight before them understood what was happening and turned back again. The Persians, on their part, with the detachment of the Immortals, seeing the standard inclined and lowered to the earth, rushed all together against the Romans at that point with Baresmanas. There the Romans held their ground. And first Sunicas killed Baresmanas and threw him from his horse to the ground. As a result of this the barbarians were seized with great fear and thought no longer of resistance, but fled in utter confusion. And the Romans, having made a circle as it were around them, killed about five thousand. Thus both armies

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- στρατόπεδα παντάπασιν ἐκινήθη ἐκάτερα, Περσῶν  
52 μὲν ἐς ὑπαγωγήν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. ἐν  
τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὅσοι δὴ πεζοὶ ἐν τῷ Περσῶν  
στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ρίψαντές τε τοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ  
καταλαμβανόμενοι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν πο-  
λεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. Ῥωμαίων μέντοι ἡ δίωξις  
53 δι’ ὀλίγου ἐγένετο. Βελισάριος γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμο-  
γένης περαιτέρω ἵέναι οὐδαμῇ εἴων, δεῖσαντες μή  
τινι ἀνάγκῃ Πέρσαι ὑποστραφέντες τρέψανται  
αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διώκοντας, ἵκανόν τε αὐτοῖς  
κατεφαίνετο τὴν νίκην ἀκραιφνῆ διασώσασθαι.  
54 μακροῦ γὰρ χρόνου Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ  
ἡμέρᾳ ἡσσήθησαν Πέρσαι. οὕτω μὲν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων  
55 ἐκάτεροι διεκρίθησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι μάχην  
ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ἥθελον.  
ἐγένοντο μέντοι ἀμφοτέροις τινὲς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς  
ἔφοδοι, ἐν αἷς οὐκ ἔλασσον Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον. τὰ  
μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῇδε  
ἐφέρετο.

## XV

- 1 Καθάδης δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐς Ἀρμενίαν τὴν  
Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον ἔπειψε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα  
τούτο Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Σουνιτῶν ἦσαν, οἱ δὴ  
Ἀλανοῖς εἰσιν ὅμοροι. Οὐννοί τε αὐτοῖς οἱ  
Σάβειροι καλούμενοι τρισχίλιοι ξυνῆσαν, μαχιμώ-  
2 τατον ἔθνος. στρατηγὸς δὲ Μερμεράης, Πέρσης  
ἀνήρ, ἄπασιν ἔφειστήκει. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Θεοδο-  
σιουπόλεως τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ διεῖχον, ἐνστρατο-  
πεδευσάμενοί τε ἔμενον ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ

were all set in motion, the Persians in retreat, and the Romans in pursuit. In this part of the conflict all the foot-soldiers who were in the Persian army threw down their shields and were caught and wantonly killed by their enemy. However, the pursuit was not continued by the Romans over a great distance. For Belisarius and Hermogenes refused absolutely to let them go farther, fearing lest the Persians through some necessity should turn about and rout them while pursuing recklessly, and it seemed to them sufficient to preserve the victory unmarred. For on that day the Persians had been defeated in battle by the Romans, a thing which had not happened for a long time. Thus the two armies separated from each other. And the Persians were no longer willing to fight a pitched battle with the Romans. However, some sudden attacks were made on both sides, in which the Romans were not at a disadvantage. Such, then, was the fortune of the armies in Mesopotamia.

## XV

AND Cabades sent another army into the part of Armenia which is subject to the Romans. This army was composed of Persarmenians and Sunitae, whose land adjoins that of the Alani. There were also Huns with them, of the stock called Sabiri, to the number of three thousand, a most warlike race. And Mermeroes, a Persian, had been made general of the whole force. When this army was three days' march from Theodosiopolis, they established their camp and, remaining in the land of

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 3 χώρα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἔξηρτύουντο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὁν, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος. Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ  
4 ἐφειστήκει. οὐδὲ δὴ στράτευμα πολεμίων γνόντες ἐν Περσαρμενίοις ἀγείρεσθαι, δορυφόρους δύο εὐθὺς ἔπειρψαν ἐφ' φίδιον διασκοπήσαντες ἄπασαν σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν ἐσαγγείλωσιν.  
5 ἄμφω τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενοι καὶ ἄπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοήσαντες  
6 ἀπηλλάσσοντο. ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἐς τι τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων Ούννοις πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι<sup>1</sup> ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὑφ' ὃν ἄτερος μέν, Δάγαρις ὄνομα, δεθεὶς ἐζωγρήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἵσχυσε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγειλεν.  
7 οἱ δὲ ἄπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἔξοπλίσαντες, τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέ-  
8 στησαν. οὖτε βάρβαροι τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καταπλαγέντες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ὡς ἔκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι κτείναντες τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ληισάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλαυνον.  
9 Μερμερόης τε ἔνυμπασαν ἀγείρας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ Σάταλαν πόλιν. οὐδὲ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ Ὁκτάβῃ ἡσύχαζον, ὅπερ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ τε  
10 καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει. Σίττας μὲν οὖν χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενος ὅπισθεν τῷν τινος λόφων ἐκρύπτετο, οἷοι πολλοὶ Σάταλαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπροσδόκητοι Haury : ἀπροσδοκήτοις MSS.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 2-10

the Persarmenians, made their preparations for the invasion. Now the general of Armenia was, as it happened, Dorotheus, a man of discretion and experienced in many wars. And Sittas held the office of general in Byzantium, and had authority over the whole army in Armenia. These two, then, upon learning that an army was being assembled in Persarmenia, straightway sent two body-guards with instructions to spy out the whole force of the enemy and report to them. And both of these men got into the barbarian camp, and after noting everything accurately, they departed. And they were travelling toward some place in that region, when they happened unexpectedly upon hostile Huns. By them one of the two, Dagaris by name, was made captive and bound, while the other succeeded in escaping and reported everything to the generals. They then armed their whole force and made an unexpected assault upon the camp of their enemy; and the barbarians, panic-stricken by the unexpected attack, never thought of resistance, but fled as best each one could. Thereupon the Romans, after killing a large number and plundering the camp, immediately marched back.

Not long after this Mermeroes, having collected the whole army, invaded the Roman territory, and they came upon their enemy near the city of Satala. There they established themselves in camp and remained at rest in a place called Octava, which is fifty-six stades distant from the city. Sittas therefore led out a thousand men and concealed them behind one of the many hills which surround the plain in which the city of Satala

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

11 πεδίῳ κειμένην κυκλοῦσι. Δωρόθεον δὲ ξὺν τῷ  
ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε μένειν,  
ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίστασθαι  
οἱ τε εἰναι οὐδαμῇ φῶντο, οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ τρισμυ-  
ρίους ὄντας, αὐτὸὶ μόλις ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ ἔξικνούμενοι.

12 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄγχιστα τοῦ  
περιβόλου γενόμενοι, κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι  
τινα ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. ἄφνω δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς  
ἀμφὶ Σίτταν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἥδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταβαί-  
νοντας, καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμμετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος  
ἡκιστα ἔχοντες, ἀτε κονιορτοῦ ὥρᾳ θέρους πολλοῦ  
ἔγκειμένου, πολλῷ τε πλείους φῶντο εἶναι καὶ  
τῆς κυκλώσεως κατὰ τάχος ἀφέμενοι ἐς ὀλίγον

• 13 τινὰ χῶρον αὐτοὺς ξυναγαγεῖν ἡπείγοντο. φθά-  
σαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διελόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς  
ξυμμορίας δύο ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου  
ἐπέθεντο, ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἅπας εἰδεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων  
στρατός, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ τοῦ  
περιβόλου ξυρρέοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔχώρη-

14 σαν. μέσους δὲ αὐτοὺς καταστησάμενοι εἰς φυγὴν  
ἔτρεψαν. πλήθει μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν πολε-  
μίων οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπεραίροντες ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἢ τε

15 μάχη καρτερὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἦν. ἀγ-  
χιστρόφους δὲ τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐς ἀλλήλους  
ἐκάτεροι, ἐπεὶ ἵππεῖς ἅπαντες ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα  
Φλωρέντιος Θρᾷξ, καταλόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων, εἰς  
μέσους ὄρμήσας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ  
στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον ἀρπάσας, ἐπικλίνας τε αὐτὸ

lies. Dorotheus with the rest of the army he ordered to stay inside the fortifications, because they thought that they were by no means able to withstand the enemy on level ground, since their number was not fewer than thirty thousand, while their own forces scarcely amounted to half that number. On the following day the barbarians came up close to the fortifications and busily set about closing in the town. But suddenly, seeing the forces of Sittas who by now were coming down upon them from the high ground, and having no means of estimating their number, since owing to the summer season a great cloud of dust hung over them, they thought they were much more numerous than they were, and, hurriedly abandoning their plan of closing in the town, they hastened to mass their force into a small space. But the Romans anticipated the movement and, separating their own force into two detachments, they set upon them as they were retiring from the fortifications; and when this was seen by the whole Roman army, they took courage, and with a great rush they poured out from the fortifications and advanced against their opponents. They thus put the Persians between their own troops, and turned them to flight. However, since the barbarians were greatly superior to their enemy in numbers, as has been said, they still offered resistance, and the battle had become a fierce fight at close quarters. And both sides kept making advances upon their opponents and retiring quickly, for they were all cavalry. Thereupon Florentius, a Thracian, commanding a detachment of horse, charged into the enemy's centre, and seizing the general's standard, forced it to the ground, and

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- 16 ὡς μάλιστα, ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καταληφθεὶς τε καὶ κρεουργηθεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, τῆς δὲ νίκης Ῥωμαίους αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἔώρων, ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ ὄρρωδίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡσύχαζον,
- 17 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ βαρβάρους τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐκεῖνα πεπονθέναι ἀπέρ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἐμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβεβληκότας ἀπράκτους τε καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἡσημένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
- 18 Τότε καὶ Περσῶν χωρία ἐν Περσαρμενίοις Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, φρούριόν τε τὸ Βῶλον καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον καλούμενον, ὅθεν δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν Πέρσαι
- 19 ὁρύσσοντες βασιλεῖ φέρουσιν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον καταστρεψάμενοι τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οἱ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυντο. ἀπέρ αὐτίκα ὄντινα ἐπράχθη τρόπον λελέξεται.
- 20 Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίας χωρίων<sup>1</sup> ἐς Περσαρμενίαν ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὁ Ταῦρος ἔστιν, ἐς τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη ἔθνη διήκων, ὕσπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἐμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κατάντης μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῦστον ἀεὶ προῖονσα η ὄδος γίνεται, καὶ ὅρη ἀποκρέμαται λίαν ἀπότομα νεφέλαις τε
- 21 καὶ χιόσι κεκαλυμμένα τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, ἐνθεν

<sup>1</sup> χωρίων ΝΡ : δρίων G.

started to ride back. And though he himself was overtaken and fell there, hacked to pieces, he proved to be the chief cause of the victory for the Romans. For when the barbarians no longer saw the standard, they were thrown into great confusion and terror, and retreating, got inside their camp, and remained quiet, having lost many men in the battle ; and on the following day they all returned homeward with no one following them up, for it seemed to the Romans a great and very noteworthy thing that such a great multitude of barbarians in their own country had suffered those things which have just been narrated above, and that, after making an invasion into hostile territory, they should retire thus without accomplishing anything and defeated by a smaller force.

At that time the Romans also acquired certain Persian strongholds in Persarmenia, both the fortress of Bolum and the fortress called Pharangium, which is the place where the Persians mine gold, which they take to the king. It happened also that a short time before this they had reduced to subjection the Tzanic nation, who had been settled from of old in Roman territory as an autonomous people ; and as to these things, the manner in which they were accomplished will be related here and now.

As one goes from the land of Armenia into Persarmenia the Taurus lies on the right, extending into Iberia and the peoples there, as has been said a little before this,<sup>1</sup> while on the left the road which continues to descend for a great distance is overhung by exceedingly precipitous mountains, concealed forever by clouds and snow, from which the Phasis River

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. x. 2.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

έξιών ποταμὸς Φᾶσις φέρεται ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα. ταύτη τὸ ἔξ ἀρχῆς βάρβαροι, τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς κατήκοοι φέκηντο, Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι, ληστείαις μὲν χρώμενοι ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους Ῥωμαίους, δίαιταν δὲ σκληρὰν ὑπερφυῶς ἔχοντες καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις ἀεὶ ἀποζῶντες· οὐ γάρ τι ἐς βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἡ γῆ ἔφερε.

22 διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς χρυσίον τακτὸν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἔπειτεν, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ μήποτε

23 ληίσονται τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀμνύντες καὶ τὰ ὀμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενοι ἀπροσδόκητοί τε ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκακούργουν οὐκ Ἀρμενίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔχομένους Ῥωμαίους μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε τὴν ἔφοδον πεποιημένοι εὐθὺς ἐπ' οἴκου

24 ἀπεκομίζοντο. καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἵσως ἐντυχόντες στρατῷ ἡσσῶντο μὲν τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλώσιμοι δὲ παντάπασιν οὐκ ἐγίνοντο χωρίων ἴσχυΐ. μάχῃ τοίνυν ὁ Σίττας αὐτοὺς πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου νικήσας, ἐπαγωγά τε πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἰπών τε καὶ πράξις, προσποιήσασθαι παντελῶς ἴσχυσε. τήν τε γὰρ δίαιταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες ἐς καταλόγους αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαϊκοὺς ἐσεγράψαντο, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔξιασι. τήν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μετέθεντο, ἀπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγενημένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς Τζάνοις ταύτη πη ἔσχεν.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 21-25

issues and flows into the land of Colchis. In this place from the beginning lived barbarians, the Tzanic nation, subject to no one, called Sani in early times ; they made plundering expeditions among the Romans who lived round about, maintaining a most difficult existence, and always living upon what they stole ; for their land produced for them nothing good to eat. Wherefore also the Roman emperor sent them each year a fixed amount of gold, with the condition that they should never plunder the country thereabout. And the barbarians had sworn to observe this agreement with the oaths peculiar to their nation, and then, disregarding what they had sworn, they had been accustomed for a long time to make unexpected attacks and to injure not only the Armenians, but also the Romans who lived next to them as far as the sea ; then, after completing their inroad in a short space of time, they would immediately betake themselves again to their homes. And whenever it so happened that they chanced upon a Roman army, they were always defeated in the battle, but they proved to be absolutely beyond capture owing to the strength of their fastnesses. In this way Sittas had defeated them in battle before this war ; and then by many manifestations of kindness in word and in deed he had been able to win them over completely. For they changed their manner of life to one of a more civilized sort, and enrolled themselves among the Roman troops, and from that time they have gone forth against the enemy with the rest of the Roman army. They also abandoned their own religion for a more righteous faith, and all of them became Christians. Such then was the history of the Tzani.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 26 Ὄτι περβάντι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ὅρια φάραγξ ἐστὶ βαθεῖά τε καὶ λίαν κρημνώδης, μέχρι ἐσ τὰ Καυκάσια ὅρη διήκουσα. ἐνταῦθα χωρία τε πολυανθρωπότατά ἐστι καὶ ἄμπελός τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη  
 27 ὅπωρα διαρκῶς φύεται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐσ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ φάραγξ αὗτη ὑποτελής τυγχάνει οὖσα, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ Περσαρμενίων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, οὐδὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μέταλλον ἐστιν ὅπερ Καβάδου δόντος ἐπετρόπευε τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Συμεώνης ὄνομα.  
 28 οὗτος ὁ Συμεώνης, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφοτέρους ἐσ τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζοντας εἶδε, Καβάδην τῆς τῶν χρη-  
 29 μάτων προσόδου ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοὺς οὐδετέρους τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μετάλλου χρυσὸν ἀποφέρειν ἤξιον.  
 30 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπραττον, ἀποχρῆν σφίσιν ἥγούμενοι ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἐνθένδε φοράν, Πέρσαι δὲ οὐχ οἰοί τε ἡσαν ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ταύτη φέκημένους ἀντιστατούσης τῆς δυσχωρίας βιάζεσθαι.  
 31 Ὄτι δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος, οἱ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Σίττᾳ ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐσ χεῖρας ἥλθον, ὃσπερ ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται, ξὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτόμολοι ἐσ Ῥωμαίους ἥκουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ναρσῆς ὁ βασιλέως ταμίας ἐδέξατο (Περσαρμένιος γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς γένος ἐτύγχανε) χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖται μεγάλοις.  
 32 ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Ἰσαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφός, ἔμαθε, Ῥωμαίοις λάθρα ἐσ λόγους ἐλθὼν Βῶλον αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πη διν τῶν

Beyond the borders of this people there is a cañon whose walls are both high and exceedingly steep, extending as far as the Caucasus mountains. In it are populous towns, and grapes and other fruits grow plentifully. And this cañon for about the space of a three days' journey is tributary to the Romans, but from there begins the territory of Persarmenia; and here is the gold-mine which, with the permission of Cabades, was worked by one of the natives, Symeon by name. When this Symeon saw that both nations were actively engaged in the war, he decided to deprive Cabades of the revenue. Therefore he gave over both himself and Pharangium to the Romans, but refused to deliver over to either one the gold of the mine. And as for the Romans, they did nothing, thinking it sufficient for them that the enemy had lost the income from there, and the Persians were not able against the will of the Romans to force the inhabitants of the place to terms, because they were baffled by the difficult country.

At about the same time Narses and Aratius who at the beginning of this war, as I have stated above,<sup>1</sup> had an encounter with Sittas and Belisarius in the land of the Persarmenians, came together with their mother as deserters to the Romans; and the emperor's steward, Narses, received them (for he too happened to be a Persarmenian by birth), and he presented them with a large sum of money. When this came to the knowledge of Isaac, their youngest brother, he secretly opened negotiations with the Romans, and delivered over to them the fortress of Bolum, which lies very near the limits of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xii. 21.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

33 Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁρίων, παρέδωκε. στρατιώτας γάρ ἐγγύς πη ἐπέστελλε κρύπτεσθαι, οὓς δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ νῦκτωρ ἐδέξατο, μίαν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἀνακλίνας πυλίδα· οὗτω τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν.

## XVI

- 1 Οὗτω μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν Δάρας ἡσσημένοι τῇ μάχῃ οὐδ' ὡς ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρεῦν ἔγνωσαν, ἕως Ῥουφίνος, ἐπεὶ ἐς δψιν τὴν Καβάδου ἦλθεν, ἔλεξεν ὡδε, “Ἐπειμψέ με, ὡ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφόμενος, δτι δὴ Πέρσαι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐς γῆν τὴν αὐτοῦ
- 2 ἐν ὅπλοις ἦλθον. καίτοι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἐς τόσον ξυνέσεως ἥκουντι ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην πρυτανεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἀν πρέποι ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐ καθεστώτων ταραχὴν οὐ δέον αὐτῷ
- 3 τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας προστρίβεσθαι. οὶς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐελπις ὡν ἐνθάδε ἀφῆγμα, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ
- 4 εἴη.” Ῥουφίνος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Καβάδης δὲ ἀμείβεται ὡδε, “Ω παῖ Σιλβανοῦ, μηδαμῶς ἀντιστρέφειν τὰς αἰτίας πειρῶ, πάντων ἐξεπιστάμενος μάλιστα ταραχῆς ἀπάσης αἰτιωτάτους γεγονέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς. πύλας γὰρ τὰς Κασπίας ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθῷ, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνη βαρβάρους, ἐπεὶ Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς που καὶ αὐτὸς οἰσθα, παρὸν αὐτὰς

Theodosiopolis. For he directed that soldiers should be concealed somewhere in the vicinity, and he received them into the fort by night, opening stealthily one small gate for them. Thus he too came to Byzantium.

XVI

THUS matters stood with the Romans. But the Persians, though defeated by Belisarius in the battle at Daras, refused even so to retire from there, until Rufinus, coming into the presence of Cabades, spoke as follows: "O King, I have been sent by thy brother, who reproaches thee with a just reproach, because the Persians for no righteous cause have come in arms into his land. But it would be more seemly for a king who is not only mighty, but also wise as thou art, to secure a peaceful conclusion of war, rather than, when affairs have been satisfactorily settled, to inflict upon himself and his people unnecessary confusion. Wherefore also I myself have come here with good hopes, in order that from now on both peoples may enjoy the blessings which come from peace." So spoke Rufinus. And Cabades replied as follows: "O son of Silvanus, by no means try to reverse the causes, understanding as you do best of all men that you Romans have been the chief cause of the whole confusion. For we have taken the Caspian Gates to the advantage of both Persians and Romans, after forcing out the barbarians there, since Anastasius, the Emperor of the Romans, as you yourself doubtless know, when the opportunity was offered him to buy them with money, was not

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χρήμασιν ὡνεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἥθελεν, ὅπως μὴ στρά-  
τευμα εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνταῦθα ἔχων χρή-  
ματα μεγάλα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων προτεσθαι ἀναγ-  
5 κάζηται. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡμεῖς στρατιὰν τοσαύτην  
τὸ πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὸν  
παρόντα χρόνον ἐκτρέφοντες δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τό  
γε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνη βαρβάρους μέρος ἀδήστον  
τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν, ξὺν πολλῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τὰ  
6 ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ὕσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἵκανὸν  
ὑμῖν τοῦτό γε, καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην Δάρας ἐπιτεί-  
χισμα Πέρσαις πεποίησθε, καίπερ διαρρήδην ἐν  
ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀπειρημένον ἄσπερ Ἀνατόλιος  
πρὸς Πέρσας ἔθετο· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δυοῖν στρα-  
τοπέδοιν ἀνάγκη πόνοις τε καὶ δαπάνῃ κεκακῶ-  
σθαι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, τὸ μέν, ὅπως μὴ  
Μασσαγέται τὴν ἀμφοτέρων γῆν ἄγειν τε καὶ  
φέρειν ἀδεῶς δύνωνται, τὸ δέ, ὅπως ἀν τὰς  
7 ὑμετέρας ἐπιδρομὰς ἀναστέλλοιμεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν  
ἔναγχος μεμφομένων ἡμῶν, δυοῖν τε τὸ ἔτερον  
ἀξιούντων παρ' ὑμῶν γίγνεσθαι, ἡ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων  
τὸν ἐς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας στρατὸν στέλλεσθαι,  
ἡ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύεσθαι, τῶν μὲν λεγομένων  
τὴν μάθησιν οὐ προσίεσθε, κακῷ δὲ μείζονι  
κρατύνασθαι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιβούλην ἔγνωτε,  
εἴ τι μεμνήμεθα τῆς ἐν Μίνδουσ οἰκοδομίας· καὶ  
νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλετὰ μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, αἱρετὰ  
δὲ τὰ διπλα, ἡ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς τιθεμένοις, ἡ  
8 ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν ιοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ διπλα  
καταθήσουσι πρότερον Πέρσαι, πρὶν δὴ αὐτοῖς  
Ῥωμαῖοι ἡ τὰς πύλας δίκαιώς τε καὶ ὁρθῶς  
ξυμφυλάξουσιν, ἡ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσουσι.

willing to do so, in order that he might not be compelled to squander great sums of money in behalf of both nations by keeping an army there perpetually. And since that time we have stationed that great army there, and have supported it up to the present time, thereby giving you the privilege of inhabiting the land unplundered as far as concerns the barbarians on that side, and of holding your own possessions with complete freedom from trouble. But as if this were not sufficient for you, you have also made a great city, Daras, as a stronghold against the Persians, although this was explicitly forbidden in the treaty which Anatolius arranged with the Persians; and as a result of this it is necessary for the Persian state to be afflicted with the difficulties and the expense of two armies, the one in order that the Massagetae may not be able fearlessly to plunder the land of both of us, and the other in order that we may check your inroads. When lately we made a protest regarding these matters and demanded that one of two things should be done by you, either that the army sent to the Caspian Gates should be sent by both of us, or that the city of Daras should be dismantled, you refused to understand what was said, but saw fit to strengthen your plot against the Persians by a greater injury, if we remember correctly the building of the fort in Mindouos.<sup>1</sup> And even now the Romans may choose peace, or they may elect war, by either doing justice to us or going against our rights. For never will the Persians lay down their arms, until the Romans either help them in guarding the gates, as is just and right, or dismantle the city of Daras." With these words

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xiii. 2.

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9 τοσαῦτα Καβάδης εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπε-  
πέμψατο, παραδηλώσας ὡς οἱ βουλομένῳ εἴη  
χρήματά τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ  
10 πολέμου καταλύειν αἵτιας. ἄπερ Ῥουφίνος ἐς  
Βυζάντιον ἥκων βασιλεῖ ἥγγειλεν. οὐδὲ δὴ οὐ  
πολλῷ ὑστερον καὶ Ἐρμογένης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὁ  
χειμῶν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰου-  
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι.

## XVII

1 "Αμα δὲ ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ στράτευμα Περσῶν  
Αξαρέθου ἡγουμένου ἐσέβαλεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν  
γῆν. ἥσαν δὲ πεντακισχίλιοί τε καὶ μύριοι,  
ἰππεῖς ἄπαντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ  
Σακκίκης ξυνῆν, πάμπολύν τινα ὅμιλον Σαρα-  
2 κηνῶν ἔχων. αὗτη τε Πέρσαις ἡ ἐσβολὴ οὐ  
καθάπερ εἰώθει ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Μεσο-  
ποταμίαν ἐσέβαλλον ὕσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ’  
ἐς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνήν, τανῦν δὲ καλου-  
μένην Εὐφρατησίαν, ὅθεν δὴ οὐ πώποτε Πέρσαι  
πρότερον, δσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους  
3 ἐστράτευσαν. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα Μεσοποταμίᾳ τε  
ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐς ταύτην  
ἔφοδον ἀπέσχοντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.  
4 "Ορος οὐ λίαν ἀπότομον ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐστί,  
Θεοδοσιουπόλεως μὲν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα  
σταδίοις διέχον, τετραμμένον δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς  
βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ πηγαὶ δύο ἐνθένδε ἔξιασι,  
ποταμοὺς δύο ποιοῦσαι αὐτίκα, Εὐφράτην μὲν  
5 ἡ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρα Τίγρην δνομα. τούτοιν

Cabades dismissed the ambassador, dropping the hint that he was willing to take money from the Romans and have done with the causes of the war. This was reported to the emperor by Rufinus when he came to Byzantium. Hermogenes also came thither not long afterwards, and the winter came to a close ; thus ended the fourth year of the reign 531 A.D. of the Emperor Justinian.

## XVII

AT the opening of spring a Persian army under the leadership of Azarethes invaded the Roman territory. They were fifteen thousand strong, all horsemen. With them was Alamoundaras, son of Saccice, with a very large body of Huns. But this invasion was not made by the Persians in the customary manner ; for they did not invade Mesopotamia, as formerly, but the country called Commagene of old, but now Euphratesia, a point from which, as far as we know, the Persians never before conducted a campaign against the Romans. But why the land was called Mesopotamia and why the Persians refrained from making their attack at this point is what I now propose to relate.

There is a mountain in Armenia which is not especially precipitous, two-and-forty stades removed from Theodosiopolis and lying toward the north from it. From this mountain issue two springs, forming immediately two rivers, the one on the right called the Euphrates, and the other the Tigris. One of

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ἄτερος μέν, ὁ Τίγρης, οὗτε περιόδοις τισὶ χρώμενος οὕτε ὑδάτων ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπιγυνομένων, εὐθὺν Ἀμίδης πόλεως κάτεισι. καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον προῖὼν χωρεῖ ἐς τῶν Ἀστυρίων τὴν χώραν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Εύφρατης φέρεται μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ τινα χώρον ὀλίγον, εὐθὺς δὲ προῖὼν ἀφανίζεται, οὐχ ὑπογειος μέντοι γινομένος, ἀλλά τί οἱ ξυμβαίνον θαυμάσιον οἶον· ὑπὲρ γὰρ 6 τοῦ ὕδατος τέλμα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαθὺ γίνεται, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα, εὑρος δὲ εἴκοσι· καὶ καλάμων φύεται πολύ τι χρῆμα 7 ἐν τῷ πηλῷ τούτῳ. ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρός τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθα ἔστιν ὥστε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν ἢ ἡπειρον εἶναι. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει οὐδὲν δεδιότας πεζούς τε καὶ 8 ἵππεας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄμαξαι παρίασιν ἐνθένδε πολλαὶ ἡμέρα ἐκάστη, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἰσχύουσι κινεῖν τι ἢ ἐξελέγχειν τοῦ 9 τέλματος. καίουσι δὲ τοὺς καλάμους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ τὰς ὄδοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν εἰργεσθαι, καὶ ποτε πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἔξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος μέχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ῥίζῶν ἔσχατα τὸ πῦρ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τετύχηκε, καὶ τὸ 10 ὕδωρ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι· χρόνου δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὐθις οὐ πολλοῦ ξυμφυεὶς ἀπέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἐφ' οὐπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. ἐνθένδε τε ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν, οὐ δὴ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἦν, ἐνθεν λέγουσι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος 'Ιφιγένειαν ξύν τε Ὁρέστη καὶ Πυλάδῃ φυγεῖν τὸ 11 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα φέρουσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος νεώς, δις δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἔστιν ἐν πόλει Κομάνῃ, 12

these, the Tigris, descends, with no deviations and with no tributaries except small ones emptying into it, straight toward the city of Amida. And continuing into the country which lies to the north of this city it enters the land of Assyria. But the Euphrates at its beginning flows for a short distance, and is then immediately lost to sight as it goes on; it does not, however, become subterranean, but, a very strange thing happens. For the water is covered by a bog of great depth, extending about fifty stades in length and twenty in breadth; and reeds grow in this mud in great abundance. But the earth there is of such a hard sort that it seems to those who chance upon it to be nothing else than solid ground, so that both pedestrians and horsemen travel over it without any fear. Nay more, even wagons pass over the place in great numbers every day, but they are wholly insufficient to shake the bog or to find a weak spot in it at any point. The natives burn the reeds every year, to prevent the roads being stopped up by them, and once, when an exceedingly violent wind struck the place, it came about that the fire reached the extremities of the roots, and the water appeared at a small opening; but in a short time the ground closed again, and gave the spot the same appearance which it had had before. From there the river proceeds into the land called Celesene, where was the sanctuary of Artemis among the Taurians, from which they say Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, fled with Orestes and Pylades, bearing the statue of Artemis. For the other temple which has existed even to my day in the city of Comana is not the one "Among the

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οὐχ ὁ ἐν Ταύροις ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐγένετο ἐγὼ  
δηλώσω.

- 13 Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Ταύρων Ὁρέστης ξὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ  
ἀπὶ ἀνθρώποις φέρετο, ξυνέπεσεν αὐτῷ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα.  
καὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαν-  
τεῖον φασιν οὐ πρότερον λαφῆσειν αὐτῷ τὸ  
κακόν, πρὶν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ναὸν δείμασθαι ἐν χώρῳ  
τοιούτῳ οἷον δὴ τὸν ἐν Ταύροις ξυμβαίνει εἶναι,  
ἐνταῦθα τε ἀποκείρασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ κόμην καὶ
- 14 αὐτῇ ὄμωνύμως καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν. διὸ δὴ  
Ὁρέστην περιιόντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν Πόντῳ  
γενέσθαι, κατιδεῖν τε ὅρος δὲ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀπό-  
τομον ἀπεκρέματο, ἔρρει τε ἔνερθεν παρὰ τὰς τοῦ
- 15 ὅρους ἐσχατιὰς ποταμὸς Ἰρις. ὑποτοπήσαντα  
οὖν τὸν Ὁρέστην τότε τοῦτον οἱ τὸν χῶρον δη-  
λοῦν τὸ μαντεῖον, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν  
καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν δείμασθαι, τὴν τε  
κόμην ἀποθριξάμενον ὄμωνύμως αὐτῇ καλέσαι  
τὴν πόλιν ή δὴ Κόμανα καὶ ἐσ ἐμὲ ὄνομάζεται.
- 16 τούτων τε Ὁρέστη ἔξειργασμένων οὐδέν τι ἡσσον,  
εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὴν νόσον ἀκμάζειν. αἰσθό-  
μενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ώς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως ταῦτα  
τῷ μαντείῳ ποιούῃ, ἅπαντα αὐθις περιιόντα δια-  
σκοπεῖσθαι καὶ χωρόν τινα ἐν Καππαδόκαις εύ-
- 17 ρεῦν τῷ ἐν Ταύροις τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερέστατον.  
ὅνπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἴδων ἥγασθην τε  
ὑπερφυῶς καὶ μοι ἐδόκουν ἐν Ταύροις εἶναι. τό  
τε γὰρ ὅρος τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ  
κάνταῦθα ὁ Ταῦρος ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Σάρος
- 18 τῷ ταύτῃ Εὐφράτῃ εἰκάζεται. πόλιν τε οὖν  
ἀξιοθέατον ὡκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα Ὁρέστης καὶ  
νεῶς δύο, τὸν ἔτερον μὲν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, τὸν δὲ

Taurians." But I shall explain how this temple came into being.

When Orestes had departed in haste from the Taurians with his sister, it so happened that he contracted some disease. And when he made inquiry about the disease they say that the oracle responded that his trouble would not abate until he built a temple to Artemis in a spot such as the one among the Taurians, and there cut off his hair and named the city after it. So then Orestes, going about the country there, came to Pontus, and saw a mountain which rose steep and towering, while below along the extremities of the mountain flowed the river Iris. Orestes, therefore, supposing at that time that this was the place indicated to him by the oracle, built there a great city and the temple of Artemis, and, shearing off his hair, named after it the city which even up to the present time has been called Comana. The story goes on that after Orestes had done these things, the disease continued to be as violent as before, if not even more so. Then the man perceived that he was not satisfying the oracle by doing these things, and he again went about looking everywhere and found a certain spot in Cappadocia very closely resembling the one among the Taurians. I myself have often seen this place and admired it exceedingly, and have imagined that I was in the land of the Taurians. For this mountain resembles the other remarkably, since the Taurus is here also and the river Sarus is similar to the Euphrates there. So Orestes built in that place an imposing city and two temples, the one to Artemis

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- ἄλλον τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ, οὓς δὴ Χριστιανοὶ  
ιερὰ σφίσι πεποίηνται, τῆς οἰκοδομίας οὐδὲν τὸ  
19 παράπαν μεταβαλόντες. αὕτη καλεῖται καὶ νῦν  
ἡ χρυσῆ Κόμανα, τῆς Ὁρέστου κόμης ἐπώνυμος  
οὖσα, ἣν δὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐνταῦθα φασιν ἀποκειρά-  
20 μενον διαφυγεῖν τὸ ἀρρώστημα. τινὲς δὲ λέ-  
γουσιν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ νόσον ἢ τὴν μανίαν  
ταύτην ἀποφυγεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἐπειδὴ τὴν  
μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτεινεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν  
πρότερον λόγουν ἐπάνειμι.
- 21 Ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ταύροις Ἀρμενίων καὶ  
χώρας τῆς Κελεσηνῆς ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης ἐν δεξιᾷ  
ῥέων γῆν τε πολλὴν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ποταμῶν  
οἱ ἄλλων τε ἀναμιγνυμένων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσίνου  
δς δὴ ἐκ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων πολὺς  
φέρεται, μέγας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγενημένος ἐς  
τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Λευκοσύρους, νῦν δὲ Ἀρμενίους  
μικροὺς καλουμένους χωρεῖ, ὃν δὴ πόλις πρώτη  
22 Μελιτηνὴ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξία ἔστι. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦ-  
θεν τά τε Σαμόσατα παράρρει καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν  
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία μέχρι ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυ-  
ρίων τὴν γῆν, οὖ δὴ ἄλλήλοιν ἄμφω τῷ ποταμῷ  
ἀναμιγνυμένῳ ἐς ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἀποκέ-  
23 κρινται. χώρα γοῦν ἢ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων ἐκτὸς Εὐ-  
φράτου ποταμοῦ ἔστι πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνὴ  
ἐκλήθη, ταῦν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔστιν ἐπώνυμος. ἡ  
δὲ τούτου ἐντός, ἢ δὴ αὐτοῦ τε μέση καὶ Τίγρητος  
ἔστι, Μεσοποταμία, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὄνομάζεται· μοῖρα  
μέντοι αὐτῆς οὐ τούτῳ μόνον τῷ ὄνόματι, ἀλλὰ  
24 καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπικαλεῖται. ἡ τε γὰρ ἄχρις  
Ἀμίδης πόλεως Ἀρμενία πρὸς ἐνίων ὠνόμασται,  
Ἐδεσσά τε ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χωρίοις Ὁσροηνὴ

and the other to his sister Iphigenia, which the Christians have made sanctuaries for themselves, without changing their structure at all. This is called even now Golden Comana, being named from the hair of Orestes, which they say he cut off there and thus escaped from his affliction. But some say that this disease from which he escaped was nothing else than that of madness which seized him after he had killed his own mother. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

From Tauric Armenia and the land of Celesene the River Euphrates, flowing to the right of the Tigris, flows around an extensive territory, and since many rivers join it and among them the Arsinus, whose copious stream flows down from the land of the so-called Persarmenians, it becomes naturally a great river, and flows into the land of the people anciently called White Syrians but now known as the Lesser Armenians, whose first city, Melitene, is one of great importance. From there it flows past Samosata and Hierapolis and all the towns in that region as far as the land of Assyria, where the two rivers unite with each other into one stream which bears the name of the Tigris. The land which lies outside the River Euphrates, beginning with Samosata, was called in ancient times Commagene, but now it is named after the river.<sup>1</sup> But the land inside the river, that namely which is between it and the Tigris, is appropriately named Mesopotamia; however, a portion of it is called not only by this name, but also by certain others. For the land as far as the city of Amida has come to be called Armenia by some, while Edessa together with the country

<sup>1</sup> "Euphratesia"; cf. section 2.

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- τοῦ Ὁσρόου<sup>1</sup> ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνταῦθα  
βεβασιλευκότος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἡνίκα Πέρ-  
25 σαις οἱ ταύτη ἄνθρωποι ἔνσπουδοι ἦσαν. Πέρσαι  
οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων Νίσιβίν τε πόλιν καὶ  
ἄλλα ἄττα Μεσοποταμίας χωρία ἔλαβον, ἡνίκα  
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔμελλον, χώραν μὲν τὴν  
ἔκτος Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιούμενοι,  
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνυδρον τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
ἔρημον οὔσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀγειρόμενοι,  
ἄτε ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τε καὶ πολεμίᾳ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ  
ἀγχοτάτῳ οὕσῃ, ἐνθένδε τὰς ἐσβολὰς ἀεὶ ἐποι-  
οῦντο.
- 26 Ἡνίκα δὲ ἡσσηθεὶς ὁ Μιρράνης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ  
τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ  
Περσῶν ἥθη ἀφίκετο, ποιηῆς ἔτυχε πρὸς βασι-  
27 λέως Καβάδου πικρᾶς. κόσμον γὰρ ἀφείλετο  
αὐτὸν δν δὴ ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν  
εἰώθει, ἐκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργάρων πεποιημένον.  
ἀξίωμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Πέρσαις μέγα μετά γε τὴν  
28 βασιλέως τιμήν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὗτε δακτυλίῳ  
χρυσῷ οὔτε ζώνῃ οὔτε περόνῃ χρῆσθαι οὔτε ἄλλῳ  
ὅτῳδιν θέμις, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἀξιωθέντι.
- 29 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Καβάδης ἐν βουλῇ εἰχεν δυτινὰ  
τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύοι. Μιρράνου  
γὰρ σφαλέντος οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ  
30 οὐδενὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχε. καί οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπο-  
ρουμένῳ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασι-  
λεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν “Οὐ πάντα, ὡς δέσποτα,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Ὁσρόου Ηαργύ : τε δσρόου VP, τέρδου G.

around it is called Osroene, after Osroes, a man who was king in that place in former times, when the men of this country were in alliance with the Persians. After the time, therefore, when the Persians had taken from the Romans the city of Nisibis and certain other places in Mesopotamia, whenever they were about to make an expedition against the Romans, they disregarded the land outside the River Euphrates, which was for the most part unwatered and deserted by men, and gathered themselves here with no trouble, since they were in a land which was their own and which lay very close to the inhabited land of their enemy, and from here they always made their invasions.

When the Mirranes, defeated in battle<sup>1</sup> and with the greater part of his men lost, came back to the Persian land with the remainder of his army, he received bitter punishment at the hands of King Cabades. For he took away from him a decoration which he was accustomed to bind upon the hair of his head, an ornament wrought of gold and pearls. Now this is a great dignity among the Persians, second only to the kingly honour. For there it is unlawful to wear a gold ring or girdle or brooch or anything else whatsoever, except a man be counted worthy to do so by the king.

Thereafter Cabades began to consider in what manner he himself shouſd make an expedition against the Romans. For after the mirranes had failed in the manner I have told, he felt confidence in no one else. While he was completely at a loss as to what he should do, Alamoundaras, the king of the Saracens, came before him and said : "Not everything, O Master,

<sup>1</sup> Ch. xiv. 28-54.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

χρεών ἔστι πιστεύειν τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους  
οἰεσθαι δεῖν κατορθοῦν ἄπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς  
τοῦτό γε οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξύμ-  
φορος αὕτη μάλιστα τοῖς αὐτῇ ἔχομένοις ἡ ἔννοιά  
31 ἔστι. τοὺς γὰρ ἄπαντα σφίσιν ἐλπίσαντας  
τάγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι σφαλέντας ποτέ, ἀν οὗτῳ τύχοι,  
ἡ ἐλπὶς οὐ δέον ἡγησαμένη τοῦ προσήκοντος μᾶλ-  
32 λον ἥνιασε. διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ  
τὸ θαρρεῦν ἀνθρωποι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς κίνδυνον  
πολέμου καθίστανται, καὶ τῷ παντὶ τῶν πολεμίων  
ὑπεραίρειν αὐχῶσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπάτῃ τε καὶ μηχαναῖς  
τισι περιελθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν.  
33 οἱς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὁ κίνδυνος ἔστιν οὐκ ἐν  
βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς νίκης χωρεῖ. νῦν οὖν μήτε οἱς  
Μιρράνης ἡτύχησεν οὕτω περιώδυνος, ὃ βασιλέων  
βασιλεῦ, γίνου, μήτε αὐθις ἀποπειράσασθαι βού-  
34 λου τῆς τύχης. Μεσοποταμίας γὰρ καὶ τῆς  
'Οσροηνῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἅτε τῶν σῶν ὄρίων  
ἄγχιστα οὔσης, αἵ τε πόλεις ὀχυρώταται εἰσὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πασῶν μάλιστα καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οἷον οὐ  
πώποτε πρότερον τανῦν ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἡμῖν  
αὐτόσει ιούσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας  
γενήσεται, ἐν μέντοι τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου  
ποταμοῦ τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ τῇ ταύτῃς ἔχομένη  
Συρίᾳ οὕτε πόλεως ὀχύρωμα οὕτε στρατευμα  
35 λόγου ἀξιόν ἔστι. ταῦτα γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν  
ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐς ταύτας ἐσταλμένων Σαρακηνῶν  
36 ἥκουσα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἶναι  
φασι, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυνιθρωπίᾳ  
πρώτην πόλεων ἀπασῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφόις  
'Ρωμαίοις οὖσαν· ἢ δὴ ἀφύλακτός τε καὶ στρα-  
37 τιωτῶν ἔρημός ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ

should be entrusted to fortune, nor should one believe that all wars ought to be successful. For this is not likely and besides it is not in keeping with the course of human events, but this idea is most unfortunate for those who are possessed by it. For when men who expect that all the good things will come to them fail at any time, if it so happen, they are distressed more than is seemly by the very hope which wrongly led them on. Therefore, since men have not always confidence in fortune, they do not enter into the danger of war in a straightforward way, even if they boast that they surpass the enemy in every respect, but by deception and divers devices they exert themselves to circumvent their opponents. For those who assume the risk of an even struggle have no assurance of victory. Now, therefore, O King of Kings, neither be thus distressed by the misfortune which has befallen Mirranes, nor desire again to make trial of fortune. For in Mesopotamia and the land of Osroene, as it is called, since it is very close to thy boundaries, the cities are very strong above all others, and now they contain a multitude of soldiers such as never before, so that if we go there the contest will not prove a safe one; but in the land which lies outside the River Euphrates, and in Syria which adjoins it, there is neither a fortified city nor an army of any importance. For this I have often heard from the Saracens sent as spies to these parts. There too, they say, is the city of Antioch, in wealth and size and population the first of all the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire; and this city is unguarded and destitute of soldiers. For the people

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ταύτης δήμφιος μὴ πανηγύρεών τε καὶ τρυφῆς  
μέλει καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτροις ἀεὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους  
38 φιλονεικίας. ὥστε ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐπ'  
αὐτοὺς ἴωμεν, τήν τε πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπι-  
δρομῆς οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ μηδενὶ ἐντυχόντας πολε-  
μίων στρατῷ εἴτα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη,  
οὕπω πεπυσμένων τὰ ἔνυπεσόντα τῶν ἐν Μεσο-  
39 ποταμά στρατιωτῶν. ὕδατος δὲ ἡ ἄλλον του  
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίας πέρι μηδέν σε εἰσίτω·  
ἐγὼ γάρ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσομαι ὅπῃ ἀν δοκῇ  
ἄριστα εἶναι.”
- 40 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Καβάδης οὔτε ἀντιτείνειν οὔτε  
ἀπιστεῖν εἰχεν. ἦν γὰρ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ἔνυπεσόντα-  
τός τε καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας εὑν ἥκων,  
Πέρσαις τε πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόν-  
τως δραστήριος, δις δὴ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἔνιαυτῶν  
χρόνον ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησε πράγ-  
41 ματα. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων ἀρξάμενος  
καὶ μέχρι ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ληιζόμενος τὰ ἐκείνη  
χωρία, ἥγε τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπαντα, καίων  
τε τὰς ἐν ποσὶν οἰκοδομίας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
κατὰ πολλὰς ἀεὶ μυριάδας ἀνδραποδίζων, καὶ  
αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀποκτείνων οὐδενὶ<sup>1</sup>  
λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων  
42 μεγάλων. ἀπήντα δέ οἱ τῶν πάντων οὐδείς. οὐ  
γάρ ποτε ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ’  
οὕτως ἐξαπιναίως τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
ἐπιτηδείως, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἥδη ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἔνν τῇ  
λειά πάσῃ ἀπιών ὥχετο, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί τε καὶ  
στρατιῶται πυνθάνεσθαι τε τὰ ἔνυπεσόντα καὶ  
43 ἀγείρεσθαι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἥρχοντο. ἦν δέ που αὐτὸν  
καὶ καταλαβεῖν τύχη τινὶ ἔσχον, ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἀπαρα-

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xvii. 37-43

of this city care for nothing else than fêtes and luxurious living, and their constant rivalries with each other in the theatres. Accordingly, if we go against them unexpectedly, it is not at all unlikely that we shall capture the city by a sudden attack, and that we shall return to the land of the Persians without having met any hostile army, and before the troops in Mesopotamia have learned what has happened. As for lack of water or of any kind of provisions, let no such thought occur to thee; for I myself shall lead the army wherever it shall seem best."

When Cabades heard this he could neither oppose nor distrust the plan. For Alamoundaras was most discreet and well experienced in matters of warfare, thoroughly faithful to the Persians, and unusually energetic,—a man who for a space of fifty years forced the Roman state to bend the knee. For beginning from the boundaries of Aegypt and as far as Mesopotamia he plundered the whole country, pillaging one place after another, burning the buildings in his track and making captives of the population by the tens of thousands on each raid, most of whom he killed without consideration, while he gave up the others for great sums of money. And he was confronted by no one at all. For he never made his inroad without looking about, but so suddenly did he move and so very opportunely for himself, that, as a rule, he was already off with all the plunder when the generals and the soldiers were beginning to learn what had happened and to gather themselves against him. If, indeed, by any chance, they were able to catch him, this barbarian would fall upon his

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σκεύοις τε οὖσι καὶ οὐ ἔυντεταγμένοις ἐπιπεσῶν  
 τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἔτρεπέ τε καὶ  
 διέφθειρεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ ποτε τοὺς διώκοντας  
 στρατιώτας ἔνν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔζωγρησεν ἅπαν-  
 44 τας. Τιμόστρατος δὲ ἦν ὁ Ῥουφίνου ἀδελφὸς καὶ  
 Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Λουκᾶ παῖς, οὓς δὴ ἀπέδοτο ὑστε-  
 ρον, πλοῦτον αὐτῶν οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα  
 45 περιβαλλόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἔντοπον εἰπεῖν χαλεπώ-  
 τατός τε καὶ δεινότατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ γέγονε Ῥω-  
 μαίοις πολέμιος πάντων μάλιστα. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν  
 ὅτι Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν βασιλέως ἀξίωμα ἔχων  
 ἀπάντων μόνος τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις Σαρακηνῶν ἥρχε,  
 παντί τε τῷ στρατῷ οἵος τε ἦν ἀεὶ τὴν ἔφοδον  
 ποιεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.  
 46 οὐδεὶς δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, οὓς  
 δοῦκας καλοῦσιν, οὔτε Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίοις  
 ἐνσπόνδων ἥγούμενος, οἱ φύλαρχοι ἐπικαλούνται,  
 ἔνν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἀντιτάξασθαι  
 ικανῶς εἶχεν· ἐν χώρᾳ γὰρ ἐκάστη τοῖς πολεμοῖς  
 47 οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐτετάχατο. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰου-  
 στινιανὸς φυλαῖς ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέθαν τὸν  
 Γαβαλᾶ παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, δις τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίοις  
 Σαρακηνῶν ἥρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως αὐτῷ περι-  
 θέμενος, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἐν γε Ῥωμαίοις  
 48 γεγονὸς πώποτε. Ἀλαμούνδαρος μέντοι οὐδέν τι  
 ἥσσον, εὶ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα  
 ἔφθειρεν, Αρέθα ἐν πάσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ ἡ  
 ἀτυχοῦντος ώς μάλιστα ἡ καταπροδιδόντος ώς  
 τάχιστα. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἵσμεν.  
 ταυτῇ τε ἔντεβη Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντι-  
 στατοῦντος, ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν ἔφαν ληίζεσθαι  
 πᾶσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μακροβιώτατος ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε.

pursuers while still unprepared and not in battle array, and would rout and destroy them with no trouble ; and on one occasion he made prisoners of all the soldiers who were pursuing him together with their officers. These officers were Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John, the son of Lucas, whom he gave up indeed later, thereby gaining for himself no mean or trivial wealth. And, in a word, this man proved himself the most difficult and dangerous enemy of all to the Romans. The reason was this, that Alamoundaras, holding the position of king, ruled alone over all the Saracens in Persia, and he was always able to make his inroad with the whole army wherever he wished in the Roman domain ; and neither any commander of Roman troops, whom they call "duces," nor any leader of the Saracens allied with the Romans, who are called "phylarchs," was strong enough with his men to array himself against Alamoundaras ; for the troops stationed in the different districts were not a match in battle for the enemy. For this reason the Emperor 581 A.D.

Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans had never before been done. However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him. In this way it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time, for he lived to a very advanced age.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XVIII

- 1 Τούτου οὖν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἡσθεὶς  
Καβάδης ἄνδρας πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους  
ἀπολεξάμενος Ἀζαρέθην αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα Πέρσην  
ἐπέστησε διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ  
σφίσιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον τῆς πορείας ἐξηγεῦσθαι
- 2 ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάν-  
τες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, γῆν τε πορευθέντες τινὰ ἔρημον  
ἀνθρώπων, ἀφνω ἐς τῶν Κομμαγηνῶν καλουμένων
- 3 τὴν χώραν παρὰ δόξαν ἐσέβαλλον. αὕτη τε πρώτη  
ἐνθένδε Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐγέ-  
νετο, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς ἀκοή ἡ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπίστα-  
σθαι, καὶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ
- 4 κατέπληξεν. ἀδὴ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἔμαθε, τὰ μὲν  
πρώτα διηπορεύτο, μετὰ δὲ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος  
ἔγινω. φυλακήν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν πόλει ἐκάστη  
καταστησάμενος, ὅπως μὴ Καβάδης τε καὶ  
στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἴόντες  
ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν εύρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ Μεσο-  
ποταμίας χωρία, αὐτὸς τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὑπην-  
τίαζεν, Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες σπουδῇ
- 5 πολλῆ πρόσω ἔχώρουν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων  
στρατὸς ἐς δισμυρίους μάλιστα πεζούς τε καὶ  
ἱππέας ξυνήει, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰσαυροὶ οὐχ ἡσσον ἡ
- 6 δισχίλιοι ἡσαν. ἀρχοντες δὲ ἵππέων μὲν ἅπαντες  
ἡσαν οὐ τὰ πρότερα τὴν ἐν Δάρας μάχην πρός τε  
Πέρσας καὶ Μιρράνην διήνεγκαν, πεζῶν δὲ τῶν  
τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, Πέτρος
- 7 ὄνομα. τοῖς μέντοι Ἰσαύροις Λογγῦνός τε καὶ  
Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀρέ-

XVIII

THIS man's suggestion at that time therefore pleased Cabades, and he chose out fifteen thousand men, putting in command of them Azarethes, a Persian, who was an exceptionally able warrior, and he bade Alamoundaras lead the expedition. So they crossed the River Euphrates in Assyria, and, after passing over some uninhabited country, they suddenly and unexpectedly threw their forces into the land of the so-called Commageneae. This was the first invasion made by the Persians from this point into Roman soil, as far as we know from tradition or by any other means, and it paralyzed all the Romans with fear by its unexpectedness. And when this news came to the knowledge of Belisarius, at first he was at a loss, but afterwards he decided to go to the rescue with all speed. So he established a sufficient garrison in each city in order that Cabades with another hostile army might not come there and find the towns of Mesopotamia utterly unguarded, and himself with the rest of the army went to meet the invasion; and crossing the River Euphrates they moved forward in great haste. Now the Roman army amounted to about twenty thousand foot and horse, and among them not less than two thousand were Isaurians. The commanders of cavalry were all the same ones who had previously fought the battle at Daras with Mirranes and the Persians, while the infantry were commanded by one of the bodyguards of the Emperor Justinian, Peter by name. The Isaurians, however, were under the command of Longinus and Stephanacius. Arethas also came

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- θας αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ Σαρακηνῶν στρατεύματι ἥλθεν.  
8 ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκουτο, ἐνστρατο-  
πεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
ἐν χωρίῳ Γαββουλῶν εἶναι ἐπύθοντο, δέκα καὶ  
9 ἑκατὸν σταδίοις Χαλκίδος διέχοντι. δὴ γνόντες  
'Αλαμούνδαρός τε καὶ 'Αξαρέθης τόν τε κίνδυνον  
κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἔχωρουν,  
ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἴκου αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.  
αὐτοί τε γοῦν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ  
ἔχοντες ὅπιστος ἀπῆλαυνον καὶ ὁ Ρωμαίων στρατὸς  
10 ὅπισθεν εἴπετο. ἐν τε τῷ χώρῳ οὖν δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι  
ἐς νύκτα ἑκάστην ηὐλίζοντο, ἀεὶ Ρωμαῖοι τῇ  
11 ἐπιγινομένῃ υπετάντην ἔμενον. Βελισάριος γὰρ ἐξεπί-  
τηδες ὄδόν τινα πλείω πορεύεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα  
οὐδαμῆ εἴσα, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ τοῖς πολε-  
μίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἴέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποχρῆν φέτο σφίσι  
Πέρσας τε καὶ 'Αλαμούνδαρον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ρωμαί-  
ων ἐσβεβληκότας, εἴτα ἐνθένδε οὕτω δὴ ἀποκεχω-  
12 ρηκότας, ἀπράκτους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζεσθαι. διὸ  
δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτῷ λάθρᾳ ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ἄρχοντές  
τε καὶ στρατιῶται, ἐκάκιζε μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐς δψιν  
οὐδείς.
- 13 Τελευτῶντες δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Εὐ-  
φράτου ἥιόνι ηὐλίσαντο ή δὴ πόλεως Καλλινίκου  
ἀντιπέρας ἐστίν. ἐνθένδε γὰρ διὰ χώρας πρὸς  
οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης πορευεσθαι ἔμελ-  
λον, οὕτω τε τῆς Ρωμαίων γῆς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
- 14 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διενοοῦντο ιέναι ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα,  
τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅχθης ἔχόμενοι. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ δια-  
νυκτερεύσαντες ἐν πόλει Σούρων ἐνθένδε τε ἐξανα-  
στάντες, καταλαμβάνοντες συσκευαζομένους ἥδη  
15 ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡ Πασ-

there to join them with the Saracen army. When they reached the city of Chalcis, they encamped and remained there, since they learned that the enemy were in a place called Gabboulon, one hundred and ten stades away from Chalcis. When this became known to Alamoundaras and Azarethes, they were terrified at the danger, and no longer continued their advance, but decided to retire homeward instantly. Accordingly they began to march back, with the River Euphrates on the left, while the Roman army was following in the rear. And in the spot where the Persians bivouacked each night the Romans always tarried on the following night. For Belisarius purposely refused to allow the army to make any longer march because he did not wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, but he considered that it was sufficient for them that the Persians and Alamoundaras, after invading the land of the Romans, should retire from it in such a fashion, betaking themselves to their own land without accomplishing anything. And because of this all secretly mocked him, both officers and soldiers, but not a man reproached him to his face.

Finally the Persians made their bivouac on the bank of the Euphrates just opposite the city of Callinicus. From there they were about to march through a country absolutely uninhabited by man, and thus to quit the land of the Romans; for they purposed no longer to proceed as before, keeping to the bank of the river. The Romans had passed the night in the city of Sura, and, removing from there, they came upon the enemy just in the act of preparing for the departure. Now the feast of Easter Ap. 19, 581

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

χαλία ἐπέκειτο ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιγενησομένῃ τῇ ὑστεραιά,  
ἢν δὴ σέβονται Χριστιανοὶ πασῶν μάλιστα,  
ἡμέρᾳ τε τῇ ταύτης προτέρᾳ σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ  
ἀπεχόμενοι οὐ διημερεύειν νενομάκασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
16 καὶ πόρρω που νήστεις τῶν νυκτῶν ἴέναι. τότε  
οὖν ἅπαντας Βελισάριος ὄργωντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-  
μίους ὄρῶν, ταύτης τε ἀποστῆσαι τῆς γνώμης  
ἐθέλων (ταῦτα γάρ οἱ καὶ Ἐρμογένης ἐγίνωσκεν  
ἄρτι ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ βασιλέως ἥκων) τοὺς παρα-  
γενομένους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε  
17 “Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἢ τί πεπονθότες  
κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον  
βουλεύεσθε; μίαν εἶναι νίκην ἀκίβδηλον οἴονται  
ἄνθρωποι τὸ μηδὲν δεινὸν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
παθεῖν, ὅπερ ἡμῖν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι δέδωκεν ἢ τε  
18 τύχη καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δέος. οὐκοῦν  
[ἢ] ἀπόνασθαι τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἀμεινον ἢ  
παρελθόντα ταῦτα ζητεῖν. Πέρσαι γάρ πολλαῖς  
μὲν ἐλπίσιν ἡγμένοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν,  
πάντων δὲ ταῦν ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηνται.  
19 ὥστε ἦν οὐχ ἕκοντας αὐτοὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι μὲν  
τῆς ἐς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν γνώμης, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ ἴέναι  
ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάσωμεν, νενικηκότες μὲν πλέον  
20 τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἔξομεν. τί γὰρ ἂν τις τόν γε  
φεύγοντα τρέποι; σφαλέντες δὲ ἵσως τῆς τε ὑπαρ-  
χούσης στερησόμεθα νίκης, οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων  
ἀφαιρεθέντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ ταύτην προέμενοι, καὶ  
τῇ βασιλέως γῇ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκκεῖσθαι τῶν

was near and would take place on the following day; this feast is reverenced by the Christians above all others, and on the day before it they are accustomed to refrain from food and drink not only throughout the day, but for a large part of the night also they continue the fast. Then, therefore, Belisarius, seeing that all his men were passionately eager to go against the enemy, wished to persuade them to give up this idea (for this course had been counselled by Hermogenes also, who had come recently on an embassy from the emperor); he accordingly called together all who were present and spoke as follows: "O Romans, whither are you rushing? and what has happened to you that you are purposing to choose for yourselves a danger which is not necessary? Men believe that there is only one victory which is unalloyed, namely to suffer no harm at the hands of the enemy, and this very thing has been given us in the present instance by fortune and by the fear of us that overpowers our foes. Therefore it is better to enjoy the benefit of our present blessings than to seek them when they have passed. For the Persians, led on by many hopes, undertook an expedition against the Romans, and now, with everything lost, they have beaten a hasty retreat. So that if we compel them against their will to abandon their purpose of withdrawing and to come to battle with us, we shall win no advantage whatsoever if we are victorious,—for why should one rout a fugitive?—while if we are unfortunate, as may happen, we shall both be deprived of the victory which we now have, not robbed of it by the enemy, but flinging it away ourselves, and also we shall abandon the land of the emperor to lie open hereafter to the attacks of

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- 21 ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς τὸ λοιπὸν δώσομεν. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐ τῶν αὐθαιρέτων κινδύνων ξυναίρεσθαι ὁ θεὸς
- 22 ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀν δῆτη τραπεῖεν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐχ ἔκουσίοις ξυμβήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ ἐναντιώματα ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τετύχηκεν εἶναι.
- 23 πεζῇ τε γὰρ βαδίζοντες πολλοὶ ἥκουσι καὶ νήστεις ἅπαντες τυγχάνομεν ὄντες. ἀφίημι γὰρ λέγειν ὡς τινες οὕπω καὶ νῦν πάρειστι." Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν.
- 24 'Ο δὲ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζον<sup>1</sup> οὐ σιγῇ τινι οὐδὲ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐς δψιν ξὺν κραυγῇ ἥκοντες μαλθακόν τε καὶ τῆς προθυμίας διαλυτὴν ἐκάλουν, δ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡμάρτανον, ταῦτη τὸ εὗτολ-
- 25 μον ἐνδεικνύμενοι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναισχύντῳ καταπλαγεὶς Βελισάριος ἀντιστρέψας τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἥδη ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐφέκει καὶ διατάσσοντι ἐς παράταξιν, ἔφασκε τε ὡς οὐκ εἰδείη μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι προθυμίαν τὰ πρότερα, νῦν δὲ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ ξὺν ἐλπίδι τῇ ἀμείνονι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴέναι.
- 26 καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα μετωπῆδὸν ποιησάμενος διέταξεν ὡδε. ἐς κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἔστησεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ δεξιόν, ἢ δὴ ὁ χῶρος ἀνάντης ἦν, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἵππεῦσι κατὰ μέσον είστηκε. οὗτοι μὲν
- 27 Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο. Ἀζαρέθης δὲ ἐπεὶ ξυνιόντας ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε, τοιάδε παρε-

<sup>1</sup> ὕβριζον Suidas: ὕβριζων MSS.

the enemy without defenders. Moreover this also is worth your consideration, that God is always accustomed to succour men in dangers which are necessary, not in those which they choose for themselves. And apart from this it will come about that those who have nowhere to turn will play the part of brave men even against their will, while the obstacles which are to be met by us in entering the engagement are many ; for a large number of you have come on foot and all of us are fasting. I refrain from mentioning that some even now have not arrived." So spoke Belisarius.

But the army began to insult him, not in silence nor with any concealment, but they came shouting into his presence, and called him weak and a destroyer of their zeal ; and even some of the officers joined with the soldiers in this offence, thus displaying the extent of their daring. And Belisarius, in astonishment at their shamelessness, changed his exhortation and now seemed to be urging them on against the enemy and drawing them up for battle, saying that he had not known before their eagerness to fight, but that now he was of good courage and would go against the enemy with a better hope. He then formed the phalanx with a single front, disposing his men as follows : on the left wing by the river he stationed all the infantry, while on the right where the ground rose sharply he placed Arethas and all his Saracens ; he himself with the cavalry took his position in the centre. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves. And when Azarethes saw the enemy gathering in battle line, he exhorted

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- κελεύσατο “ Πέρσας μὲν ὅντας ὑμᾶς μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ  
βίου τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀνταλλάξασθαι,<sup>1</sup> ἦν τις αἴρεσιν  
28 ἀμφοῖν διδοίη, οὐδεὶς ἀν ἀντείποι. ἐγὼ δέ φημι  
οὐδὲ ἀν βουλομένοις ἐφ' ὑμῖν εἶναι τούτοιν ποιεῖ-  
σθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἔξὸν διαφυγοῦσι  
τὸν κίνδυνον ξὺν τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ βιοῦν, οὐδέν, ἦν γε  
βούλοιντο, ἀπεικὸς ἀντὶ τῶν βελτίστων ἐλέσθαι  
τὰ ἥδιστα, οἷς δὲ τὸ θυήσκειν ἐπάναγκες, ἢ ξὺν τῇ  
εὐκλείᾳ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἢ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦν-  
τος ἐς τὴν κόλασιν αἰσχρῶς ἀγομένοις, πολλὴ  
ἄνοια μὴ πρὸ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω.  
29 ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκειν ὑμᾶς  
ἀπαντας οἷμαι μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
καὶ δεσπότην τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας, οὕτως  
ἐς μάχην τήνδε καθίστασθαι.”
- 30 Τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀζαρέθης παρακελευσάμενος  
ἀντίξουν τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἔστησε,  
Πέρσας μὲν τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντας, Σαρακηνοὺς δὲ  
τὰ εὐώνυμα. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν ἐς χεῖρας ἀμφότεροι  
31 ἥλθον. ἦν δὲ ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ μάλιστα. τά τε  
γὰρ τοξεύματα ἑκατέρωθεν συχνὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
βαλλόμενα φόνον ἀμφοτέρων πολὺν ἐποίει, καὶ  
τινες ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γινόμενοι ἔργα ἐς ἀλλήλους  
ἐπεδείκνυντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, μᾶλλον δὲ Πέρσαι ἐκ  
32 τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ  
αὐτῶν βέλη συχνότερα μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἦν,<sup>2</sup> ἐπεὶ Πέρ-  
σαι τοξόται τε σχεδόν τί εἰσιν ἀπαντες καὶ πολὺ<sup>3</sup>  
θᾶσσον ἡ <οἱ> ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ποιεῖ-  
33 σθαι τὰς βολὰς ἐκδιδάσκονται, ἐκ δὲ τόξων μαλ-

• <sup>1</sup> ἀνταλλάξασθαι VG : ἀνταλλάξεσθαι P.

<sup>2</sup> ἦν Haury : ἦε MSS.

his men with the following words : “ Persians as you are, no one would deny that you would not give up your valour in exchange for life, if a choice of the two should be offered. But I say that not even if you should wish, is it within your power to make the choice between the two. For as for men who have the opportunity to escape from danger and live in dis-honour it is not at all unnatural that they should, if they wish, choose what is most pleasant instead of what is best ; but for men who are bound to die, either gloriously at the hands of the enemy or shamefully led to punishment by your Master, it is extreme folly not to choose what is better instead of what is most shameful. Now, therefore, when things stand thus, I consider that it befits you all to bear in mind not only the enemy but also your own Lord and so enter this battle.”

After Azarethes also had uttered these words of exhortation, he stationed the phalanx opposite his opponents, assigning the Persians the right wing and the Saracens the left. Straightway both sides began the fight, and the battle was exceedingly fierce. For the arrows, shot from either side in very great numbers, caused great loss of life in both armies, while some placed themselves in the interval between the armies and made a display of valorous deeds against each other, and especially among the Persians they were falling by the arrows in great numbers. For while their missiles were incomparably more frequent, since the Persians are almost all bowmen and they learn to make their shots much more rapidly than any other men, still the bows which sent the arrows were weak and not very

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θακῶν τε καὶ οὐ λίαν ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα  
 θώρακι ἵσως ή κράνει ή καὶ ἀσπίδι ἐντυχόντα  
 Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκαυλίζετό τε καὶ λυπεῖν τὸν  
 34 προσπίπτοντα οὐδαμῆ εἰχε. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὰ [τε]  
 τοξεύματα βραδύτερα μὲν ἐστιν, ἀτε δὲ ἐκ  
 τόξων σκληρῶν τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ δεινῶς ἐντετα-  
 μένων βαλλόμενα, προσθείη δὲ ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς  
 ἀνδρῶν ἴσχυροτέρων, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ή οἱ  
 Πέρσαι οἵσ· ἀν ἐντύχοιεν εὐπετῶς σίνονται, ὅπλουν  
 35 οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν αὐτῶν γινομένου τῇ ρύμῃ. ἥδη  
 μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας αἱ δύο παρωχήκεσαν μοῖραι,  
 καὶ ή μάχη ἔτι ἀγχώμαλος ήν. τότε δὲ ἔνυμφρονή-  
 σαντες ὅσοι δὴ ἄριστοι ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύ-  
 ματι ἦσαν, ἐσῆλαννον ἐσ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ δεξιὸν  
 κέρας, οὐ δὴ Ἀρέθας τε καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐτετά-  
 36 χατο. οἱ δὲ οὗτω τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες  
 δίχα ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ δόξαν ἀπήνεγκαν ὅτι δὴ  
 Πέρσαις τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προῦδοσαν. τοὺς  
 γὰρ ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑποστάντες αὐτίκα ἐσ φυγὴν  
 37 ἀπαντες ὥρμηντο. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι διαρρήξαντες  
 οὗτω τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, κατὰ νώτου  
 εὐθὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππον ἐγένοντο. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ  
 κεκμηκότες ἥδη τῇ τε ὁδῷ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς μάχης  
 νήστεις τε ἀπαντεις ἐσ τόδε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅντες, καὶ  
 πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐνοχλούμενοι,  
 οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φεύγοντες  
 ἀνὰ κράτος ἐσ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νήσους ἄγχιστά  
 που οὔσας ἐχώρησαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες  
 ἔργα θαυμαστά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια τοὺς  
 38 πολεμίους εἰργάσαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσκὰν ήν, δι  
 δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων,  
 κρεουργηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μόλις ἔπεσε, λόγον

tightly strung, so that their missiles, hitting a corslet, perhaps, or helmet or shield of a Roman warrior, were broken off and had no power to hurt the man who was hit. The Roman bowmen are always slower indeed, but inasmuch as their bows are extremely stiff and very tightly strung, and one might add that they are handled by stronger men, they easily slay much greater numbers of those they hit than do the Persians, for no armour proves an obstacle to the force of their arrows. Now already two-thirds of the day had passed, and the battle was still even. Then by mutual agreement all the best of the Persian army advanced to attack the Roman right wing, where Arethas and the Saracens had been stationed. But they broke their formation and moved apart, so that they got the reputation of having betrayed the Romans to the Persians. For without awaiting the oncoming enemy they all straightway beat a hasty retreat. So the Persians in this way broke through the enemy's line and immediately got in the rear of the Roman cavalry. Thus the Romans, who were already exhausted both by the march and the labour of the battle,—and besides this they were all fasting so far on in the day,—now that they were assailed by the enemy on both sides, held out no longer, but the most of them in full flight made their way to the islands in the river which were close by, while some also remained there and performed deeds both amazing and remarkable against the enemy. Among these was Ascan who, after killing many of the notables among the Persians, was gradually hacked to pieces and finally fell, leaving

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αύτοῦ πολὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολεπών. καὶ ξὺν  
 αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι  
 ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, οἵ τε Ἱσαυροὶ ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἄρχουσι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, οὐδὲ δπλα ἀνταί-  
 39 ρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμήσαντες. ἀπειρίᾳ γὰρ  
 τοῦ ἔργου τούτου πολλῆ εἰχοντο, ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς  
 γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστη-  
 40 σαν, ἀγνῶτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα δύντα. καίτοι  
 μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοὶ ἔναγχος ἐς τὴν μάχην  
 ἀγνοίᾳ πολέμου ὀργώντες Βελισαρίῳ τότε τὴν  
 δειλίαν ὡνείδιζον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἱσαυροὶ ἅπαντες,  
 ἀλλὰ Λυκάονες οἱ πλεῦστοι ἤσαν.

41 Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα μείνας,  
 τέως μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀσκὰν ἀντέχοντας ἐώρα,  
 καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύ-  
 42 νατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ διπη  
 ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἐπομένοις φυγὼν ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα  
 ἥλθεν, οἱ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔτι ἐμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ  
 δύντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτυχον φυγόντες οἱ πλεῖ-  
 43 στοι. ἔνθα δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ἵππον ἀφῆκε καὶ  
 πάντας αὐτὸ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκέλευε, πεζούς  
 τε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι.

44 Περσῶν δὲ δσοι τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἶποντο, δι' ὀλίγου  
 τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπανῆκον, ἐς τε  
 τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπα-  
 σιν ὥρμηντο. οἱ δὲ τὰ ωτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν  
 τρέψαντες, δπως μή τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν πολε-  
 μίων κύκλωσις γένοιτο, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς

to the enemy abundant reason to remember him. And with him eight hundred others perished after showing themselves brave men in this struggle, and almost all the Isaurians fell with their leaders, without even daring to lift their weapons against the enemy. For they were thoroughly inexperienced in this business, since they had recently left off farming and entered into the perils of warfare, which before that time were unknown to them. And yet just before these very men had been most furious of all for battle because of their ignorance of warfare, and were then reproaching Belisarius with cowardice. They were not in fact all Isaurians but the majority of them were Lycaones.

Belisarius with some few men remained there, and as long as he saw Ascan and his men holding out, he also in company with those who were with him held back the enemy; but when some of Ascan's troops had fallen, and the others had turned to flee wherever they could, then at length he too fled with his men and came to the phalanx of infantry, who with Peter were still fighting, although not many in number now, since the most of them too had fled. There he himself gave up his horse and commanded all his men to do the same thing and on foot with the others to fight off the oncoming enemy. And those of the Persians who were following the fugitives, after pursuing for only a short distance, straightway returned and rushed upon the infantry and Belisarius with all the others. Then the Romans turned their backs to the river so that no movement to surround them might be executed by the enemy, and as best they could under the circumstances were defending themselves against

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- 45 ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. αὐθίς τε ἡ μάχη καρτέρᾳ γέγονε, καίπερ οὐκ ἔξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως οὖσα. πεζοί τε γὰρ καὶ λίαν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ξύμπασαν ἐμάχοντο τὴν Περσῶν ἵππον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμοι οὕτε τρέπεσθαι οὕτε ἄλλως  
46 βιάζεσθαι εἰχον. ἐν χρῷ τε γὰρ ἀλλήλοις ἐς ὀλίγον ἀεὶ ξυναγόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἴσχυρότατα ταῖς ἀσπίσι φραξάμενοι, ἔβαλλον μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπιτηδείως ἡ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων ἐβάλ-  
47 λοντο. πολλάκις τε ἀπειπόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥλαυνον, ὡς ξυνταράξοντές τε καὶ διαλύσοντες τὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλ' ἀπρακτοὶ ἐνθένδε  
48 ὅπίσω αὐθίς ἀπῆλαυνον. οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγῳ ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχατίζοντό τε καὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καθίσταντο.  
49 διαγεγόνασί τε οὕτως ἐκάτεροι ἔως ἐγεγόνει τῆς ἡμέρας ὁψέ. νυκτὸς δὲ ἥδη ἐπιλαβούσης Πέρσαι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Βελισάριος δὲ ὀλκάδος ἐπιτυχὼν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν υῆσον κατῆρεν, οὐ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι  
50 Ῥωμαῖοι νηχόμενοι ἥλθον. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὀλκάδων σφίσιν ἐκ Καλλινίκου πόλεως παραγενομένων πολλῶν ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκομίσθησαν, Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκυλευκότες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς σφετέρους νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμάων ἐλάσσους εὗρον.  
51 Ἀξαρέθης δέ, ἐπεὶ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Πέρσας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὐημερήσας, ἀχαρίστου Καβάδου μάλιστα ἔτυχεν ἔξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε.  
52 νόμος ἐστὶ Πέρσαις, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμάων τινὰς στρατεύεσθαι μέλλωσι, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα

their assailants. And again the battle became fierce, although the two sides were not evenly matched in strength; for foot-soldiers, and a very few of them, were fighting against the whole Persian cavalry. Nevertheless the enemy were not able either to rout them or in any other way to overpower them. For standing shoulder to shoulder they kept themselves constantly massed in a small space, and they formed with their shields a rigid, unyielding barricade, so that they shot at the Persians more conveniently than they were shot at by them. Many a time after giving up, the Persians would advance against them determined to break up and destroy their line, but they always retired again from the assault unsuccessful. For their horses, annoyed by the clashing of the shields, reared up and made confusion for themselves and their riders. Thus both sides continued the struggle until it had become late in the day. And when night had already come on, the Persians withdrew to their camp, and Belisarius accompanied by some few men found a freight-boat and crossed over to the island in the river, while the other Romans reached the same place by swimming. On the following day many freight-boats were brought to the Romans from the city of Callinicum and they were conveyed thither in them, and the Persians, after despoiling the dead, all departed homeward. However they did not find their own dead less numerous than the enemy's.

When Azarethes reached Persia with his army, although he had prospered in the battle, he found Cabades exceedingly ungrateful, for the following reason. It is a custom among the Persians that, when they are about to march against any of their

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου καθῆσθαι, κοφίνους δέ οἱ πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθά πη εἶναι, καὶ παρεῖναι μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν διὰ δὴ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔναντίους ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξός ἐστι, παριέναι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐσ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ὅψιν κατ' ἄνδρα ἔνα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον βέλος ἐν ἐσ τὰς ταρπὰς ριπτεῖν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰς μὲν τῇ βασιλέως σφραγῖδι κατασεσημασμένας φυλάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐσ Πέρσας ἐπανίοι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν 53 ἀρρίχων ἐν ἀναιρεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> βέλος. ἀριθμοῦντες οὖν τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀνήρηται, οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὗτη, ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκ ἐπανηκόντων στρατιωτῶν, ταύτη τε ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτή- 54 κασιν ἔνδηλοι γίνονται. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ὁ νόμος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀξαρέθης ἐσ ὅψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἥλθεν, ἀνεπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὁ Καβάδης εἰ τι χωρίον παραστήσαμενος Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἥκοι, ἐπεὶ ξὺν τῷ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ὡς Ἀντιόχειαν καταστρεψόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀξαρέθης χωρίον μὲν ἐλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔφασκε, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Βελισάριον μάχῃ 55 νενικηκεναι. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν παριέναι τὸ ξύν τῷ Ἀξαρέθῃ ἐκέλευε στράτευμα, ἐκ τε τῶν ταρπῶν βέλος ἕκαστος ἀνηρεῖτο ἥπερ εἰώθει. 56 πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων βελῶν ὧνείδιζέ τε τῷ Ἀξαρέθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης ἐσ τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα τῷ Ἀξαρέθῃ.

<sup>1</sup> ἀναιρεῖσθαι Christ : ἀφαιρεῖσθαι MSS.

foes, the king sits on the royal throne, and many baskets are set there before him; and the general also is present who is expected to lead the army against the enemy; then the army passes along before the king, one man at a time, and each of them throws one weapon into the baskets; after this they are sealed with the king's seal and preserved; and when this army returns to Persia, each one of the soldiers takes one weapon out of the baskets. A count is then made by those whose office it is to do so of all the weapons which have not been taken by the men, and they report to the king the number of the soldiers who have not returned, and in this way it becomes evident how many have perished in the war. Thus the law has stood from of old among the Persians. Now when Azarethes came into the presence of the king, Cabades enquired of him whether he came back with any Roman fortress won over to their side, for he had marched forth with Alamoundaras against the Romans, with the purpose of subduing Antioch. And Azarethes said that he had captured no fortress, but that he had conquered the Romans and Belisarius in battle. So Cabades bade the army of Azarethes pass by, and from the baskets each man took out a weapon just as was customary. But since many weapons were left, Cabades rebuked Azarethes for the victory and thereafter ranked him among the most unworthy. So the victory had this conclusion for Azarethes.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XIX

- 1 "Εννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν  
Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ὁμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ  
έταιρίσασθαι. ὅπη δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἵδε  
φέκηνται καὶ καθ' ὃ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν  
2 βασιλεὺς ἥλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. τὰ Παλαιστί-  
νης ὅρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν  
3 Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα  
ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλὰς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ  
ταύτης ἡώνι ἔστιν, ἐνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι  
εἴρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς  
γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν  
ὅρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα  
ἔστιν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς Βιορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἣ τε γῆ αὕτη  
τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς  
τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾶ πόλεως  
4 σταδίους οὐχ ἡσσον ἡ χιλίους διέχουσαν. ἐνθα  
Ἐβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ φέκηντο, ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι  
5 Ῥωμαίων γεγένηνται. πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα<sup>3</sup>  
ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτη<sup>4</sup>  
ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὄρωσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐώνυμον  
6 νυκτὸς ἀεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὄρμζονται. ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ  
ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀδύνατά  
ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
7 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ὄρμοι δέ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ<sup>5</sup>  
οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων

## XIX

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

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

*πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπόν ἔστιν ὅπῃ παρατύχοι ὁρμίζεσθαι.*

Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡϊόνα εὐθὺς μὲν ὄρους τοὺς  
8 Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνὸν ἔχουσιν, οἱ  
9 ἐν τῷ φοινικῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔδρυνται. ἔστι δὲ ὁ  
φοινικῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν κατατείνων  
πολλήν, ἐνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ  
10 φοίνικες φύονται μόνοι. τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶν βα-  
σιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο, ὁ  
τῶν ἐκείνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς  
φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατε-  
11 στήσατο. ἀδήγωτόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε τὸν  
ἄπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἄρχομένοις βαρβάροις  
καὶ οὐδέν τι ἡσσον τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερός τε ἀεὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως δρα-  
12 στήριος. τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶν βασιλεὺς  
ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων οὐδὲ  
13 ὀπωστιοῦν δυνατά ἔστι. γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων  
παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἄνυδρος ἐν μέσῳ  
οὖσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου  
ὅτουοῦν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῆ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’  
ὄνομα δώρου ὃ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδώκε μόνον καὶ  
βασιλεὺς εὐ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ  
14 φοινικῶν ταύτη πη ἔχει. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
πων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνὸν ἔχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν,  
οἱ δὴ Μαδδηνὸν καλοῦνται, Ὁμηριτῶν κατήκοοι  
15 δοτεῖς. οἱ δὲ Ὁμηρῖται οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα  
φέκηνται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνι. ὑπέρ τε  
αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρω-  
16 ποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἴδρυσθαί φασι. μεθ' οὓς δὴ  
τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν πέρι  
λεγέτω ἔκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἔστιν.

difficult for mariners to find anchorage wherever they happen to be.

This coast<sup>1</sup> immediately beyond the boundaries of Palestine is held by Saracens, who have been settled from of old in the Palm Groves. These groves are in the interior, extending over a great tract of land, and there absolutely nothing else grows except palm trees. The Emperor Justinian had received these palm groves as a present from Abochorabus, the ruler of the Saracens there, and he was appointed by the emperor captain over the Saracens in Palestine. And he guarded the land from plunder constantly, for both to the barbarians over whom he ruled and no less to the enemy, Abochorabus always seemed a man to be feared and an exceptionally energetic fellow. Formally, therefore, the emperor holds the Palm Groves, but for him really to possess himself of any of the country there is utterly impossible. For a land completely destitute of human habitation and extremely dry lies between, extending to the distance of a ten days' journey; moreover the Palm Groves themselves are by no means worth anything, and Abochorabus only gave the form of a gift, and the emperor accepted it with full knowledge of the fact. So much then for the Palm Groves. Adjoining this people there are other Saracens in possession of the coast, who are called Maddeni and who are subjects of the Homeritae. These Homeritae dwell in the land on the farther side of them on the shore of the sea. And beyond them many other nations are said to be settled as far as the man-eating Saracens. Beyond these are the nations of India. But regarding these matters let each one speak as he may wish.

<sup>1</sup> The coast described here is that of Arabia.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 17 Ὁμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντεπέρας ἡπείρῳ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἱ Αὐξωμῖται ἐπικαλοῦνται, δτὶ δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασίλειά ἔστιν  
18 ἐν πόλει Αὐξώμιδι. καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ ἔστιν ἀνέμου μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουν διήκει.  
19 ταύτη γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχος ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῆ ἔστιν· αὕτη πρὸς ἐνίων ἡ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα καὶ  
20 Αἰλὰν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς ὠνομασται κόλπος. χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὥριων Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις τῇ  
21 πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν δρμος ἐξ οὐ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν  
22 ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικὰς ὀνομάζεται. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν λιμένα. Ἀδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων διέχει (τοσούτῳ γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι), πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὅδῷ ἡμερῶν δώδεκα.  
23 Πλοῦα μέντοι ὅσα ἐν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἔστιν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ φπερ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆες πεποίηνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσση οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ὄτφοιν χρίονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς ἰόντι ἐς ἄλληλας αἱ σανίδες ξυμπεπήγασιν, ἀλλὰ  
24 βρόχοις τισὶ ξυνδέδενται. αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὖσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἔλκουσαι (τεκμήριον δέ ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις

About opposite the Homeritae on the opposite mainland dwell the Aethiopians who are called Auxomitae, because their king resides in the city of Auxomis. And the expanse of sea which lies between is crossed in a voyage of five days and nights, when a moderately favouring wind blows. For here they are accustomed to navigate by night also, since there are no shoals at all in these parts ; this portion of the sea has been called the Red Sea by some. For the sea which one traverses beyond this point as far as the shore and the city of Aelas has received the name of the Arabian Gulf, inasmuch as the country which extends from here to the limits of the city of Gaza used to be called in olden times Arabia, since the king of the Arabs had his palace in early times in the city of Petrae. Now the harbour of the Homeritae from which they are accustomed to put to sea for the voyage to Aethiopia is called Bulicas ; and at the end of the sail across the sea they always put in at the harbour of the Adulitae. But the city of Adulis is removed from the harbour a distance of twenty stades (for it lacks only so much of being on the sea), while from the city of Auxomis it is a journey of twelve days.

All the boats which are found in India and on this sea are not made in the same manner as are other ships. For neither are they smeared with pitch, nor with any other substance, nor indeed are the planks fastened together by iron nails going through and through, but they are bound together with a kind of cording. The reason is not as most persons suppose, that there are certain rocks there which draw the iron to themselves (for witness the fact that when the Roman vessels sail from Aelas into this sea, although

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἡρμο-  
σμέναις, οὕποτε τοιούτον ξυνηγέχθη παθεῖν),  
ἀλλ' ὅτι οὗτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα  
25 ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδὸς ἡ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. οὐ μὴν  
οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἰοί τέ  
26 εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἀπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. Θά-  
νατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἡ ζημία ἐστι. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἔρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσσῃ καὶ χώρᾳ  
ἢ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἔκατερά ἐστι ταύτη πη ἔχει.  
27 Ἐκ δὲ Αὔξωμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου  
ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐ δὴ πόλις ἡ Ἐλε-  
φαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμε-  
28 ρῶν ἐστιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε  
πολλὰ ἵδρυται καὶ Βλέμυες τε καὶ Νοβάται,  
πολυναθρωπότατα γένη. ἄλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν  
ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα φκηνται,  
Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νείλου ποταμὸν ἔχουσι.  
πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς  
῾Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα δσον ἐπτὰ ἐτέρων  
29 ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων  
αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος  
κατεύόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὁ φόρος  
λόγου ἄξιος ὡς ἡκιστα ἦν, ἐπει στενὴν μάλιστα  
τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι (πέτραι γὰρ τοῦ  
Νείλου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσαι  
τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι), στρατιωτῶν δὲ  
πάμπολὺ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυτο,  
ῶνπερ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέ-  
βαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἔμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πόλιν "Οασιν φκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἥγον τε καὶ  
ἔφερον ἀπαντα ἐς ἀελ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τούτους  
δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἔξ

they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Aethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea<sup>1</sup> and of the land which lies on either side of it.

From the city of Auxomis to the Aegyptian boundaries of the Roman domain, where the city called Elephantine is situated, is a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller. Within that space many nations are settled, and among them the Blemyes and the Nobatae, who are very large nations. But the Blemyes dwell in the central portion of the country, while the Nobatae possess the territory about the River Nile. Formerly this was not the limit of the Roman empire, but it lay beyond there as far as one would advance in a seven days' journey; but the Roman Emperor Diocletian came there, and observed that the tribute from these places was of the smallest possible account, since the land is at that point extremely narrow (for rocks rise to an exceedingly great height at no great distance from the Nile and spread over the rest of the country), while a very large body of soldiers had been stationed there from of old, the maintenance of which was an excessive burden upon the public; and at the same time the Nobatae who formerly dwelt about the city of Oasis used to plunder the whole region; so he persuaded these barbarians to move from their

<sup>1</sup> Rather the "Arabian Gulf."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἡθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον  
ἰδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πό-  
λεσί τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ τε καὶ δια-  
φερόντως ἀμείνονι ἡσπερ τὰ πρότερα φέκηντο.  
 30 οὗτῳ γὰρ φέτο αὐτούς τε οὐκέτι τά γε ἀμφὶ τὴν  
“Οασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδο-  
μένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀπο-  
κρούσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> Βλέμνας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβά-  
 31 ρους τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐπεί τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα  
ηρεσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πε-  
ποίηντο ἥπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε,  
καὶ Ῥωμαίων τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ξύμπασαν  
ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔξι Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως  
 32 ἔσχον. τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ  
Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι  
χρυσίον ἐφ' φυηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ληίσων-  
 33 ται. ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδέν τι ἡσσον  
καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὗτως ἄρα βαρ-  
βάρους ἄπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι  
τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνο-  
 34 μένων στρατιωτῶν. καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν  
ποταμῷ Νείλῳ ἀγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πό-  
λεως εύρων ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτη  
δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα  
νεώς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ  
κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἵερεῖς ἑκάστων  
ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἰδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν  
φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν  
 35 σφίσιν οἰόμενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ  
χωρίον. ἀμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἵ τε Βλέμνες  
καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τούς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὕσπερ

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκρούσεσθαι Braun : ἀποκρούέσθαι MSS.

own habitations, and to settle along the River Nile, promising to bestow upon them great cities and land both extensive and incomparably better than that which they had previously occupied. For in this way he thought that they would no longer harass the country about Oasis at least, and that they would possess themselves of the land given them, as being their own, and would probably beat off the Blemyes and the other barbarians. And since this pleased the Nobatae, they made the migration immediately, just as Diocletian directed them, and took possession of all the Roman cities and the land on both sides of the river beyond the city of Elephantine. Then it was that this emperor decreed that to them and to the Blemyes a fixed sum of gold should be given every year with the stipulation that they should no longer plunder the land of the Romans. And they receive this gold even up to my time, but none the less they overrun the country there. Thus it seems that with all barbarians there is no means of compelling them to keep faith with the Romans except through the fear of soldiers to hold them in check. And yet this emperor went so far as to select a certain island in the River Nile close to the city of Elephantine and there construct a very strong fortress in which he established certain temples and altars for the Romans and these barbarians in common, and he settled priests of both nations in this fortress, thinking that the friendship between them would be secure by reason of their sharing the things sacred to them. And for this reason he named the place Philae. Now both these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatae, believe in all

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

"Ἐλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἰσιν τόν τε Ὀσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἡκιστά γε τὸν Πρία-  
36 πον. οἱ μέντοι Βλέμνες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Βάρβαροι καὶ ἐσ ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς  
37 αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἄτε ηὔτομολη-  
κότος ἐσ Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθην, τῶν ἐκείνη στρα-  
τιωτῶν ἄρχων τά τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγεῖλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐσ Βυζάντιον ἐπεμψεν.  
ἔγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

## XX

1 'Τπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἐλλη-  
σθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς, Χριστιανός τε  
ῶν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ώς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος,  
ἐπειδὴ Ὁμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ ἡπείρῳ  
ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους δύτας, πολλοὺς δὲ  
δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἢν δὴ καλοῦσιν  
Ἐλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἀνθρώποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον  
οὐκ ἔχούσῃ ἐσ τοὺς ἐκείνη Χριστιανοὺς χρῆσθαι,  
στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
ἡλθε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν  
Ὁμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι  
Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστησάμενος, Ὁμηρίτην  
μὲν γένος, δονομα δὲ Ἐσιμιφαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ  
τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου  
2 ἀνεχώρησε. τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιόπων στρατοῦ δούλοι  
τε πολλοὶ καὶ δσοι ἐπιτηδείως ἐσ τὸ κακουργεῖν

the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also reverence Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus. But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the sun. These sanctuaries in Philae were kept by these barbarians even up to my time, but the Emperor Justinian decided to tear them down. Accordingly Narses, a Persarmenian by birth, whom I have mentioned before as having deserted to the Romans,<sup>1</sup> being commander of the troops there, tore down the sanctuaries at the emperor's order, and put the priests under guard and sent the statues to Byzantium. But I shall return to the previous narrative.

## XX

AT about the time of this war Hellestheaeus, the king of the Aethiopians, who was a Christian and a most devoted adherent of this faith, discovered that a number of the Homeritae on the opposite mainland were oppressing the Christians there outrageously; many of these rascals were Jews, and many of them held in reverence the old faith which men of the present day call Hellenic. He therefore collected a fleet of ships and an army and came against them, and he conquered them in battle and slew both the king and many of the Homeritae. He then set up in his stead a Christian king, a Homerite by birth, by name Esimiphaeus, and, after ordaining that he should pay a tribute to the Aethiopians every year, he returned to his home. In this Aethiopian army many slaves and all who were readily disposed to crime were quite unwilling

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ch. xv. 31.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

είχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῆ ἥθελον,  
αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς  
‘Ομηριτῶν χώρας· ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστιν.

3 Οὗτος ὁ λεῶς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ξὺν  
έτεροις τισὶν Ἐσιμφαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπανα-  
στάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἔν τινι τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων  
καθεύρξαν, ἔτερον δὲ ‘Ομηρίταις βασιλέα κατε-  
4 στήσαντο, “Αβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ” Αβραμος οὗτος  
Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς  
ἐν πόλει Αἰθιόπων Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασ-  
5 σαν ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. ἀ δὴ ‘Ελλη-  
σθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαι τε Ἀβραμον ὄμοῦ τοῖς  
ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμφαίον  
ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στράτευμά τε τρισχιλίων  
ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ξυγγενῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ  
6 ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι  
ἔθέλοντες ἐπ’ οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ  
ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Αβράμῳ  
ἐς λόγους ἥλθον, ἐς τε ξυμβολὴν καταστάντες  
τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένουντο,  
κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων  
7 στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. θυμῷ δὲ  
πολλῷ ‘Ελλησθεαῖος ἔχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στρά-  
τευμα ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἱ δὴ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν  
Ἀβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολύ τε  
ἥσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ’ οἴκου εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν.  
δείσας τε τὸ λοιπόν ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς  
8 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσεν. ‘Ελλη-  
σθεαῖον δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Αβραμος ώμο-  
λόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ’ αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰθιόπων βασι-  
λείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἄρχην ἐκρατύ-  
νατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὕστερῳ ἐγένετο.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xx. 2-8

to follow the king back, but were left behind and remained there because of their desire for the land of the Homeritae ; for it is an extremely goodly land.

These fellows at a time not long after this, in company with certain others, rose against the king Esimiphaeus and put him in confinement in one of the fortresses there, and established another king over the Homeritae, Abramus by name. Now this Abramus was a Christian, but a slave of a Roman citizen who was engaged in the business of shipping in the city of Adulis in Aethiopia. When Hellestheaeus learned this, he was eager to punish Abramus together with those who had revolted with him for their injustice to Esimiphaeus, and he sent against them an army of three thousand men with one of his relatives as commander. This army, once there, was no longer willing to return home, but they wished to remain where they were in a goodly land, and so without the knowledge of their commander they opened negotiations with Abramus ; then when they came to an engagement with their opponents, just as the fighting began, they killed their commander and joined the ranks of the enemy, and so remained there. But Hellestheaeus was greatly moved with anger and sent still another army against them ; this force engaged with Abramus and his men, and, after suffering a severe defeat in the battle, straightway returned home. Thereafter the king of the Aethiopians became afraid, and sent no further expeditions against Abramus. After the death of Hellestheaeus, Abramus agreed to pay tribute to the king of the Aethiopians who succeeded him, and in this way he strengthened his rule. But this happened at a later time.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 9 Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς [ό] βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοψι βασιλεύοντος Ἐλλησθεαίου, Ἐσιμιφαίου δὲ ἐν Ὁμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἄμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὡνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τούτο ποιήσωσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν (αὗτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἡς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἦν πάλαι μὲν Ἐλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, ταῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὄνομάζουσιν), Ὁμηρῖται δὲ ὅπως Καϊσὸν τὸν φυγάδα φυλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσωνται καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὁμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν  
10 Περσῶν γῆν. (ό δὲ Καϊσὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δέ τινα Ἐσιμιφαίου ξυγγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν ἔφευγεν ἢ δὴ ἕρημος ἀνθρώπων  
11 παντάπασίν ἐστιν.) ἐκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἵτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὡμολογη-  
12 μένα οὐδέτερος. τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοψι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὄρμοις γινόμενοι οὐ δὴ τὰ πρώτα αἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταίρουσιν, ἀτε χώραν προσοικούντες τὴν ὄμορον, ἀπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὁμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἕρημόν

At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name “seric”<sup>1</sup>). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caiſus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. This Caiſus was by birth of the captain’s rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a

<sup>1</sup> In Latin *serica*, as coming from the Chinese (Seres).

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὄδὸν κατατείνουσαν ἐπ'  
13 ἀνθρώπους πολλῷ μαχιμωτέρους ίέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
"Αβραμος ὑστερον, δτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ως ἀσφαλέ-  
στατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ  
βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλ-  
λειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὅπισω  
εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ  
Ομηριτῶν ταύτη Ρωμαίοις ἔχώρησεν.

## XXI

- 1 'Ερμογένης δὲ τότε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ μάχη ἐγένετο, παρὰ Καβάδην ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἥκων, ἐπέραινεν ὄνδεν τῆς εἰρήνης πέρι ἡς ἔνεκα ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν οἰδαίνοντα ἔτι ἐπὶ 'Ρωμαίους εὗρε· διὸ δὴ ἀπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε.
- 2 καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε περιηρημένος ἦν εἶχεν ἀρχῆν, ἐφ'
- 3 φ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους στρατεύσειε. Σίττας δέ, 'Ιουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδογμένον, ως φυλάξων
- 4 τὴν ἔωαν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ Πέρσαι αὖθις στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν, Χαναράγγου τε καὶ 'Ασπεβέδου καὶ Μερμερόου ἡγουμένων
- 5 σφίσιν, ἐσέβαλον. ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς ἐς χεῖρας ίέναι, Μαρτυρόπολιν ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουσιν, οὐ δὴ Βούζης τε καὶ Βέσσας τεταγ-
- 6 μένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἔτυχον. αὗτη δὲ κεῖται μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ, πόλεως 'Αμίδης τεσσαράκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις διέχουσα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ

long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.

## XXI

HERMOGENES, as soon as the battle on the Euphrates had taken place, came before Cabades to negotiate with him, but he accomplished nothing regarding the peace on account of which he had come, since he found him still swelling with rage against the Romans ; for this reason he returned unsuccessful. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, having been removed from the office which he held, in order that he might march against the Vandals ; but Sittas, as had been decreed by the Emperor Justinian, went to the East in order to guard that portion of the empire. And the Persians once more invaded Mesopotamia with a great army under command of Chanaranges and Aspebedes and Mermeroës. Since no one dared to engage with them, they made camp and began the siege of Martyropolis, where Bouzes and Bessas had been stationed in command of the garrison. This city lies in the land called Sophanene, two hundred and forty stades distant from the city of Amida toward the north ; it is just on the River Nymphius which

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔστιν, δὸς τὴν τε Ὄρωμαίων  
7 γῆν καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι τῷ  
περιβόλῳ προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι  
κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείως ὑφίσταντο, οὐ  
8 διὰ πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνθέξειν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. ὅ τε γὰρ  
περίβολος ἐπιμαχώτατος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον  
καὶ πολιορκίᾳ Περσῶν ῥᾶστα ἀλώσιμος, αὐτοὶ  
τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐδὲ διαρκῶς εἶχον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ  
μηχανὰς οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀξιόχρεων καθ' ὅ τι ἀμύ-  
9 νωνται. Σίττας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὄρωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς  
χωρίον μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἡλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως  
ἐκατὸν σταδίοις διέχον, ἐς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ  
ἐτόλμων ἴέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι  
10 ἔμενον. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐρμογένης αὐθις  
ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἤκων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ  
τοιόνδε τι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

11 Κατασκόπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν τε Ὄρωμαίοις καὶ  
Πέρσαις δημοσίᾳ σιτίζεσθαι νόμος, οὐδὲ δὴ λάθρα  
ἴέναι παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰώθασιν δπως περι-  
σκοπήσαντες ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ πρασσόμενα  
12 εἴτα ἐπανιόντες τοὺς ἀρχουσιν ἐσαγγεῖλωσι. τού-  
των πολλοὶ μὲν εὔνοια, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, χρῆσθαι ἐς  
τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ  
13 τοὺς ἐναντίους προΐενται τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τότε  
οὖν ἐκ Περσῶν κατάσκοπός τις ἐς Ὄρωμαίους  
σταλεὶς ἐς δψιν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἤκων,  
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἔξειπεν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πρασ-  
σόμενα καὶ ὡς γένος Μασσαγετῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὄρω-  
μαίων πονηρῷ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν  
ἡθη ἔξιασιν, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ὄρωμαίων τὴν γῆν

divides the land of the Romans and the Persians. So the Persians began to assail the fortifications, and, while the besieged at first withstood them manfully, it did not seem likely that they would hold out long. For the circuit-wall was quite easily assailable in most parts, and could be captured very easily by a Persian siege, and besides they did not have a sufficient supply of provisions, nor indeed had they engines of war nor anything else that was of any value for defending themselves. Meanwhile Sittas and the Roman army came to a place called Attachas, one hundred stades distant from Martyropolis, but they did not dare to advance further, but established their camp and remained there. Hermogenes also was with them, coming again as ambassador from Byzantium. At this point the following event took place.

It has been customary from ancient times both among the Romans and the Persians to maintain spies at public expense; these men are accustomed to go secretly among the enemy, in order that they may investigate accurately what is going on, and may then return and report to the rulers. Many of these men, as is natural, exert themselves to act in a spirit of loyalty to their nation, while some also betray their secrets to the enemy. At that time a certain spy who had been sent from the Persians to the Romans came into the presence of the Emperor Justinian and revealed many things which were taking place among the barbarians, and, in particular, that the nation of the Massagetae, in order to injure the Romans, were on the very point of going out into the land of Persia, and that from there they were prepared to march into the territory of the

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- ιόντες τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν ἀναμί·  
 14 γνυσθαι· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, πεῖράν τε ἡδη  
 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀληθείας πέρι ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχων,  
 χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἀδροῦς τισι χαρισάμενος πείθει  
 ἐς τε τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον ἵέναι δὴ Μαρτυρο-  
 πολίτας ἐποιιόρκει, καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις  
 ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ οἱ Μασσαγέται οὗτοι χρήμασιν  
 ἀναπεισθέντες τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ μέλλουσιν  
 15 ὅσον οὕπω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥξειν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα  
 ἐποίει, ἐς τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφικό-  
 μενος τῷ τε Χαναράγγῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγ-  
 γελλε στράτευμα Οὔννων πολεμίων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς  
 16 μακρὰν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίξεσθαι. οἱ δὲ  
 ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν, κατωρράδησάν τε καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς παροῦσι διηποροῦντο.  
 17 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἔννέβη πονήρως τῷ Καβάδῃ  
 νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ Περσῶν ἔνα τῶν<sup>1</sup> οἱ ἐν  
 τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδειοτάτων<sup>2</sup> καλέσας, Μεβόδην  
 δονομα, ἐκοινολογεῖτο ἀμφὶ τε τῷ Χοσρόῃ καὶ τῇ  
 βασιλείᾳ, δεδιέναι τε Πέρσας ἔφασκε μή τι τῶν  
 αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἀλογῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξου-  
 18 σιν. ὁ δέ οἱ τῆς γνώμης τὴν δήλωσιν ἐν γράμ-  
 μασιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἥξειν, θαρσοῦντα ὡς οὐ μή ποτε  
 19 αὐτὴν ὑπεριδεῖν τολμήσωσι Πέρσαι. Καβάδης  
 μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς διετίθετο βασιλέα Χοσρόην  
 Πέρσαις καθίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης  
 αὐτὸς ἔγραφε, καὶ ὁ Καβάδης αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώ-  
 20 πων ἥφαντιστο. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ νόμιμα πάντα ἐπὶ  
 τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ταφῇ ἐγεγόνει, ὁ μὲν Καόσης

<sup>1</sup> τῶν Haury : τὸν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτηδειοτάτων Haury : ἐπιτηδειότατον MSS.

Romans, and unite with the Persian army. When the emperor heard this, having already a proof of the man's truthfulness to him, he presented him with a handsome sum of money and persuaded him to go to the Persian army which was besieging the Martyropolitans, and announce to the barbarians there that these Massagetae had been won over with money by the Roman emperor, and were about to come against them that very moment. The spy carried out these instructions, and coming to the army of the barbarians he announced to Chanaranges and the others that an army of Huns hostile to them would at no distant time come to the Romans. And when they heard this, they were seized with terror, and were at a loss how to deal with the situation.

At this juncture it came about that Cabades became seriously ill, and he called to him one of the Persians who were in closest intimacy with him, Mebodes by name, and conversed with him concerning Chosroes and the kingdom, and said he feared the Persians would make a serious attempt to disregard some of the things which had been decided upon by him. But Mebodes asked him to leave the declaration of his purpose in writing, and bade him be confident that the Persians would never dare to disregard it. So Cabades set it down plainly that Chosroes should become king over the Persians. The document was written by Mebodes himself, and Cabades immediately passed from among men. And when everything had been performed as prescribed by law in the burial of the king, then Caoses,

Sept. 18, 581

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- τῷ νόμῳ θαρσῶν ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ δὲ Μεβόδης ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐδένα χρῆναι αὐτόματον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἵέναι, ἀλλὰ ψήφῳ
- 21 Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων. καὶ διὸ ἐπέτρεπε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γνῶσιν, οὐδὲν
- 22 ἐνθένδε ἔσεσθαι οἱ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάξων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄπαντες οἱ Περσῶν λόγιμοι ἐς τούτο ἀγηγερμένοι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν Καβάδου ἀμφὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐδήλου γνώμην, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῆς Καβάδου ἀρετῆς ἄπαντες βασιλέα Πέρσαις αὐτίκα Χοσρόην ἀνεῖπον.
- 23 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Μαρτυροπόλει Σίττας τε καὶ Ερμόγενης ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δειμαίνοντες, ἀμύνειν γάρ κινδυνευούσῃ οὐδαμῆ εἰχον, ἐπεμψάν τινας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἵ τοις στρατηγοῖς ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε
- 24 “Λελήθατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε τῷ Περσῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἐκατέρᾳ ἐμποδὼν οὐ δέον γινόμενοι. πρέσβεις γάρ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι ταῦν πάρεισιν, ἐφ' ὃ παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ιόντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα ἔξανιστάμενοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ξυγχωρεῖτε τοῖς πρέσβεσι πράσσειν ἢ ἐκα-
- 25 τέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. ἔτοιμοι γάρ ἐσμεν ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὅμήρους διδούναι ἄνδρας δοκίμους, ὡς δὴ ἔργῳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιτελῆ ἔσται.” Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις τοσ-  
26 αὗτα εἴπουν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκων, διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευ-

confident by reason of the law, tried to lay claim to the office, but Mebodes stood in his way, asserting that no one ought to assume the royal power by his own initiative but by vote of the Persian notables. So Caeses committed the decision in the matter to the magistrates, supposing that there would be no opposition to him from there. But when all the Persian notables had been gathered together for this purpose and were in session, Mebodes read the document and stated the purpose of Cabades regarding Chosroes, and all, calling to mind the virtue of Cabades, straightway declared Chosroes King of the Persians.

Thus then Chosroes secured the power. But at Martyropolis, Sittas and Hermogenes were in fear concerning the city, since they were utterly unable to defend it in its peril, and they sent certain men to the enemy, who came before the generals and spoke as follows : "It has escaped your own notice that you are becoming wrongfully an obstacle to the king of the Persians and to the blessings of peace and to each state. For ambassadors sent from the emperor are even now present in order that they may go to the king of the Persians and there settle the differences and establish a treaty with him ; but do you as quickly as possible remove from the land of the Romans and permit the ambassadors to act in the manner which will be of advantage to both peoples. For we are ready also to give as hostages men of repute concerning these very things, to prove that they will be actually accomplished at no distant date." Such were the words of the ambassadors of the Romans. It happened also that a messenger came to them from the palace, who brought them word that

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τηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελλε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβύδου βασιλέα καταστῆναι Πέρσαις,  
27 ταύτη τε τὰ πράγματα ἡωρῆσθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὴν Οὔννων ἔφοδον δείσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτῖνον τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἔνα, Σενέκιον δονομα· Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθύνωρον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. οἵ τε Οὔννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ εὑρον, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἄπαντες.

## XXII

- 1 Αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὡς ξὺν Ἐρμογένει πρεσβεύσοντες ἥλθον, παρά τε Περσῶν τὸν βασιλέα πάντες
- 2 ἀφίκοντο ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην. καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπειδὴ εἶδε, τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε. τιθασεύοντες δὲ Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγωγά τε πολλὰ ἔλεξαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἦκιστα πρέσβεις
- 3 πρέποντα. οἷς δὴ χειροήθης ὁ Χοσρόης γενόμενος τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσαν δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν κεντηναρίων ὡμολόγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ ὁ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων μηκέτι ἐν Δάρας τὸ λοιπὸν εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον διαγένοιτο ἥπερ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἴθιστο· φρούρια δὲ τὰ ἐν Λαζικῇ

Cabades had died and that Chosroes, son of Cabades, had become king over the Persians, and that in this way the situation had become unsettled. And as a result of this the generals heard the words of the Romans gladly, since they feared also the attack of the Huns. The Romans therefore straightway gave as hostages Martinus and one of the body-guards of Sittas, Senecius by name; so the Persians broke up the siege and made their departure promptly. And the Huns not long afterward invaded the land of the Romans, but since they did not find the Persian army there, they made their raid a short one, and then all departed homeward.

XXII

STRAIGHTWAY Rufinus and Alexander and Thomas came to act as ambassadors with Hermogenes, and they all came before the Persian king at the River Tigris. And when Chosroes saw them, he released the hostages. Then the ambassadors coaxed Chosroes, and spoke many beguiling words most unbecoming to Roman ambassadors. By this treatment Chosroes became tractable, and agreed to establish a peace with them that should be without end for the price of one hundred and ten “centenaria,” on condition that the commander of troops in Mesopotamia should be no longer at Daras, but should spend all his time in Constantina, as was customary in former times; but the fortresses in

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οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν, καίπερ αὐτὸς τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον δικαιῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπολαβεῖν. ἔλκει δὲ λίτρας τὸ κεντηνάριον ἑκατόν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ὠνόμασται. κέντον γὰρ τὰ 4 ἑκατὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τοῦτο δέ οἱ δίδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον ἡξίου, ως μήτε πόλιν Δάρας Ῥωμαῖοι καθελεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται μήτε φυλακτηρίου τοῦ ἐν 5 πύλαις Κασπίαις μεταλαχεῖν Πέρσαις. οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπήνουν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐνδιδόναι οὐκ ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἣν μὴ βασι- 6 τὸ λέων ἀμφὶ αὐτοῖς πύθωνται πρότερον. ἔδοξε τοίνυν Ῥουφίνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἔως αὐτὸς ἐπανίη, μένειν. καὶ χρόνος ἡμερῶν ἐβδομήκοντα Ῥουφίνῳ 7 ἔννέκειτο ἐς τὴν ἄφιξιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥουφίνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος βασιλεῖ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅσα Χοσρόη ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ δοκοῦντα εἴη, ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα σφίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἔννιστασθαι.

8 'Αλλ' ἐν τούτῳ φήμη τις οὐκ ἀληθῆς ἥκουσα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθη βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἤγγειλλεν ὀργισθέντα Ῥουφίνον κτείναι. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης ἔνυταραχθείς τε καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἥδη ἐχόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἥει. Ῥουφίνος δέ οἱ μεταξὺ ἐπανήκων ἐνέτυχε πόλεως Νισίβιδος 9 10 οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο καί, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιοῦν ἔμελλον, τὰ χρήματα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα ἐκό- 11 μίζον. ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια ἔνγκεχωρηκότι μετέμελεν ἥδη, γράμματά

Lazica he refused to give back, although he himself demanded that he should receive back from the Romans both Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum. (Now the “centenarium” weighs one hundred pounds, for which reason it is so called; for the Romans call one hundred “centum”). He demanded that this gold be given him, in order that the Romans might not be compelled either to tear down the city of Daras or to share the garrison at the Caspian Gates with the Persians.<sup>1</sup> However the ambassadors, while approving the rest, said that they were not able to concede the fortresses, unless they should first make enquiry of the emperor concerning them. It was decided, accordingly, that Rufinus should be sent concerning them to Byzantium, and that the others should wait until he should return. And it was arranged with Rufinus that seventy days' time be allowed until he should arrive. When Rufinus reached Byzantium and reported to the emperor what Chosroes' decision was concerning the peace, the emperor commanded that the peace be concluded by them on these terms.

In the meantime, however, a report which was not true reached Persia saying that the Emperor Justinian had become enraged and put Rufinus to death. Chosroes indeed was much perturbed by this, and, already filled with anger, he advanced against the Romans with his whole army. But Rufinus met him on the way as he was returning not far from the city of Nisibis. Therefore they proceeded to this city themselves, and, since they were about to establish the peace, the ambassadors began to convey the money thither. But the Emperor Justinian was already repenting that he had given up the strong-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chap. xvi. 7.

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- τε ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγοντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔγραφε  
12 μηδαμῶς αὐτὰ προτεσθαι Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ Χοσρόης  
τὰς σπουδὰς θέσθαι οὐκέτι ἡξίου, καὶ τότε Ὦρο-  
φίνῳ ἔννοιά τις ἐγένετο ὡς ταχύτερα ἡ ἀσφαλέ-  
στερα βουλευσάμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσῶν τὰ  
13 χρήματα ἐσκομίσειν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος  
καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, κείμενός τε πρητὺς Χοσρόην  
ἰκέτευε τά τε χρήματα σφίσι ἔνυπτέμψαι καὶ μὴ  
ἐπὶ Ὦρωμαίους εὐθὺς στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐς χρόνον  
14 τινὰ ἔτερον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποτίθεσθαι. Χοσρόης  
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευεν ἔξαμίστασθαι, ἀπαντά-  
οι ταῦτα χαριεῖσθαι ὑποσχόμενος. οἵ τε γοῦν  
πρέσβεις ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς Δάρας ἥλθον, καὶ  
ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ὅπισω ἀπῆλαυνε.  
15 Καὶ τότε μὲν Ὦροφίνον οἱ ἔνυπτρεσβευταὶ δι'  
ὑποψίας τε αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσχον καὶ ἐς  
βασιλέα διέβαλλον, τεκμαιρόμενοι δτὶ δὴ οἱ  
ἀπαντα ὁ Χοσρόης ὅσα ἔχρηζεν αὐτοῦ ἀναπει-  
16 σθεὶς ἔνυπχώρησεν. ἔδρασε μέντοι αὐτὸν διὰ  
ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ  
ἔστερον Ὦροφίνος τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἐρμογένης αὐθις  
παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐστέλλοντο, ἐς τε τὰς σπουδὰς  
αὐτίκα ἀλλήλοις ἔνυπέθησαν, ἐφ' ὃ ἐκάτεροι ἀπο-  
δώσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἀμφότεροι χωρία ἐν τῷδε τῷ  
πολέμῳ ἀλλήλους ἀφείλοντο, καὶ μηκέτι στρα-  
τιωτῶν τις ἀρχὴ ἐν Δάρας εἴη· τοῖς τε Ἱβηρσιν  
ἐδέδοκτο ἐν γνώμῃ εἶναι ἡ μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βυ-  
ζαντίῳ, ἡ ἐς σφῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιέναι. ἦσαν  
δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ μένοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπανιόντες ἐς

holds of Lazica, and he wrote a letter to the ambassadors expressly commanding them by no means to hand them over to the Persians. For this reason Chosroes no longer saw fit to make the treaty ; and then it came to the mind of Rufinus that he had counselled more speedily than safely in bringing the money into the land of Persia. Straightway, therefore, he threw himself on the earth, and lying prone he entreated Chosroes to send the money back with them and not march immediately against the Romans, but to put off the war to some other time. And Chosroes bade him rise from the ground, promising that he would grant all these things. So the ambassadors with the money came to Daras and the Persian army marched back.

Then indeed the fellow-ambassadors of Rufinus began to regard him with extreme suspicion themselves, and they also denounced him to the emperor, basing their judgment on the fact that Chosroes had been persuaded to concede him everything which he asked of him. However, the emperor showed him no disfavour on account of this. At a time not long after this Rufinus himself and Hermogenes were again sent to the court of Chosroes, and they immediately came to agreement with each other concerning the treaty, subject to the condition that both sides should give back all the places which each nation had wrested from the other in that war, and that there should no longer be any military post in Daras ; as for the Iberians, it was agreed that the decision rested with them whether they should remain there in Byzantium or return to their own fatherland. And there were many who remained, and many also who returned to their ancestral

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17 τὰ πάτρια ἥθη. οὗτω τοίνυν τήν τε ἀπέραντον  
 καλουμένην εἰρήνην ἐσπείσαντο, ἔκτον ἥδη ἔτος  
 18 τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔχοντος. καὶ Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι μὲν τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον  
 ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι Πέρσαις ἔδοσαν, Πέρσαι δὲ  
 Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια.<sup>1</sup> καὶ Δάγαριν δὲ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδοσαν Πέρσαι, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔτερον  
 19 κεκομισμένοι οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. οὗτος ὁ Δάγαρις  
 χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις Οὔννους ἐς γῆν τὴν  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας μάχαις νικήσας ἔξηλα-  
 σεν. ἦν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια.  
 τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἄλληλους σπουδὰς τρόπῳ τῷ  
 εἰρημένῳ ἀμφότεροι ἐκρατύναντο.

### XXIII

1 Εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἑκατέρῳ ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι  
 ξυνηρέχθη πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων δυτινα μέντοι τρό-  
 πον αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἄτα-  
 κτός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων  
 2 ἐραστὴς ἄτοπος. διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀεὶ ἔμπλεως  
 ταραχῆς τε καὶ θορύβων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων  
 3 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν αἰτιώτατος. ἀχθόμενοι οὖν  
 αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ<sup>2</sup> ὅσοι ἐν Πέρσαις δραστήριοι ἦσαν,  
 ἔτερον σφίσι βασιλέα καταστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Κα-  
 4 βάδου οἰκίας ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον. καὶ (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 πολὺς τις πόθος τῆς Ζαμου ἀρχῆς ἦν δὴ ὁ νόμος  
 αἰτίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λώβης, ὡσπερ μοι ἐρ-  
 ρήθη, ἐκώλυε) λογισάμενοι ηὗρισκον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς  
 ἄμεινον εἶναι Καβάδην μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> φρούρια GPH : χωρία V.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρχῇ VP : ταραχῇ G.

homes. Thus, then, they concluded the so-called “endless peace,” when the Emperor Justinian was already in the sixth year of his reign. And the Romans gave the Persians Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum together with the money, and the Persians gave the Romans the strongholds of Lazica. The Persians also returned Dagaris to the Romans, and received in return for him another man of no mean station. This Dagaris in later times often conquered the Huns in battle when they had invaded the land of the Romans, and drove them out; for he was an exceptionally able warrior. Thus both sides in the manner described made secure the treaty between them.

## XXIII

STRAIGHTWAY it came about that plots were formed against both rulers by their subjects; and I shall now explain how this happened. Chosroes, the son of Cabades, was a man of an unruly turn of mind and strangely fond of innovations. For this reason he himself was always full of excitement and alarms, and he was an unfailing cause of similar feelings in all others. All, therefore, who were men of action among the Persians, in vexation at his administration, were purposing to establish over themselves another king from the house of Cabades. And since they longed earnestly for the rule of Zames, which was made impossible by the law by reason of the disfigurement of his eye, as has been stated, they found upon consideration that the best course for them was to establish in power his child

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσα-  
σθαι,<sup>1</sup> Ζάμην δέ, ἅτε τῷ παιδὶ ἐπίτροπον ὅντα,  
διοικεῖσθαι ὅπῃ βούλοιτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα.  
5 γενόμενοί τε παρὰ τὸν Ζάμην τό τε βούλευμα  
ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς  
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνῆργον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ βουλὴ  
ῆρεσκεν, ἐς καιρὸν τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐπιθήσεσθαι διενο-  
ούντο. ἔκπυστος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν βασιλέα  
6 γεγενημένη τὰ πρασσόμενα διεκώλυσε. Ζάμην τε  
γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ζάμου  
ἀδελφοὺς ἀπαντας ξὺν γόνῳ παντὶ ἄρσενι ἔκτεινε,  
καὶ Περσῶν τῶν δοκίμων δσους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ  
βεβουλευμένων ἡ ἄρξαι ἡ μεταλαχεῖν τρόπῳ δὴ  
ὅτῳ τετύχηκεν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσπεβέδης ἦν οἱ τῆς  
Χοσρόου μητρὸς ἀδελφός.  
7 Καβάδην μέντοι τὸν Ζάμου νίδον αὐτὸς μὲν  
κτείνειν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ χαναράγγη τῷ  
Ἀδεργουδουνθάδῃ ἐτρέφετο. αὐτῷ δὲ χαναράγγῃ  
τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὄνπερ ἐθρέψατο ἐπέστελλε δια-  
χρήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἐδικαίου  
8 οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἶχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
χαναράγγης, ἐπεὶ τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ἤκουσε,  
περιαλγήσας τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσας τὴν συμφορὰν  
ἐκοινολογεῖτο τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Καβάδου τίτθη ὅσα  
οἱ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστείλειε. δακρύσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ  
καὶ τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβομένη, ἔχρηξε  
9 τέχνη μηδεμιᾷ Καβάδην κτεῖναι. βουλευσάμενοι  
οὖν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσαντο κρυπτόμενον μὲν  
ώς ἀσφαλέστατα τὸν παῖδα ἐκτρέφειν, τῷ δὲ  
Χοσρῷ κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι ὡς οἱ ὁ Καβάδης ἔξ  
10 ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθείη. καὶ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> καταστήσασθαι Wahler : καταστήσεσθαι MSS.

Cabades, who bore the same name as his grandfather, while Zames, as guardian of the child, should administer the affairs of the Persians as he wished. So they went to Zames and disclosed their plan, and, urging him on with great enthusiasm, they endeavoured to persuade him to undertake the thing. And since the plan pleased him, they were purposing to assail Chosroes at the fitting moment. But the plan was discovered and came to the knowledge of the king, and thus their proceedings were stopped. For Chosroes slew Zames himself and all his own brothers and those of Zames together with all their male offspring, and also all the Persian notables who had either begun or taken part in any way in the plot against him. Among these was Aspebedes, the brother of Chosroes' mother.

Cabades, however, the son of Zames, he was quite unable to kill; for he was still being reared under the chanaranges, Adergoudounbades. But he sent a message to the chanaranges, bidding him himself kill the boy he had reared; for he neither thought it well to show mistrust, nor yet had he power to compel him. The chanaranges, therefore, upon hearing the commands of Chosroes, was exceedingly grieved and, lamenting the misfortune, he communicated to his wife and Cabades' nurse all that the king had commanded. Then the woman, bursting into tears and seizing the knees of her husband, entreated him by no means to kill Cabades. They therefore consulted together, and planned to bring up the child in the most secure concealment, and to send word in haste to Chosroes that Cabades had been put out of the world for him. And they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ταῦτα ἐσήμαινον τόν τε Καβάδην οὕτως ἀπέκρυψαν ὥστε τούτου γε παρείχοντο οὐδενὶ αἰσθησιν, ὅτι μὴ Οὐαρράμῃ τε τῷ σφετέρῳ παιδὶ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐνί, διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς πιστότατος ἐς τὰ μά-
- 11 λιστα ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἐς ἡλικίαν ὁ Καβάδης ἥλθε, δείσας ὁ χαναράγγης μὴ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐς φῶς ἄγοιτο, χρήματά τε τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐκέλευε διασώζεσθαι ὅπῃ οἱ φεύγοντι δυνατὰ εἴη. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ὁ χαναράγγης ἐλάνθανε.
- 12 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλλεν, ὡς μοι ἐν
- 13 τοῖς ὅπισθεν λόγοις γεγράψεται. εἴπετο δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τούτου δὴ τοῦ χαναράγγου νιὸς Οὐαρράμης, ἄλλους τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπαγόμενος καὶ διὸ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐς τὸν Καβάδην ξυνεπιστάμενος ἔτυχεν ἐνταῦθα τῷ βασιλεῖ Οὐαρράμης τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀπαντα ἔφραζε, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐφ'
- 14 ἀπασίν οἱ ὄμολογοῦντα παρείχετο. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔγνω, τῷ τε θυμῷ ἥδη ὑπερφυῶς εἴχετο καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ πρὸς δούλους ἀνδρὸς τοιαῦτα ἔργα πεπονθώς εἴη, οὐκ ἔχων τε ὅπως οἱ ὑποχεί-
- 15 ριον τὸν ἄνδρα ποιοίη, ἐπενόει τάδε. ἡνίκα ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀναχωρεῖν ἔμελλε, γράφει τῷ χαναράγγῃ τούτῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένα εἴη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβάλλειν, οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ μέντοι τῆς χώρας εἰσόδῳ, ἀλλὰ δίχα ποιησαμένῳ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα,

sent word to the king to this effect, and concealed Cabades in such a way that the affair did not come to the notice of any one, except Varrames, their own child, and one of the servants who seemed to them to be in every way most trustworthy. But when, as time went on, Cabades came of age, the chanaranges began to fear lest what had been done should be brought to light; he therefore gave Cabades money and bade him depart and save himself by flight wherever he could. At that time, then, Chosroes and all the others were in ignorance of the fact that the chanaranges had carried this thing through.

At a later time Chosroes was making an invasion into the land of Colchis with a great army, as will be told in the following narrative.<sup>1</sup> And he was followed by the son of this same chanaranges, Varrames, who took with him a number of his servants, and among them the one who shared with him the knowledge of what had happened to Cabades; while there Varrames told the king everything regarding Cabades, and he brought forward the servant agreeing with him in every particular. When Chosroes learned this he was forthwith exceedingly angry, and he counted it a dreadful thing that he had suffered such things at the hand of a man who was his slave; and since he had no other means of getting the man under his hand he devised the following plan. When he was about to return homeward from the land of Colchis, he wrote to this chanaranges that he had decided to invade the land of the Romans with his whole army, not, however, by a single inroad into the country, but making two divisions of the Persian army, in order that the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. xvii.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὅπως οἱ ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου  
 16 ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμίους ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἔσται. μιᾶς μὲν οὖν  
 τῆς στρατιᾶς μοίρᾳ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ  
 εἰκός, ἐξηγήσεσθαι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνδιδόναι τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ δούλων ἵσα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ  
 τιμῇ ἔχειν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ χαναράγγῃ τῇς ἀρετῆς  
 17 ἔνεκα. δεῖν τοίνυν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ<sup>1</sup>  
 κατὰ τάχος οἱ ἐς δψιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως αὐτῷ κοινο-  
 λογησάμενος ἄπαντα ἐπιστέλλοι δσα ἔνυοίσειν  
 τῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλοι, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ δπισθε  
 18 κελεύειν ὁδῷ ἰέναι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ χαναράγγης  
 ἀπενεχθέντα εἰδε, περιχαρῆς γεγονὼς τῇ ἐς  
 αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ μακράν τε ἀπολελειμ-  
 μένος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, αὐτίκα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα  
 19 ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἀντέχειν τῷ  
 πόνῳ οὐδαμῇ ἔχων (ἥν γάρ τις γέρων ὁ ἀνήρ  
 μάλιστα) τὸν τε χαλινὸν μεθεὶς τοῦ ἵππου  
 ἐκπίπτει καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐν τῷ σκέλει δστέον ἐρράγη-  
 διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐνταῦθα θεραπευομένῳ  
 ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἃς τε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ  
 20 ἥκουντι ἐς δψιν ἥλθε. καὶ αὐτῷ Χοσρόης ἔφασκε  
 ἔνστρατεύειν σφίσιν οὗτως ἔχοντι τοῦ ποδὸς  
 ἀδύνατα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἃς τι τῶν  
 ἐκείνη φρουρίων ἴόντα τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἰα-  
 21 τρῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐνταῦθα τυχεῖν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ  
 Χοσρόης τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον  
 ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ δπισθεν εἴποντο  
 οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλον,  
 ἄνδρα ἐν Πέρσαις ἀήττητον στρατηγὸν δυτα τε  
 καὶ λεγόμενον, δσπερ ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔθνη βαρβάρων

<sup>1</sup> ἀποπορείᾳ P : ἀποπορίᾳ V, ἀπορίᾳ G, cf. II. x. 24.

attack might be made upon the enemy on both sides of the River Euphrates. Now one division of the army he himself, as was natural, would lead into the hostile land, while to no one else of his subjects would he grant the privilege of holding equal honour with the king in this matter, except to the chanaranges himself on account of his valour. It was necessary, therefore, that the chanaranges should come speedily to meet him as he returned, in order that he might confer with him and give him all the directions which would be of advantage to the army, and that he should bid his attendants travel behind him on the road. When the chanaranges received this message, he was overjoyed at the honour shown him by the king, and in complete ignorance of his own evil plight, he immediately carried out the instructions. But in the course of this journey, since he was quite unable to sustain the toil of it (for he was a very old man), he relaxed his hold on the reins and fell off his horse, breaking the bone in his leg. It was therefore necessary for him to remain there quietly and be cared for, and the king came to that place and saw him. And Chosroes said to him that with his leg in such a plight it was not possible that he make the expedition with them, but that he must go to one of the fortresses in that region and receive treatment there from the physicians. Thus then Chosroes sent the man away on the road to death, and behind him followed the very men who were to destroy him in the fortress,—a man who was in fact as well as in name an invincible general among the Persians, who had marched against twelve nations of barbarians

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- στρατεύσας ἅπαντα Καβάδη βασιλεῖ παρεστή-  
 22 σατο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀφανισθέντος, Οὐαρράμης ὁ παῖς τὸ τοῦ χαναράγ-  
 23 γου ἀξίωμα ἔσχε. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον  
 εἴτε Καβάδης αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ Ζάμου υἱός, εἴτε τις  
 ἄλλος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Καβάδου ὄνοματος ἐσ-  
 Βυζάντιον ἥλθε· Καβάδη μέντοι βασιλεῖ τὴν  
 24 ὄψιν ἐμφερέστατος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς  
 βασιλεὺς ἀμφιγυνοῶν μέν, ἄτε δὴ Καβάδου  
 βασιλέως υἱών, ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐν  
 τιμῇ ἔσχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Πέρσας τοὺς Χοσρόης  
 ἐπαναστάντας ἐγένετο ὡδε.  
 25 "Τοτερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Μεβόδην ὁ Χοσρόης  
 διεχρήσατο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. τῶν τι σπουδαίων  
 διαχειρίζων, παρόντι τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐπέταττε  
 τὸν Μεβόδην καλεῖν· ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Μεβόδῃ ὁ  
 Ζαβεργάνης διάφορος ὡν· δις δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἀφικόμενος εὑρίσκει μὲν στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτῷ  
 ἐπομένους διέποντα, ἔλεγε δὲ δτι δὴ αὐτὸν ὡς  
 26 τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς καλοίη. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα  
 μάλα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διάθηται, ἔψεσθαι  
 ώμολόγει, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐσ αὐτὸν ἔχθει ἡγμένος ἀπήγ-  
 γελλε Χοσρόη ὡς οὐ βούλοιτο Μεβόδης ἐν τῷ  
 παρόντι ἥκειν, φάσκων οἵ τινα ἀσχολίαν είναι.  
 27 θυμῷ τοίνυν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος, στείλας τῶν οἱ  
 ἐπομένων τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν Μεβόδην  
 ἐκέλευεν ιέναι. ὃ τι δὲ τοῦτο ἐστιν, αὐτίκα  
 28 δηλώσω. τρίπους σιδηροῦς πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων  
 ἐσαεὶ ἐστηκεν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τις τῶν Περσῶν  
 πύθηται ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι,  
 τούτῳ δὲ<sup>1</sup> οὔτε πη ἐσ ιερὸν καταφυγεῖν θέμις οὔτε

<sup>1</sup> δὲ MSS.: Haury suggests δῆ, Christ brackets.

and subjected them all to King Cabades. After Adergoudounbades had been removed from the world, Varrames, his son, received the office of chanaranges. Not long after this either Cabades himself, the son of Zames, or someone else who was assuming the name of Cabades came to Byzantium ; certainly he resembled very closely in appearance Cabades, the king. And the Emperor Justinian, though in doubt concerning him, received him with great friendliness and honoured him as the grandson of Cabades. So then fared the Persians who rose against Chosroes.

Later on Chosroes destroyed also Mebodes for the following reason. While the king was arranging a certain important matter, he directed Zaberganes who was present to call Mebodes. Now it happened that Zaberganes was on hostile terms with Mebodes. When he came to him, he found him marshalling the soldiers under his command, and he said that the king summoned him to come as quickly as possible. And Mebodes promised that he would follow directly as soon as he should have arranged the matter in hand ; but Zaberganes, moved by his hostility to him, reported to Chosroes that Mebodes did not wish to come at present, claiming to have some business or other. Chosroes, therefore, moved with anger, sent one of his attendants commanding Mebodes to go to the tripod. Now as to what this is I shall explain forthwith. An iron tripod stands always before the palace ; and whenever anyone of the Persians learns that the king is angry with him, it is not right for such a man to flee for refuge to a

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀλλαχαόσει ιέναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦτον καθημένῳ  
τὸν τρίποδα τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψῆφον,  
τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιούντος.  
29 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεβόδης ἐν σχήματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθητο  
ἡμέρας πολλάς, ἔως τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγεί-  
λαντος λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν. ἐς τοῦτο τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς  
ἐς Χοσρόην εὐεργεσίας ἔχώρησεν.

## XXIV

- 1 'Τπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐνέπεσεν,  
ἢ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαιν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακὸν  
μέγα τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ  
2 τοιῷδε. οἱ δῆμοι ἐν πόλει ἐκάστῃ ἐς τε Βενέτους  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διέρηντο, οὐ πολὺς  
δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὐ τούτων τε τῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ τῶν  
βάθρων ἐνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασι, τά τε  
χρήματα δαπανῶσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς  
πικροτάτοις προτίενται καὶ θνήσκειν οὐκ ἀπα-  
3 ξιοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς  
ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοῖς  
ἐνεκα ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοί τε ὡς, ἢν  
καὶ περιέσωνται τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λελε-  
ψεται αὐτοῖς ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμω-  
τήριον, αἰκιζομένοις δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα εἴτα ἀπολω-  
4 λέναι. φύεται μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας  
ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ᔁχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεύτητον ἐς  
τὸν πάντα αἰώνα, οὔτε κήδει οὔτε ξυγγενείᾳ οὔτε

sanctuary nor to go elsewhere, but he must seat himself by this tripod and await the verdict of the king, while no one at all dares protect him. There Mebodes sat in pitiable plight for many days, until he was seized and put to death at the command of Chosroes. Such was the final outcome of his good deeds to Chosroes.

## XXIV

At this same time an insurrection broke out Jan. 1, 582 unexpectedly in Byzantium among the populace, and, contrary to expectation, it proved to be a very serious affair, and ended in great harm to the people and to the senate, as the following account will show. In every city the population has been divided for a long time past into the Blue and the Green factions; but within comparatively recent times it has come about that, for the sake of these names and the seats which the rival factions occupy in watching the games, they spend their money and abandon their bodies to the most cruel tortures, and even do not think it unworthy to die a most shameful death. And they fight against their opponents knowing not for what end they imperil themselves, but knowing well that, even if they overcome their enemy in the fight, the conclusion of the matter for them will be to be carried off straightway to the prison, and finally, after suffering extreme torture, to be destroyed. So there grows up in them against their fellow men a hostility which has no cause, and at no time does it cease or disappear, for it gives

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- φιλίας θεσμῷ εἰκον, ἦν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἡ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οἱ ἐς τὰ χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶεν.
- 5 μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὕτε θείων οὕτε ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἦν τέ τι ἀσέβημα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' ὅτουοῦν ἀμαρτάνηται ἦν τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἡ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζωνται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες ἵσως κάν τοὺς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποιοῦνται, ἦν γε αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ μέλλῃ· οὕτω γάρ τοὺς συστασιώτας καλοῦσι.
- 6 μεταλαγχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἄγους τούτου καὶ γυναικες αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοὺς ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμεναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, ἀν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι, καί περ οὕτε εἰς τὰ θέατρα τὸ παράπαν ιοῦσαι οὕτε τῷ ἄλλῳ αὐτίῳ ἡγμέναι· ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλο τι ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἡ ψυχῆς νόσημα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἐκάστῳ ὡδέ πη ἔχει.
- 7 Τότε δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ, ἡ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφειστήκει ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινας τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπῆγε. ξυμφρονήσαντες δὲ καὶ σπεισάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι τούς τε ἀγομένους ἀρπάζουσι καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφιᾶσιν ἄπαντας ὅσοι στάσεως ἡ ἐτέρου του ἀλόντες
- 8 ἀτοπήματος ἐδέδεντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται, ὅσοι τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἐπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν

place neither to the ties of marriage nor of relationship nor of friendship, and the case is the same even though those who differ with respect to these colours be brothers or any other kin. They care neither for things divine nor human in comparison with conquering in these struggles ; and it matters not whether a sacrilege is committed by anyone at all against God, or whether the laws and the constitution are violated by friend or by foe ; nay even when they are perhaps ill supplied with the necessities of life, and when their fatherland is in the most pressing need and suffering unjustly, they pay no heed if only it is likely to go well with their "faction" ; for so they name the bands of partisans. And even women join with them in this unholy strife, and they not only follow the men, but even resist them if opportunity offers, although they neither go to the public exhibitions at all, nor are they impelled by any other cause ; so that I, for my part, am unable to call this anything except a disease of the soul. This, then, is pretty well how matters stand among the people of each and every city.

But at this time the officers of the city administration in Byzantium were leading away to death some of the rioters. But the members of the two factions, conspiring together and declaring a truce with each other, seized the prisoners and then straightway entered the prison and released all those who were in confinement there, whether they had been condemned on a charge of stirring up sedition, or for any other unlawful act. And all the attendants in the service of the city government were killed indiscriminately ; meanwhile, all of the citizens who were

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον ἔφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ  
9 ἐπεφέρετο, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίοις γεγενημένη. καὶ  
τὸ ἱερὸν ἡ Σοφία τό τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεύξιππος  
καὶ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλάμων  
ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἀρεως λεγόμενον οἰκον καυθέντα  
ἔφθαρη, ἐπὶ τούτοις τε ἅμφω ἀι μεγάλαι στοαὶ  
μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἡ Κωνσταντίνου  
ἐπώνυμός ἔστι, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι  
10 πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ  
συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἔνιοι καθείρ-  
ξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ξύμ-  
βολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκα,  
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις  
ἐκείνη προσαγορεύεται.
- 11 Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἐπαρχος Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ  
Καππαδόκης, Τριβουνιανὸς δέ, Πάμφυλος γένος,  
βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος· κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι  
12 Ῥωμαῖοι. τούτοιν ἀτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν  
τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ  
ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι  
μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς [γράψαι].<sup>1</sup>  
φύσεως δὲ ἵσχυΐ πάντων γέγονε δυνατώτατος ὡν  
13 ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. γνῶναί τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἰκανώ-  
τατος ἦν καὶ λύσιν τοῖς ἀπόροις εύρεν. πονηρό-  
τατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τῇ τῆς  
φύσεως δυνάμει ἐς τοῦτο ἐχρῆτο, καὶ οὕτε θεοῦ  
λόγος οὕτε ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν αἰδὼς τις ἐσήει,  
ἀλλὰ βίους τε αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἀπολ-  
λύναι κέρδους ἔνεκα καὶ πόλεις ὅλας καθελεῖν ἐπε-

<sup>1</sup> [γράψαι] bracketed by Herwerden, cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 189.

sane-minded were fleeing to the opposite mainland, and fire was applied to the city as if it had fallen under the hand of an enemy. The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippus, and the portion of the imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure. During this time the emperor and his consort with a few members of the senate shut themselves up in the palace and remained quietly there. Now the watch-word which the populace passed around to one another was Nika,<sup>1</sup> and the insurrection has been called by this name up to the present time.

The praetorian prefect at that time was John the Cappadocian, and Tribunianus, a Pamphylian by birth, was counsellor to the emperor; this person the Roman call "quaestor." One of these two men, John, was entirely without the advantages of a liberal education; for he learned nothing while attending the elementary school except his letters, and these, too, poorly enough; but by his natural ability he became the most powerful man of whom we know. For he was most capable in deciding upon what was needful and in finding a solution for difficulties. But he became the basest of all men and employed his natural power to further his low designs; neither consideration for God nor any shame before man entered into his mind, but to destroy the lives of many men for the sake of gain and to wreck whole cities was his

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "Conquer."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 14 μελὲς ἦν. χρόνου γοῦν ὄλιγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινὰ ἐκλελάκτικεν δρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἅχρι μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ληιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὖσις, μέθη δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργοις ἀσελγέσιν  
15 ἡσχολημένος· κατέχειν δὲ ἑαυτὸν οὐδαμῆ ἵσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε βρώματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἔμετον ἥσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς ἀεὶ ἔτοιμος, προτεσθαι δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἔτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης  
16 μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἔχρηπο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἥσσον, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακὼς οἶός τε ἦν κέρδους ἀεὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκάστη τοὺς μὲν ἀνήρει, τοὺς δὲ ἔγραφεν, ἀπεμπολῶν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐκάτερον.  
17 "Εως μὲν οὖν ο δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρώμασιν ὄνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὃν οὐτοι ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον καὶ περιύόντες ἐζήτουν ἐφ' ω κτείνωσι. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἐταιρίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω  
18 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα παρέλυσε. καὶ Φωκᾶν μέν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἴκανῶς πεφυκότα· Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἔκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνώριμον ἐν πατρικιοις ὅντα καὶ ἄλλως

constant concern. So within a short time indeed he had acquired vast sums of money, and he flung himself completely into the sordid life of a drunken scoundrel ; for up to the time of lunch each day he would plunder the property of his subjects, and for the rest of the day occupy himself with drinking and with wanton deeds of lust. And he was utterly unable to control himself, for he ate food until he vomited, and he was always ready to steal money and more ready to bring it out and spend it. Such a man then was John. Tribunianus, on the other hand, both possessed natural ability and in educational attainments was inferior to none of his contemporaries ; but he was extraordinarily fond of the pursuit of money and always ready to sell justice for gain ; therefore every day, as a rule, he was repealing some laws and proposing others, selling off to those who requested it either favour according to their need.

Now as long as the people were waging this war with each other in behalf of the names of the colours, no attention was paid to the offences of these men against the constitution ; but when the factions came to a mutual understanding, as has been said, and so began the sedition, then openly throughout the whole city they began to abuse the two and went about seeking them to kill. Accordingly the emperor, wishing to win the people to his side, instantly dismissed both these men from office. And Phocas, a patrician, he appointed praetorian prefect, a man of the greatest discretion and fitted by nature to be a guardian of justice ; Basilides he commanded to fill the office of quaestor, a man known among the patricians for his agreeable qualities and a notable besides. However,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 19 δόκιμον. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἡσσον ἡ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἥκμαζε. πέμπτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρᾳ περὶ δείλην ὄψιαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Τπατίφ τε καὶ Πομπήιφ τοῖς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῖς οἴκαδε ως τάχιστα ἐπέσκηπτεν ἴεναι, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς δῶμα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑποτοπήσας εἴτε καὶ
- 20 αὐτοὺς ἡ πεπρωμένη ἐς τοῦτο ἥγεν. οἱ δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἔφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἐς τοσόνδε
- 21 κίνδυνον ἥκοντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μᾶλλα ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. οὗτῳ γοῦν οἴκαδε τῷ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ἐκομιζέσθην καὶ, τέως μὲν υὐξ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχαζέτην.
- 22 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ως ἀμφοτέρω ἀπηλλαγήτην τῆς ἐν παλατίφ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λεὼς ἄπας, βασιλέα τε Τπάτιον ἀνηγόρευον, καὶ αὐτὸν ως παραληφόμενον τὰ πράγματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἥγον. ἡ δὲ Τπάτιον γυνὴ Μαρία, ξυνετή τε οὖσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἴχετο μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ μεθίει, ἐβόα δὲ ὁλολυγῇ τε χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἄπασιν ἐγκελευομένη, ως αὐτὸν τὴν
- 23 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὁμίλου, αὐτή τε οὐχ ἐκοῦσα μεθῆκε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς οὕτι ἐκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἥκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν
- 24

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῖς PV : καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν G.

the insurrection continued no less violently under them. Now on the fifth day of the insurrection in the late afternoon the Emperor Justinian gave orders to Hypatius and Pompeius, nephews of the late emperor, Anastasius, to go home as quickly as possible, either because he suspected that some plot was being matured by them against his own person, or, it may be, because destiny brought them to this. But they feared that the people would force them to the throne (as in fact fell out), and they said that they would be doing wrong if they should abandon their sovereign when he found himself in such danger. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he inclined still more to his suspicion, and he bade them quit the palace instantly. Thus, then, these two men betook themselves to their homes, and, as long as it was night, they remained there quietly.

But on the following day at sunrise it became known to the people that both men had quit the palace where they had been staying. So the whole population ran to them, and they declared Hypatius emperor and prepared to lead him to the market-place to assume the power. But the wife of Hypatius, Mary, a discreet woman, who had the greatest reputation for prudence, laid hold of her husband and would not let go, but cried out with loud lamentation and with entreaties to all her kinsmen that the people were leading him on the road to death. But since the throng overpowered her, she unwillingly released her husband, and he by no will of his own came to the Forum of Constantine, where they summoned him to the throne; then since they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

έκάλουν, καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς οὕτε διάδημα οὕτε  
 τι ἄλλο ὡν δὴ βασιλέα περιβάλλεσθαι νόμος)  
 στρεπτόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θέμενοι  
 25 βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπον. ἥδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 βουλῆς ξυνιόντων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντες ἔτύγ-  
 χανον ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ, πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέγοντο  
 γνῶμαι ὡς αὐτοῖς ἵτεον ἀγωνιουμένοις ἐς παλά-  
 26 τιον· Ὁριγένης δέ, ἀνὴρ ἐκ βουλῆς, παρελθὼν  
 ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Τὰ μὲν παρόντα ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ῥω-  
 μαῖοι, πράγματα μὴ οὐχὶ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι οὐχ  
 οἶόν τε. πόλεμος<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ βασιλεία<sup>2</sup> τὰ μέγιστα  
 τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὡμολόγηται εἰναι.  
 27 τῶν δὲ δὴ πράξεων αἱ μεγάλαι οὐ βραχύτητι  
 καιροῦ κατορθοῦσθαι θέλουσιν, ἀλλ’ εὐβουλίᾳ  
 τε λογισμῶν καὶ πόνοις σωμάτων, ἀπερ ἀνθρω-  
 28 ποι ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐνδείκνυνται. ἦν μὲν οὖν  
 ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμιον<sup>3</sup> ἰοιμεν, ἐπὶ ξυροῦ μὲν ἀκμῆς  
 τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν στήσεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν δλων  
 ἐν βραχεῖ διακινδυνεύσομεν χρόνῳ, τῶν δὲ ἀπο-  
 βήσεσθαι μελλόντων ἔνεκα τῆν τύχην ἡ προσκυ-  
 29 νήσομεν ἡ μεμφόμεθα πάντως. τὰ γὰρ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων ὁξύτατα ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ  
 πολλὰ περίσταται κράτος. ἦν δὲ σχολαίτερον  
 τὰ παρόντα διοικησώμεθα, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις  
 παρέσται ἡμῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν παλατίῳ λαβεῖν,  
 ἀλλ’ ἀγαπήσει ὡς τάχιστα ἦν τις αὐτὸν ἐφώ-  
 30 φυγεῖν. ἀρχὴ γὰρ περιορωμένη καταρρεῖν εἴωθεν,  
 ἀποληγούσσης αὐτῇ τῆς ἴσχύος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην.  
 ἔστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν βασιλεία ἔτερα, Πλακιλλιαναί  
 τε καὶ τὰ Ἐλένης ἐπώνυμα, ὅθεν χρὴ βασιλέα

<sup>1</sup> πόλεμος P: πόλεμον VG.    <sup>2</sup> βασιλεία P: βασιλείαν VG.

<sup>3</sup> πολέμιον GP: πόλεμον V.

had neither diadem nor anything else with which it is customary for a king to be clothed, they placed a golden necklace upon his head and proclaimed him Emperor of the Romans. By this time the members of the senate were assembling,—as many of them as had not been left in the emperor's residence,—and many expressed the opinion that they should go to the palace to fight. But Origenes, a man of the senate, came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow Romans, it is impossible that the situation which is upon us be solved in any way except by war. Now war and royal power are agreed to be the greatest of all things in the world. But when action involves great issues, it refuses to be brought to a successful issue by the brief crisis of a moment, but this is accomplished only by wisdom of thought and energy of action, which men display for a length of time. Therefore if we should go out against the enemy, our cause will hang in the balance, and we shall be taking a risk which will decide everything in a brief space of time; and, as regards the consequences of such action, we shall either fall down and worship Fortune or reproach her altogether. For those things whose issue is most quickly decided, fall, as a rule, under the sway of fortune. But if we handle the present situation more deliberately, not even if we wish shall we be able to take Justinian in the palace, but he will very speedily be thankful if he is allowed to flee; for authority which is ignored always loses its power, since its strength ebbs away with each day. Moreover we have other palaces, both Placillanae and the palace named from Helen, which this emperor should

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τόνδε ὄρμώμενον τόν τε πόλεμον διενεγκεῦν καὶ  
31 τὰ ἄλλα διοικήσασθαι ἡ ἄμεινον ἔξει.” Ὁριγένης  
μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ  
ὅμιλος ποιεῦν, ὀξύτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ  
τὸ παραυτίκα φοντο ἔντονο ἔντονον εἰναι, καὶ οὐχ  
ἡκιστά γε Ἀπάτιος (χρῆν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς)  
• τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵπποδρομον ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι.  
τινὲς δέ φασιν ἔξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἥκειν,  
βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα.
- 32 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ἥσαν, πό-  
τερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς φυγὴν  
τρεπομένοις ἄμεινον ἔσται. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ  
33 ἐλέγοντο ἐς ἑκάτερα φέροντες. καὶ Θεοδώρα  
δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Τὸ μὲν γυναικα ἐν  
ἀνδράσι μὴ χρῆναι τολμᾶν ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνοῦσι  
νεανιεύεσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἷμαι καιρὸν ἥκιστα  
ἔφεναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτη εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ  
34 νομιστέον. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἐς κίνδυνον  
τὸν μέγιστον ἥκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ  
35 ἄριστον ἡ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὡς ἄριστα θέσθαι. ἤγοῦ-  
μαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ οὐν,  
ἥν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγηται, ἀξύμφορον εἶναι.  
ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἥκουντι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ  
νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότι  
36 τὸ φυγάδι εἶναι οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. μὴ γὰρ ἀν γενοίμην  
τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μηδὲ ἀν τὴν ἡμέραν  
ἐκείνην βιώην, ἐν ᾧ με δέσπουναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες  
οὐ προσεροῦσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαιί σοι βου-  
λομένῳ ἐστίν, ὡς βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα.

make his headquarters and from there he should carry on the war and attend to the ordering of all other matters in the best possible way." So spoke Origenes. But the rest, as a crowd is accustomed to do, insisted more excitedly and thought that the present moment was opportune, and not least of all Hypatius (for it was fated that evil should befall him) bade them lead the way to the hippodrome. But some say that he came there purposely, being well-disposed toward the emperor.

Now the emperor and his court were deliberating as to whether it would be better for them if they remained or if they took to flight in the ships. And many opinions were expressed favouring either course. And the Empress Theodora also spoke to the following effect: "As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way. For in the case of those whose interests have come into the greatest danger nothing else seems best except to settle the issue immediately before them in the best possible way. My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not also to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from this purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 37 χρήματα <γάρ><sup>1</sup> τε πολλὰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ θάλασσα μὲν ἐκείνη, πλοῦτος δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβήσεται σοι ἥδιστα ἀν τῆς σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γάρ τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἀρέσκει λόγος, ὃς καλὸν ἐντά-  
 38 φιον ἡ βασιλεία ἔστι.” τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος εἰπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν<sup>2</sup> ἐπεγένετο καὶ ἐς ἄλκην τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἣ ἀν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατὸν γένοιντο, ἣν τις ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς  
 39 πολεμήσων ἵοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες, οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλὴν ἐτετάχατο, οὕτε τῷ βασιλεῖ εὔνοϊκῶς εἰχον οὕτε ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἥθελον, ἄλλὰ  
 40 τὸ μέλλον ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται. πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἑλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μούνδῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὃν ἄτερος μέν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τήν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν δυνατήν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλῆθος ἐν τε ἀγώσι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις  
 41 τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένουν. Μούνδος δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος, τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνεκύρησε βαρβάρους Ἐρούλους ἐπαγαγόμενος κατά τινα χρείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἤκειν.  
 42 ‘Τπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἴπποδρομον ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὐ δὴ βασιλέα καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασίλειον θρόνον, ὅθεν ἀεὶ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τόν τε ἴππικὸν  
 43 καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγώνα. ἐκ δὲ παλατίου Μούνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξῆνε, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ κοχλίας ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου κυκλοτεροῦς οὖσης ὠνόμασται.

<sup>1</sup> <γάρ> Haury : om. MSS.      <sup>2</sup> πᾶσιν GP : παρυῦσιν V.

we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud." When the queen had spoken thus, all were filled with boldness, and, turning their thoughts towards resistance, they began to consider how they might be able to defend themselves if any hostile force should come against them. Now the soldiers as a body, including those who were stationed about the emperor's court, were neither well disposed to the emperor nor willing openly to take an active part in fighting, but were waiting for what the future would bring forth. All the hopes of the emperor were centred upon Belisarius and Mundus, of whom the former, Belisarius, had recently returned from the Persian war bringing with him a following which was both powerful and imposing, and in particular he had a great number of spearmen and guards who had received their training in battles and the perils of warfare. Mundus had been appointed general of the Illyrians, and by mere chance had happened to come under summons to Byzantium on some necessary errand, bringing with him Erulian barbarians.

When Hypatius reached the hippodrome, he went up immediately to where the emperor is accustomed to take his place and seated himself on the royal throne from which the emperor was always accustomed to view the equestrian and athletic contests. And from the palace Mundus went out through the gate which, from the circling descent, has been given

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

44 Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὐθὺν αὐτοῦ τε  
‘Τπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαινεν,  
ώς δὲ ἐς τὸ πλησίον οἰκημα ἥλθεν οὐδὴ στρατιω-  
τῶν φρουρὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστιν, ἐβόα τοῖς στρα-  
τιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγούνται οἱ τὴν θύραν  
45 ώς τάχιστα δπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἵοι. δεδογμέ-  
νον δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἔως  
αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νικώη, ώς ἥκιστα ἐπαίτειν  
46 δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελι-  
σάριος ώς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἴσχυρίζετο σφίσι  
47 τὰ πράγματα. νεωτερίζειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν τοὺς  
στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίου φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν.  
ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην  
48 Χαλκῆν καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προπύλαια ἵεναι. ὁ δὲ  
δὴ μόλις καὶ οὕτε κινδύνων οὕτε πόνων μεγάλων  
χωρὶς δι’ ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων  
49 διεξιὼν ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀναβαίνει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ  
τὴν Βεινέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἣ τοῦ βασιλέως  
θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστιν, ἐβούλευσε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον  
αὐτὸν ‘Τπάτιον ἵεναι, βραχείας δὲ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα  
πυλίδος ἣ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς  
‘Τπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, κατωρράδησε  
μή οἱ ἐν στενῷ πονουμένῳ ὁ δῆμος ξυνεπιθέμενος  
αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἅπαντας διαφθείραν-  
τες ῥᾶδόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρή-  
50 σωσι. λογισάμενος οὖν ως οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον  
ἵτεον ἐστίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐστήκεσαν,  
πλήθει τε ἄμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας ὑπ’  
ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος  
ἀράμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτα ποιεῖν

the name of the Snail. Belisarius meanwhile began at first to go straight up toward Hypatius himself and the royal throne, and when he came to the adjoining structure where there has been a guard of soldiers from of old, he cried out to the soldiers commanding them to open the door for him as quickly as possible, in order that he might go against the tyrant. But since the soldiers had decided to support neither side, until one of them should be manifestly victorious, they pretended not to hear at all and thus put him off. So Belisarius returned to the emperor and declared that the day was lost for them, for the soldiers who guarded the palace were rebelling against him. The emperor therefore commanded him to go to the so-called Bronze Gate and the propylaea there. So Belisarius, with difficulty and not without danger and great exertion, made his way over ground covered by ruins and half-burned buildings, and ascended to the stadium. And when he had reached the Blue Colonnade which is on the right of the emperor's throne, he purposed to go against Hypatius himself first; but since there was a small door there which had been closed and was guarded by the soldiers of Hypatius who were inside, he feared lest while he was struggling in the narrow space the populace should fall upon him, and after destroying both himself and all his followers, should proceed with less trouble and difficulty against the emperor. Concluding, therefore, that he must go against the populace who had taken their stand in the hippodrome—a vast multitude crowding each other in great disorder—he drew his sword from its sheath and, commanding the others to do likewise, with a

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐπαγγεῖλας, δρόμῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει.  
51 ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἄτε δὴ ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει  
ἰστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἰδον τεθωρακισ-  
μένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρίᾳ  
καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς  
ξίφεσιν οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοῦ παίοντας, ἐς φυγὴν  
52 ὥρμηντο. κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,  
γεγενημένης, πλησίον που ἐστηκὼς Μοῦνδος  
καὶ βουλόμενος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι (ἥν γάρ τις τολ-  
μητὴς καὶ δραστήριος), ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἢ χρήσεται  
τοῖς παρούσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτεκμήρατο ὡς Βελισάριος  
ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἴη, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον διὰ τῆς  
53 εἰσόδου ἢ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. τότε δὴ  
ἐκατέρωθεν·οἱ Ὁπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος  
πλησσόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ  
λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ φόνος ἦν ἥδη τοῦ δήμου  
πολύς, Βοραΐδης τε καὶ Ἰοῦστος, Ἰουστινιανοῦ  
βασιλέως ἀνεψιοί, χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀκταί-  
ρειν τολμῶντος, καθεῖλόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου  
“Ὦπατιον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἅμα  
54 Πομπήιῳ παρέδωκαν. θυήσκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου  
πλέον ἡ τρισμύριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς  
δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι.  
55 ἐνταῦθα Πομπήιος μὲν ἔδάκρυέ τε καὶ ἄξια ἐλέου  
ἐφθέγγετο· ἥν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀνήρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ  
κακῶν τοιούτων ἥκιστα ἐμπειρος· Ὁπατιος δὲ  
αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὄνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὐκ  
56 ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολουμένους ὀδύρεσθαι. ἀρχήν τε γὰρ  
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ  
κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον  
ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ

shout he advanced upon them at a run. But the populace, who were standing in a mass and not in order, at the sight of armoured soldiers who had a great reputation for bravery and experience in war, and seeing that they struck out with their swords unsparingly, beat a hasty retreat. Then a great outcry arose, as was natural, and Mundus, who was standing not far away, was eager to join in the fight,—for he was a daring and energetic fellow—but he was at a loss as to what he should do under the circumstances; when, however, he observed that Belisarius was in the struggle, he straightway made a sally into the hippodrome through the entrance which they call the Gate of Death. Then indeed from both sides the partisans of Hypatius were assailed with might and main and destroyed. When the rout had become complete and there had already been great slaughter of the populace, Boraedes and Justus, nephews of the Emperor Justinian, without anyone daring to lift a hand against them, dragged Hypatius down from the throne, and, leading him in, handed him over together with Pompeius to the emperor. And there perished among the populace on that day more than thirty thousand. But the emperor commanded the two prisoners to be kept in severe confinement. Then, while Pompeius was weeping and uttering pitiable words (for the man was wholly inexperienced in such misfortunes), Hypatius reproached him at length and said that those who were about to die unjustly should not lament. For in the beginning they had been forced by the people against their will, and afterwards they had come to the hippodrome with no thought of harming the emperor. And the soldiers killed both

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

57 θάλασσαν καθῆκαν τὰ  
. ύστεραιά ἑκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκαν τὰ  
σώματα. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ  
δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν  
. ἐκ βουλῆς ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ τὴν γυνώμην ξύν αὐτοῖς  
58 ἔθεντο. ἐπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ  
τοῖς Τπατίου καὶ Πομπήιου παισὶ τά τε ἀξιώ-  
ματα οὓς πρότερον ἐχρώντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν  
χρημάτων ὅσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς οὐκ ἔτυχε  
δωρησάμενος. ἐς τόδε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις  
ἐτελεύτα.

## XXV

- 1 Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὕτω  
παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς
- 2 κατέστησαν ἀμφο. ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιανὸς μὲν ἔτη  
πολλὰ ἐπιβιοὺς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἀλλο  
οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθών. ήν γὰρ αἰμύλος  
τε καὶ τάλλα ἥδὺς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ  
νόσημα ἐπισκιάσαι ἵκανώτατος τῆς παιδείας
- 3 περιουσίᾳ. Ἰωάννης δὲ (πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις  
βαρύς τε ὁμοίως καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγάς τε τοῖς  
προσπίπτουσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα  
ἀπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληιζόμενος) δέκατον ἔτος  
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὄρθως καὶ δικαίως τῆς  
ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομίας ἔξετισε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
- 4 Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἦχθετο αὐτῷ πάντων  
μάλιστα. καὶ δις τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκὼς οὓς  
ἡμάρτανε, θωπείᾳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἡ χάριτι μετελθεῖν  
ώς ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ  
ἔμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλ-

of them on the following day and threw their bodies into the sea. The emperor confiscated all their property for the public treasury, and also that of all the other members of the senate who had sided with them. Later, however, he restored to the children of Hypatius and Pompeius and to all others the titles which they had formerly held, and as much of their property as he had not happened to bestow upon his friends. This was the end of the insurrection in Byzantium.

XXV

TRIBUNIANUS and John were thus deprived of office, but at a later time they were both restored to the same positions. And Tribunianus lived on in office many years and died of disease, suffering no further harm from anyone. For he was a smooth fellow and agreeable in every way and well able by the excellence of his education to throw into the shade his affliction of avarice. But John was oppressive and severe alike with all men, inflicting blows upon those whom he met and plundering without respect absolutely all their money; consequently in the tenth year of his office he rightly and justly atoned for his lawless conduct in the following manner.

The Empress Theodora hated him above all others. And while he gave offence to the woman by the wrongs he committed, he was not of a mind to win her by flattery or by kindness in any way, but he openly set himself in opposition to her and kept slandering her to the emperor, neither blushing

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λεν, οὔτε τὴν τύχην ἐρυθριῶν οὔτε τὴν στοργὴν  
 αἰσχυνόμενος ἦνπερ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν  
 5 ἔξαισίαν οὖν. αὐσθομένη δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν  
 ποιουμένων κτεῖναι μὲν διενοεῖτο τὸν ἀνθρωπον,  
 μηχανῆ δὲ οὐδεμιᾶ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ  
 6 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποιεῖτο πολὺν. γνοὺς  
 δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐς αὐτὸν γνώμην  
 7 ἐν δείμασι μεγάλοις ἐγίνετο. ἐπειδάν τε ὡς  
 καθευδήσων ἐς τὸν κοιτῶνα ἵοι, τῶν τινα βαρ-  
 βάρων ἐπιστήσεσθαί οἱ ὡς ἀπολοῦντα ὑπώπτευεν  
 ἐς νύκτα ἑκάστην, ὑπερκύπτων τε ἀεὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
 δωματίου καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους περισκοπῶν ἄυπνος  
 ἔμενε, καίπερ ἔταιρισάμενος δορυφόρων τε καὶ  
 ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάδας πολλάς, οὐ γεγονὸς ὑπάρ-  
 8 χων τινὶ πρότερον τοῦτό γε. ἀλλ' ἐπιλελη-  
 σμένος ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων  
 δειμάτων ἀπάντων, ὅλεθρος αὐθις κοινῇ τε καὶ  
 ἴδιᾳ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνετο. καὶ φαρμακεῦσι  
 μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ὡμύλει, μαντείαις δὲ ἀσεβέσιν ἐς  
 ἀεὶ χρώμενος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ τερατευο-  
 μέναις ἀρχήν, ἀεροβατῶν τε καταφανῆς ἦν καὶ  
 9 μετέωρος ἀρθεὶς ταῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίσι. τῆς  
 μέντοι πονηρίας αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν  
 10 παρανομίας οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐλώφα οὔτε ὑπέληγε. καὶ  
 τις αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγος τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ εἴ που εἰς ἱερὸν ὡς εὐξόμενός τε καὶ δια-  
 νυκτερεύσων ἐνταῦθα ἵοι, οὐδὲν ὄμοίως τοῖς  
 Χριστιανῶν ἥθεσιν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον  
 ἐνδιδυσκόμενος ἱερεὶ πρέπον τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης  
 ἦν νῦν Ἐλληνικὴν καλεῖν νεινομίκασι, λόγους  
 οὐχ ὄστίους τινὰς οὕσπερ ἐμεμελετήκει ἀπεστο-  
 μάτιζεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ὅπως οἱ

before her high station nor feeling shame because of the extraordinary love which the emperor felt for her. When the queen perceived what was being done, she purposed to slay the man, but in no way could she do this, since the Emperor Justinian set great store by him. And when John learned of the purpose of the queen regarding him, he was greatly terrified. And whenever he went into his chamber to sleep, he expected every night that some one of the barbarians would fall upon him to slay him; and he kept peeping out of the room and looking about the entrances and remained sleepless, although he had attached to himself many thousands of spearmen and guards, a thing which had been granted to no prefect before that time. But at daybreak, forgetting all his fears of things divine and human, he would become again a plague to all the Romans both in public and in private. And he conversed commonly with sorcerers, and constantly listened to profane oracles which portended for him the imperial office, so that he was plainly walking on air and lifted up by his hopes of the royal power. But in his rascality and the lawlessness of his conduct there was no moderation or abatement. And there was in him absolutely no regard for God, and even when he went to a sanctuary to pray and to pass the night, he did not do at all as the Christians are wont to do, but he clothed himself in a coarse garment appropriate to a priest of the old faith which they are now accustomed to call Hellenic, and throughout that whole night mumbled out some unholy words which he had practised, praying that the mind of

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἥ τε βασιλέως διάνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑποχειρία εἴη  
καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶν γενοιτο ἀπαθῆς πρὸς πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων.
- 11 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰταλίαν καταστρεψάμενος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ξὺν Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ μετάπεμπτος ἥλθεν, ἐφ' ὃ ἐπὶ Πέρσας  
12 στρατεύσειε. καὶ τοῦς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαστιντιμός τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξιος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦν,  
μόνος δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ πολλῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχετο, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,  
ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἔχθος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν  
εἶλκε, Βελισάριος δὲ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν μάλιστα  
ἔτυχεν· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε γενόμενης τῆς Ῥωμαίων  
ἐλπίδας αὐθις ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσε, τὴν  
13 γυναικα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀπολιπών. Ἀντωνίνα δὲ  
ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ (ἥν γὰρ ἵκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπάντων μηχανάσθαι τὰ ἀμήχανα) χαριεῖσθαι  
τῇ βασιλίδι βουλευσαμένη ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ἦν  
τῷ Ἰωάννῃ θυγάτηρ Εὐφημία, δόξαν μὲν ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup>  
σωφροσύνῃ πολλὴν ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ κομιδῆ, καὶ  
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λίαν εὐάλωτος, ἦν δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπα,  
ἐπειδὴ καὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει πατήρ.  
14 ταύτην ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τιθασσεύοντα ἐις ἡμέρας  
συχνὰς προσποιήσασθαι τε ἅτε φίλην ἐνδελεχέστατα  
15 διδόναι οὐκ ἀπηξίουν. καὶ ποτε αὐτῆς οἱ μόνης ἐν  
τῷ δωματίῳ παρούσης ὁδύρεσθαι τύχας τὰς παρούσας  
ἐπλάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ Βελισάριος εὐρυτέραν  
ποιησάμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πλείους μέτρῳ  
πρότερον οὖσα ἐτύγχανε, βασιλεὺς τε δορυαλώτους δύο  
καὶ πλούτου τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα ἐς Βυ-

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the emperor might be still more under his control, and that he himself might be free from harm at the hands of all men.

At this time Belisarius, after subjugating Italy, came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor with his wife Antonina, in order to march against the Persians.<sup>1</sup> And while in the eyes of all others he was an honoured and distinguished person, as was natural, John alone was hostile to him and worked actively against him, for no other reason than that he drew the hatred of all to himself, while Belisarius enjoyed an unequalled popularity. And it was on him that the hope of the Romans centred as he marched once more against the Persians, leaving his wife in Byzantium. Now Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, (for she was the most capable person in the world to contrive the impossible,) purposing to do a favour to the empress, devised the following plan. John had a daughter, Euphemia, who had a great reputation for discretion, but a very young woman and for this reason very susceptible; this girl was exceedingly loved by her father, for she was his only child. By treating this young woman kindly for several days Antonina succeeded most completely in winning her friendship, and she did not refuse to share her secrets with her. And on one occasion when she was present alone with her in her room she pretended to lament the fate which was upon her, saying that although Belisarius had made the Roman empire broader by a goodly measure than it had been before, and though he had brought two captive kings and so great an amount of wealth

<sup>1</sup> Book VI. xxx. 30.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ξάντιον ἀγαγών, ἀχαρίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτυχε·  
 τά τε ἄλλα ὡς οὐ δικαίαν οὖσαν τὴν πολιτείαν  
 16 διέβαλλε. περιχαρῆς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ γενομένη ἡ  
 Εὐφημία (δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ αὐτὴ  
 τῇ παρούσῃ ἀρχῇ ἤχθετο) “Καὶ τοῦδε μέντοι, ὡς  
 φιλτάτη,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, δτὶ δὴ παρὸν ὑμῖν  
 17 τῇ δυνάμει οὐ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι.” ὑπολαβούσα δὲ  
 ἡ Ἀντωνίνα “Οὐ γὰρ οἰοί τέ ἐσμεν, ὡς θύγατερ,”  
 εἶπεν, “ἐν στρατοπέδῳ νεωτέρους ἐγχειρεῖν πράγ-  
 μασιν, ἦν μὴ τοῦ ἔργου ἔννεπιλάβωνται ὥμιν τῶν  
 ἔνδον τινές· ἀλλ’ εἴπερ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἤθελε, ῥᾶστα  
 διν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν καθιστάμενοι ὅσα ἦν τῷ  
 18 θεῷ βουλούμενῳ ἐπράσσομεν.” ἀκούσασα ταῦτα  
 Εὐφημία προθύμως μὲν ὑπέσχετο ἐπιτελῆ ἔσε-  
 σθαι, ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ ἐνθένδε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τὸν  
 19 πατέρα εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε. καὶ δι τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς  
 (ταύτην γάρ οἱ ὄδὸν ἐς τε τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὴν  
 βασιλείαν ὑπετόπαξε φέρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν) εὐθὺς  
 μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὡμολόγησε, πράσσειν τε τὴν  
 παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ὅπως τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς λόγους τῇ  
 Ἀντωνίνῃ αὐτὸς ἔνυμιξῃ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη.  
 20 μαθούσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν Ἰωάννου γνώμην καὶ  
 ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς  
 ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐνοίας ἐθέλουσα, νῦν μὲν ἔφη οἱ ἔνυ-  
 γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, μή τις ὑποψία  
 μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένη διακωλύσαι τὰ πρασόμενα  
 ἵκανη εἴη· μέλλειν δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν ἔω  
 21 παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐκ  
 Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγεῖσα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ γένηται  
 (δ δὴ Ῥουφινιαναὶ μὲν ὄνομάζεται, Βελισαρίου δὲ  
 ἴδιον ἐτύγχανεν ὃν), ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς

to Byzantium, he found Justinian ungrateful; and in other respects she slandered the government as not just. Now Euphemia was overjoyed by these words, for she too was hostile to the present administration by reason of her fear of the empress, and she said: "And yet, dearest friend, it is you and Belisarius who are to blame for this, seeing that, though you have opportunity, you are not willing to use your power." And Antonina replied quickly: "It is because we are not able, my daughter, to undertake revolutions in camp, unless some of those here at home join with us in the task. Now if your father were willing, we should most easily organize this project and accomplish whatever God wills." When Euphemia heard this, she promised eagerly that the suggestion would be carried out, and departing from there she immediately brought the matter before her father. And he was pleased by the message (for he inferred that this undertaking offered him a way to the fulfilment of his prophecies and to the royal power), and straightway without any hesitation he assented, and bade his child arrange that on the following day he himself should come to confer with Antonina and give pledges. When Antonina learned the mind of John, she wished to lead him as far as possible astray from the understanding of the truth, so she said that for the present it was inadvisable that he should meet her, for fear lest some suspicion should arise strong enough to prevent proceedings; but she was intending straightway to depart for the East to join Belisarius. When, therefore, she had quit Byzantium and had reached the suburb (the one called Rufinianae which was the private possession of Belisarius), there John should

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ προπέμψοντα ἥκειν, καὶ τούς  
τε λόγους περὶ τῶν δλων ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὰ  
πιστὰ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι. ταῦτα εἰπούσα εὐ  
τε τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμέρα τακτῇ ἐπὶ<sup>22</sup>  
τῇ πράξει διώριστο. ἡ τε βασιλὶς τὸν πάντα  
λόγον παρὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης ἀκούσασα ἐπήνει μὲν  
τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἐγκελευομένη δὲ πολλῷ ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνῆγεν.
- 23 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ κυρία παρῆν, ἀσπασαμένη μὲν ἡ  
Ἀντωνίνα τὴν βασιλίδα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηλλάσ-  
σετο, ἐν τε Ῥουφιωανᾶς ἐγένετο, ώς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ  
τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω ὁδοῦ ἀρξομένη, οὖν δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης
- 24 τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελέσων ἐς σύκτα ἥλθεν. ἡ δὲ  
βασιλὶς διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα τὰ  
πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι πρασσόμενα,  
Ναρσῆν τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Μάρκελλον τὸν τῶν  
ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἄρχοντα ἐς Ῥουφιωανᾶς  
ξὺν στρατιώταις πολλοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ' ὃ διε-  
ρευνησάμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἦν τὸν Ἰωάννην  
πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχειροῦντα εὐρήσωσι, κτεί-
- 25 ναντες εὐθὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπανήξουσι. καὶ οἱ  
μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἐστέλλοντο. φασὶ δὲ  
βασιλέα τῶν ποιουμένων αἰσθόμενον τῶν τινα  
Ἰωάννη ἐπιτηδείων παρ' αὐτὸν πέμψαι, ἀπεροῦντα
- 26 αὐτῷ μηδαμῆ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ἐντυχεῖν λάθρᾳ. Ἰω-  
άννης δὲ (χρῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τὴν  
βασιλέως ὑποθήκην ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀμφὶ<sup>27</sup>  
νύκτα μέσην τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ξυνέμιξεν αἵμασιᾶς παύ-  
τινος ἄγχιστα, ἢς δὴ ὅπισθεν καθίσασα ἐτύγχανε  
τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ Μάρκελλον, ὅπως τῶν  
λεγομένων ἀκούσειαν. ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης μὲν  
ἀφυλάκτῳ στόματι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὠμολογεῖ

come as if to salute her and to escort her forth on the journey, and they should confer regarding matters of state and give and receive their pledges. In saying this she seemed to John to speak well, and a certain day was appointed to carry out the plan. And the empress, hearing the whole account from Antonina, expressed approval of what she had planned, and by her exhortations raised her enthusiasm to a much higher pitch still.

When the appointed day was at hand, Antonina bade the empress farewell and departed from the city, and she went to Rufinianae, as if to begin on the following day her journey to the East; hither too came John at night in order to carry out the plan which had been agreed upon. Meanwhile the empress denounced to her husband the things which were being done by John to secure the tyranny, and she sent Narses, the eunuch, and Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards to Rufinianae with numerous soldiers, in order that they might investigate what was going on, and, if they found John setting about a revolution, that they might kill the man forthwith and return. So these departed for this task. But they say that the emperor got information of what was being done and sent one of John's friends to him forbidding him on any condition to meet Antonina secretly. But John (since it was fated that he should fare ill), disregarding the emperor's warning, about midnight met Antonina, close by a certain wall behind which she had stationed Narses and Marcellus with their men that they might hear what was said. There, while John with unguarded tongue was assenting to the plans for the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA<sup>\*</sup>

τε καὶ ὄρκοις δεινοτάτοις ἀπισχυρίζετο, Ναρσῆς  
δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστη-  
28 σαν. Θορύβου δέ, ως τὸ εἰκός, γενομένου οἱ τοῦ  
'Ιωάννου δορυφόροι (ἄγχιστα γάρ πη ἐστήκεσαν)  
29 παρ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τις Μάρ-  
κελλον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, ξίφει ἔπληξεν,  
οὕτῳ τε 'Ιωάννης διαφυγεῖν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἴσχυσεν ἐς  
30 τε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν  
εὐθὺς ἐλθεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἐθάρσησεν, οἷμαι ἂν,  
οὐδὲν ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι· νῦν δὲ κατα-  
φυγὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν δέδωκε τῇ βασιλίδι κατ' ἔξου-  
σίαν τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι.  
31 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐπάρχων ἰδιώτης γενόμενος ἐς  
ἔτερον ἐνθένδε ἀναστὰς ἐκομίσθη, δπερ ἐν τῷ  
προαστείῳ Κυζίκου πόλεως Ἰδρυται,—Ἀρτάκην  
καλοῦσι Κυζικηνὸν τὸ πραάστειον. ἐνταῦθα  
ἱερέως οὐ τι ἐκούσιος περιβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐκ  
ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτε-  
32 ρον νεομίκασιν. ὁ δὲ ἱερουργεῖν ἥκιστα ἥθελεν,  
ώς μή ποτε αὐτῷ ἐμπόδιον εἴη ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐθις  
ἰέναι· τῶν γάρ ἐλπίδων μεθίσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἥθελε.  
τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα εὐθὺς  
33 γέγονεν. ὡν δὴ αὐτῷ μοῖραν βασιλεὺς πολλὴν  
34 ἥφιει· ἔτι γὰρ τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν φειδοῖ εἴχετο. ἐνταῦθα  
παρῆν τῷ 'Ιωάννῃ ἀφροντιστήσαντι μὲν κινδύνων  
ἀπάντων, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένῳ μεγάλα,  
ὅσα τε αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανε κρύψας καὶ ὅσα βασιλέως  
γνώμῃ παρ' αὐτῷ ἐμεινε, τρυφᾶν τε κατ' ἔξουσίαν  
καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἥγεῖσθαι λογισμῷ σώφρονι εὐδαί-  
35 μονα εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντες Ρωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ

attack and binding himself with the most dread oaths, Narses and Marcellus suddenly set upon him. But in the natural confusion which resulted the body-guards of John (for they stood close by) came immediately to his side. And one of them smote Marcellus with his sword, not knowing who he was, and thus John was enabled to escape with them, and reached the city with all speed. And if he had had the courage to go straightway before the emperor, I believe that he would have suffered no harm at his hand ; but as it was, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and gave the empress opportunity to work her will against him at her pleasure.

Thus, then, from being prefect he became a private citizen, and rising from that sanctuary he was conveyed to another, which is situated in the suburb of the city of Cyzicus called by the Cyzicenes Artace. There he donned the garb of a priest, much against his will, not a bishop's gown however, but that of a presbyter, as they are called. But he was quite unwilling to perform the office of a priest lest at some time it should be a hindrance to his entering again into office ; for he was by no means ready to relinquish his hopes. All his property was immediately confiscated to the public treasury, but a large proportion of this the emperor remitted to him, for he was still inclined to spare him. There it was possible for John to live, disregarding all dangers and enjoying great wealth, both that which he himself had concealed and that which by the decision of the emperor remained with him, and to indulge in luxury at his pleasure, and, if he had reasoned wisely, to consider his present lot a happy one. For this reason all the Romans were exceedingly

May, 541

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ἀνθρώπῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἥχθοντο, ὅτι δὴ πονηρότατος  
γεγονὼς δαιμόνων<sup>1</sup> ἀπάντων, βίου παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν  
36 εὐδαιμονέστερον ἡ πρότερον ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός,  
οἶμαι, οὐκ ἦνεγκεν ἐς τοῦτο τὴν τίσιν Ἰωάννη  
ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐπὶ μέγα τε αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν  
ἔξηρτύετο. ἐγύνετο δὲ ὡδε.

37 Ἡν τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐπίσκοπος Εὔσεβιος ὄνυμα,  
χαλεπὸς ἀπασι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Ἰωάννου οὐδέν  
τι ἡσσον· τοῦτον Κυζικηνοὶ βασιλεῖ διαβάλλοντες  
38 ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦννον, δυνάμει  
αὐτοὺς περιελθόντος Εὔσεβίου πολλῇ, ξυμφρονή-  
σαντες νεανίαι τινὲς ἐν τῇ Κυζίκου ἀγορᾷ κτείνου-  
39 σιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης τῷ Εὔσεβιῳ διάφορος  
γεγονὼς μάλιστα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς  
40 ὑποψία ἐς αὐτὸν ἤλθε. στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ  
βουλῆς ἄνδρες διερευνησόμενοι τὸ μίασμα τοῦτο·  
οἱ δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην πρῶτα μὲν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ  
καθεῖρξαν, ἐπειτα δὲ ἄνδρα ἔπαρχον μὲν δυνατὸν  
οὗτῳ γενόμενον, ἐς πατρικίους δὲ ἀναγραφέντα  
καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον, οὐ  
μεῖζον εἴναι οὐδὲν ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ  
δοκεῖ, ἐστησάν τε γυμνόν, ἅτε ληστήν τινα ἡ  
λωποδύτην, καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολ-  
41 λὰς εἰπεῖν τὰ βεβιωμένα ἥνάγκαζον. καὶ τοῦ  
μὲν Εὔσεβίου φόνου αἴτιος Ἰωάννης οὐ λίαν  
ἔξελήλεγκτο, ἐφίκει μέντοι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη ποινὰς  
42 αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης<sup>2</sup> ἐσπραττομένη. ἐπειτα δὲ  
τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελόμενοι γυμνὸν ἐς τὴν  
ναῦν εἰσεβίβασαν, ίμάτιον ἔν, καὶ τοῦτο τραχὺ<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> δαιμόνων VP : ἀνθρώπων G.

<sup>2</sup> οἰκουμένης VGP corr : οἰκουμένας P pr. m.

<sup>3</sup> τραχὺ P : παχὺ VG.

vexed with the man, because, forsooth, after proving himself the basest of all demons, contrary to his deserts he was leading a life happier than before. But God, I think, did not suffer John's retribution to end thus, but prepared for him a greater punishment. And it fell out thus.

There was in Cyzicus a certain bishop named Eusebius, a man harsh to all who came in his way, and no less so than John ; this man the Cyzicenes denounced to the emperor and summoned to justice. And since they accomplished nothing inasmuch as Eusebius circumvented them by his great power, certain youths agreed together and killed him in the market-place of Cyzicus. Now it happened that John had become especially hostile to Eusebius, and hence the suspicion of the plot fell upon him. Accordingly men were sent from the senate to investigate this act of pollution. And these men first confined John in a prison, and then this man who had been such a powerful prefect, and had been inscribed among the patricians and had mounted the seat of the consuls, than which nothing seems greater, at least in the Roman state, they made to stand naked like any robber or footpad, and thrashing him with many blows upon his back, compelled him to tell his past life. And while John had not been clearly convicted as guilty of the murder of Eusebius, it seemed that God's justice was exacting from him the penalties of the world. Thereafter they stripped him of all his goods and put him naked on board a ship, being wrapped in a single cloak, and that a very rough one purchased for

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κομιδῆ, ἀμπεχόμενον, ὁβολῶν ὡνηθὲν ὀλίγων τινῶν, οἵ τε αὐτὸν παραπέμποντες ὅπῃ ἀνὴν ναῦς ὄρμισθείη ἐκέλευνον ἄρτον ἢ ὁβολὸν ἐκ τῶν  
43 προσπιπτόντων αἰτεῖσθαι. οὕτω τε πτωχεύων πανταχόθι τῆς πορείας τῆς Αἴγυπτου ἐς τὴν Ἀντιοχού κομίζεται. καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ἔτος αὐτὸν  
44 ἐνταῦθα καθείρξαντες τηροῦσιν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἐν τοιούτοις γεγονώς πάθεσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίδα μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων τινάς, ἀτε τῷ δημοσίῳ χρυσίον ὄφειλοντας, διαβαλεῖν ἔγνω. Ἰωάννην μὲν οὖν τὸν Καππαδόκην δέκα ἐνιαυτοῖς ὑστερον αὗτη τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις.

## XXVI

- 1 Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατηγόν τε τῆς ἑφάσ αὐθις Βελισάριου κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐς Λιβύην πέμψας τὴν χώραν ἔσχεν, ὕσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὅπισθεν λελέ-
- 2 ξεται λόγοις. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἔς τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἦλθε, δεινῶς ἥσχαλλον, καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοις μετέμελεν ἥδη, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν
- 3 ἥσθουντο. πέμψας τε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις, ξυγχαίρειν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε, καὶ τὸ μέρος λαβεῖν ξὺν γέλωτι δῆθεν τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης λαφύρων ἥξίου, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄν ποτε Βανδίλων τῷ πολέμῳ περιέσεσθαι ἵσχυσεν,
- 4 εἰ μὴ αὐτῷ Πέρσαι ἐσπέισαντο. τότε μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς χρήμασι δωρησάμενος, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπεπέμψατο.

some few obols; and wherever the ship anchored, those who had him in charge commanded him to ask from those he met bread or obols. Thus begging everywhere along the way he was conveyed to the city of Antinous in Aegypt. And this is now the third year during which they have been guarding him there in confinement. As for John himself, although he has fallen into such troubles, he has not relinquished his hope of royal power, but he made up his mind to denounce certain Alexandrians as owing money to the public treasury. Thus then John the Cappadocian ten years afterward was overtaken by this punishment for his political career.

XXVI

AT that time the Emperor again designated Belisarius General of the East, and, sending him to Lybia, gained over the country, as will be told later on in my narrative. When this information came to Chosroes and the Persians, they were mightily vexed, and they already repented having made peace with the Romans, because they perceived that their power was extending greatly. And Chosroes sent envoys to Byzantium, and said that he rejoiced with the Emperor Justinian, and he asked with a laugh to receive his share of the spoils from Libya, on the ground that the emperor would never have been able to conquer in the war with the Vandals if the Persians had not been at peace with him. So then Justinian made a present of money to Chosroes, and not long afterwards dismissed the envoys.

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5 Ἐν δὲ πόλει Δάρας τοιόνδε τι ξυνέβη γενέσθαι.  
'Ιωάννης τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος  
πεζῶν· οὗτος οὐχ ἀπάντων οἱ ξυμφρονούντων  
στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων τινῶν, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέ-  
6 μενος τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν. ἐν τε παλατίῳ καθήμενος  
ώσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκρατύνετο  
7 ἡμέρα ἑκάστη. καὶ εἰ μὴ Πέρσας ἔχεσθαι εἰρήνης  
ἐσ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη,<sup>1</sup> ἀνήκεστα ἀν  
ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐγεγόνει κακά. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο  
ἐκώλυσε φθάσασα, ωσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἡ ξύμ-  
8 βασις. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τετάρτῃ  
ξυμφρονήσαντες στρατιώται γνώμῃ. Μάραντός  
τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἰερέως καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν  
δοκίμων τινὸς πολιτῶν, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον μεσημ-  
βρίας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνέβησαν, κρύψας ἔκαστος  
9 ὑπὸ τῷ ἴματίῳ ξιφίδιον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ  
μεταύλῳ θύρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων εὑρόντες ὀλίγους  
τινὰς εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν  
ἀνδρῶνα ἐσβάντες τοῦ τυράννου ἥπτοντο· τινὲς  
δέ φασιν οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸ πρώτους  
εἰργάσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μελλόντων τε ἐν τῇ  
μεταύλῳ καὶ κατωρρωδηκότων τὸν κίνδυνον, τῶν  
τινα ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὅντα ἐσπηδῆσαι  
τε ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐντυχόντα  
10 ἀπροσδοκήτως παῖσαι. καὶ τὸν οὐ πληγέντα  
μὲν καιρίαν πληγήν, ξὺν θορύβῳ δὲ πολλῷ  
φεύγοντα, ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμ-  
11 πεσεῖν ἄφνω. οὕτω τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοὺς  
ἀψαμένους πῦρ μὲν αὐτίκα τῷ παλατίῳ ὑφά-  
ψαντας καῦσαι, ὡς μή τις ἐλπὶς ἐνθένδε ἀπο-  
λειφθείη τοῖς τὰ ιεώτερα πράγματα πράσσουσιν,

<sup>1</sup> ξυνέβη VP : συνέπεσεν G.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxvi. 5-11

In the city of Daras the following event took place. There was a certain John there serving in a detachment of infantry ; this man, in conspiracy with some few of the soldiers, but not all, took possession of the city, essaying to make himself tyrant. Then he established himself in a palace as if in a citadel, and was strengthening his tyranny every day. And if it had not happened that the Persians were continuing to keep peace with the Romans, irreparable harm would have come from this affair to the Romans. But as it was, this was prevented by the agreement which had already been reached, as I have said. On the fourth day of the tyranny some soldiers conspired together, and by the advice of Mamas, the priest of the city, and Anastasius, one of the notable citizens, they went up to the palace at high noon, each man hiding a small sword under his garment. And first at the door of the courtyard they found some few of the body-guards, whom they slew immediately. Then they entered the men's apartment and laid hold upon the tyrant ; but some say that the soldiers were not the first to do this, but that while they were still hesitating in the courtyard and trembling at the danger, a certain sausage-vendor who was with them rushed in with his cleaver and meeting John smote him unexpectedly. But the blow which had been dealt him was not a fatal one, this account goes on to say, and he fled with a great outcry and suddenly fell among these very soldiers. Thus they laid hands upon the man and immediately set fire to the palace and burned it, in order that there might be left no hope from there for those making revolutions ; and John

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αὐτὸν δὲ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγαγόντας δῆσαι.  
12 καὶ αὐτῶν τινα δείσαντα μὴ οἱ στρατιῶται περι-  
εῖναι τὸν τύραννον γρόντες πράγματα τῇ πόλει  
αὐθις παράσχωνται, κτεῖναί τε τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ  
τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν ταραχὴν παῦσαι. τὰ  
μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ τῇ τυραννίδι τῇδε ἔχώρησεν.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxvi. 11-12

they led away to the prison and bound. And one of them, fearing lest the soldiers, upon learning that the tyrant survived, might again make trouble for the city, killed John, and in this way stopped the confusion. Such, then, was the progress of events touching this tyranny.



## **HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK II**

**THE PERSIAN WAR (*Continued*)**



## ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

### I

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὥστερον ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν  
ώς καὶ Ἰταλίαν Βελισάριος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ  
προσποιεῖν ἥρξατο, οὐκέτι κατέχειν οἶός τε ἦν  
τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σκήψεις ἐπινοεῖν ἥθελεν ὅπως  
δὴ λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ τὰς σπουδὰς λύσειεν.  
2 ὑπὲρ ὧν κοινολογησάμενος Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐκέ-  
3 λευεν αὐτὸν ξυμπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. ὁ  
δὲ Ἀρέθᾳ ἐπικαλέσας ὅτι αὐτὸν περὶ γῆς ὄριων  
βιάζοιτο, ἐς χεῖράς τε αὐτῷ ἐν σπουδαῖς ἥλθε  
καὶ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀπὶ ταύτη τῇ σκήψει  
4 καταθεῖν ἥρξατο. ἔφασκέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς οὐ λύει  
τὰς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων σπουδάς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν  
5 ἐς ταύτας οὐδέτεροι ἐσεγράψαντο. καὶ ἦν δὲ  
οὕτως. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε Σαρακηνῶν λόγος  
ἐν σπουδαῖς γέγονεν, ἀτε ξυνεχομένων τῷ Περσῶν  
6 τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι. αὗτη δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἥ  
δὴ πρὸς ἐκατέρων τότε Σαρακηνῶν ἀντελέγετο,  
Στράτα μὲν κέκληται, Παλμύρας δὲ πόλεως πρὸς  
νότον ἀνεμον τέτραπται, δένδρον μὲν ἡ τι τῶν

## HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK II

### THE PERSIAN WAR (*Continued*)

#### I

Not long after this Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius had begun to win Italy also for the Emperor Justinian, was no longer able to restrain his thoughts but he wished to discover pretexts, in order that he might break the treaty on some grounds which would seem plausible. And he conferred with Alamoundaras concerning this matter and commanded him to provide causes for war. So Alamoundaras brought against Arethas, the charge that he, Arethas, was doing him violence in a matter of boundary lines, and he entered into conflict with him in time of peace, and began to overrun the land of the Romans on this pretext. And he declared that, as for him, he was not breaking the treaty between the Persians and Romans, for neither one of them had included him in it. And this was true. For no mention of Saracens was ever made in treaties, on the ground that they were included under the names of Persians and Romans. Now this country which at that time was claimed by both tribes of Saracens<sup>1</sup> is called Strata, and extends to the south of the city of Palmyra ; nowhere does it produce a single tree or any of the useful growth of

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Saracens subject to the Romans and those subject to the Persians.

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- ἐν τοῖς ληίοις ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῆ φέρουσα (ἡλιόκαυστος γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστι), προβάτων δέ τισιν  
7 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνειμένη νομαῖς. Ἀρέθας μὲν οὖν  
‘Ρωμαίων ἵσχυρίζετο εἴναι τὸν χῶρον, τῷ τε  
ὄνόματι τεκμηριούμενος οὐδὴ πρὸς πάντων ἄνωθεν  
ἔτυχε (Στράτα γὰρ η ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς τῇ  
Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ) καὶ μαρτυρίαις παλαιο-  
8 τάτων ἀνδρῶν χρώμενος. Ἀλαμούνδαρος δὲ φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄνόματος ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου,  
μισθοὺς δέ οἱ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα νομοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ  
ἔφασκε τοὺς τὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένους διδόναι.  
9 διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Στρατηγίῳ τε  
πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν  
ἀρχοντι, ἀλλως δὲ ξυνετῷ καὶ εὐπατρίδῃ, ἔτι  
μέντοι καὶ Σούμμῳ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ στρατιω-  
τῶν ἡγησαμένῳ, τὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἐπέτρεψε  
10 δίαιταν. ο δὲ Σούμμος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ήν,  
ὅς ὀλίγῳ ἐμπροσθεν ἐς Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ὁμηρίτας  
11 ἐπρέσβευσε. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄτερος μέν, Σούμμος,  
μὴ χρῆναι ‘Ρωμαίους καταπροτεσθαι τὴν χώραν  
ἥξίου, Στρατήγιος δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο μὴ χώρας  
τινὸς ἔνεκα βραχείας τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου  
ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἀγόνου τε καὶ ἀκάρπου παντάπασιν  
ούσης, Πέρσαις πολεμησείουσι σκήψεις τοῦ πο-  
λέμου χαρίζεσθαι· βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς  
ταῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ χρόνος πολὺς ταύτη  
δὴ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη.  
12 Χοσρόης δὲ ο Περσῶν βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς  
‘Ιουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπουδὰς ἔφασκε, πολλὴν ἐπι-  
βουλὴν ἐς οἰκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδειξαμένου, οἷς  
δὴ ἐταιρίζεσθαι Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπουδαῖς ἐνε-

corn-lands, for it is burned exceedingly dry by the sun, but from of old it has been devoted to the pasturage of some few flocks. Now Arethas maintained that the place belonged to the Romans, proving his assertion by the name which has long been applied to it by all (for *Strata* signifies "a paved road" in the Latin tongue), and he also adduced the testimonies of men of the oldest times. Alamoundaras, however, was by no means inclined to quarrel concerning the name, but he claimed that tribute had been given him from of old for the pasturage there by the owners of the flocks. The Emperor Justinian therefore entrusted the settlement of the disputed points to Strategius, a patrician and administrator of the royal treasures, and besides a man of wisdom and of good ancestry, and with him Summus, who had commanded the troops in Palestine. This Summus was the brother of Julian, who not long before had served as envoy to the Aethiopians and Homeritae. And the one of them, Summus, insisted that the Romans ought not to surrender the country, but Strategius begged of the emperor that he should not do the Persians the favour of providing them with pretexts for the war which they already desired, for the sake of a small bit of land and one of absolutely no account, but altogether unproductive and unsuitable for crops. The Emperor Justinian, therefore, took the matter under consideration, and a long time was spent in the settlement of the question.

But Chosroes, the King of the Persians, claimed that the treaty had been broken by Justinian, who had lately displayed great opposition to his house, in that he had attempted in time of peace to attach Alamoundaras to himself. For, as he said, Summus,

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- 13 χείρησε. Σοῦμμον γὰρ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ διαίτῃ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἥκουντα ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ὃ προσχωρήσει Ῥωμαίοις, γράμματά τε προΐσχετο ἂ δὴ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς  
14 βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. καὶ πρὸς Οὔννων δέ τινας ἴσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι, ἐγκελευομένην αὐτοῦς ἐσβαλεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δὴ οἱ τοὺς Οὔννους αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν ἐγχειρίσαι  
15 ἐς δψιν ἐλθόντας. ταῦτα μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπουδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο. εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντί οἱ ἀληθίζεσθαι ξυνέβαινεν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.<sup>1</sup>

## II

- 1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίττιγις, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος, ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένος, πρέσβεις δύο παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀναπείσοντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Λιγούρους ἱερεῖς, χρήμασιν ἀδροῖς ἐς ταύτην ἡγμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὃν ἄτερος μὲν ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, δόκησίν τε καὶ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου περιβεβλημένος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὃ δὲ δὴ ἔτερος αὐτῷ 3 ὑπηρετῶν εἶπετο. ὁδῷ τε ιόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἔταιρίζονται τινα ἐνθένδε Σύρας τε

<sup>1</sup> εἰπεῖν GPW : λέγειν V.

who had recently gone to the Saracen ostensibly to arrange matters, had hoodwinked him by promises of large sums of money on condition that he should join the Romans, and he brought forward a letter which, he alleged, the Emperor Justinian had written to Alamoundaras concerning these things. He also declared that he had sent a letter to some of the Huns, in which he urged them to invade the land of the Persians and to do extensive damage to the country thereabout. This letter he asserted to have been put into his hands by the Huns themselves who had come before him. So then Chosroes, with these charges against the Romans, was purposing to break off the treaty. But as to whether he was speaking the truth in these matters, I am not able to say.

## II

At this point Vittigis, the leader of the Goths, already worsted in the war, sent two envoys to him to persuade him to march against the Romans; but the men whom he sent were not Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and so make negotiations useless, but Ligurian priests who were attracted to this enterprise by rich gifts of money. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy assuming the pretended name of bishop which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. And when in the course of the journey they came to the land of Thrace, they attached to themselves a man from there to be

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καὶ τῆς Ἐλληνίδος φωνῆς ἐρμηνέα σφίσιν ἐσόμενον, ἅπαντάς τε Ῥωμαίους λαθόντες ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη ἀφίκοντο. ἄτε γὰρ ἐν σπουδαῖς καθεστώτες οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταύτη<sup>1</sup> ἐφύλασσον.

- 4 Χοσρόου τε ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε “Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὡς βασιλεῦν, πρέσβεις τῶν αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ἔυμφόρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔυμφαίνει ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστασθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ Οὐίττιγις ὁ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπειμψε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ποιησομένους ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν νόμιζε παρόντα σοι τανῦν  
5 φθέγγεσθαι τάδε. εἰ τίς σε, ὡς βασιλεῦν, ἔυνελῶν φαίνεται τὴν τε σὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους  
6 Ἰουστινιανῷ προέσθαι, ὁρθῶς ἀν εἴποι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεωτεροποιὸς τε ὁν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδὲ ὅπωστιοῦν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἐρῶν, μένειν τε οὐ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι, γῆν μὲν ἄπασαν ἔυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἐκάστην δὲ ἀρχὴν περιβαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν. εἶτα (οὐδὲ γὰρ Πέρσαις<sup>2</sup> κατὰ μόνας ἐγχειρέν ἵσχυεν οὐδὲ Περσῶν οἵ ἀντιστατούντων οἷος τε ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἴέναι) σὲ μὲν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης παραπετάσματι ἔξαπατάν ἔγνω, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βιαζόμενος μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ  
8 τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ἐταιρίζεσθαι. Βανδίλων μὲν οὖν ἥδη καθελῶν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους καταστρεψάμενος, Γότθων αὐτῷ φιλίας ὄνόματι ἐκποδὼν ἴσταμένων, χρήματά τε μεγάλα καὶ  
9 σώματα πολλὰ ἐπαγόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκει. ἔνδηλος δέ ἐστιν, ἦν καὶ Γότθους παντάπασιν ἔξελεύν δύνηται, ὡς ξὺν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἥδη δεδου-

<sup>1</sup> ταύτη GPW : αὐτοὶ V.

<sup>2</sup> πέρσαις GW : πέρσας VP.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. ii. 3-9

an interpreter of the Syriac and the Greek tongues, and without being detected by any of the Romans, they reached the land of Persia. For inasmuch as they were at peace, they were not keeping a strict guard over that region. And coming before Chosroes they spoke as follows : " It is true, O King, that all other envoys undertake their task for the sake of advantages to themselves as a rule, but we have been sent by Vittigis, the king of the Goths and the Italians, in order to speak in behalf of thy kingdom; and consider that he is now present before thee speaking these words. If anyone should say, O King, putting all in a word, that thou hast given up thy kingdom and all men everywhere to Justinian, he would be speaking correctly. For since he is by nature a meddler and a lover of those things which in no way belong to him, and is not able to abide by the settled order of things, he has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state. Accordingly (since he was neither able alone to assail the Persians, nor with the Persians opposing him to proceed against the others), he decided to deceive thee with the pretence of peace, and by forcing the others to subjection to acquire mighty forces against thy state. Therefore, after having already destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subjugated the Moors, while the Goths because of their friendship stood aside for him, he has come against us bringing vast sums of money and many men. Now it is evident that, if he is able also to crush the Goths utterly, he will with us and those

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- λωμένοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσει, οὕτε τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐννοῶν δινομα οὕτε τι τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων  
10 ἐρυθριῶν. ἔως οὖν ἔτι σοο λείπεται τις<sup>1</sup> σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ κακὸν περαιτέρω μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸς πάθης, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ὅσα δλίγῳ ὑστερον ἔνθυμοῦ δὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εὔνοι μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἰεν, δυνάμει δὲ κρείσσους γενόμενοι οὐδὲν μελλήσουσι τὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἔχθος ἐνδείκνυσθαι. ἐν δέοντι τοίνυν τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ χρῆσαι, μὴ παυσαμένην ἐπιζητήσης. λωφήσασα γὰρ ἡ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκμὴ ἐπανιέναι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκεν. ἄμεινον δὲ προτερήσαντα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι ἡ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερηκότα τὰ πάντων αἰσχρότατα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν.”
- 12 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, εὖ τέ οἱ παρανεῖν Οὐίττιγις ἔδοξε καὶ λύειν τὰς σπουδὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἰχε. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἔχόμενος, λογίζεσθαι ως ἥκιστα ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δυσμενῶν μάλιστα οἱ λόγοι εἰσὶ αὐτὸν γένοιντο.
- 13 ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἐς τὸ πεισθῆναι αὐτόμολος ἥλθεν. δ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν λόγους δλίγῳ ὑστερον ἔδρασεν ἀπέρ μοι αὐτίκα  
14 μάλα λελέξεται. καίτοι τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπεκάλοντα ἐγκλήματα, ἀπέρ ἄν εἰκότως βασιλεῖ γενναίῳ ἐγκώμια εἴη, ὅτι δὴ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μείζω τε ποιῆσαι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανείαν στέραν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Κύρῳ ἄν τις

<sup>1</sup> τις VPW : τῆς G.

already enslaved march against the Persians, neither considering the name of friendship nor blushing before any of his sworn promises. While, therefore, some hope of safety is still left thee, do not do us any further wrong nor suffer it thyself, but see in our misfortunes what will a little later befall the Persians ; and consider that the Romans could never be well-disposed to thy kingdom, and that when they become more powerful, they will not hesitate at all to display their enmity toward the Persians. Use, therefore, this good chance while the time fits, lest thou seek for it after it has ceased. For when once the time of opportunity has passed, it is not its nature to return again. And it is better by anticipating to be in security, than by delaying beyond the opportune time to suffer the most miserable fate possible at the hands of the enemy."

When Chosroes heard this, it seemed to him that Vittigis advised well, and he was still more eager to break off the treaty. For, moved as he was by envy toward the Emperor Justinian, he neglected completely to consider that the words were spoken to him by men who were bitter enemies of Justinian. But because he wished the thing he willingly consented to be persuaded. And he did the very same thing a little later in the case of the addresses of the Armenians and of the Lazi, which will be spoken of directly. And yet they were bringing as charges against Justinian the very things which would naturally be encomiums for a worthy monarch, namely that he was exerting himself to make his realm larger and much more splendid. For these accusations one might make also against Cyrus, the King of the

## PROCOPIUS OF CARSAREA

ἐπενέγκοι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ  
Μακεδόνι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐδαμῇ  
εἰωθε ἔννοικίζεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης  
τὰς σπουδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο.

### III

- 1   'Εν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι τοιόνδε  
ξυνέβη. Συμεώνης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸ Φαράγγιον 'Ρω-  
μαίοις ἐνδούς, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πείθει, ἵτι  
τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, κώμαις αὐτὸν τισιν  
2 ἀνδρῶν Ἀρμενίων δωρήσασθαι. κύριός τε τῶν  
χωρίων γενόμενος πρὸς τῶν αὐτὰ πάλαι κεκτη-  
3 μένων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θυήσκει. ἐξειργασμένου δὲ  
τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ τοῦ φόνου αὐτούργοι<sup>1</sup> φεύγοντιν ἐς  
τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἡστην δύο Περόζου  
παῖδες. βασιλεύς τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας τάς τε κώμας  
Ἀμαζάσπη παραδίδωσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφιδῷ καὶ  
4 ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν. τοῦτον  
τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην, προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου, Ἰου-  
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τις ἐπιτηδείων διέβαλλεν,  
Ἀκάκιος ὄνομα, κακουργεῖν τε ἐς Ἀρμενίους καὶ  
βούλεσθαι Πέρσαις ἐνδοῦναι Θεοδοσιούπολιν τε  
5 καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα πολίσματα. ταῦτα εἰπὼν γνώμῃ  
βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε,  
καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχειν  
6 αὐτός. πονηρὸς δὲ ὃν φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὃ τι τὰ  
τῆς ψυχῆς ἥθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτούργοι VG : ἄρχηγοι P.

Persians, and Alexander, the Macedonian. But justice is never accustomed to dwell together with envy. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was purposing to break off the treaty.

III

AT this same time another event also occurred; it was as follows. That Symeon who had given Pharangium into the hands of the Romans persuaded the Emperor Justinian, while the war was still at its height, to present him with certain villages of Armenia. And becoming master of these places, he was plotted against and murdered by those who had formerly possessed them. After this crime had been committed, the perpetrators of the murder fled into the land of Persia. They were two brothers, sons of Perozes. And when the Emperor heard this, he gave over the villages to Amazaspes, the nephew of Symeon, and appointed him ruler over the Armenians. This Amazaspes, as time went on, was denounced to the Emperor Justinian by one of his friends, Acacius by name, on the ground that he was abusing the Armenians and wished to give over to the Persians Theodosiopolis and certain other fortresses. After telling this, Acacius, by the emperor's will, slew Amazaspes treacherously, and himself secured the command over the Armenians by the gift of the emperor. And being base by nature, he gained the opportunity of displaying his inward character, and he proved to be the most cruel of all

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 7 ἀρχομένους ὡμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. τά τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐληίζετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ φόρου αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὕποτε οὖσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμένιοι δέ (φέρειν γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν οἶοι τε ἡσαν) κτείνουσθ' τε ξυμφρονήσαντες τὸν Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Φαράγγιον καταφεύγουσι.
- 8 Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Σίττας διέτριβεν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί. δοι. δοι δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐλθὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀκνηρῶς ἤσει, τιθασσεύειν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα ἥθη ἀντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἥπεργετο, πείθειν βασιλέα ὑποσχόμενος ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.
- 10 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς τῆς μελλήσεως πολλὰ ὄνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, ἥγμένος ταῖς Ἀδολίοις διαβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκακίου παιδός, ἐνταῦθα ἥδη ὁ Σίττας
- 11 τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποσχέσεσι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναπείθειν τε καὶ ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τινας ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ῥάφων τε καὶ ἀπονωτέρα ἡ ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπικράτησις γένοιτο. καὶ οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν καλουμένων γένος, μέγα τε δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον,
- 13 προσχωρεῖν ἥθελε. πέμψαντές τε παρὰ τὸν Σίτταν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐδέοντο διδόναι τὰ πιστὰ σφίσιν, ὅτι δή, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἀπολιπόντες ἥξωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων παράταξιν, κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι,<sup>1</sup> τὰ σφέτερα
- 14 αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄσμενός τε γράψας ἐν βιβλιδίῳ καθάπερ ἐδέοντο τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ γράμμα κατασημηνάμενος ἐς αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> μείνωσι VP : μείνωσιν G, μενοῦσι Herwerden.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. iii. 6-14

men toward his subjects. For he plundered their property without excuse and ordained that they should pay an unheard-of tax of four centenaria.<sup>1</sup> But the Armenians, unable to bear him any longer, conspired together and slew Acacius and fled for refuge to Pharangium.

Therefore the emperor sent Sittas against them from Byzantium. For Sittas had been delaying there since the time when the treaty was made with the Persians. So he came to Armenia, but at first he entered upon the war reluctantly and exerted himself to calm the people and to restore the population to their former habitations, promising to persuade the emperor to remit to them the payment of the new tax. But since the emperor kept assailing him with frequent reproaches for his hesitation, led on by the slanders of Adolius, the son of Acacius, Sittas at last made his preparations for the conflict. First of all he attempted by means of promises of many good things to win over some of the Armenians by persuasion and to attach them to his cause, in order that the task of overpowering the others might be attended with less difficulty and toil. And the tribe called the Aspetiani, great in power and in numbers, was willing to join him. And they went to Sittas and begged him to give them pledges in writing that, if they abandoned their kinsmen in the battle and came to the Roman army, they should remain entirely free from harm, retaining their own possessions. Now Sittas was delighted and wrote to them in tablets, giving them pledges just as they desired of him; he then sealed the writing

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 15 ἔπειμψε. θαρσῶν τε ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἀμαχητὶ τοῦ πολέμου κρατήσει, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς χωρίου Οἰνοχαλάκων ἦει, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐστρα-  
 16 τοπεδεῦσθαι ἔνυνέβαινε. τύχη δέ τινι οἱ τὸ βιβλίον ἔχοντες ἑτέρᾳ ιόντες ὁδῷ Ἀσπετιανοῖς  
 17 ἐντυχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἵσχυσαν. μοῖρα μέντοι τοῦ Ἐρωμαίων στρατοῦ ὀλόγοις τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐντυχόντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τε τὰ ἔνυγκείμενα, ὡς πο-  
 18 λεμίοις ἔχρησαντο. καὶ αὐτὸς Σίττας ἐν σπηλαίῳ που παῖδας τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναικας λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν, ἢ τὸ γεγονὸς οὐ κατεῖνεις ἢ δι' ὄργῆς Ἀσπετιανοὺς ἔχων, δτι οἱ καθάπερ ἔνυνέκειτο οὐ προσεχώρουν.
- 19 Οἱ δὲ θυμῷ ἥδη ἔχόμενοι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο. ἄτε δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίαις χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ κρημνώδεσιν ἐκάτεροι ὄντες οὐκ ἐν ἐνὶ χώρῳ ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ διασκεδαννύμενοι ἐν τε ὑπωρείαις καὶ φάραγξι. τετύχηκεν οὖν τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων ὀλίγοις τινὰς καὶ Σίτταν τῶν ἐπομένων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα ἀλλήλων πη ἄγχιστα ἴέναι, φάραγγος σφίσι τινὸς  
 20 μεταξὺ οὔσης. ἵππεῖς δὲ ἡσαν ἐκάτεροι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σίττας, ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπισπομένων,<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναυτίους τὴν φάραγγα διαβὰς ἥλαυνεν, Ἀρμένιοι δὲ ὅπισω ὑποχωρήσαντες ἐστησαν, καὶ ὁ Σίττας  
 21 οὐκέτι ἐδίωκεν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. ἄφνω δέ τις τοῦ Ἐρωμαίων στρατοῦ, Ἐρουλος γένος, δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιημένος ἐνθένδε τε ξὺν θυμῷ ἀπελαύνων, παρὰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σίτταν ἥλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Σίττας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ δόρυ ἐρείσας· ὃ δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἐρούλου ἵππος ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπισπομένων Hoeschel: ἐπισπωμένων VG, ἐπεισπομένων P.

and sent it to them. Then, confident that by their help he would be victorious in the war without fighting, he went with his whole army to a place called Oenochalakon, where the Armenians had their camp. But by some chance those who carried the tablets went by another road and did not succeed at all in meeting the Aspetiani. Moreover a portion of the Roman army happened upon some few of them, and not knowing the agreement which had been made, treated them as enemies. And Sittas himself caught some of their women and children in a cave and slew them, either because he did not understand what had happened or because he was angry with the Aspetiani for not joining him as had been agreed.

But they, being now possessed with anger, arrayed themselves for battle with all the rest. But since both armies were on exceedingly difficult ground where precipices abounded, they did not fight in one place, but scattered about among the ridges and ravines. So it happened that some few of the Armenians and Sittas with not many of his followers came close upon each other, with only a ravine lying between them. Both parties were horsemen. Then Sittas with a few men following him crossed the ravine and advanced against the enemy ; the Armenians, after withdrawing to the rear, stopped, and Sittas pursued no further but remained where he was. Suddenly someone from the Roman army, an Erulian by birth, who had been pursuing the enemy, returning impetuously from them came up to Sittas and his men. Now as it happened Sittas had planted his spear in the ground ; and the Erulian's

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 22 πεσὼν ξὺν πολλῇ ρύμῃ κατέαξε. τόν τε στρατηγὸν τοῦτο ἡνίασεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων ἴδων ἔγνω τε καὶ Σίτταν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπασιν ἵσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ξυνέβαινε γάρ οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος οὐκ εἶναι. διὸ δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαθε ξὺν ὀλόγοις τισὺν 23 ἐνταῦθα ἥκων. Σίττας μὲν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου λέγοντος ἤκουσε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὕσπερ ἐρρήθη, ὅις ἀποκαυλισθὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τὴν φάραγγα διαβαίνειν 24 εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἥλαυνον, καὶ τις αὐτὸν καταλαβὼν ἐν τῇ φάραγγι ξίφει ἐς ἄκραν κεφαλὴν ἔτυψε πληγῇ ἐγκαρσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν βρέγμα ὅλον ἀφείλετο, 25 τοῦ δὲ ὄστεον ὁ σίδηρος οὐδαμῇ ἤψατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σίττας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἦ πρότερον πρόσω ἥλαυνεν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρσακίδης ὅπισθεν ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παίσας τῷ δόρατι ἔκτεινεν. 26 οὗτῳ τε ὁ Σίττας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἀναξίως τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ πεπραγμένων, ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα ἐς ἄγαν καλὸς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, στρατηγός τε ἄριστος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς 27 ἥσσων. τινὲς δέ φασι τὸν Σίτταν οὐ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνα, λίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν διαχρήσασθαι. 28 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σίττα Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ιέναι· ὃς ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστά που ἐγένετο, ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε καταλλάξειν Ἀρμενίους ὑποσχόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἀξιῶν τῶν

horse fell upon this with a great rush and shattered it. And the general was exceedingly annoyed by this, and one of the Armenians, seeing him, recognized him and declared to all the others that it was Sittas. For it happened that he had no helmet on his head. Thus it did not escape the enemy that he had come there with only a few men. Sittas, then, upon hearing the Armenian say this, since his spear, as has been said, lay broken in two on the ground, drew his sword and attempted immediately to re-cross the ravine. But the enemy advanced upon him with great eagerness, and a soldier overtaking him in the ravine struck him a glancing blow with his sword on the top of his head ; and he took off the whole scalp, but the steel did not injure the bone at all. And Sittas continued to press forward still more than before, but Artabanes, son of John of the Arsacidae, fell upon him from behind and with a thrust of his spear killed him. Thus Sittas was removed from the world after no notable fashion, in a manner unworthy of his valour and his continual achievements against the enemy, a man who was extremely handsome in appearance and a capable warrior, and a general second to none of his contemporaries. But some say that Sittas did not die at the hand of Artabanes, but that Solomon, a very insignificant man among the Armenians, destroyed him.

After the death of Sittas the emperor commanded Bouzes to go against the Armenians ; and he, upon drawing near, sent to them promising to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and all the Armenians, and asking that some of their notables should come to confer with him on these matters.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 29 δοκίμων τινάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι οὕτε πιστεύειν τῷ Βούζῃ εἰχον οὕτε τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἥθελον. ἦν δέ τις αὐτῷ μάλιστα φίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Ἀρταβάνου πατήρ, ὃς δὴ τῷ Βούζῃ τότε ἄτε φίλῳ θαρσήσας ξυν τε Βασσάκη τῷ κηδεστῇ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀλόγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἥλθεν· οἱ δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ αὐλισθέντες ἔνθα τῷ Βούζῃ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντυχεῖν ἔμελλον, ἥσθοντο ἐς κυκλώσιν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἥκουντες.
- 30 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰωάννην Βασσάκης ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐλιπάρει δρασμοῦ ἔχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πείθειν οὐκ εἶχε, μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταλιπών, ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι λαθὼν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὄδφ τῇ αὐτῇ
- 31 ὁπίσω αὐθις ἀπῆλαυνε. Βούζης τε τὸν Ἰωάννην μόνον εὐρὼν ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὕτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἀρμένιοι ξυμβάσεως πέρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες οὕτε βασιλέα τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπεραίρειν οἰοί τε ὄντες παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἥλθον, Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, δραστη-
- 32 ρίου ἀνδρός. ὃν τότε οἱ πρῶτοι Χοσρόη ἐς δψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε “Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὡς δέσποτα, ἐκείνουν Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονοι ὃς δὴ οὕτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὃν, ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Πάρθοις ἐκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανῆς
- 33 γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἥσσον. πάρεσμεν δὲ ταῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄπαντες δοῦλοι τε καὶ δραπεταὶ γεγενημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡναγκασμένοι ὡς μάλιστα, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ὑπὸ σῆς,
- 34 ὡς βασιλεῦ, γνώμης· εἴπερ ὁ τὴν ἵσχὺν τοῖς

Now the Armenians as a whole were unable to trust Bouzes nor were they willing to receive his proposals. But there was a certain man of the Arsacidae who was especially friendly with him, John by name, the father of Artabanes, and this man, trusting in Bouzes as his friend came to him with his son-in-law, Bassaces, and a few others ; but when these men had reached the spot where they were to meet Bouzes on the following day, and had made their bivouac there, they perceived that they had come into a place surrounded by the Roman army. Bassaces, the son-in-law, therefore earnestly entreated John to fly. And since he was not able to persuade him, he left him there alone, and in company with all the others eluded the Romans, and went back again by the same road. And Bouzes found John alone and slew him ; and since after this the Armenians had no hope of ever reaching an agreement with the Romans, and since they were unable to prevail over the emperor in war, they came before the Persian king led by Bassaces, an energetic man. And the leading men among them came at that time into the presence of Chosroes and spoke as follows : " Many of us, O Master, are Arsacidae, descendants of that Arsaces who was not unrelated to the Parthian kings when the Persian realm lay under the hand of the Parthians, and who proved himself an illustrious king, inferior to none of his time. Now we have come to thee, and all of us have become slaves and fugitives, not, however, of our own will, but under most hard constraint, as it might seem by reason of the Roman power, but in truth, O King, by reason of thy decision,—if, indeed, he who gives the strength to those who wish to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀδικεῖν βουλομένοις διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἀν φέροιτο καὶ  
τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἔργων δικαίως. εἰρήσεται δὲ  
μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅπως δὴ ἄπασι παρακολουθεῖν  
35 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυνήσεσθε. Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ  
τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὑστάτος  
ἔξεστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥω-  
μαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκών γε εἴναι, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ ἄπαν-  
τες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν  
αἰώνα προσήκειν τά τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ'  
ἔξουσίαν καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῆ ἔσονται.  
36 καὶ διεσωσάμεθα τὰ ἔνγκείμενα ἥως ὑμεῖς ταύτας  
πεποίησθε τὰς διαβοήτους σπουδάς, ἃς δὴ κοινόν  
τινα ὅλεθρον καλῶν τις, οἰόμεθα, οὐκ ἀν ἀμάρτοι.  
37 φίλων τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμίων τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφρο-  
τιστήσας, ἄπαντα ἔνυνέχει τε καὶ ἔνυντάραξε τὰ  
ἀνθρώπεια ὁ σός, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν φίλος,  
38 ἔργῳ δὲ δυσμενής. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν  
εἰσῃ, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα τοὺς ἑσπερίους οἰός τε  
ἡ παντάπασι καταστρέψασθαι. τί γὰρ τῶν  
πρότερον ἀπειρημένων οὐκ ἔπραξεν; ἡ τί οὐκ  
39 ἔκίνησε τῶν εὐ καθεστώτων; οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρου  
ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν, καὶ Τζάνους  
τοὺς ὄμόρους ἡμῖν αὐτονόμους ὅντας δεδούλωται,  
τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν ἀθλίων Λαζῶν ἄρχοντα Ῥω-  
μαίον ἐπέστησε; πρᾶγμα οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῶν  
πραγμάτων ἔνυβαῖνον οὔτε λόγῳ ῥάδιον ἐρμη-  
40 νεύεσθαι. οὐ Βοσπορίταις μὲν τοῖς Οὔννων κα-  
τηκόοις στρατηγοὺς ἐπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσ-  
εποίησατο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ  
πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἀρχάς, ὃν  
καὶ ἀνήκοοι τὸ παράπαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτυγχανον  
41 ὅντες; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὁμηρίτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν

do injustice should himself justly bear also the blame of their misdeeds. Now we shall begin our account from a little distance back in order that you may be able to follow the whole course of events. Arsaces, the last king of our ancestors, abdicated his throne willingly in favour of Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, on condition that all who should belong to his family through all time should live unhampered in every respect, and in particular should in no case be subject to taxation. And we have preserved the agreement, until you, the Persians, made this much-vaunted treaty, which, as we think, one would not err in calling a sort of common destruction. For from that time, disregarding friend and foe, he who is in name thy friend, O King, but in fact thy enemy, has turned everything in the world upside down and wrought complete confusion. And this thou thyself shalt know at no distant time, as soon as he is able to subdue completely the people of the West. For what thing which was before forbidden has he not done? or what thing which was well established has he not disturbed? Did he not ordain for us the payment of a tax which did not exist before, and has he not enslaved our neighbours, the Tzani, who were autonomous, and has he not set over the king of the wretched Lazi a Roman magistrate?—an act neither in keeping with the natural order of things nor very easy to explain in words. Has he not sent generals to the men of Bosphorus, the subjects of the Huns, and attached to himself the city which in no way belongs to him, and has he not made a defensive alliance with the Aethiopian kingdoms, of which the Romans had never even heard? More than this he has made the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται καὶ τὸν φοινικῶνα  
42 προστίθησι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ἀφίεμεν γὰρ  
λέγειν τὰ Λιβύων τε καὶ Ἰταλῶν πάθη. ἡ γῆ  
τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασσα· μικρόν ἐστιν  
43 αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. ὁ  
δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν  
ώκεανὸν διερευνᾶται μυχούς, ἄλλην αὐτῷ τινα  
44 οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος. τί οὖν  
ἔτι, ὡς βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις; τί δὲ τὴν κάκιστα  
ἀπολουμένην εἰρήνην αἰσχύνῃ, ὅπως δηλαδή σε  
ντατάην ποιήσῃται βρῶσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων;  
45 εἰ μέν ἐστί σοι βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὅποιός τις ἀν  
Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐσ τοὺς αὐτῷ εἴκοντας γένοιτο,  
έγγυθεν σοι τὸ παράδειγμα παρ' ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν  
46 ἐστι καὶ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Λαζῶν· εἰ δέ, ὅπως  
ποτὲ εἴωθε τοῖς τε ἀγνώσι καὶ οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν ἡδικη-  
κόσι χρῆσθαι, Βαυδίλους τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ  
47 Μαυρουσίους διαλογίζουν. τό τε δὴ κεφάλαιον  
οὕπω λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἀλαμούνδαρον μὲν ἐν  
σπουδαῖς τὸν σόν, ὡς κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, δοῦλον  
ἀπάτη τε περιελθεῖν καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστῆσαι  
τῆς σῆς ἔργον πεποίηται, Οὔννους δὲ τοὺς οὐδα-  
μόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῦς ἔναγχος  
ἔταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε; καίτοι  
πρᾶξις ἀτοπωτέρα ταύτης οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ  
48 παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἥσθετο, οἷμαι, εἰς  
πέρας αὐτῷ ὅσον οὕπω ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐσπε-  
ρίων καταστροφήν, τοὺς ἔώους ἥδη μετελθεῖν  
νῦμας ἐγκεχείρηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον ἀπολέλειπται  
49 αὐτῷ ἐσ ἀγῶνα τὸ Περσῶν κράτος. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
εἰρήνη τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἥδη σοι λέλυται, καὶ  
σπουδαῖς αὐτὸς πέρας ταῖς ἀπεράντοις ἐπέθηκε.

Homeritae his possession and the Red Sea, and he is adding the Palm Groves to the Roman dominion. We omit to speak of the fate of the Libyans and of the Italians. The whole earth is not large enough for the man ; it is too small a thing for him to conquer all the world together. But he is even looking about the heavens and is searching the retreats beyond the ocean, wishing to gain for himself some other world. Why, therefore, O King, dost thou still delay ? Why dost thou respect that most accursed peace, in order forsooth that he may make thee the last morsel of all ? If it is thy wish to learn what kind of a man Justinian would shew himself toward those who yield to him, the example is to be sought near at hand from ourselves and from the wretched Lazi ; and if thou wishest to see how he is accustomed to treat those who are unknown to him and who have done him not the least wrong, consider the Vandals and the Goths and the Moors. But the chief thing has not yet been spoken. Has he not made efforts in time of peace to win over by deception thy slave, Alamoundaras, O most mighty King, and to detach him from thy kingdom, and has he not striven recently to attach to himself the Huns who are utterly unknown to him, in order to make trouble for thee ? And yet an act more strange than this has not been performed in all time. For since he perceived, as I think, that the overthrow of the western world would speedily be accomplished, he has already taken in hand to assail you of the East, since the Persian power alone has been left for him to grapple with. The peace, therefore, as far as concerns him, has already been broken for thee, and he himself has set an end to the endless peace.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

50 λύουσι γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐχ οὖν ἀν ἐν ὅπλοις  
γένοιντο πρῶτοι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐν  
51 σπουδαῖς τοῖς πέλας ἀλοῦεν. τὸ γὰρ ἔγκλημα  
τῷ ἐγκεχειρηκότι, καν ἀπῆ τὸ κατορθοῦν, πέ-  
πρακται. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος χωρῆσει παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
που δῆλον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ τὰς αἰτίας τῷ πολέμῳ  
παρασχόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς παρασχομένους αὗτὰς  
ἀμυνόμενοι, κρατεῦν ἀε τῶν πολεμίων εἰώθασιν.  
52 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔξ ἀντιπάλου ήμῦν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ  
ἀγὼν ἔσται. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν  
πλείστους πρὸς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιαῖς  
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν, οἵπερ  
αὐτοῖς ἄριστοι ἡσαν, τὸν ἔτερον μὲν Σίτταν  
κτείναντες ἥκομεν, Βελμσάριον δὲ οὕποτε Ἰου-  
στινιανὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ὅψεται. οὐπερ ἐκεῖνος ὀλι-  
γωρήσας μεμένηκε πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς,  
53 αὐτὸς ἔχων τὸ Ἰταλῶν κράτος. ὥστε σοι ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τοὺς πολεμίους ιόντι ἀπαντήσει τῶν πάντων  
οὐδείς, ἔξεις δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς εὔνοιᾳ τε, ως τὸ εἰκός,  
καὶ χωρίων ἐμπειρίᾳ πολλῇ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ  
54 ἔξηγουμένους.” ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἥκουσεν,  
ἥσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν  
ἥν ἐς πάντας ἔξήνεγκεν ἢ τε Οὐιττιγις ἔγραψε  
καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφί τε τῷ πρακτέῳ  
55 βουλὴν προϋθηκεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν μὲν  
γυῶμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέρουσαι, τέλος δὲ  
πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἄμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥω-  
56 μαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἥν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπω-  
ρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασι-  
57 λέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. οὐ μέντοι  
Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπωπτευον, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύ-  
σειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπουδὰς

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. iii. 50-57

For they break the peace, not who may be first in arms, but they who may be caught plotting against their neighbours in time of peace. For the crime has been committed by him who attempts it, even though success be lacking. Now as for the course which the war will follow, this is surely clear to everyone. For it is not those who furnish causes for war, but those who defend themselves against those who furnish them, who are accustomed always to conquer their enemies. Nay more, the contest will not be evenly matched for us even in point of strength. For, as it happens, the majority of the Roman soldiers are at the end of the world, and as for the two generals who were the best they had, we come here having slain the one, Sittas, and Belisarius will never again be seen by Justinian. For disregarding his master, he has remained in the West, holding the power of Italy himself. So that when thou goest against the enemy, no one at all will confront thee, and thou wilt have us leading the army with good will, as is natural, and with a thorough knowledge of the country." When Chosroes heard this he was pleased, and calling together all who were of noble blood among the Persians, he disclosed to all of them what Vittigis had written and what the Armenians had said, and laid before them the question as to what should be done. Then many opinions were expressed inclining to either side, but finally it was decided that they must open hostilities against the Romans at the beginning of spring. For it was the late autumn season, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. The Romans, however, did not suspect this, nor did they think that the Persians would ever break the so-called endless

589 A.D.

## PROCOPius OF CAESAREA

ῳοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οὶς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν ταῦτα ὡν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην.

### IV

- 1 Τότε καὶ ὁ κομήτης ἀστὴρ ἐφάνη, τὰ μὲν πρώτα δσον εὐμήκης ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ μείζων. καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πέρας πρὸς δύοντα ἡλιον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥν,
- 2 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὅπισθεν εἴπετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν αἰγοκέρῳ ἥν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μέν τινες ἐκάλουν ξιφίαν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπιμήκης τε ἥν καὶ λίαν ὀξεῖαν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ πωγωνίαν, ἡμέρας τε πλείους ἡ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφάνη.
- 3 οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σοφοὶ ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἥκιστα ὄμολογοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλα προῦλεγον πρὸς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀστέρος σημαίνεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη γράφων δίδωμι ἑκάστῳ τοῦς ἀποβε-
- 4 βηκόσι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ἡ βούλοιτο. μέγα μὲν εὐθὺς στράτευμα Ούννικόν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ξυμπάσῃ Εύρωπῃ ἐπέσκηψαν, γεγονὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἥδη, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ ἥ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὸν πώποτε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ κόλπου γὰρ τοῦ Ἰονίου οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἀπαντα ἐφεξῆς ἐληίσαντο
- 5 μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια. καὶ φρούρια μὲν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς εἶλαν, πόλιν δὲ τὴν Κασσάνδρειαν κατεστρέψαντο βίᾳ (ἥν οἱ παλαιοὶ<sup>1</sup> Ποτίδαιαι ἐκάλουν, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι)

peace, although they heard that Chosroes blamed their emperor for his successes in the West, and that he preferred against him the charges which I have lately mentioned.

IV

AT that time also the comet appeared, at first <sup>539 A.D.</sup> about as long as a tall man, but later much larger. And the end of it was toward the west and its beginning toward the east, and it followed behind the sun itself. For the sun was in Capricorn and it was in Sagittarius. And some called it "the swordfish" because it was of goodly length and very sharp at the point, and others called it "the bearded star"; it was seen for more than forty days. Now those who were wise in these matters disagreed utterly with each other, and one announced that one thing, another that another thing was indicated by this star; but I only write what took place and I leave to each one to judge by the outcome as he wishes. Straightway a mighty Hunnic army crossing the Danube River fell as a scourge upon all Europe, a thing which had happened many times before, but which had never brought such a multitude of woes nor such dreadful ones to the people of that land. For from the Ionian Gulf these barbarians plundered everything in order as far as the suburbs of Byzantium. And they captured thirty-two fortresses in Illyricum, and they carried by storm the city of Cassandria (which the ancients called Potidaea, as far as we know), never having fought

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 6 οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πρότερον. καὶ τά τε χρήματα ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτων τε μυριάδας δυοκαίδεκα ἀπαγόμενοι<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' οἴκου ἄπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐναντιώματος ἀπαντήσαντος.
- 7 χρόνῳ τε τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἀνήκεστα ἐς Ρωμαίους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. οἱ δὴ καὶ ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τειχομαχήσαντες, βιασάμενοί τε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ροθίου τὸν περίβολον ὑπερβάντες δῆς πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ μέλαινι καλουμένῳ ἐστίν, οὕτω τε ἐντὸς τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ρωμαίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες, ἔκτεινάν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἡνδραπόδισαν
- 9 σχεδὸν ἄπαντας. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ τε καὶ Ἀβύδου πορθμόν, λησάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία καὶ αὐθις ἐς Χερρόνησον ἵναστρέψαντες, ἐνν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.
- 10 ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τε εἰσβολῇ τούς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς λησάμενοι, τειχομαχεῖν μὲν ἐνεχείρησαν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι φρουρῶν καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων διερευνώμενοι τὰς περιόδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὑροῦν
- 11 ἡ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὅρος δὲ ταύτη ἀνέχει. οὕτω τε σχεδὸν ἄπαντας "Ἐλληνας πλὴν Πελοποννησίων
- 12 διεργασάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὰς σπουδὰς λύσαντες ἔργα Ρωμαίους τοὺς ἐφόυς εἰργάσαντο ἀπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δηλώσω.
- 13 Βελισάριος [ἐπεὶ] τῶν Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλέα Οὐίττιγιν καθελὼν ζῶντα ἐς

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαγόμενοι Maltretus : ἀπαγόμενοι MSS.

against walls before. And taking with them the money and leading away one hundred and twenty thousand captives, they all retired homeward without encountering any opposition. In later times too they often came there and brought upon the Romans irreparable calamity. This same people also assailed the wall of the Chersonesus, where they overpowered those who were defending themselves from the wall, and approaching through the surf of the sea, scaled the fortifications on the so-called Black Gulf ; thus they got within the long wall, and falling unexpectedly upon the Romans in the Chersonesus they slew many of them and made prisoners of almost all the survivors. Some few of them also crossed the strait between Sestus and Abydus, and after plundering the Asiatic country, they returned again to the Chersonesus, and with the rest of the army and all the booty betook themselves to their homes. In another invasion they plundered Illyricum and Thessaly and attempted to storm the wall at Thermopylae ; and since the guards on the walls defended them most valiantly, they sought out the ways around and unexpectedly found the path which leads up the mountain which rises there.<sup>1</sup> In this way they destroyed almost all the Greeks except the Peloponnesians, and then withdrew. And the Persians not long afterwards broke off the treaty and wrought such harm to the Romans of the East as I shall set forth immediately.

Belisarius, after humbling Vittigis, the king of the Goths and Italians, brought him alive to Byzantium.

<sup>1</sup> The Huns placed a part of their force in the rear of the defenders of the pass, which lies between the sea and the mountains, sending them around by the same path, probably, as that used by Xerxes when he destroyed Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans ; see *Herod.* vii. 216-218.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκεν. ὅπως δὲ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς  
 ἐσ τῇ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

14 ἡνίκα Χοσρόου πολεμησείοντος Ἰουστινιανὸς  
 βασιλεὺς ἥσθετο, παραίνεσίν τε ποιεῖσθαι τινα  
 καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἦθελεν.

15 ἐτύγχανε δέ τις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἡκων ἐκ Δάρας  
 πόλεως, Ἀναστάσιος δνομα, δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει  
 ἔχων, δις καὶ τὴν ἐν Δάρας ἔναγχος γενομένην

16 τυραννίδα καταλελύκει. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀνα-  
 στάσιον παρὰ Χοσρόην Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεμψε

17 γράμματα γράψας ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε  
 “Ξυνετῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ οἰς τὰ ἐς τὸ  
 θεῖον ἴκανῶς ἥσκηται πολέμου φυομένας αἰτίας,  
 ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τὰ μάλιστα φίλους,  
 σθένει παντὶ ἀποτέμνεσθαι· ἀξυνέτων δὲ καὶ τὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ῥᾶστα ποιουμένων πο-  
 λέμα μάχης τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἀφορμᾶς οὐδαμῆ

18 οὔσας ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι. εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ καταλύ-  
 σασιν ἐς πόλεμον οἴναι οὐδὲν πρᾶγμά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πουηρότατα καὶ τοῖς τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις εὔκολα τίθεσθαι ἡ τῶν

19 πραγμάτων νενόμικε φύσις. πόλεμον δὲ κατὰ  
 γνώμην διαθεμένοις αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χωρεῖν

20 ἀνθρώποις<sup>1</sup> οἷμαι οὐ ῥάδιον είναι. καίτοι σὺ  
 μὲν ἡμῖν γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίτηδες γεγραμμένα  
 ἐπικαλεῖς, ταῦτά τε γνώμῃ αὐτονόμῳ ταῦτην  
 ἔρμηνεύειν ἐσπούδακας, οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς διανοη-  
 θέντες γεγράφαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ σοι τὰ βεβουλευμένα  
 ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἀνευ τινὸς παραπετάσματος ἐφιε-  
 μένῳ ξυνοίσειν δοκεῖ. ἡμῖν δὲ πάρεστιν Ἀλα-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνθρώποις Ναύρυ : ἀνθρώπω MSS.

And I shall now proceed to tell how the army of the Persians invaded the land of the Romans. When the Emperor Justinian perceived that Chosroes was eager for war, he wished to offer him some counsel and to dissuade him from the undertaking. Now it happened that a certain man had come to Byzantium from the city of Daras, Anastasius by name, well known for his sagacity; he it was who had broken the tyranny which had been established recently in Daras. Justinian therefore wrote a letter and sent it by this Anastasius to Chosroes; and the message of the letter was as follows: "It is the part of men of discretion and those by whom divine things are treated with due respect, when causes of war arise, and in particular against men who are in the truest sense friends, to exert all their power to put an end to them; but it belongs to foolish men and those who most lightly bring on themselves the enmity of Heaven to devise occasions for war and insurrection which have no real existence. Now to destroy peace and enter upon war is not a difficult matter, since the nature of things is such as to make the basest activities easy for the most dishonourable men. But when they have brought about war according to their intention, to return again to peace is for men, I think, not easy. And yet thou chargest me with writing letters which were not written with any dark purpose, and thou hast now made haste to interpret these with arbitrary judgment, not in the sense in which we conceived them when we wrote them, but in a way which will be of advantage to thee in thy eagerness to carry out thy plans not without some pretext. But for us it is possible to

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μούνδαρον δεικνύναι τὸν σὸν γῆραν ἔναγχος καταδραμόντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔργα ἐν σπουδαῖς διαπεπρᾶχθαι ἀνήκεστα, χωρίων ἀλώσεις, χρημάτων ἄρπαγάς, ἀνθρώπων φόνους τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν σε οὐκ  
22 αἰτιάσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι δεήσει. τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡδικηκότων ἐγκλήματα αἱ πράξεις,  
οὐχ αἱ διάνοιαι, δηλοῦσι τοῖς πέλας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔχεσθαι καὶ  
ῶς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγνώκαμεν, σὲ δὲ πολεμησείοντα  
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούομεν ἀναπλάττειν αἰτίας  
23 οὐδαμόθεν ἡμῶν προσηκούσας. εἰκότως· οἱ μὲν  
γὰρ τὰ παρόντα περιστέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες  
καὶ σφόδρα ἐγκειμένας ἀποσείονται τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
φίλους αἰτίας, οὓς δὲ ὁ τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀρέσκει  
θεσμός, καὶ τὰς οὐκ. οὕσας ἐφίενται πορίζεσθαι  
24 σκήψεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν  
ἀνθρώποις, μή τι γε δὴ βασιλεῦσι, πρέπειν δὲ  
25 δόξειε. σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀφέμενος σκόπει μὲν τὸ  
μέτρον τῶν ἐκατέρωθεν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπο-  
λουμένων καὶ τίς δὲν εἴη τῶν ἔνυπεσουμένων τὴν  
αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος, λογίζου δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους,  
οὓς δὴ ὁμοσάμενός<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κομισά-  
μενος, εἴτα ἀτιμάσας οὐ δέον τέχναις τισὸν ἦ  
σοφίσμασι παραγαγεῖν οὐκ ἀν δύναιο. τὸ γὰρ  
θεῖον κρεῖσσον ἦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι πέφυκε πρὸς  
26 πάντων ἀνθρώπων.” ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης  
ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι  
ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε τὸν Ἀιαστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο,  
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν ἤναγκαζεν.

<sup>1</sup> δὴ ὁμοσάμενός VG : διομοσάμενος P.

point out that thy Alamoundaras recently overran our land and performed outrageous deeds in time of peace, to wit, the capture of towns, the seizure of property, the massacre and enslavement of such a multitude of men, concerning which it will be thy duty not to blame us, but to defend thyself. For the crimes of those who have done wrong are made manifest to their neighbours by their acts, not by their thoughts. But even with these things as they are, we have still decided to hold to peace, but we hear that thou in thy eagerness to make war upon the Romans art fabricating accusations which do not belong to us at all. Natural enough, this; for while those who are eager to preserve the present order of things repel even those charges against their friends which are most pressing, those who are not satisfied with established friendships exert themselves to provide even pretexts which do not exist. But this would not seem to be becoming even to ordinary men, much less to kings. But leaving aside these things do thou consider the number of those who will be destroyed on both sides in the course of the war, and consider well who will justly bear the blame for those things which will come to pass, and ponder upon the oaths which thou didst take when thou didst carry away the money, and consider that if, after that, thou wrongly dishonour them by some tricks or sophistries, thou wouldest not be able to pervert them; for Heaven is too mighty to be deceived by any man." When Chosroes saw this message, he neither made any immediate answer nor did he dismiss Anastasius, but he compelled him to remain there.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## V

- 1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ἥδη ὑπέληγε, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδον ἐσ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε, τήν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυεν. ἦει δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
- 2 Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίων φρούριον ἔσχατον δὲ Κιρκήσιον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἔχυρὸν ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ὅν, ἐπεὶ Ἀβόρρας μὲν ποταμὸς μέγας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχων τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμίγνυται, τὸ δὲ φρούριον τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτῇ που τῇ γωνίᾳ κεῖται
- 3 ἦν δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ μίξις ποιεῖται. καὶ τεῖχος δὲ ἄλλο μακρὸν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκτὸς χώραν τὴν μεταξὺ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρου ἀπόλαμβάνον τρίγωνον
- 4 ἐνταῦθα ἀμφὶ τὸ Κιρκήσιον ἐπιτελεῖ σχῆμα. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρουρίου ἐθέλων οὔτε δὴ ἔχυροῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σύρους τε καὶ Κίλικας ἴεναι, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἥλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδόν τι ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν ὅχθην ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβίᾳ ἐπιτυγχάνει· ἦν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει,
- 5 ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔδωκεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὁδονάθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκείνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἱ Ῥω-
- 6 μαίοις ἐνσπουδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἤσαν. οὗτος [ό]

<sup>1</sup> μακρὸν ΝΡ: μικρὸν G.

## V

WHEN the winter was already reaching its close, 540 A.D. and the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian was ending, Chosroes, son of Cabades, invaded the land of the Romans at the opening of spring with a mighty army, and openly broke the so-called endless peace. But he did not enter by the country between the rivers, but advanced with the Euphrates on his right. On the other side of the river stands the last Roman stronghold which is called Circesium, an exceedingly strong place, since the River Aboras, a large stream, has its mouth at this point and mingles with the Euphrates, and this fortress lies exactly in the angle which is made by the junction of the two rivers. And a long second wall outside the fortress cuts off the land between the two rivers, and completes the form of a triangle around Circesium. Chosroes, therefore, not wishing to make trial of so strong a fortress and not having in mind to cross the River Euphrates, but rather to go against the Syrians and Cilicians, without any hesitation led his army forward, and after advancing for what, to an unencumbered traveller, is about a three days' journey along the bank of the Euphrates, he came upon the city of Zenobia; this place Zenobia had built in former times, and, as was natural, she gave her name to the city. Now Zenobia was the wife of Odonatus, the ruler of the Saracens of that region, who had been on terms of peace with the Romans

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- Οδονάθος ἀνεσώσατο Ρωμαίοις τὴν ἐφάν αρχὴν  
ὑπὸ Μήδοις γεγενημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν  
7 τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο. Χοσρόης δὲ τότε  
ἄγχιστά που τῆς Ζηνοβίας ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ  
χωρίον οὗτε ἀξιόλογον ἔμαθεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν  
χώραν κατενόησεν ἀοίκητόν τε καὶ πάντων  
ἀγαθῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν, δείσας μή τίς οἱ<sup>1</sup> χρόνος  
ἐνταῦθα τριβεὶς πράξεις μεγάλαις ἐπ' οὐδενὶ  
ἔργῳ ἐμπόδιος εἴη, ἀπεπειράσατο μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ  
χωρίον ἐλεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν προύχώρει, πρόσω  
κατὰ τάχος τὸν στρατὸν ἥλαυνεν.
- 8 Οδόν τε αὐθις τοσαῦτην ἀνύσας ἀφίκετο ἐς  
πόλιν Σούρων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ οὖσαν,  
9 ἢς δὴ ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος ἔστη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ  
ἴππῳ ξυνέβη ἐφ' οὐ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκάθητο χρε-  
μετίσαι τε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸ ἔδαφος κρούειν. ὃ δὴ  
οἱ μάγοι ξυμβαλόντες ἀλώσεσθαι τὸ χωρίον  
10 ἀπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν  
περίβολον ὡς τειχομαχήσων τὸ στράτευμα  
11 ἐπῆγεν. ἐτύγχανε δέ τις ὄνομα μὲν Ἀρσάκης,  
'Αρμένιος δὲ γένος, τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν  
ἄρχων, δις τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις  
ἀναβιβάσας, ἐνθένδε τε μαχόμενος ἴσχυρότατα  
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κτείνας, τοξεύματι  
12 βληθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν τότε (ἥν  
γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψε) ὡς αὐθις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τει-  
χομαχήσοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν,  
'Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἀπογνόντες, ἀτε τετελευτηκότος σφίσι  
τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἱκέται διενοοῦντο Χοσρόου γενέ-  
13 σθαι· τῇ οὖν ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς πόλεως  
ἐπίσκοπον δεησόμενόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἔξαιτη-

<sup>1</sup> τις οἱ Β(ιζαντίη) : πως δ P.

from of old. This Odonathus rescued for the Romans the Eastern Empire when it had come under the power of the Medes ; but this took place in former times. Chosroes then came near to Zenobia, but upon learning that the place was not important and observing that the land was untenanted and destitute of all good things, he feared lest any time spent by him there would be wasted on an affair of no consequence and would be a hindrance to great undertakings, and he attempted to force the place to surrender. But meeting with no success, he hastened his march forward.

After again accomplishing a journey of equal extent, he reached the city of Sura, which is on the River Euphrates, and stopped very close to it. There it happened that the horse on which Chosroes was riding neighed and stamped the ground with his foot. And the Magi considered the meaning of this incident and announced that the place would be captured. Chosroes then made camp and led his army against the fortifications to assail the wall. Now it happened that a certain Arsaces, an Armenian by birth, was commander of the soldiers in the town ; and he made the soldiers mount the parapets, and fighting from there most valiantly slew many of the enemy, but was himself struck by an arrow and died. And then, since it was late in the day, the Persians retired to their camp in order to assail the wall again on the following day ; but the Romans were in despair since their leader was dead, and were purposing to make themselves suppliants of Chosroes. On the following day, therefore, they sent the bishop of the city to plead for them and to beg that the town be

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σόμενον ἔπειμψαν, δις τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινας ἐπαγόμενος ὅρνις τε φέροντας καὶ οἰνον καὶ καθαρὸν ἄρτους, παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ δεδακρυμένος ἵκέτευε φείδεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οἰκτρῶν καὶ πόλεως Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀτιμοτάτης, Πέρσαις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὔτε τὰ πρότερα γεγενημένης οὔτε ὕστερόν ποτε ἐσομένης· λύτρα τέ οἱ τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς δώσειν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεως ἡσπερ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπαξίως

14 ὑπέσχετο. Χοσρόης δὲ Σουρηνοῖς μὲν χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ πρῶτοι περιπεπτωκότες Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων οὔτε τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο ἐθελούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταίρειν οἱ ὅπλα τολμήσαντες πολύν τινα δοκίμων Περσῶν διμλον ἔκτειναν.

15 τὴν μέντοι ὁργὴν οὐκ ἔξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀκριβῶς ἔκρυψεν, ὅπως τὴν κόλασιν ἐς Σουρηνοὺς ποιησάμενος φοβερόν τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἄμαχόν τινα καταστήσηται. οὕτω γάρ οἱ προσχωρήσειν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑπετόπαξε

16 τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ γενησομένους. διὸ δὴ ξύν τε φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἔξανέστησε, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος παρείχετό τινα δόκησιν ὡς ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σουρηνῶν λύτροις αὐτίκα κοινολογησόμενος Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εὐ τὴν δέησιν

17 διαθήσεται. οὕτω τε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀπεπέμψατο οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἐπιβούλης αἴσθησιν ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων τινὰς παραπομποὺς ἐσομένους δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ

18 ξυνέπειμψεν. οὗς δὴ λάθρᾳ ἐκέλευε μὲν ἰέναι ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρηγοροῦντας καὶ

spared ; so he took with him some of his attendants, who carried fowls and wine and clean loaves, and came before Chosroes ; there he threw himself on the ground, and with tears supplicated him to spare a pitiable population and a city altogether without honour in the eyes of the Romans, and one which in past times had never been of any account to the Persians, and which never would be such thereafter ; and he promised that the men of Sura would give him ransom worthy of themselves and the city which they inhabited. But Chosroes was angry with the townsmen because, being the first he had met of all the Romans, they had not willingly received him into their city, but even daring to raise their arms against him had slain a large number of Persian notables. However he did not disclose his anger, but carefully concealed it behind a smooth countenance, in order that by carrying out the punishment of the inhabitants of Sura he might make himself in the eyes of the Romans a fearful person and one not to be resisted. For by acting in this way he calculated that those who would from time to time come in his way would yield to him without trouble. Accordingly with great friendliness he caused the bishop to rise, and receiving the gifts, gave the impression, in a way, that he would immediately confer with the notables of the Persians concerning the ransom of the townsmen, and would settle their request favourably. Thus he dismissed the bishop and his following without any suspicion of the plot, and he sent with him certain of the men of note among the Persians, who were to be ostensibly an escort. These men he secretly commanded to go with him as far as the

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- τισιν ἀγαθαῖς ἐπαίροντας ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν  
καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας χαίροντάς τε καὶ  
19 οὐδὲν δεδιότας τοῖς ἔνδον ὁφθῆναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ  
οἱ φύλακες ἀνακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα τῇ πόλει  
αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι μέλλωσι, λίθον τινὰ ἡ ξύλου  
τοῦ τε οὐδοῦ καὶ τῆς θύρας μεταξὺ ρίψαντες οὐ  
ξυγχωρεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς  
ἐπιθεῖναι βουλομένοις χρόνον δή τινα ἐμποδὼν  
ἴστασθαι· οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν  
ἔψεσθαι.
- 20 Ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐντει-  
λάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο,  
δρόμῳ τε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅταν αὐτὸς  
21 σημήνῃ ἐκέλευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περι-  
βόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον  
ἀσπασάμενοι ἐκτὸς ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ Σουρηνὸι περι-  
χαρῇ γεγονότα τὸν ἄνδρα ὄρωντες ξὺν τιμῇ τε  
πολλῇ προπεμπόμενον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων,  
ἀφροντιστήσαντες δυσκόλων ἀπάντων τὴν τε  
πυλίδα δλην ἀνέψιγον καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ξὺν τοῖς  
ἐπομένοις κροτοῦντές τε καὶ πολλὰ εὐφημοῦντες  
22 ἐδέξαντο. ἐπεὶ τε ἅπαντες εἴσω ἐγένοντο, τὴν  
μὲν πυλίδα ὡς ἐπιθήσοντες οἱ φύλακες ὥθουν,  
οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι λίθον δις αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο ἐν  
23 μέσῳ ἐρρίπτουν. οἵ τε φύλακες ἔτι μᾶλλον  
ώθοῦντές τε καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἔξικνεῖσθαι τῇ πυλίδι  
24 ἐς τὸν οὐδὸν οὐδαμῇ ἵσχυον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνοι-  
γνύναι αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐτόλμων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν πολε-  
μίων αὐτὴν ἔχεσθαι ησθοντο. τινὲς δὲ οὐ λίθον,  
ἀλλὰ ξύλον Πέρσας ἐς τὴν πυλίδα φασὶν ἐμβε-  
25 βλῆσθαι. οὕπω δὲ Σουρηνῶν σχεδόν τι τῆς  
ἐπιβουλῆς ησθημένων, παρῆν τε τῷ παντὶ ὁ

wall, encouraging him and cheering him with fair hopes, so that he and all those with him should be seen by those inside rejoicing and fearing nothing. But when the guards had set the gate open and were about to receive them into the city, they were to throw a stone or block of wood between the threshold and the gate and not allow them to shut it, but should themselves for a time stand in the way of those who wished to close it; for not long afterwards the army would follow them.

After giving these directions to the men Chosroes made ready the army, and commanded them to advance upon the city on the run whenever he should give the signal. So when they came close to the fortifications, the Persians bade farewell to the bishop and remained outside, and the townsmen, seeing that the man was exceedingly happy and that he was being escorted in great honour by the enemy, forgetting all their difficulties opened the gate wide, and received the priest and his following with clapping of hands and much shouting. And when all got inside, the guards began to push the gate in order to close it, but the Persians flung down a stone, which they had provided, between it and the threshold. And the guards pushed and struggled still more, but were quite unable to get the gate back to the threshold. On the other hand they dared not open it again, since they perceived that it was held by the enemy. But some say that it was not a stone but a block of wood which the Persians threw into the gateway. When the townsmen had as yet scarcely realized the plot, Chosroes was at

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Χοσρόης στρατῷ καὶ τὴν πυλίδα οἱ βάρβαροι  
 βιασάμενοι ἀνεπέτασαν, δι’ ὀλίγου τε κατὰ  
 26 κράτος ἦλω. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης  
 ἔχόμενος τὰς τε οἰκίας ἐληίσατο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαν-  
 τας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενος λόγῳ πυρπο-  
 λήσας τε ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖ-  
 27 λεν. οὕτω τε τὸν<sup>1</sup> Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο,  
 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅπῃ.  
 ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καθάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἴη.  
 28 Μετὰ δέ, εἴτε φιλανθρωπίᾳ εἴτε φιλοχρηματίᾳ  
 ἔχόμενος, ἡ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος ἦν δὴ ἐνθένδε  
 δορυάλωτον ἔξελών, Εὐφημίαν ὄνομα, γυναικα  
 γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἔρωτα ἔξαίσιον αὐτῆς ἐρα-  
 σθείς (ἥν γὰρ τὴν ὅψιν εὐπρεπής μάλιστα) δρᾶν τι  
 29 ἀγαθὸν ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς ἔγνω. πέμψας  
 οὖν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν, τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον, ἥ  
 Σεργίουν ἐπιφανοῦς ἀγίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, πόλεως  
 τῆς ἀλούσης ἐξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις  
 διέχουσα, κειμένη δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον  
 ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ, Κάνδιδον  
 τὸν ταύτη ἐπισκοπὸν κεντημαρίοιν δυοῦν δισχι-  
 λίους τε καὶ μυρίους ὄντας ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς αὐχμα-  
 30 λώτους ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δέ (χρήματα γάρ οἱ οὐκ  
 ἔφασκεν εἶναι) τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς ἀνεδύετο.  
 διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου ἐν βιβλιδίῳ τὴν  
 ὄμολογίαν ἀφέντα τοῦ δώσειν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ  
 τὰ χρήματα οὕτω δὴ ὀλίγων χρημάτων πρίασθαι  
 31 ἀνδράποδα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος. Κάνδιδος δὲ  
 κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ὡμολό-  
 γησεν ἐνιαυτοῦ δώσειν, ὅρκους δεινοτάτους ὀμω-

<sup>1</sup> οὕτω τε τὸν PH : οὕτε τὸν Ν, τὸν τε G.

hand with his whole army, and the barbarians forced back and flung open the gate, which was soon carried by storm. Straightway, then, Chosroes, filled with wrath, plundered the houses and put to death great numbers of the population ; all the remainder he reduced to slavery, and setting fire to the whole city razed it to the ground. Then he dismissed Anastasius, bidding him announce to the Emperor Justinian where in the world he had left Chosroes, son of Cabades.

Afterwards either through motives of humanity or of avarice, or as granting a favour to a woman whom he had taken as a captive from the city, Euphemia by name, Chosroes decided to show some kindness to the inhabitants of Sura ; for he had conceived for this woman an extraordinary love (for she was exceedingly beautiful to look upon), and had made her his wedded wife. He sent, accordingly, to Sergiopolis, a city subject to the Romans, named from Sergius, a famous saint, distant from the captured city one hundred and twenty-six stades and lying to the south of it in the so-called Barbarian Plain, and bade Candidus, the bishop of the city, purchase the captives, twelve thousand in number, for two centenaria. But the bishop, alleging that he had no money, refused absolutely to undertake the matter. Chosroes therefore requested him to set down in a document the agreement that he would give the money at a later time, and thus to purchase for a small sum such a multitude of slaves. Candidus did as directed, promising to give the money within a year, and swore the most dire oaths,

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μοκώς, ζημίαν δέ οἱ αὐτῷ διώρισε ταύτην, ἦν μὴ διδοίη χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ τὰ χρήματα, διπλάσια μὲν αὐτὰ δώσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἵερέα μηκέτι 32 εἶναι, ἄτε τὰ ὀμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότα. ταῦτα Κάνδιδος ἐν γραμματείῳ γράψας τοὺς Σουρῆνοὺς 33 ἅπαντας ἔλαβεν. ὃν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες διεβίωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀντέχειν τῇ ξυμπεσούσῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ οὐχ οἰοί τε ὅντες ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα διαπέραγμένος Χοσρόης πρόσω ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα.

## VI

- 1 'Ετύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἕω τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα δις ξύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ πρότερα είχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων τῷ Βούζῃ ἐπιτρέψας, διν δὴ ἀπάσης ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς ἑώας ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισάριος ἐξ
- 2 'Ιταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε. διὸ δὴ ὁ Βούζης ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἐπόμενον ἔχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως<sup>1</sup> ἐμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα Σουρῆνοὺς ἔμαθε, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς
- 3 'Ιεραπολιτῶν πρώτους ἐλεξε τοιάδε "Οἶς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὁ ἀγών ἔστιν, ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος καθίστασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεεστέροις

<sup>1</sup> Ἱεραπόλεως Lindorf: ιερᾶς πόλεως MSS.

specifying that he should receive the following punishment if he should not give the money at the time agreed upon, that he should pay double the amount and should himself be no longer a priest, as one who had neglected his sworn promise. And after setting down these things in writing, Candidus received all the inhabitants of Sura. And some few among them survived, but the majority, unable to support the misery which had fallen to their lot, succumbed soon afterwards. After the settlement of this affair Chosroes led his army forward.

VI

IT had happened a little before this that the emperor had divided into two parts the military command of the East, leaving the portion as far as the River Euphrates under the control of Belisarius who formerly held the command of the whole, while the portion from there as far as the Persian boundary he entrusted to Bouzes, commanding him to take charge of the whole territory of the East until Belisarius should return from Italy. Bouzes therefore at first remained at Hierapolis, keeping his whole army with him; but when he learned what had befallen Sura, he called together the first men of the Hierapolitans and spoke as follows: " Whenever men are confronted with a struggle against an assailant with whom they are evenly matched in strength, it is not at all unreasonable that they should engage in open conflict with the enemy; but for those who are by comparison much inferior

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ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, μηχανᾶς τισι τοὺς πολεμίους περιελθεῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀντιτασσομένοις ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα προῦπτον ἵέναι.

4 ἡλίκος μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ὁ Χοσρόου στρατὸς ἀκούετε δήπου. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πολιορκίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἔξελεῖν βούληται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείψειν εἰκός, Πέρσας δὲ ἄπαντα<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐδενὸς 5 ἀντιστατοῦντος κομίζεσθαι. ταύτη τε τῆς πολιορκίας μηκυνομένης, οὐδὲ ἀρκέσειν τὸν περίβολον ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλαῖς οἷμαι, δν δὴ ἐπιμαχώτατον πολλαχόσε τετύχηκεν εἶναι, καὶ 6 τι Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀνηκέστων ξυμβήσεσθαι. ἦν δέ γε μοίρᾳ μέν τινι τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξωμεν τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπωρείας καταλάβωσιν, ἐνθένδε καταθέοντες πὴ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, πὴ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνεκα στελλομένους, ἀναγκάσουσι Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα λύσαντα τὴν προσεδρείαν, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν δι' ὀλίγου ποιήσασθαι, οὕτε τὰς προσβολὰς ἀδεέστερον ἐπάγειν τῷ περιβόλῳ παντελῶς ἔχοντα οὕτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων στρατῷ τοσούτῳ πορίζεσθαι.”

7 τοσαῦτα ὁ Βούζης εἰπὼν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ξύμφορα ἔδοξεν, ἐπραξε δὲ τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν. ἀπολέξας γὰρ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ δόκιμον ἦν,

8 ἀπὶών ὥχετο. καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὕτε τις τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει Ῥωμαίων οὕτε ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς μαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

<sup>1</sup> ἄπαντα P : ἄπαντας VG.

to their opponents it will be more advantageous to circumvent their enemy by some kind of tricks than to array themselves openly against them and thus enter into foreseen danger. How great, now, the army of Chosroes is you are assuredly informed. And if, with this army, he wishes to capture us by siege, and if we carry on the fight from the wall, it is probable that, while our supplies will fail us, the Persians will secure all they need from our land, where there will be no one to oppose them. And if the siege is prolonged in this way, I believe too that the fortification wall will not withstand the assaults of the enemy, for in many places it is most susceptible to attack, and thus irreparable harm will come to the Romans. But if with a portion of the army we guard the wall of the city, while the rest of us occupy the heights about the city, we shall make attacks from there at times upon the camp of our antagonists, and at times upon those who are sent out for the sake of provisions, and thus compel Chosroes to abandon the siege immediately and to make his retreat within a short time; for he will not be at all able to direct his attack without fear against the fortifications, nor to provide any of the necessities for so great an army." So spoke Bouzes; and in his words he seemed to set forth the advantageous course of action, but of what was necessary he did nothing. For he chose out all that portion of the Roman army which was of marked excellence and was off. And where in the world he was neither any of the Romans in Hierapolis, nor the hostile army was able to learn. Such, then, was the course of these events.

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- 9 Βασίλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πυθόμενος τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, Γερμανὸν μὲν εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τριακοσίους ἐπόμενους ἔχοντα ἐπεμψε, στρατὸν δέ οἱ οὐκ ἔστι  
10 μακρὰν ὑπέσχετο πολὺν ἔψεσθαι. ἐς τε Ἀντιόχειαν ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφικόμενος περιῆλθε τὸν περίβολον ἄπαντα κύκλῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔχυρὰ μὲν ὅντα τὰ πολλὰ ηὔρισκε (τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὄμαλεῖ ποταμὸς Ὁρόντης παραρρεῖ ξύμπαντα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἄπορα ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ἀνεχόμενα ἐσβατὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν), ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος, ἦν δὴ Ὁροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταυτὴ ἀνθρωποι νενομίκασιν, ἐπιμαχώταν κατενόησεν δὲ τὸ κατ'  
11 αὐτὴν τεῖχος. πέτρα γὰρ τυγχάνει τις ἐνταῦθα πη οὖσα, εὔρους μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἰκανῶς ἔχουσα, ἕψις δὲ ὀλίγῳ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐλασσουμένη.  
12 ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἡ τὴν πέτραν ἀποτεμομένους βαθύν τινα βόθρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐργάζεσθαι, μή τις ἐνθένδε ἀναβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἵοι, ἡ πύργον μέγαν τινὰ δειμαμένους ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει.  
13 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν ἀρχιτέκτοσι ποιητέα τούτων ἐδόκει οὐδέτερα εἶναι. οὗτε γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ ἐπιτελῇ ἔσεσθαι οὕτως ἐγκειμένης τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἔφόδου, ὑρχόμενοί τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξεικνούμενοι οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἡ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείξονται ὅπῃ ποτὲ τοῦ  
14 τείχους σφίσι πολεμητέα εἴη. Γερμανὸς δὲ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐννοίας σφαλείς, τὰ μὲν πρώτα στρατὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου καραδοκῶν ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰχεν.  
15 ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ οὗτε τις ἐκ

But the Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, immediately sent his nephew Germanus with three hundred followers in great disorder, promising that after no great time a numerous army would follow. And Germanus, upon reaching Antioch, went around the whole circuit of the wall; and the greater part of it he found secure, for along that portion of it which lies on the level ground the River Orontes flows, making it everywhere difficult of access, and the portion which is on higher ground rises upon steep hills and is quite inaccessible to the enemy; but when he attained the highest point, which the men of that place are accustomed to call Orocias, he noticed that the wall at that point was very easy to assail. For there happens to be in that place a rock, which spreads out to a very considerable width, and rises to a height only a little less than the fortifications. He therefore commanded that they should either cut off the rock by making a deep ditch along the wall, lest anyone should essay to mount from there upon the fortifications, or that they should build upon it a great tower and connect its structure with the wall of the city. But to the architects of public buildings it seemed that neither one of these things should be done. For, as they said, the work would not be completed in a short time with the attack of the enemy so imminent, while if they began this work and did not carry it to completion, they would do nothing else than show to the enemy at what point in the wall they should make their attack. Germanus, though disappointed in this plan, had some hope at first because he expected an army from Byzantium. But when, after considerable time had passed, no

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- βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφίκετο οὕτε ὅτι ἀφίξεται ἐπίδοξος ἦν, ἐς δέος ἡλθε μὴ ὁ Χοσρόης πυθόμενος βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, προυργιαίτερον ἄλλου ὃτουοῦν ποιήσηται Ἀντιόχειάν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἔξελεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων  
 16 ἀφέμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵοι. ταῦτα καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι βουλήν τε ὑπὲρ τούτων πεποιημένοις ἔξυμφορώτατον<sup>1</sup> ἔδοξεν εἶναι χρήματα προεμένοις Χοσρόῃ κίνδυνον τὸν παρόντα διαφυγεῖν.  
 17 Μέγαν τοίνυν, τὸν Βεροίας ἐπίσκοπον, ἄνδρα ἔνυνετόν (ἐπιχωριάζων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανε τότε) Χοσρόου δεησόμενον πέμπουσιν, δις δὴ ἐνθένδε σταλεὶς καταλαμβάνει τὸν Μῆδων στρατὸν Ἰερα-  
 18 πόλεως<sup>2</sup> οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν. Χοσρόη τε ἐς ὅψιν ἥκων πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει ἀνθρώπους οἰκτεῖραι οἱ οὕτε τι ἐς αὐτὸν ἥμαρτον οὕτε τῇ Περσῶν στρα-  
 19 τιὰν οἰοί τε ἀντιτείνειν εἰσί. πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ πάντων ἥκιστα τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσι καὶ οὐδὲμη ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιτάσσεσθαι ἐπεμβαίνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν δρωμένων βασιλικόν τι οὐδὲ γενναῖον αὐτῷ ἐργασθείη, ὅτι δὴ οὐ παρασχόμενος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ βουλῆς τινα χρόνον, ὥστε ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνασθαι, ὅπη ἀνέκατέρῳ δοκοίη, ἡ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ συνθήκης, ως τὸ εἴκός, ἔξαρτύεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἔλθοι, οὕπω τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως ἐπισταμένου τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ἔξυμφορώτατον VG : ἀναγκαιώτατον P.

<sup>2</sup> Ἱεραπόλεως VG : Ἱερᾶς πόλεως PH.

army arrived from the emperor nor was expected to arrive, he began to fear lest Chosroes, learning that the emperor's nephew was there, would consider it more important than any other thing to capture Antioch and himself, and for this reason would neglect everything else and come against the city with his whole army. The natives of Antioch also had these things in mind, and they held a council concerning them, at which it seemed most advisable to offer money to Chosroes and thus escape the present danger.

Accordingly they sent Megas, the bishop of Beroea, a man of discretion who at that time happened to be tarrying among them, to beg for mercy from Chosroes; and departing from there he came upon the Median army not far from Hierapolis. And coming into the presence of Chosroes, he entreated him earnestly to have pity upon men who had committed no offence against him and who were not able to hold out against the Persian army. For it was becoming to a king least of all men to trample upon and do violence to those who retreated before him and were quite unwilling to array themselves against him; for not one of the things which he was then doing was a kingly or honourable act, because, without affording any time for consideration to the Roman emperor, so that he might either make the peace secure as might seem well to both sovereigns, or make his preparations for war in accordance with a mutual agreement, as was to be expected, he had thus recklessly advanced in arms against the Romans, while their emperor did not as yet know what had

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- 20 παρόντα σφίσι. ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας λόγῳ  
ξυνετῷ τὸν τρόπον ῥυθμίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας  
οὐδαμῶς ἵσχυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν διάνοιαν  
21 ἡ πρότερον ἦρθη. Σύρους τε οὖν ἡπείρησε κατα-  
στρέψασθαι καὶ Κίλικας πάντας, καὶ οἱ τὸν  
Μέγαν ἐπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν<sup>1</sup> ἐπῆγε  
22 τὸ στράτευμα. οὐ δὴ ἀφικόμενός τε καὶ ἐνστρα-  
τοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τόν τε περιβόλον ὁχυρὸν  
ὄντα εἶδε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔμαθε φυλακτήριον  
διαρκῶς ἔχειν, χρήματα τοὺς Ἱεραπολίτας ἔτει,  
23 Παῦλον ἐρμηνέα παρ’ αὐτοὺς πέμψας. ὁ δὲ Παῦ-  
λος οὗτος ἐτέθραπτό τε ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ  
εἰς γραμματιστοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐφοίτησεν,  
ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖος γένος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι.  
24 οἱ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ  
δειμαίνοντες, χώραν περιβεβλημένῳ πολλὴν με-  
χρι ἐς τὸ ὅρος δ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν  
γῆν ἀδήστον ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ὡμολόγησαν ἀργύ-  
25 ρους σταθμὰ δισχίλια δώσειν. τότε δὴ Μέγας  
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑώρων ἀπάντων Χοσρόην ἰκετεύων  
οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἔως αὐτῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ὡμολόγησε  
δέκα τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια λήψεσθαι καὶ πάσης  
ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

## VII

- 1 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ τε Μέγας  
ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας  
ῆλαυνε καὶ ὁ Χοσρόης τὰ λύτρα λαβὼν ἐς Βέροιαν

<sup>1</sup> Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf: Ἱερὰν πόλιν VGP, Ἱερὰν πόλην superscr. o H.

come upon them. When Chosroes heard this, he was utterly unable by reason of his stupidity to order his mind with reason and discretion, but still more than before he was lifted up in spirit. He therefore threatened to destroy all the Syrians and Cilicians, and bidding Megas follow him, he led his army to Hierapolis. When he had come there and established his camp, since he saw that the fortifications were strong and learned that the city was well garrisoned with soldiers, he demanded money from the Hierapolitans, sending to them Paulus as interpreter. This Paulus had been reared in Roman territory and had gone to an elementary school in Antioch, and besides he was said to be by birth of Roman extraction. But in spite of everything the inhabitants were exceedingly fearful for the fortifications, which embraced a large tract of land as far as the hill which rises there, and besides they wished to preserve their land unplundered; accordingly they agreed to give two thousand pounds of silver. Then indeed Megas entreated Chosroes in behalf of all the inhabitants of the East, and would not cease his entreaty, until Chosroes promised him that he would accept ten centenaria of gold and depart from the whole Roman empire.

## VII

THUS, then, on that day Megas departed thence and went on the way to Antioch, while Chosroes after receiving the ransom was moving toward Beroea.

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- 2 ήσει. Βέροια δὲ Ἀντιοχείας μὲν καὶ Ἱεραπόλεως  
 μεταξὺ κεῖται, δυοῦν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὅδῳ εὐζωνφ ἀνδρὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 3 ἐκατέρας διέχει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέγας ἄτε ξὺν ὀλίγοις  
 τισὶ πορευομένος ὀξύτερον ήσει, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν  
 στρατὸς μοῖραν ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἤνυε.  
 4 τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ  
 5 Βεροίας προάστειον ἥλθον. καὶ χρήματα Χοσρόης  
 τοὺς Βεροιαίους τὸν Παῦλον στείλας εὐθὺς ἐπρατ-  
 τεν, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς τῶν Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἔλαβε μόνον,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διπλάσια, ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup>  
 6 ἐπιμαχώτατον ὃν πολλαχῆ εἶδε. Βεροιαῖοι δέ  
 (θαρρεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐδαμῇ εἰχον) ξὺν  
 προθυμίᾳ μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο ἀπαντα δώσειν, δισ-  
 χίλια δὲ δόντες ἀργύρου σταθμά, τὰ λειπόμενα  
 7 διδόναι οὐκ ἔφασαν οἷοί τε εἶναι. ἐγκειμένου τε  
 σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα Χοσρόου, νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐς  
 τὸ φρούριον ἀπαντες δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐστὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 κατέφυγον ξὺν τοῖς [ἄλλοις]<sup>2</sup> στρατιώταις, οἱ δὲ  
 8 ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ  
 ἡμέρᾳ ἐστέλλοντο μὲν πρὸς Χοσρόου ἐς τὴν πόλιν  
 . τινὲς ἐφ' ὧ τὰ χρήματα λήψουνται, οἱ δὲ ἀγχιστά  
 πη τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένας μὲν τὰς  
 πύλας ἀπάσας εύρουν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐντυχεῖν  
 ἔχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελ-  
 9 λον. καὶ δις τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἐπιθέντας ἀπο-  
 πειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀνόδου ἐκέλευεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα  
 10 ἐποίουν. οὐδενός τε σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐντὸς  
 τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰς μὲν πύλας κατ'  
 11 ἔξουσίαν ἀνέψωγον, ἐδέχοντο δὲ τῇ πόλει τόν τε  
 στρατὸν ἀπαντα καὶ Χοσρόην αὐτόν. θυμῷ τε

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς VG : αὐτῆς PH.

<sup>2</sup> ἄλλοις VG : om. PH.

This city lies between Antioch and Hierapolis, at a distance from both of two days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. Now while Megas, who travelled with a small company, advanced very quickly, the Persian army was accomplishing only one half of the distance which he travelled each day. And so on the fourth day he reached Antioch, while the Persians came to the suburb of Beroea. And Chosroes immediately sent Paulus and demanded money of the Beroeans, not only as much as he had received from the Hierapolitans, but double the amount, since he saw that their wall in many places was very vulnerable. As for the Beroeans, since they could by no means place confidence in their fortifications, they gladly agreed to give all, but after giving two thousand pounds of silver, they said that they were not able to give the remainder. And since Chosroes pressed them on this account, on the following night all of them fled for refuge into the fortress which is on the acropolis together with the soldiers who had been stationed there to guard the place. And on the following day men were sent to the city by Chosroes in order to receive the money; but on coming near the fortifications they found all the gates closed, and being unable to discover any man, they reported the situation to the king. And he commanded them to set ladders against the wall and to make trial of mounting it, and they did as directed. Then since no one opposed them, they got inside the fortifications and opened the gates at their leisure, and received into the city the whole army and Chosroes himself. By this time the king was furious

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- πολλῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἥδη ἔχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐνέπρησε πᾶσαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν  
12 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται καρτερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἔκτεινον, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ εὐτύχημα μέγα τῷ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἀξινέτῳ γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, οἱ δὴ οὐ μόνοι ἐς τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ξύν τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ζῷοις τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέφυγον, ταύτη τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ  
13 καταστρατηγηθέντες ἐς κίνδυνον ἥλθον. μιᾶς γὰρ οὕσης ἐνταῦθα πηγῆς, ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ ζώων ἑτέρων οὐ δέον αὐτὴν ἐκπεπωκότων, ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη τὸ ὄδωρ. Βεροιαίους μὲν τὰ πράγματα ὡδέ πῃ εἶχεν.  
14 Ὁ δὲ Μέγας εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενος ἀγγεῖλας τε ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Χοσρόην ξυνέκειτο, ἔργῳ  
15 ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδαμῆ ἐπειθεὶν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Ῥουφίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμματέα πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην στείλας. ἀσηκρήτις καλοῦσι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι· σήκρητα γὰρ  
16 καλεῦν τὰ ἀπόρρητα νεναμίκασιν. οἱ δὴ ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενοι ἔμενον. Ἰουλιανός τε, τῶν πρέσβεων ἄτερος, διαρρήδην ἀπεῖπεν ἄπασι χρήματα μὴ διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδὲ τὰς βασιλέως ὠνεῖσθαι πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Γερμανῷ διέβαλλε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐφραίμιον, ἄτε τῷ Χοσρῷ ἐνδοῦναι  
17 τὴν πόλιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντα. διὸ δὴ Μέγας ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἐφραίμιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, δείσας τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐς  
18 Κιλικιας ἥλθεν. οὐ δὴ καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀφικετο οὐ

with anger and he fired nearly the whole city. He then mounted the acropolis and decided to storm the fortress. There indeed the Roman soldiers while valiantly defending themselves slew some of the enemy; but Chosroes was greatly favoured by fortune by reason of the folly of the besieged, who had not sought refuge in this fortress by themselves, but along with all their horses and other animals, and by this inconsiderate act they were placed at a great disadvantage and began to be in danger. For since there was only one spring there and the horses and mules and other animals drank from it when they should not have done so, it came about that the water was exhausted. Such, then, was the situation of the Beroeans.

Megas, upon reaching Antioch and announcing the terms arranged by him with Chosroes, failed utterly to persuade them to carry-out this agreement. For it happened that the Emperor Justinian had sent John, the son of Rufinus, and Julian, his private<sup>1</sup> secretary, as ambassadors to Chosroes. The person holding this office is styled "a secretis" by the Romans; for secrets they are accustomed to call "secreta." These men had reached Antioch and were remaining there. Now Julian, one of the ambassadors, explicitly forbade everybody to give money to the enemy, or to purchase the cities of the emperor, and besides he denounced to Germanus the chief priest Ephraemius, as being eager to deliver over the city to Chosroes. For this reason Megas returned unsuccessful. But Ephraemius, the bishop of Antioch, fearing the attack of the Persians, went into Cilicia. There too came Germanus not long after-

<sup>1</sup> "Secretary of secrets."

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πολλῷ ὕστερον, ὀλίγους μέν τινας ἐπαγόμενος,  
τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ἔάσας.

- 19 Μέγας δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς Βέροιαν ἥκων περιώδυνός τε τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος ἡτιάτο Χοσρόην εἰργάσθαι Βεροιαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ώς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς στείλειε, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικηκότων τά τε χρήματα ἐληίσατο καὶ ἡνάγκασε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι, οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας ἐς τὸ 20 ἔδαφος οὐ δέον καθεῖλε. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπεκρίνατο ὡδε “Τούτων μέντοι, ὡς ἔταιρε, αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρίψαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ 21 τούτου γε ὑστερήσας ταῦτην ἀφίξαι. τῶν δὲ σῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τί ἄν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὡς βέλτιστε, μακρολογοίη; οἵ γε τακτὸν ἡμῖν ὠμολογηκότες ἀργύριον δώσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, οὕπω καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν οἴονται δεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ἀλλ’ ἀνέδην οὕτω χωρίου ἵσχυΐ θαρσήσαντες περιορῶσιν ἡμᾶς ώς μαλιστα ἡναγκασμένους ἐς φρουρίου πολιορκίαν, ώς ὄρᾶς 22 δήπου, καθίστασθαι. οὓς γε δὴ ἔγωγε ξὺν θεοῖς ἐλπίδα ἔχω ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τίσασθαι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ Περσῶν τῶν μοι οὐ δέον πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἀπολωλότων τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τοὺς αἴτιους ἐπι- 23 τελέσειν.” ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ Μέγας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὡδε “Εἰ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμοτάτοις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖς,<sup>2</sup> σκοπήσειεν ἄν τις, ἀνάγκη μηδὲν

<sup>1</sup> τίσασθαι MSS. : τίσεσθαι Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπικαλεῖς Hoeschel : ἐπικαλεῖ MSS.

wards, taking with him some few men but leaving the most of them in Antioch.

Megas then came in haste to Beroea, and in vexation at what had taken place, he charged Chosroes with having treated the Beroeans outrageously; for while, as it seemed, he had sent him to Antioch to arrange the treaty, he had both plundered the property of the citizens, though they had committed no wrong at all, and had compelled them to shut themselves up in that fortress, and had then set fire to the city and razed it to the ground in defiance of right. To this Chosroes replied as follows: "Verily, my friend, you yourself are responsible for these things, in having compelled us to delay here; for as it is, you have arrived, not at the appointed time, but far behind it. And as for the strange conduct of your fellow-citizens, my most excellent sir, why should one make speeches of great length? For after agreeing to give us a fixed amount of silver for their own safety, they even now do not think it necessary to fulfil the agreement, but placing such complete confidence in the strength of their position, they are disregarding us absolutely, while we are compelled to undertake the siege of a fortress, as you surely see. But for my part, I have hope that with the help of the gods I shall have vengeance upon them shortly, and execute upon the guilty the punishment for the Persians whom I have lost wrongfully before this wall." So spoke Chosroes, and Megas replied as follows: "If one should consider that as king thou art making these charges against men who are in pitiable and most dishonoured plight, he would be compelled without a word of protest to agree with what thou

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ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν· τῇ γὰρ  
ἔξουσίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κρατεῖν ἔπεσθαι  
24 πέφυκεν· ἡν δέ τῷ ἐξῆ τάλλα ἀποσεισαμένῳ τὸν  
ἄληθῃ λόγον ἐλέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἀν ἡμῖν, ὡς βασιλεῦ,  
δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοις· ὅπως δὲ ἅπαντα ἀκούσῃ  
25 πράως. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπερ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν  
ἐπήγγελλει, δηλώσων ἐστάλην, ἐβδομαῖός σοι ἐσ  
ὄψιν ἥκων (οὐ τί ἀν γενέσθαι δύναιτο θᾶσσον;) ταῦτά σοι ἐξειργασμένα ἐσ πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν εὑρον.  
26 οἱ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἥδη τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐκστάντες,  
εἴτα ἐσ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα καθίστανται μόνον,  
κρείσσους, οἷμαι, γεγενημένοι ἡ σοί τι τὸ λοιπὸν  
27 τῶν χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκτινύναι τι  
τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπῳ ἀν οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανὴ<sup>2</sup>  
28 γένοιτο. πάλαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐ τε καὶ  
καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄνόματα· ἐν  
οἷς καὶ τόδε ἐστίν, ἀγνωμοσύνης κεχωρίσθαι  
29 ἀσθένειαν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τρόπου ἀκολασίᾳ ἐσ τὸ  
ἀντιτείνειν χωροῦσα μισεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,  
εἴωθεν, ἡ δὲ τῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας ἀδυνάτῳ ἐσ ταῦτὸ  
τοῦτο ἐκφερομένῃ ἐλεεῖσθαι ἵκανῷ πέφυκεν.  
30 ἔασον τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὡς βασιλεῦ, κληρω-  
σαμένους τὰ χείριστα τοῦτο γοῦν φέρεσθαι  
παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων  
31 ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους<sup>1</sup> γενέσθαι. καὶ χρήματα μέν  
σοι ὅσα λαβὼν ἔχεις διαρκεῖν οἶου, μὴ τῷ σῷ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς αἰτίους Haury : αὐτοῖς αἰτίοις (αἰτίας H) MSS.

hast said ; for authority which is unlimited is bound by its very nature to carry with it also supremacy in argument ; but if one be permitted to shake off all else and to espouse the truth of the matter, thou wouldest have, O King, nothing with which justly to reproach us ; but mayst thou hear all mildly. First, as for me, since the time when I was sent to declare to the men of Antioch the message which thou didst send them, seven days have passed (and what could be done more quickly than this ?) and now coming into thy presence I find these things accomplished by thee against my fatherland ; but these men, having already lost all that is most valuable, thereafter have only one struggle to engage in—that for life—and have come, I think, so to be masters of the situation that they can no longer be compelled to pay thee any of the money. For to pay a thing which one does not possess could not be made possible for a man by any device. From of old indeed have the names of things been well and suitably distinguished by men ; and among these distinctions is this, that want of power is separated from want of consideration. For when the latter by reason of intemperance of mind proceeds to resistance, it is accustomed to be detested, as is natural, but when the former, because of the impossibility of performing a service, is driven to the same point, it deserves to be pitied. Permit, therefore, O King, that, while we receive as our portion all the direst misfortunes, we may take with us this consolation at least, that we should not seem to have been ourselves responsible for the things which have befallen us. And as for money, consider that what thou hast taken into thy possession is sufficient for thee, not weighing this by thy

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ταῦτα σταθμώμενος ἀξιώματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βεροι-  
32 αίων σκοπῶν δύναμιν. περαιτέρω δὲ ἡμᾶς βιάζου  
μηδέν, μή ποτε δόξῃς οἰς ἐγκεχείρηκας ἀδύνατος  
εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀμηχάνῳ  
τετίμηται· τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐγχειρεῖν  
33 κράτιστον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι ἀπολελογήσθω  
ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε. ἦν δέ  
γε τοῖς ταλαιπώροις ξυγγενέσθαι δυνατὸς εἴην,  
ἔχοιμι ἂν τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν νῦν με λεληθότων  
34 εἰπεῖν.” τοσαῦτα τὸν Μέγαν εἰπόντα ὁ Χοσρόης  
ἔς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀφῆκεν ἵέναι. ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα  
γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ  
μαθὼν ἅπαντα, δεδακρυμένος τε παρὰ Χοσρόην  
αὐθις ἀφίκετο καὶ πρηνὴς κείμενος οὐδὲν μὲν  
Βεροιαίοις ἴσχυρίζετο ἀπολελεῦθαι τῶν πάντων  
χρημάτων, μόνα δέ οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκέτευε  
35 χαριεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα. ταῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δλο-  
φύρσεσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἡγμένος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ  
ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ διομοσάμενος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν ἀκρο-  
36 πόλει τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. Βεροιαῖοι δὲ παρὰ  
τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθόντες, ἀπέλιπόν τε τὴν  
ἀκρόπολιν ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν καὶ ἀπιόντες φέροντο  
37 ὡς ἔκαστος πη· ἐβούλετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν  
δλίγοι μὲν αὐτοῖς τινες εἶποντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι  
ἐθελούσιοι παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτόμολοι ἥλθον, ἐπι-  
καλούντες ὅτι δὴ τὰς συντάξεις χρόνου μακροῦ  
σφίσι τὸ δημόσιον ὠφλε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὕστερον  
ἔς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἔχώρησαν.

position, but with regard to the power of the Beroeans. But beyond this do not force us in any way, lest perchance thou shouldst seem unable to accomplish the thing to which thou hast set thy hand ; for excess is always punished by meeting obstacles that cannot be overcome, and the best course is not to essay the impossible. Let this, then, be my defence for the moment in behalf of these men. But if I should be able to have converse with the sufferers, I should have something else also to say which has now escaped me." So spoke Megas, and Chosroes permitted him to go into the acropolis. And when he had gone there and learned all that had happened concerning the spring, weeping he came again before Chosroes, and lying prone on the ground insisted that no money at all was left to the Beroeans, and entreated him to grant him only the lives of the men. Moved by the tearful entreaties of the man Chosroes fulfilled his request, and binding himself by an oath, gave pledges to all on the acropolis. Then the Beroeans, after coming into such great danger, left the acropolis free from harm, and departing went each his own way. Among the soldiers some few followed them, but the majority came as willing deserters to Chosroes, putting forth as their grievance that the government owed them their pay for a long time ; and with him they later went into the land of Persia.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## VIII

- 1 Χοσρόης δέ (καὶ γάρ οἱ Μέγας χρήματα  
ἔφασκεν οὐδαμῆ πεπεικέναι Ἀντιοχέας φέρειν)  
2 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει. Ἀντιοχέων δέ  
τινες μὲν ἐνθένθε ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔξαναστάντες  
ἔφευγον ὡς ἔκαστος πη ἐδύνατο. ταῦτὸ δὲ τοῦτο  
διενοοῦντο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες, εἰ μὴ μεταξὺ<sup>1</sup>  
ἡκούντες οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες,  
Θεόκτιστός τε καὶ Μολάτζης, ξὺν ἔξακισχιλίοις  
ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίσι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιρρώσαντες διεκώ-  
3 λυσαν. οὐδὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ Περσῶν  
στράτευμα ἥλθεν. ἐνταῦθά τε διεσκηνημένοι  
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες πρός τε Ὁρόντη τῷ  
4 ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν. Χοσρόης  
τε Παῦλου παρὰ τὸν περίβολον στείλας τοὺς  
Ἀντιοχέας χρήματα ἤτει, δέκα χρυσοῦ κεντη-  
ναρίων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ἐνθένδε,<sup>1</sup> ἔνδηλός τε θῆν  
καὶ τούτων ἐλάσσω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ληψό-  
5 μενος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡκούντες παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην  
οἱ πρέσβεις, εἰπόντες τε ἀμφὶ τῇ διαλύσει τῆς  
εἰρήνης πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀκούσαντες  
6 ἀνεχώρησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιο-  
χέων ὁ δῆμος (εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένοι,  
ἄλλὰ γελοίοις τε καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἵκανῶς ἔχονται)  
πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ὑβριζόν τε ἀπὸ τῶν  
7 ἐπάλξεων καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι ἀκόσμῳ ἐτάθαζον· καὶ  
Παῦλου τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγὺς ἡκούτα παραινοῦντά

<sup>1</sup> Haury suggests ἐνθένδε <διολογῶν>.

## VIII

THEN Chosroes (since Megas said that he had by no means persuaded the inhabitants of Antioch to bring him the money) went with his whole army against them. Some of the population of Antioch thereupon departed from there with their money and fled as each one could. And all the rest likewise were purposing to do the same thing, and would have done so had not the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Theoctistus and Molatzes, who arrived in the meantime with six thousand men, fortified them with hope and thus prevented their departure. Not long after this the Persian army also came. There they all pitched their tents and made camp fronting on the River Orontes and not very far from the stream. Chosroes then sent Paulus up beside the fortifications and demanded money from the men of Antioch, saying that for ten centenaria<sup>1</sup> of gold he would depart from there, and it was obvious that he would accept even less than this for his withdrawal. And on that day their ambassadors went before Chosroes, and after speaking at length concerning the breaking of the peace and hearing much from him, they retired. But on the Morrow the populace of Antioch (for they are not seriously disposed, but are always engaged in jesting and disorderly performance) heaped insults upon Chosroes from the battlements and taunted him with unseemly laughter; and when Paulus came near the fortifications and exhorted them to purchase freedom for themselves and the city for a small

June,  
540 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τε χρημάτων ὀλίγων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὡνέσθαι, ὀλίγου ἐδέησαν τοξεύσαντες κτεῖναι, εἰ μὴ προϊδὼν ἐφυλάξατο. διὸ δὴ ζέων τῷ θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω.

- 8 Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπαγαγὼν ἄπαντας Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῦχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλη προσβάλλειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν προσέβαλλε. ταύτη γάρ, ὡς μοι ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ἐπιμαχώτα-  
9 τος ὁ περίβολος ἦν. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι (στενοτάτη γὰρ ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα ἐφ' ἣς ἴστα-  
μενοι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλον) ἐπενόησαν τάδε. δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐς ἄλλήλους ξυνδέοντες μεταξὺ τῶν πύργων ἐκρέμων, οὕτω τε πολλῷ εὔρυτέρας δὴ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἐποίουν, ὅπως ἔτι πλείους ἐνθένδε ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας οἱοί τε  
10 ὡσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ἵσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενοι πανταχόθεν τὰ τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἐπεμπον, ἄλλως  
11 τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἄκρας ὑπερβολήν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἡμύνοντο δυνάμει πάσῃ, οὐ στρατιώται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου εύτολμότατοι νεανίαι  
12 πολλοί. ἐδόκουν δὲ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἐνταῦθα ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τοῖς πολεμίοις καθίστασθαι. ή γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρεῖά τις καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὖσα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περιβόλῳ καθάπερ ἐφ' ὄμαλοῦ εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐποίει.  
13 καὶ εἰ μέν τις ἐθάρσησε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἔξω τε γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην προτερήσας καταλαβεῖν ἐνθένδε <τε> τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, οὐκ ἀν-

sum of money, they very nearly killed him with shots from their bows, and would have done so if he had not seen their purpose in time and guarded against it. On account of this Chosroes, boiling with anger, decided to storm the wall.

On the following day, accordingly, he led up all the Persians against the wall and commanded a portion of the army to make assaults at different points along the river, and he himself with the most of the men and best troops directed an attack against the height. For at this place, as has been stated by me above, the wall of fortification was most vulnerable. Thereupon the Romans, since the structure on which they were to stand when fighting was very narrow, devised the following remedy. Binding together long timbers they suspended them between the towers, and in this way they made these spaces much broader, in order that still more men might be able to ward off the assailants from there. So the Persians, pressing on most vigorously from all sides, were sending their arrows thickly everywhere, and especially along the crest of the hill. Meanwhile the Romans were fighting them back with all their strength, not soldiers alone, but also many of the most courageous youths of the populace. But it appeared that those who were attacking the wall there were engaged in a battle on even terms with their enemy. For the rock which was broad and high and, as it were, drawn up against the fortifications caused the conflict to be just as if on level ground. And if anyone of the Roman army had had the courage to get outside the fortifications with three hundred men and to anticipate the enemy in seizing this rock and to ward off the assailants

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ποτε, οἶμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα  
14 ἡ πόλις ἥλθεν. οὐ γὰρ εἴχον ὅθεν ὄρμώμενοι  
τειχομαχοῦντες οἱ βάρβαροι, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἔκ τε  
τῆς πέτρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι· νῦν  
δέ (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Ἀντιοχέας τούτῳ τῷ Μήδων  
στρατῷ ἀπολέσθαι) οὐδενὶ τοῦτο ἐς ἔννοιαν ἥλθε.  
15 τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν, ἃτε Χοσρόου παρόντος  
σφίσι καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευομένου μεγάλῃ, ὑπὲρ  
δύναμιν βιαζομένων καὶ οὐδένα τοῖς ἐναντίοις  
ἐνδιδόντων καιρὸν ὥστε διασκοπεῖσθαι ἡ φυλάσ-  
σεσθαι τὰς τοξευμάτων βολάς, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων  
ἔτι μᾶλλον πλήθει τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἀμυνο-  
μένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσαι τὸ ἄχθος αἱ σχοῖνοι αἱς αἱ  
δοκοὶ ξυνδεδέατο, διερράγησαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου  
καὶ ξὺν ταῖς δοκοῖς ἀπαντες ὅσοι αὐταῖς ἐφεστή-  
κεσαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξέπεσον πατάγῳ πολλῷ.  
16 οὖν δὴ αἰσθόμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι Ῥωμαίων οἱ ἐκ  
πύργων τῶν ἔχομένων ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ξυμβάλλειν  
μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες, διεφθάρθαι δὲ  
17 ταύτη τὸ τεῦχος οἰόμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. τοῦ  
μὲν οὖν δήμου νεανίαι πολλοὶ ὅσοι τὰ πρότερα  
πρός γε ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἵπποδρο-  
μίοις εἰώθεσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου κατέ-  
βησαν, οὐδαμῇ ἔφευγον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ  
στρατιῶται ξύν τε Θεοκτίστῳ καὶ Μολάτζῃ εὐθὺς  
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες οἱ δὴ ἐνταῦθα πη-  
παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγχανον, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπή-  
λαυνον, Βούζην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυρλούντες ξὺν στρατῷ  
ἥκειν, ἐθέλειν τε κατὰ τάχος δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς

from there, never, I believe, would the city have come into any danger from the enemy. For the barbarians had no point from which they could have conducted their assault, for they would be exposed to missiles from above both from the rock and from the wall; but as it was (for it was fated that Antioch be destroyed by this army of the Medes), this idea occurred to no one. So then while the Persians were fighting beyond their power, since Chosroes was present with them and urging them on with a mighty cry, giving their opponents not a moment in which to look about or guard against the missiles discharged from their bows, and while the Romans, in great numbers and with much shouting, were defending themselves still more vigorously, the ropes with which the beams had been bound together, failing to support the weight, suddenly broke asunder and the timbers together with all those who had taken their stand on them fell to the ground with a mighty crash. When this was heard by other Romans also, who were fighting from the adjoining towers, being utterly unable to comprehend what had happened, but supposing that the wall at this point had been destroyed, they beat a hasty retreat. Now many young men of the populace who in former times had been accustomed to engage in factional strife with each other in the hippodromes descended into the city from the fortification wall, but they refused to flee and remained where they were, while the soldiers with Theoctistus and Molatzes straightway leaped upon the horses which happened to be ready there and rode away to the gates, telling the others a tale to the effect that Bouzes had come with an army and they wished to

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τῇ πόλει, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι.
- 18 ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες,  
γυναῖκες δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐπὶ τὰς  
πύλας δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἥεσαν· εἴτα πρὸς τῶν ἵππων  
ἀθούμενοι ἄτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῷ ἔπιπτον.
- 19 οἱ δὲ στρατιώται τῶν ἐν ποσὶν οὐδενὸς τὸ παρά-  
παν φειδόμενοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ὑπερθεν  
τῶν κειμένων ἅπαντες ἥλαυνον, γέγονέ τε φόνος  
ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς πύλας  
αὐτάς.
- 20 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος,  
κλίμακας ἐπιθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ  
ἀνέβαινον. ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κατὰ τάχος  
γενόμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καταβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ  
ἥθελον, ἀλλὰ διασκοπουμένοις τε καὶ ἀπορου-  
μένοις ἐφέσαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, προλοχίζεσθαι  
τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνέδραις τισὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπο-
- 21 τοπάζοντες. τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ  
τῆς ἄκρας εὐθὺς κατιόντι [λοιπὸν] ἀοίκητος χώρα  
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔστι. πέτραι τε λίαν ὑψηλαὶ  
22 ἀνέχουσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τόποι κρημνώδεις. ἔνιοι  
δέ φασι Χοσρόου γνώμῃ γεγονέναι τὴν μέλλησιν  
23 Πέρσαις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τε δυσχωρίαν κατενόησε  
καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φεύγοντας εἶδεν, ἔδεισε μή  
τινι ἀνάγκη ἐκ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναστρέψαντες  
πράγματα σφίσι παράσχωνται, ἐμπόδιοί τε  
γένωνται, ἀν οὕτω τύχοι, πόλιν ἐλεῖν ἀρχαίαν τε  
καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ πρώτην Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἕω πασῶν πόλεων, πλούτῳ τε καὶ  
μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ

receive them quickly into the city, and with them to ward off the enemy. Thereupon many of the men of Antioch and all the women with their children made a great rush toward the gates; but since they were crowded by the horses, being in very narrow quarters, they began to fall down. The soldiers, however, sparing absolutely no one of those before them, all kept riding over the fallen still more fiercely than before, and a great many were killed there, especially about the gates themselves.

But the Persians, with no one opposing them, set ladders against the wall and mounted with no difficulty. And quickly reaching the battlements, for a time they were by no means willing to descend, but they seemed like men looking about them and at a loss what to do, because, as it seems to me, they supposed that the rough ground was beset with some ambuscades of the enemy. For the land inside the fortifications which one traverses immediately upon descending from the height is an uninhabited tract extending for a great distance and there are found there rocks which rise to a very great height, and steep places. But some say that it was by the will of Chosroes that the Persians hesitated. For when he observed the difficulty of the ground and saw the soldiers fleeing, he feared lest by reason of some necessity they should turn back from their retreat and make trouble for the Persians, and thus become an obstacle, as might well happen, in the way of his capturing a city which was both ancient and of great importance and the first of all the cities which the Romans had throughout the East both in wealth and in size and in population and in beauty and in prosperity of every kind.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

24 ἄλλη εὐδαιμονίᾳ. οὐδή, περὶ ἐλάσσονος τάλλα  
 ποιούμενος ἅπαντα, ἥθελε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρα-  
 τιώταις καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι, ὥστε κατ' ἔξουσίαν τῇ  
 φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῖς  
 φεύγοντι Πέρσαι σημαίνοντες ἐνεκελεύοντο φεύ-  
 25 γειν ὡς τάχιστα. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιώται Ῥω-  
 μαίων ἔνν τοῖς [ἄλλοις] ἀρχουσιν ἀπιόντες  
 ὠχοντο ἅπαντες διὰ πύλης ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνην ἄγει τὸ  
 26 τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον· ταύτης γὰρ μόνης,  
 τῶν ἄλλων κατειλημμένων, ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι·  
 τοῦ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἔνν τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 27 διέφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίων στρατιώτας εἰδον πρόσω χωρήσαντας,  
 καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει  
 28 ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων  
 νεανίαι πολλοὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τὰ πρῶτα  
 καθυπέρτεροι ἔδοξαν τῇ ἔντομον εἶναι. ἡσαν δὲ  
 αὐτῶν τινες μὲν ὄπλιται, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι γυμνοὶ  
 29 καὶ λίθων βολαῖς χρώμενοι μόναις. ὡσάμενοι δὲ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπαιάνιζόν τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν  
 βασιλέα καλλίνικον, ἄτε νενικηκότες, ἀνέκραγον.  
 30 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν  
 ἀκραν καθήμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐθέλων τι εἰπεῖν  
 μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἀρχόντων, ὁ  
 Ζαβεργάνης, οἰόμενος ἔντομον πέρι βούλεσθαι  
 τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς λόγους ἴέναι, ἐς δψιν τε τῷ  
 31 βασιλεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἥλθε καὶ ἔλεξεν ὡδε “Οὐχὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖς, ὡ δέσποτα, Ῥωμαίοις ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τῇ τούτων σωτηρίᾳ γινώσκειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ  
 πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς τὴν βασι-  
 λείαν τὴν σὴν καὶ ἡσσημένοι τολμῶσί τε τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα Maltretus: ταῦτα MSS.

Hence it was that, considering everything else of less account, he wished to allow the Roman soldiers freely to avail themselves of the chance for flight. For this reason too the Persians also made signs to the fugitives with their hands, urging them to flee as quickly as possible. So the soldiers of the Romans together with their commanders took a hasty departure, all of them, through the gate which leads to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch ; for from this gate alone the Persians kept away while the others were seized ; and of the populace some few escaped with the soldiers. Then when the Persians saw that all the Roman soldiers had gone on, they descended from the height and got into the middle of the city. There, however, many of the young men of Antioch engaged in battle with them, and at first they seemed to have the upper hand in the conflict. Some of them were in heavy armour, but the majority were unarmed and using only stones as missiles. And pushing back the enemy they raised the paean, and with shouts proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant, as if they had won the victory.

At this point Chosroes, seated on the tower which is on the height, summoned the ambassadors, wishing to say something. And one of his officers, Zaberganes, thinking that he wished to have words with the ambassadors concerning a settlement, came quickly before the king and spoke as follows : "Thou dost not seem to me, O Master, to think in the same way as do the Romans concerning the safety of these men. For they both before fighting offer insults to thy kingdom, and when they are defeated dare the impossible and do the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀμήχανα καὶ δρῶσι τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα,  
ῶσπερ δέδιότες μή τις αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοὶ φιλαν-  
θρωπίας λελείψεται λόγος· σὺ δὲ τούς τε  
σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἐλεεῖν βούλει, καὶ φείδε-  
32 σθαι τῶν οὐδαμῆ ἐθελόντων ἐσπούδακας. οἱ δὲ  
προλοχίσαντες ἐν ἀλούσῃ πόλει τοὺς νευκηκότας  
ἐνέδραις τισὶ διαφθείρουσι, καίπερ ἀπάντων  
33 αὐτοῖς πάλαι πεφευγότων στρατιωτῶν.” ταῦτα  
οἱ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας, τῶν ἀρίστων πολλοὺς ἐπ’  
αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οὐκ οὖκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπανήκοντες  
34 οὐδὲν ξυμβῆναι φλαῦρον ἀπήγγελλον. ἥδη γάρ  
‘Αντιοχέας Πέρσαι βιασάμενοι πλήθει ἐτρέψαντο,  
καὶ γέγονε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολύς. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι  
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν  
35 ἀπαντας ἥβηδὸν ἔκτεινον. τότε φασὶ γυναῖκας  
τῶν <ἐν> ‘Αντιοχεῦσιν ἐπιφανῶν δύο γενέσθαι  
μὲν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου, αἰσθομένας δὲ ως ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῖς πολεμίοις γενήσονται (πανταχόσε γὰρ ἥδη  
περιόντες καθεωρῶντο) δρόμῳ μὲν παρὰ [τὸν]  
ποταμὸν Ὁρόντην ἐλθεῖν, φοβουμένας δὲ μή τι  
σφᾶς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσωσι Πέρσαι, ταῖς τε κα-  
λύπτραις ἐγκαλυψαμένας τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐς τὸ  
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ρέῦμα ἐμπεσούσας ἀφανισθῆναι.  
οὗτω πᾶσα κακοῦ τοὺς ‘Αντιοχέας ἰδέα ἔσχεν.

## IX

1   ‘Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔλεξε  
τοιάδε “Οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον  
οἴομαι εἶναι, δτι δὴ οὐκ ἀκραιφνῆ τάγαθὰ ὁ θεός,

Persians irreparable harm, as if fearing lest some reason for shewing them humanity should be left in thee; but thou art wishing to pity those who do not ask to be saved, and hast shewn zeal to spare those who by no means wish it. Meanwhile these men have set an ambush in a captured city and are destroying the victors by means of snares, although all the soldiers have long since fled from them." When Chosroes heard this, he sent a large number of the best troops against them, and these not long afterwards returned and announced that nothing untoward had come to pass. For already the Persians had forced back the citizens by their numbers and turned them to flight, and a great slaughter took place there. For the Persians did not spare persons of any age and were slaying all whom they met, old and young alike. At that time they say that two women of those who were illustrious in Antioch got outside the fortifications, but perceiving that they would fall into the hands of the enemy (for they were already plainly seen going about everywhere), went running to the River Orontes, and, fearing lest the Persians should do them some insult, they covered their faces with their veils and threw themselves into the river's current and were carried out of sight. Thus the inhabitants of Antioch were visited with every form of misfortune.

## IX

THEN Chosroes spoke to the ambassadors as follows: "Not far from the truth, I think, is the ancient saying that God does not give blessings

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀλλὰ κεραυνύων αὐτὰ τοῖς κακοῖς είτα τοῖς  
 2 ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται. καὶ δὶ' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ τὸ γελᾶν  
 ἄκλαυστον ἔχομεν, παραπέπηγε δέ τις ἀεὶ τοῖς  
 μὲν εὐτυχήμασι συμφορά, ταῖς δὲ ἡδουναῖς λύπη,  
 οὐκ ἐώσαι τινα γνησίας ποτὲ τῆς δεδομένης  
 3 εὐημερίας ἀπόνασθαι. πόλιν γὰρ τὴνδε, ἀξιο-  
 λογωτάτην ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ  
 οὖσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπονώτατα μὲν ἐλεῖν  
 ἵσχυσα, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάσαντος ἡμῖν, ὡς  
 4 ὁράτε δήπου, τὴν νίκην. φόνον μέντοι ἀνθρώπων  
 ὄρῶντί μοι τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, αἴματί τε πολλῷ  
 βεβαπτισμένον τὸ τρόπαιον, οὐδεμίᾳ τῆς ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup>  
 5 τῆς πράξεως ἡδουνῆς γέγονεν αἰσθησις. καὶ τῶνδε  
 οἱ ταλαίπωροι Ἀντιοχεῖς αἴτιοι, οἵ γε τειχο-  
 μαχοῦντας μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τε γεγόνασι Πέρσας  
 ἀπώσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ νευκηκότας ἡδη καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντας θράσει θανατώντες ἀλογίστω  
 6 ζυγομαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Περσῶν  
 δόκιμοι πολλὰ ἐνοχλοῦντες σαγηνεῦσαι τέ με τὴν  
 πόλιν ἡξίουν καὶ ἔμπαντας διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἡλω-  
 κότας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον εἰς τὴν  
 ὑπαγωγὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄρμᾶν, δπως ὅτι τάχιστα  
 σώζοιντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς ἡλωκόσιν οὐχ  
 7 ὅσιον.” τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τερατευόμενός τε  
 καὶ διαθρυπτόμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰπεν, οὐκ  
 ἔλαθε μέντοι αὐτοὺς ὅτου ἔνεκα τὸν καιρὸν  
 φεύγουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοίη.  
 8 Ἡν γὰρ δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὰ  
 μὲν οὐκ ὄντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρύψασθαι,

<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἀπὸ affert Dindorf MS. α : τὸ ἀπὸ VG, τις ἀπὸ P.

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unmixed, but He mingles them with troubles and then bestows them upon men. And for this reason we do not even have laughter without tears, but there is always attached to our successes some misfortune, and to our pleasures pain, not permitting anyone to enjoy in its purity such good fortune as is granted. For this city, which is of altogether pre-eminent importance in fact as well as in name in the land of the Romans I have indeed succeeded in capturing with the least exertion, since God has provided the victory all at once for us, as you doubtless see. But when I behold the massacre of such a multitude of men, and the victory thus drenched with blood, there arises in me no sense of the delight that should follow my achievement. And for this the wretched men of Antioch are to blame, for when the Persians were storming the wall they did not prove able to keep them back, and then when they had already triumphed and had captured the city at the first cry these men with unreasoned daring sought to die fighting against them in close combat. So while all the notables of the Persians were harassing me unceasingly with their demand that I should drag the city as with a net and destroy all the captives, I was commanding the fugitives to press on still more in their flight, in order that they might save themselves as quickly as possible. For to trample upon captives is not holy." Such high-sounding and airy words did Chosroes speak to the ambassadors, but nevertheless it did not escape them why he gave time to the Romans in their flight.

For he was the cleverest of all men at saying that which was not, and in concealing the truth, and in

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καὶ ὡν αὐτὸς ἔξημάρτανε τὰς αἰτίας τοῦς ἡδικη-  
μένους ἐπενεγκεῖν· ἔτι δὲ ὁμολογῆσαι μὲν ἔτοιμος  
ἄπαντα καὶ ὅρκῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πιστώσασθαι,  
λίαν δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος αὐτῷ ἔνυγκειμένων τε καὶ  
ὁμωμοσμένων ἔτοιμότερος ἐς λήθην ἀφίχθαι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκεν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄγος καθεῖναι τὴν  
ψυχὴν ἄσκονος, τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ σχηματίζεσθαι  
τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀφοσιοῦσθαι  
 9 τε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν. δος<sup>2</sup> καὶ Σουρηνούς,  
πρότερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικηκότας, δόλῳ  
τε πειρελθὼν καὶ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσας τῷ εἰρημένῳ,  
ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκα κοσμίαν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἀλι-  
σκομένης τῆς πόλεως εἶδεν ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τῆς  
ἀριστερᾶς πρός του τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλκομένην  
ἔνν πολλῇ βίᾳ, παιδίον δὲ ὅπερ αὐτῇ ἄρτι τοῦ  
τιτθοῦ <ἢν><sup>3</sup> ἀπαλλαγὴν ἀφεῖναι μὲν οὐ βουλο-  
μένην, ἐλκουσαν δὲ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἔμπεπτωκὸς  
εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἔνυγκειμένοι οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν  
τοῦτον δὴ τὸν βίαιον δρόμον, τὸν οἰκεῖον κάν-  
 10 ταῦθα ἐνδέδεικται τρόπον. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν στε-  
νάξαντα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δόκησίν τε ὡς εἴη  
δεδακρυμένος παρεχόμενον τοῦς τότε παροῦσιν  
ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ, εὔ-  
ξασθαι τὸν θεὸν τίσασθαι τὸν τῶν γεγονότων  
 11 κακῶν αἴτιον. Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων  
αὐτοκράτορα παραδηλοῦν ἥθελεν, ἔξεπιστάμενος  
 12 ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς αἴτιώτατος ἀπάντων εἴη. τοσαύτῃ  
χρώμενος φύσεως ἀτοπίᾳ Χοσρόης βασιλεύς τε

<sup>1</sup> ἀφίχθαι P : ἀφίχθαι V, ἐλθεῖν G.      <sup>2</sup> δος P : ὁς VG.  
<sup>3</sup> <ἢν> Haury : om. MSS.

attributing the blame for the wrongs which he committed to those who suffered the wrong ; besides he was ready to agree to everything and to pledge the agreement with an oath, and much more ready to forget completely the things lately agreed to and sworn to by him, and for the sake of money to debase his soul without reluctance to every act of pollution—a past master at feigning piety in his countenance, and absolving himself in words from the responsibility of the act. This man well displayed his own peculiar character on a certain occasion at Sura ; for after he had hoodwinked the inhabitants of the city by a trick and had destroyed them in the manner which I have described, although they had previously done him no wrong at all, he saw, while the city was being captured, a comely woman and one not of lowly station being dragged by her left hand with great violence by one of the barbarians ; and the child, which she had only lately weaned, she was unwilling to let go, but was dragging it with her other hand, fallen, as it was, to the ground since it was not able to keep pace with that violent running. And they say that he uttered a pretended groan, and making it appear to all who were present at that time including Anastasius the ambassador that he was all in tears, he prayed God to exact vengeance from the man who was guilty of the troubles which had come to pass. Now Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, was the one whom he wished to have understood, though he knew well that he himself was most responsible for everything. Endowed with such a singular nature Chosroes both

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- Περσῶν γέγονε (Ζάμου τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ δαιμονίου πηρώσαντος, ὅσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐφέρετο μετά γε τὸν Καόσην, ὃνπερ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐμίσει Καβάδης) καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπαναστάντων ἐκράτησε, κακά τε  
13 Ῥωμαίους ὅσα ἐβούλευσεν εὐπετῶς ἔδρασε. Βουλομένη γάρ τινα μέγαν ἀεὶ ποιεῦν ἡ τύχη πράσσει τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ δόξαντα, οὐδενὸς τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς βουλήσεως ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὔτε τὸ τὸν ἀνδρὸς διασκοπουμένη ἀξίωμα οὔτε ὅπως μὴ γένηται τι τῶν οὐ δεόντων λογιζομένη, οὐδὲ ὅτι βλασφημήσουσιν ἐς αὐτὴν διὰ ταῦτα πολλοί, τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῆς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τῆς χάριτος τετυχηκότος χλευάζοντες, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ποιουμένη, ἦν τὸ δόξαν αὐτῆς περαίνοιτο μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλοιν ἔχέτω.  
14 Χοσρόης δὲ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς περιόντας ζωγρεῦν καὶ ἀνδραποδίζειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ληίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔντοις πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας  
15 κατέβαινεν, ὅπερ ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα κειμήλια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Χοσρόης εὑρεν, ὥστε τῆς λείας ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ κειμήλια ταῦτα λαβὼν πλούτουν  
16 τι μέγεθος περιβεβλημένος ἀπιών ὠχετο. καὶ μάρμαρά τε πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐνθένδε ἀφελῶν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε κατατίθεσθαι, ὅπως  
17 καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη κομίσωνται. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρῆσαι

became King of the Persians (for ill fortune had deprived Zames of his eye, he who in point of years had first right to the kingdom, at any rate after Caoses, whom Cabades for no good reason hated), and with no difficulty he conquered those who revolted against him, and all the harm which he purposed to do the Romans he accomplished easily. For every time when Fortune wishes to make a man great, she does at the fitting times those things which she has decided upon, with no one standing against the force of her will; and she neither regards the man's station, nor purposes to prevent the occurrence of things which ought not to be, nor does she give heed that many will blaspheme against her because of these things, mocking scornfully at that which has been done by her contrary to the deserts of the man who receives her favour; nor does she take into consideration anything else at all, if only she accomplish the thing which has been decided upon by her. But as for these matters, let them be as God wishes.

Chosroes commanded the army to capture and enslave the survivors of the population of Antioch, and to plunder all the property, while he himself with the ambassadors descended from the height to the sanctuary which they call a church. There Chosroes found stores of gold and silver so great in amount that, though he took no other part of the booty except these stores, he departed possessed of enormous wealth. And he took down from there many wonderful marbles and ordered them to be deposited outside the fortifications, in order that they might convey these too to the land of Persia. When he had finished these things, he gave orders to the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- Πέρσαις ἐπέστελλε.<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρέσβεις  
έδέουντο τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέχεσθαι μόνης, ἵς τὰ  
18 λύτρα κεκομισμένος διαρκῶς εἴη. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο  
τοὺς πρέσβεσι ξυγκεχωρηκὼς τᾶλλα καίειν ἐκέ-  
λευε πάντα, ὀλίγους τέ τινας αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν  
τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσοντας, αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς  
ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησεν  
οὖ καὶ πρότερον διεσκηνημένοι ἐτύγχανον.

## X

- 1 Τούτου τοῦ πάθους χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον τέρας  
ό θεὸς ἐνδειξάμενος τοὺς ταύτη φύημένοις ἐσήμηνε  
τὰ ἐσόμενα. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν, οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα  
ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἴδρυνται, τὰ σημεῖα πρότερον ἐστῶτα  
πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου  
στραφέντα πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἐστησαν, ἐς  
τάξιν τε αὐθις ἐπανῆκον τὴν προτέραν οὐδενὸς  
2 ἄψαμένου. ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἄλλοις τε πολ-  
λοῖς ἀγχιστά πη παροῦσι καὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς  
τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης ἐδειξαν, ἔτι τῶν ση-  
μείων κραδαινομένων. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνήρ, Τα-  
τιανὸς ὄνομα, ξυνετὸς μάλιστα, ἐκ Μογουεστίας  
3 ὄρμώμενος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἔγνωσαν οἱ τὸ τέρας  
τοῦτο ἰδόντες ώς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐσπερίου  
ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφον τὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἀφίξεται κράτος,  
ὅπως δηλαδὴ διαφυγεῖν μηδεμιὰ μηχανὴ δύνωνται  
οὕσπερ ἐδει ταῦτα ἀπερ ἔνηνέχθη παθεῖν.  
4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἵλιγγιῶ πάθος τοσοῦτον γράφων τε  
καὶ παραπέμπων ἐς μνήμην τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ,

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέστελλε ΒΡ: ἐκέλευε G.

Persians to burn the whole city. And the ambassadors begged him to withhold his hand only from the church, for which he had carried away ransom in abundance. This he granted to the ambassadors, but gave orders to burn everything else; then, leaving there a few men who were to fire the city, he himself with all the rest retired to the camp where they had previously set up their tents.

X

A short time before this calamity God displayed a sign to the inhabitants of that city, by which He indicated the things which were to be. For the standards of the soldiers who had been stationed there for a long time had been standing previously toward the west, but of their own accord they turned and stood toward the east, and then returned again to their former position untouched by anyone. This the soldiers showed to many who were near at hand and among them the manager of finances in the camp, while the standards were still trembling. This man, Tatianus by name, was an especially discreet person, a native of Mopsuestia. But even so those who saw this sign did not recognize that the mastery of the place would pass from the western to the eastern king, in order, evidently, that escape might be utterly impossible for those who were bound to suffer those things which came to pass.

But I become dizzy as I write of such a great calamity and transmit it to future times, and I am

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη πράγματα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἢ χωρίου του ἐπαίρειν εἰς ὑψός, αὐθις δὲ ῥιπτεῖν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης αἰτίας.
- 5 αὐτῷ γάρ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἄπαντα κατὰ λόγον ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, δις δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τότε ὑπέστη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτου καταφερομένην ἴδειν, ἵνα τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἄπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι παντάπασιν ἔσχεν.
- 6 'Η μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλείφθη μόνη, πόνῳ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ Περσῶν οἱς
- 7 τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκειτο τοῦτο. ἐλείφθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κεραταῖον οἰκίας πολλαί, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνθρώπων τινός, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔκειντό που πρὸς ἐσχάτοις τῆς πόλεως, ἐτέρας αὐταῖς οὐδεμιᾶς τινος οἰκοδομίας ξυναπτομένης, τὸ πῦρ
- 8 <ἐς><sup>1</sup> αὐτὰς ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδαμῆ ἵσχυσεν. ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ τὰ ἔκτος τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅπερ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀνεῖται ἀγίῳ, καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἱ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
- 9 τοῦτο τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι. τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα καταλῦσαι ξυνέπεσε. τοῦ μέντοι περιβόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι.
- 10 'Ολίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἥκουντες αὐθις παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐλεξαν ὁδε, "Εἰ μὴ πρὸς παρόντα σέ, ω βασιλεῦ, οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε φόμεθα Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις ἥκειν, ἀτιμάσαντα μὲν τοὺς διομωμοσμένους σοι ἔναγχος ὄρκους, δὲ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὕστατον τε καὶ ὀχυρώ-

<sup>1</sup> <ἐς> Haury: ἐπ' Maltretus, om. MSS.

unable to understand why indeed it should be the will of God to exalt on high the fortunes of a man or of a place, and then to cast them down and destroy them for no cause which appears to us. For it is wrong to say that with Him all things are not always done with reason, though he then endured to see Antioch brought down to the ground at the hands of a most unholy man, a city whose beauty and grandeur in every respect could not even so be utterly concealed.

So, then, after the city had been destroyed, the church was left solitary, thanks to the activity and foresight of the Persians to whom this work was assigned. And there were also left about the so-called Cerataeum many houses, not because of the foresight of any man, but, since they were situated at the extremity of the city, and not connected with any other building, the fire failed entirely to reach them. The barbarians burned also the parts outside the fortifications, except the sanctuary which is dedicated to St. Julianus and the houses which stand about this sanctuary. For it happened that the ambassadors had taken up their lodgings there. As for the fortifications, the Persians left them wholly untouched.

A little later the ambassadors again came to Chosroes and spoke as follows: "If our words were not addressed to thee in thy presence, O King, we should never believe that Chosroes, the son of Cabades, had come into the land of the Romans in arms, dishonouring the oaths which have recently been sworn by thee—for such pledges are regarded as the last and most firm security of all things among

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τατον είναι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐς ἀλλήλους πίστεώς τε καὶ  
ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, διαλύσαντα δὲ τὰς σπουδάς,  
ῶν ἡ Ἑλπὶς ἀπολέλειπται μόνη τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐν  
πολέμῳ κακοπραγίαν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βιο-  
11 τεύουσιν. οὐ γάρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴποι  
τις ἀν είναι ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δίαιταν ἐς τὴν  
12 τῶν θηρίων μεταβεβλῆσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μηδαμῇ  
σπένδεσθαι τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀπέραντα λελείψεται  
πάντως,<sup>1</sup> πόλεμος δὲ ὁ πέρας οὐκ ἔχων ἔξουκίζειν  
τῆς φύσεως τοὺς αὐτῷ χρωμένους ἐς ἀεὶ πέφυκε.  
13 τί δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν  
δλίγῳ πρότερον γέγραφας ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη τοῦ λελύ-  
σθαι τὰς σπουδὰς αἰτιος; ἡ δῆλον ὅτι ὁμολογῶν  
κακόν τι παμμέγεθες είναι τὴν τῶν σπουδῶν  
14 λύσιν; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν, οὐ  
δικαίως ταῦτην ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥκεις· εἰ δέ τι τοιοῦτόν  
τ' ἀδελφῷ<sup>2</sup> τῷ σῷ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἄλλὰ καὶ  
σοὶ μέχρι τούτου γε καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω δια-  
πεπράχθω τὸ ἔγκλημα, ὅπως αὐτὸς κρείσσων  
είναι δοκῆι.<sup>3</sup> ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλασσούμενος,  
15 οὗτος ἀν ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι νικών δικαίως. καίτοι  
ἡμεῖς ἔξεπιστάμεθα 'Ιουστινιανὸν βασιλέα μηδε-  
πώποτε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ  
σοῦ δεόμεθα μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐργάσασθαι 'Ρωμαίους  
κακά, ἐξ ὧν Πέρσαις μὲν ὅνησις οὐδεμίᾳ ἔσται,  
σὺ δὲ τούτο κερδανεῖς μόνον, ἀνήκεστα ἐργα-  
τοὺς ἄρτι σοὶ σπεισαμένους οὐ δέον εἰργάσθαι."  
οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον.
- 16 Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἴσχυρίζετο μὲν τὰς  
σπουδὰς πρὸς 'Ιουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λελύσθαι·

<sup>1</sup> πάντως VGP corr.: πάντας P pr. m.

<sup>2</sup> τ' ἀδελφῷ VG: τῷ ἀδελφῷ P.

<sup>3</sup> δοκῆι Dindorf: δοκεῖς MSS.

men to guarantee mutual trust and truthfulness—and breaking the treaty, though hope in treaties is the only thing left to those who are living in insecurity because of the evil deeds of war. For one might say of such a state of affairs that it is nothing else than the transformation of the habits of men into those of beasts. For in a time when no treaties at all are made, there will remain certainly war without end, and war which has no end is always calculated to estrange from their proper nature those who engage in it. With what intent, moreover, didst thou write to thy brother not long ago that he himself was responsible for the breaking of the treaty? Was it not obviously with the admission that the breaking of treaties is an exceedingly great evil? If therefore he has done no wrong, thou art not acting justly now in coming against us; but if it happen that thy brother has done any such thing, yet let thy complaint have its fulfilment thus far, and go no farther, that thou mayst show thyself superior. For he who submits to be worsted in evil things would in better things justly be victorious. And yet we know well that the Emperor Justinian has never gone contrary to the treaty, and we entreat thee not to do the Romans such harm, from which there will be no advantage to the Persians, and thou wilt gain only this, that thou wilt have wrongfully wrought deeds of irreparable harm upon those who have recently made peace with thee." So spoke the ambassadors.

And Chosroes, upon hearing this, insisted that the treaty had been broken by the Emperor

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καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ἄσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέ-  
 σχετο, τὰς μὲν τινας καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ  
 φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ξυμπεπλασμένας.<sup>1</sup>  
 μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ πολέμου  
 αἰτιωτάτας ἡξίου δεικνύναι πρός τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον  
 καὶ Ούννους αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς  
 17 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. ἄνδρα μέντοι Ῥωμαῖον  
     ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν ἐσβεβληκέναι ἡ πολέμια ἔργα  
 18 ἐνδείξασθαι οὕτε λέγειν εἰχεν οὕτε δεικνύναι. οἱ  
     μέντοι πρέσβεις πὴ μὲν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐς Ἰου-  
     στινιανὸν ἀνέφερον, ἀλλ’ ἐς τῶν ὑπουργηκότων  
     τινάς, πὴ δὲ ὡς οὐχ οὕτω γεγονότων ἐπελαμ-  
 19 βάνοντο τῶν εἰρημένων. τέλος δὲ χρήματα μέν οἱ  
     πολλὰ ὁ Χοσρόης ἡξίου διδόναι Ῥωμαίους, παρ-  
     ήνει δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μόνον  
     παρεχομένους την εἰρήνην ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν πάντα  
 20 αἰώνα κρατύνασθαι. τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινο-  
     μένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλισκομένους ἐκ τοῦ  
 21 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνδαπανᾶσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι. δεῖν  
     τοίνυν Ῥωμαίους τακτόν τι φέρειν ἐπέτειον Πέρ-  
     σαις. “Οὔτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς,” ἔφη, “τὴν εἰρήνην  
     Πέρσαι βέβαιον ἔξουσι, τὰς τε Κασπίας αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup>  
     φυλάσσοντες πύλας καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀχθόμενοι  
     διὰ πόλιν Δάρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμμισθοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς  
 22 ἀεὶ ἔσονται.” “Οὐκοῦν,” οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν,  
     “ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαι βούλονται Ῥωμαίους ἐς  
 23 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔχειν.” “Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ στρα-  
     τιώτας οἰκείους,” ὁ Χοσρόης εἶπεν, “ἔξουσι τὸ  
     λοιπὸν Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοι, μισθὸν τῆς ὑπουργίας  
     αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦντες ρήτον· ἐπεὶ καὶ Ούννων τισὶ

<sup>1</sup> ξυμπεπλεγμένας Η.

Justinian ; and he enumerated the causes of war which the Emperor afforded, some of them of real importance and others idle and fabricated without any reason ; most of all he wished to show that the letters written by him to Alamoundaras and the Huns were the chief cause of the war, just as I have stated above.<sup>1</sup> But as for any Roman who had invaded the land of Persia, or who had made a display of warlike deeds, he was unable either to mention or to point out such a one. The ambassadors, however, referred the charges in part not to Justinian but to certain of those who had served him, while in the case of others they took exception to what he had said on the ground that the things had not taken place as stated. Finally Chosroes made the demand that the Romans give him a large sum of money, but he warned them not to hope to establish peace for all time by giving money at that moment only. For friendship, he said, which is made by men on terms of money is generally spent as fast as the money is used up. It was necessary, therefore, that the Romans should pay some definite annual sum to the Persians. "For thus," he said, "the Persians will keep the peace secure for them, guarding the Caspian Gates themselves and no longer feeling resentment at them on account of the city of Daras, in return for which the Persians themselves will be in their pay forever." "So," said the ambassadors, "the Persians desire to have the Romans subject and tributary to themselves." "No," said Chosroes, "but the Romans will have the Persians as their own soldiers for the future, dispensing to them a fixed payment for their service ;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. i. 13 ; iii. 47.

καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπέτειον χορηγεῖτε χρυσόν, οὐ φόρου αὐτοῖς ὑποτελεῖς ὅντες, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀδήσωτον γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν φυλάξωσιν ἐς τὸν πάντα 24 αἰῶνα.” τοιαῦτα Χοσρόης τε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεχθέντες, ξυνέβησαν ὕστερον ἐφ' ὁ Χοσρόην ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα κεντηνάρια πεντήκοντα πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντα, πέντε δὲ ἄλλων φερόμενον ἐπέτειον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα δασμόν, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι περαιτέρω κακόν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν μὲν ὄμηρους ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων κεκομισμένον τὴν ἀποπορείαν<sup>1</sup> παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ποιήσασθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ στελλομένους τὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυνθήκας ἐν βεβαίῳ τῷ λοιπὸν θέσθαι.

## XI

1 Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσαν ἡλθεν, ἐνταῦθα τε Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα οὔτε εὑρών<sup>2</sup> οὔτε λυμηνάμενὸς ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ<sup>3</sup> τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὄρδατι μόνος, θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἰστισιν ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο, πολλά τε 2 ἐπιθειάσας ὅπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν. ἐς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιθυμίαν οἱ ἔφασκέ τινα εἶναι τὴν Ἀπαμέων πόλιν ἐν γειτόνων οὖσαν οὐκ ἄλλου 3 του ἔνεκα ἡ ἴστορίας θεάσασθαι. ξυνεχώρουν τε οὐχ ἔκούσιοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ὃ μέντοι

<sup>1</sup> ἀποπορείαν VG : ἀποπορίαν P, ἀπορίαν H.<sup>2</sup> εὑρών : Haury suggests αἴρων. <sup>3</sup> ἐκ VH : om. G, ἐν τε P.

for you give an annual payment of gold to some of the Huns and to the Saracens, not as tributary subjects to them, but in order that they may guard your land unplundered for all time." After Chosroes and the ambassadors had spoken thus at length with each other, they at last came to terms, agreeing that Chosroes should forthwith take from the Romans fifty centenaria,<sup>1</sup> and that, receiving a tribute of five more centenaria annually for all time, he should do them no further harm, but taking with him hostages from the ambassadors to pledge the keeping of the agreement, should make his departure with the whole army to his native land, and that there ambassadors sent from the Emperor Justinian should arrange on a firm basis for the future the compact regarding the peace.

## XI

THEN Chosroes went to Seleucia, a city on the sea, one hundred and thirty stades distant from Antioch; and there he neither met nor harmed a single Roman, and he bathed himself alone in the sea-water, and after sacrificing to the sun and such other divinities as he wished, and calling upon the gods many times, he went back. And when he came to the camp, he said that he had a desire to see the city of Apamea which was in the vicinity for no other reason than that of his interest in the place. And the ambassadors unwillingly granted this also, but only on condition that after seeing the city

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.

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αὐτὸν θεασάμενόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὄργυρου χιλίας κομισάμενον ἐνθένδε λίτρας, οὐδέν τι ἄλλο  
 4 λυμηνάμενον ἀπελαύνειν ὅπίσω. ἔνδηλος δὲ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς τε πρέσβεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν τοῦδε ἔνεκα στέλλοιτο μόνουν, ὅπως δή τιος σκήψεως οὐκ ἀξιολόγου λαβόμενος αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνη χώραν ληίσηται. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη, τὸ  
 5 Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. ἔνθα δὴ τό τε ἄλσος ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων  
 6 πηγάς· ἀμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἔστι. καὶ θύσας ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπίων φέρετο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν λυμηνάμενος, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τὸ ιερὸν καύσας ξὺν ἐτέραις τισὶν οἰκίαις ἔξ αἰτίας  
 7 τοιᾶσδε. Πέρσης ἀνὴρ ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος, ἐν τε τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ δόκιμος καὶ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ γνώριμος, ἐς χώρουν κρημνώδη ἀμφὶ τὸν λεγόμενον Τρητὸν ἥλθε ξὺν ἐτέροις τισίν, οὐ δὴ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ νεώς ἔστιν, Εὐάριδος ἔργον.  
 8 οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα Ἀντιοχέων νεανίαν πεζόν τε καὶ μόνον κρυπτόμενον ἐνταῦθα ἴδων<sup>1</sup> ἐδίωκε τῶν ἐτέρων χωρίς. ἦν δὲ κρεοπώλης ὁ νεανίας,  
 9 Ἀείμαχος ὄνομα. ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐκ τοῦ αἴφνιδίου λίθῳ τὸν διώκοντα βάλλει, ἐπιτυγχάνει τε τοῦ μετώπου ἐς τὴν παρὰ τὸ οὖς μῆνιγγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκινάκην σπα-  
 10 σάμενος κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. σκυλεύσας τε αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔξουσίαν τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄπαντα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτύγχανεν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐπί τε τὸν  
 11 ἵππον ἀναθορὼν πρόσω πῆλανεν. εἴτε δὲ τύχῃ

<sup>1</sup> ἴδων VGP corr.: εὑρὼν P pr. m.

and taking away with him from there one thousand pounds of silver, he should, without inflicting any further injury, march back. But it was evident to the ambassadors and to all the others that Chosroes was setting out for Apamea with this sole purpose, that he might lay hold upon some pretext of no importance and plunder both the city and the land thereabout. Accordingly he first went up to Daphne, the suburb of Antioch, where he expressed great wonder at the grove and at the fountains of water; for both of these are very well worth seeing. And after sacrificing to the nymphs he departed, doing no further damage than burning the sanctuary of the archangel Michael together with certain other buildings, for the following reason. A Persian gentleman of high repute in the army of the Persians and well known to Chosroes, the king, while riding on horseback came in company with some others to a precipitous place near the so-called Tretum, where is a temple of the archangel Michael, the work of Evaris. This man, seeing one of the young men of Antioch on foot and alone concealing himself there, separated from the others and pursued him. Now the young man was a butcher, Aeimachus by name. When he was about to be overtaken, he turned about unexpectedly and threw a stone at his pursuer which hit him on the forehead and penetrated to the membrane by the ear. And the rider fell immediately to the ground, whereupon the youth drew out his sword and slew him. Then at his leisure he stripped him of his weapons and all his gold and whatever else he had on his person, and leaping upon his horse rode on. And whether

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- εἴτε χωρίων ἐμπειρίᾳ χρησάμενος, λαθεῖν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφυγεῖν παντελῶς ἵσχυσε.
- 12 ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν καὶ τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλγήσας, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς καῦσαι τὸν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου νεὼν οὐ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην
- 13 ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἐκεῖνον εἶναι ἡγούμενοι ξὺν ταῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οἰκοδομίαις ἐνέπρησαν, ἐπιτελεῖς τε πεποιῆσθαι τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς φόντο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχε.
- 14 Χοσρόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀπάμειαν ἤει. ἔστι δὲ ξύλον πηχυαῖον ἐν Ἀπαμείᾳ, τοῦ σταυροῦ μέρος ἐν φ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ποτὲ τὴν κόλασιν οὕτι ἀκούσιον ὑποστῆναι ὅμολογεῖται, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον
- 15 ἐνταῦθα πρὸς Σύρου ἀνδρὸς κομισθὲν λάθρα. καὶ αὐτὸ οἱ πάλαι ἀνθρωποι φυλακτήριον μέγα σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι θήκην αὐτοῦ ξυλίνην τινὰ πεποιημένοι κατέθεντο, ἦν δὴ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ τρισὶ μὲν ἰερεῦσι παρέδοσαν, ἐφ' φ ξὺν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ φυλάξουσιν, ἔξαγοντες δὲ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πανδημεὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ προσκυνοῦσι
- 16 μιᾷ. τότε οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἀπαμέων λεώς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπύθουντο ἴέναι, ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Χοσρόην δὲ ἀκούοντες ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι καὶ παρὰ Θωμᾶν τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερέα γενόμενοι ἐδέοντο τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐπιδεῖξαι σφίσιν, δπως αὐτὸ ὕστατα προσκυνήσαντες τελευτήσωσιν.
- 17 ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. τότε δὴ θέαμα ξυνη-

by the favour of fortune or by his knowledge of the country, he succeeded completely in eluding the Persians and making good his escape. When Chosroes learned this, he was deeply grieved at what had happened, and commanded some of his followers to burn the sanctuary of the archangel Michael which I have mentioned above. And they, thinking that the sanctuary at Daphne was the one in question, burned it with the buildings about it, and they supposed that the commands of Chosroes had been executed. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Chosroes with his whole army proceeded on the way to Apamea. Now there is a piece of wood one cubit in length in Apamea, a portion of the cross on which the Christ in Jerusalem once endured the punishment not unwillingly, as is generally agreed, and which in ancient times had been conveyed there secretly by a man of Syria. And the men of olden times, believing that it would be a great protection both for themselves and for the city, made for it a sort of wooden chest and deposited it there ; and they adorned this chest with much gold and with precious stones and they entrusted it to three priests who were to guard it in all security ; and they bring it forth every year and the whole population worship it during one day. Now at that time the people of Apamea, upon learning that the army of the Medes was coming against them, began to be in great fear. And when they heard that Chosroes was absolutely untruthful, they came to Thomas, the chief priest of the city, and begged him to show them the wood of the cross, in order that after worshipping it for the last time they might die. And he did as they requested.

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νέχθη λόγου τε καὶ πίστεως κρεῖσσον ἐν-  
ταῦθα γενέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ὁ ἵερεὺς  
φέρων ἐδείκνυεν, ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ σέλας πυρὸς  
ἐπεφέρετο καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς ὄροφῆς μέρος  
 18 φωτὶ πολλῷ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατελάμπετο. βαδί-  
ζόντος τε τοῦ ἵερέως πανταχῆ τοῦ νεὼ συμπροήει  
τὸ σέλας, φυλάσσον ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 19 ὄροφῆς χώραν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀπαμέων δῆμος  
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θαύματος ἡδονῆς ἐθαμβεῖτό τε καὶ  
ἐγεγήθει καὶ ἔκλαιειν, ἥδη τε ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 20 σωτηρίας τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχον. ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ  
περιῆλθε τὸν νεὼν ἅπαντα, καταθέμενος ἐν τῇ  
θήκῃ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ  
σέλας ἐκ τοῦ αἴφνιδίου ἐπέπαυτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν  
τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως  
ῆκειν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο.  
 21 καὶ δις <ἐπει><sup>1</sup> ἀνεπιυθάνετο τοῦ ἵερέως εἰ βου-  
λομένοις τοῖς Ἀπαμεῦσιν εἴη ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου  
ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ἀπεκρίνατο  
Θωμᾶς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτο ἐς ἔννοιαν  
 22 ἤκειν. “Οὐκοῦν” ἔφη ὁ Χοσρόης “δέξασθέ με  
τῇ πόλει ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πάσαις ἀναπεπτα-  
 23 μέναις ταῖς πύλαις.” ὁ ἵερεὺς εἶπεν “Ἐπ’ αὐτὸ  
γὰρ δὴ παρακαλέσων τούτῳ ἀφῆγμα.” ὁ μὲν οὖν  
στρατὸς ἅπας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο διεσκηνημένοι  
πρὸ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ περιβόλου,

24 ‘Ο δὲ Χοσρόης ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρίστων  
διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλασεν.  
ἐπει δὲ γέγονεν εἰσω πυλῶν, ἐπελάθετο ἔκών γε  
εἶναι τῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκειμένων,  
καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκέλευε δοῦναι οὐ χίλια μόνον

<sup>1</sup> <ἐπει> Haury.    <sup>2</sup> πρὸ Maltretus MS. e : πρὸς P.

Then indeed it befell that a sight surpassing both description and belief was there seen. For while the priest was carrying the wood and shewing it, above him followed a flame of fire, and the portion of the roof over him was illuminated with a great and unaccustomed light. And while the priest was moving through every part of the temple, the flame continued to advance with him, keeping constantly the place above him in the roof. So the people of Apamea, under the spell of joy at the miracle, were wondering and rejoicing and weeping, and already all felt confidence concerning their safety. And Thomas, after going about the whole temple, laid the wood of the cross in the chest and covered it, and suddenly the light had ceased. Then upon learning that the army of the enemy had come close to the city, he went in great haste to Chosroes. And when the king enquired of the priest whether it was the will of the citizens of Apamea to marshal themselves on the wall against the army of the Medes, the priest replied that no such thing had entered the minds of the men. "Therefore," said Chosroes, "receive me into the city accompanied by a few men with all the gates opened wide." And the priest said "Yes, for I have come here to invite thee to do this very thing." So the whole army pitched their tents and made camp before the fortifications.

Then Chosroes chose out two hundred of the best of the Persians and entered the city. But when he had got inside the gates, he forgot willingly enough what had been agreed upon between himself and the ambassadors, and he commanded the bishop to give not only one thousand pounds of silver nor

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- ἀργύρου σταθμὰ οὐδὲ τούτων δεκαπλάσια, ἀλλὰ  
<καὶ> τὰ κειμῆλια ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχε κείμενα,  
χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξύμπαντα, μεγάλα ὑπερ-  
25 φυῶς ὄντα. οἷμαι δ' ἀν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν  
ὅλην ἀνδραποδίσασθαι τε καὶ ληίσασθαι οὐκ ἀν  
ἀποκυνῆσαι, εἰ μή τι θεῖον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς  
26 διεκώλυσεν. οὕτως αὐτὸν ἦ τε φιλοχρηματία  
ἔξέπλησσε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ τῆς  
27 δόξης ἐπιθυμία. κλέος γάρ οἱ μέγα τοὺς τῶν  
πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς φέτο εἶναι, οὐδὲν τὸ  
παράπαν ποιούμενος εἰ σπουδάς τε καὶ ξυνθήκας  
ἡλογηκῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐργάζεται.  
28 ταύτην τε Χοσρόου δηλώσει τὴν γνώμην ἃ τε  
ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐνεχείρησε τῇ  
ἀποπορείᾳ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὰ  
ξυγκείμενα, καὶ ἢ Καλλινικησίους ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον  
ἐν σπουδαῖς ἔδρασεν, ἀπέρ μοι ἐν τοῖς δρισθε  
λελέξεται λόγοις. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,  
29 Ἀπάμειαν διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κειμῆλια ὁ  
Χοσρόης ξύμπαντα εἶλε καὶ αὐτὸν μεθύνοντα ἥδη  
τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ ὁ Θωμᾶς εἶδε, τὸ τοῦ  
σταυροῦ ἔχον τῇ θήκῃ ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνέῳγέ τε  
τὴν θήκην καὶ τὸ ἔχον ἐνδεικνύμενος “Ω κρά-  
τιστε βασιλεῦ” ἔφη “ταῦτά μοι ἀπολέλειπται  
30 μόνα ἐκ πάντων χρημάτων. θήκην μὲν οὖν τήνδε  
(χρυσῷ τε γάρ κεκαλλώπισται καὶ λίθοις ἐντί-  
μοις) φθόνος οὐδεὶς λαβόντα σε ἔχον τοῖς ἄλλοις  
ἄπασιν ἔχειν, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ἔχον, σωτήριόν τε ἡμῶν  
καὶ τίμιον ἐστι, τοῦτο, ἵκετεύω σε καὶ δέομαι, δός  
μοι.” ὁ μὲν ἴερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ξυνεχώρει δὲ  
Χοσρόης καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελή ἐποίει.  
31 Μετὰ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος τόν τε  
δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἵπποδρόμιον ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε καὶ

even ten times that amount, but whatsoever treasures were stored there, being all of gold and silver and of marvellous great size. And I believe that he would not have shrunk from enslaving and plundering the whole city, unless some divine providence had manifestly prevented him; to such a degree did avarice overpower him and the desire of fame turn his mind. For he thought the enslavement of the cities a great glory for himself, considering it absolutely nothing that disregarding treaties and compacts he was performing such deeds against the Romans. This attitude of Chosroes will be revealed by what he undertook to do concerning the city of Daras during his withdrawal at this same time, when he treated his agreements with absolute disregard, and also by what he did to the citizens of Callinicus a little later in time of peace, as will be told by me in the following narrative.<sup>1</sup> But God, as has been said, preserved Apamea. Now when Chosroes had seized all the treasures, and Thomas saw that he was already intoxicated with the abundance of the wealth, then bringing out the wood of the cross with the chest, he opened the chest and displaying the wood said: "O most mighty King, these alone are left me out of all the treasures. Now as for this chest (since it is adorned with gold and precious stones), we do not begrudge thy taking it and keeping it with all the rest, but this wood here, it is our salvation and precious to us, this, I beg and entreat thee, give to me." So spoke the priest. And Chosroes yielded and fulfilled the request.

Afterwards, being filled with a desire for popular applause, he commanded that the populace should

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. xxi. 30-32.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσιν.
- 32 οὐδὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῶν ποιουμένων ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡκηκόει πολλῷ πρότερον Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα χρώματος τοῦ Βενέτου, δὲ δὴ κυάνεόν ἔστιν, ἐκτόπως ἐρᾶν, ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ κάνταῦθα ἵέναι βουλόμενος
- 33 ἥθελε τῷ πρασίνῳ τὴν νίκην ἀρμόσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἡνιόχοι ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο, τύχη δέ τις τῷ τὰ Βένετα ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ ἐγένετο
- 34 παρελάσαντι ἐπίπροσθεν ἵέναι. εἴπετο δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀματροχίας ὃ τὸ πράσινον ἀμπε-
- 35 χόμενος χρῶμα. ὅπερ ἔξεπίτηδες ὁ Χοσρόης γεγονέναι οἰόμενος, ἥγανάκτει τε καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἀνεβόᾳ τὸν Καίσαρα προτερῆσαι τῶν ἄλλων οὐ δέον, ἐκέλευε τε τοὺς προτέρους ίόντας ἵππους ἐπέχεσθαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν κατόπισθεν γενόμενοι ἀγωνίζωνται· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο ὕσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε, νικᾶν οὕτως ὁ τε Χοσρόης καὶ
- 36 μέρος τὸ πράσινον ἔδοξεν. ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις Ἀπαμέων Χοσρόη ἐς ὅψιν ἦκων ἥτιάτο Πέρσην ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντα τὴν παῖδα
- 37 οὔσαν παρθένον βιάζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἀγεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευε. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἥδη, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι αὐτὸν
- 38 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέστελλε. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ δῆμος παντὶ σθένει ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιον οἶνον, πρὸς τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄργῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαιτούμενοι. Χοσρόης δὲ ὡμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀφήσειν, λάθρα δὲ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε διαπεπραγμένος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπῆλαυνεν.

go up into the hippodrome and that the charioteers should hold their accustomed contests. And he himself went up there also, eager to be a spectator of the performances. And since he had heard long before that the Emperor Justinian was extraordinarily fond of the Venetus<sup>1</sup> colour, which is blue, wishing to go against him there also, he was desirous of bringing about victory for the green. So the charioteers, starting from the barriers, began the contest, and by some chance he who was clad in the blue happened to pass his rival and take the lead. And he was followed in the same tracks by the wearer of the green colour. And Chosroes, thinking that this had been done purposely, was angry, and he cried out with a threat that the Caesar had wrongfully surpassed the others, and he commanded that the horses which were running in front should be held up, in order that from then on they might contend in the rear; and when this had been done just as he commanded, then Chosroes and the green faction were accounted victorious. At that time one of the citizens of Apamea came before Chosroes and accused a Persian of entering his house and violating his maiden daughter. Upon hearing this, Chosroes, boiling with anger, commanded that the man should be brought. And when he came before him, he directed that he should be impaled in the camp. And when the people learned this, they raised a mighty shout as loud as they could, demanding that the man be saved from the king's anger. And Chosroes promised that he would release the man to them, but he secretly impaled him not long afterwards. So after these things had been thus accomplished, he departed and marched back with the whole army.

<sup>1</sup> This term was applied to the "Blue Faction" in Byzantium and elsewhere.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XII

- 1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκετο, Βεροίας πόλεως τέτρασι καὶ ὄγδοήκοντα σταδίοις διέχουσαν, αὐθις ἐς λήθην τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἥλθε, στρατοπεδευσάμενός τε τοῦ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἅποθεν; ἔπειμψε Παῦλον ἀπειλήσοντα Χαλκιδεῦσι πολιορκίᾳ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν, εἰ μὴ τήν τε σωτηρίαν ὕνιον κτήσονται τὰ λύτρα διδόντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας δσους ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ξὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐκδοῖεν σφίσι.
- 2 Χαλκιδεῦς δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα πρὸς ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐμπεπτωκότες στρατιώτας μὲν ἀπώμοσαν ώς ἥκιστα ἐπιδημεῦν σφίσι, καίπερ ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀδόναχον τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντα κρύψαντες ἐν οἰκίσκοις τισίν, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔνδηλοι ὡσι· χρυσοῦ δὲ κεντηνάρια δύο συλλέξαντες μόλις, ἐπεὶ πόλιν οὐ λίαν εὔδαιμονα φέουν, τῷ τε Χοσρόῃ ζωάγρια δόντες τήν τε πόλιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεσώσαντο.
- 3 Ἐνθένδε οὐκέτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀποπορείαν ἥπερ ἐληλύθει ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβῆναι καὶ χρήματα δτι πλεῦ-
- 4 στα ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ληίζεσθαι. γέφυραν οὖν ζεύξας ἀμφὶ Ὁθβάνης τὸ χωρίον, ὅπερ τοῦ ἐν Βαρβαλισσῷ φρουρίου τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει, αὐτός τε διέβη καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ώς τάχιστα διαβαίνειν ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπειπὼν μὲν τήν γέφυραν τρίτη ἡμέρᾳ λύσεσθαι, τάξας δὲ
- 5 καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρόν. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν

## XII

AND when he came to the city of Chalcis, eighty-four stades distant from the city of Beroea, he again seemed to forget the things which had been agreed upon, and encamping not far from the fortifications he sent Paulus to threaten the inhabitants of Chalcis, saying that he would take the city by siege, unless they should purchase their safety by giving ransom, and should give up to the Persians all the soldiers who were there together with their leader. And the citizens of Chalcis were seized with great fear of both sovereigns, and they swore that, as for soldiers, there were absolutely none of them in the city, although they had hidden Adonachus, the commander of the soldiers, and others as well in some houses, in order that they might not be seen by the enemy; and with difficulty they collected two centenaria<sup>1</sup> of gold, for the city they inhabited was not very prosperous, and they gave them to Chosroes as the price of their lives and thus saved both the city and themselves.

From there on Chosroes did not wish to continue the return journey by the road he had come, but to cross the River Euphrates and gather by plunder as much money as possible from Mesopotamia. He therefore constructed a bridge at the place called Obbane, which is forty stades distant from the fortress in Barbalissum; then he himself went across and gave orders to the whole army to cross as quickly as possible, adding that he would break up the bridge on the third day, and he appointed also the time of the day. And when the appointed day was come, it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.

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ἡ κυρία, τινὰς μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολελεῖθαι  
μή πω διαβάντας ξυνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν  
ὑπολογισάμενος ἔπειμψε τοὺς τὴν γέφυραν δια-  
6 λύσοντας. οἵ τε ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡς ἔκαστος  
πη ἐδύνατο, εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ἀνέβαινον.

Τότε δὴ φιλοτιμία τις Χοσρόην ἐσῆλθε πόλιν  
7 Ἐδεσσαν ἔξελεῖν. ἐνῆργε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο Χρι-  
στιανῶν λόγος καὶ ἔδακνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν,  
ὅτι δὴ ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἴσχυρίζοντο εἶναι ἐξ  
8 αὐτίας τοιᾶσδε. Αὔγαρος ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω  
χρόνοις Ἐδέσσης τοπάρχης (οὗτῳ γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ  
ἔθνος βασιλεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκάλουν). ὁ δὲ Αὔγα-  
ρος οὗτος ξυνετώτας ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν  
ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ  
9 Αὔγούστῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. ἐνσπουδος γὰρ  
Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐς Ρώμην τε ἀφίκετο,  
καὶ τῷ Αὔγούστῳ ἐς λόγους ἥκων οὕτω δὴ  
αὐτὸν τῆς ξυνέσεως τῷ περιόντι ἔξεπληξεν ὥστε  
οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι Αὔγουστος τῆς ξυνουσίας  
ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ὄμιλίας εὐθὺς  
διάπυρος ἐραστής, καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἐντύχοι, ἀπαλ-  
10 λάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἥθελε. χρόνος οὖν  
αὐτῷ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ συχνὸς τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐτρίβη.  
καὶ ποτε ἐς ἥθη πάτρια ἐθέλων οἱέναι πείθειν  
τε τὸν Αὔγουστον μεθεῖναι αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων,  
11 ἐπειδεὶ τάδε. ἐστάλη μὲν ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐς  
τὰ ἐπὶ Ρώμης χωρία· μελέτην γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα  
κατεσπουδασμένην τινὰ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. περιών  
δὲ χώραν πολλὴν συχνὰ τῶν ἐκείνη θηρίων  
ζῶντα ἐθήρα, καὶ χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ξυναμησάμενος  
ἔφερεν ἐκ χώρας ἐκάστης· οὕτω τε ἐπανῆκεν εἰς

happened that some of the army were left who had not yet crossed, but without the least consideration for them he sent the men to break up the bridge. And those who were left behind returned to their native land as each one could.

Then a sort of ambition came over Chosroes to capture the city of Edessa. For he was led on to this by a saying of the Christians, and it kept irritating his mind, because they maintained that it could not be taken, for the following reason. There was a certain Augarus in early times, toparch of Edessa (for thus the kings of the different nations were called then). Now this Augarus was the most clever of all men of his time, and as a result of this was an especial friend of the Emperor Augustus. For, desiring to make a treaty with the Romans, he came to Rome; and when he conversed with Augustus, he so astonished him by the abundance of his wisdom that Augustus wished never more to give up his company; for he was an ardent lover of his conversation, and whenever he met him, he was quite unwilling to depart from him. A long time, therefore, was consumed by him in this visit. And one day when he was desirous of returning to his native land and was utterly unable to persuade Augustus to let him go, he devised the following plan. He first went out to hunt in the country about Rome; for it happened that he had taken considerable interest in the practice of this sport. And going about over a large tract of country, he captured alive many of the animals of that region, and he gathered up and took with him from each part of the country some earth from the land; thus he returned to Rome bringing both the earth and

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- 12 Ῥώμην, τόν τε χοῦν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἔχων. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν Αὔγουστος ἐστὸν ιππόδρομον ἀναβὰς ἐκά-  
 θητο ἥπερ εἰώθει, Αὔγαρος δέ οἱ ἐστὶν ἡκων  
 τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἐπέδειξε, καταλέγων  
 ἐκ ποίας ποτὲ χώρας ἡ τε γῆ ἐκάστη καὶ τῶν  
 13 θηρίων τίνα ποτὲ εἴη. ἔπειτα τὴν μὲν γῆν ἄλλην  
 ἄλλη τοῦ ιπποδρομίου ἐκέλευε θέσθαι, πάντα  
 δὲ ἐστὶν τὰ θηρία ξυναγαγόντας εἴτα ἀφεῖναι.  
 14 οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπηρέται κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. τὰ δὲ  
 θηρία χωρὶς ἄλλήλων γενόμενα ἐστὶν ἐχώρει  
 τὴν γῆν ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν εἰληπτο ἐτύγχα-  
 15 νεν οὖσα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Αὔγουστος ἐπὶ πλεῦστον  
 τὰ ποιούμενα ἐστὶν ἀκριβὲς ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἐθαύμαζε  
 γε ὅτι δὲ τοῖς ζώοις ἡ φύσις ἀδίδακτος οὖσα  
 ποθεινὴν ποιεῦται τὴν πάτριον γῆν. Αὔγαρος  
 δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λαβό-  
 16 μενος, “Ἐμὲ δέ,” εἶπε, “τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχειν,  
 ὡς δέσποτα, οἰει, φερετο γενή τέ ἐστι καὶ παιδία καὶ  
 βασιλεία βραχεῖα μέν, ἀλλ’ ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρῷα;”  
 17 καὶ ὃς τῷ ἀληθεῖ τοῦ λόγου ἡσσηθεὶς τε καὶ  
 βιασθεὶς ἀπιέναι τε ξυνεχώρει οὕτι ἐκούσιος καὶ  
 18 προσαιτεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν ὅτου ἀν δέηται. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ τούτου Αὔγαρος ἔτυχεν, Αὔγουστον ἐδεῦτο  
 ιπποδρόμιόν οἱ δείμασθαι ἐν πόλει Ἐδέσση. ὁ  
 δὲ ξυνεχώρει καὶ τοῦτο. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ῥώμης  
 19 ἀπαλλαγεὶς Αὔγαρος ἐστὶν Ἐδεσσαν ἥλθε. καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ οἱ πολῖται ἀνεπυνθάνοντο εἴ τι φέρων  
 ἀγαθὸν σφίσιν ἐκ βασιλέως Αὔγουστον ἡκοι.  
 ὁ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος Ἐδεσσηνοῦς ἐνεγκεῖν ἔφη  
 λύπην τε ἀζήμιον καὶ χαρὰν ἀκερδῆ, τὴν τοῦ  
 ιπποδρομίου παραδηλῶν τύχην.  
 20 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον πόρρω που ἡλικίας Αὔγαρος

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the animals. Then Augustus went up into the hippodrome and seated himself as was his wont, and Augarus came before him and displayed the earth and the animals, telling over from what district each portion of earth was and what animals they were. Then he gave orders to put the earth in different parts of the hippodrome, and to gather all the animals into one place and then to release them. So the attendants did as he directed. And the animals, separating from each other, went each to that portion of earth which was from the district in which it itself had been taken. And Augustus looked upon the performance carefully for a very long time, and he was wondering that nature untaught makes animals miss their native land. Then Augarus, suddenly laying hold upon his knees, said : " But as for me, O Master, what thoughts dost thou think I have, who possess a wife and children and a kingdom, small indeed, but in the land of my fathers ? " And the emperor, overcome and compelled by the truth of his saying, granted not at all willingly that he should go away, and bade him ask besides whatever he wished. And when Augarus had secured this, he begged of Augustus to build him a hippodrome in the city of Edessa. And he granted also this. Thus then Augarus departed from Rome and came to Edessa. And the citizens enquired of him whether he had come bringing any good thing for them from the Emperor Augustus. And he answering said he had brought to the inhabitants of Edessa pain without loss and pleasure without gain, hinting at the fortune of the hippodrome.

At a later time when Augarus was well advanced

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ηκων νόσῳ ποδάγρας χαλεπῆς τινος ὑπερφυῶς  
 ἦλω. ταῖς γοῦν ὁδύναις ἀχθόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε  
 ἀκινησίᾳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγειν, ἐκ  
 πάσης τε γῆς ξυνέλεγε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὺς  
 21 ἄπαντας. ὡν δὴ ὑστερον (οὐ γάρ οἱ ἄκεσίν τινα τοῦ  
 κακοῦ ἔξευρεν ἵσχυν) ἀπέστη τε καὶ ἐις ἀμηχα-  
 22 νίαν ἐμπεσὼν τύχας τὰς παρούσας ὠδύρετο. ὑπὸ  
 δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον Ἰησοῦν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν  
 σώματι ὧν τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώποις ὡμίλει,  
 τῷ τε μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀμαρτεῖν πώποτε, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἔξεργαζεσθαι διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύ-  
 23 μενος ὅτι δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εἴη· νε-  
 κρούς τε γὰρ καλῶν ἔξαιστη ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπου καὶ  
 πηροῦς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τεχθεῖσιν ἀνέψης,  
 σώματός τε ὅλου λεύκας ἐκάθηρε καὶ ποδῶν  
 πήρωσιν ἔλυσε, καὶ δσα ἄλλα ἰατροῖς πάθη  
 24 ἀνίατα ὠνομασμένα ἔστι. ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων  
 Αὔγαρος τῶν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐις τὴν Ἐδεσσαν  
 ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἀκούσας, ἐθάρσησέ τε καὶ γράμ-  
 ματα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν γράψας ἐδεῦτο αὐτοῦ  
 ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα  
 ἀγνωμόνων ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμ-  
 25 βιοτεύειν. ἐπει ταῦτα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπενεχθέντα  
 εἰδεν, ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὸν Αὔγαρον, ὡς μὲν οὐκ  
 ἀφίξεται ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγων,<sup>1</sup> τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν τῷ  
 26 γράμματι ὑποσχόμενος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν  
 ἐπειπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάροις ἀλώ-  
 σιμος ἔσται. τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύ-  
 τιον οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἱστορίαν  
 ξυγγράψαντες οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν· οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ  
 πη αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν· Ἐδεσσηνοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολέγων Scaliger : ἀπολεύων P, ἀπονεύων Dindorf.

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in years, he was seized with an exceedingly violent attack of gout. And being distressed by the pains and his inability to move in consequence of them, he carried the matter to the physicians, and from the whole land he gathered all who were skilled in these matters. But later he abandoned these men (for they did not succeed in discovering any cure for the trouble), and finding himself helpless, he bewailed the fate which was upon him. But about that time Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and moving among the men of Palestine, showing manifestly by the fact that he never sinned at all, and also by his performing even things impossible, that he was the Son of God in very truth; for he called the dead and raised them up as if from sleep, and opened the eyes of men who had been born blind, and cleansed those whose whole bodies were covered with leprosy, and released those whose feet were maimed, and he cured all the other diseases which are called by the physicians incurable. When these things were reported to Augarus by those who travelled from Palestine to Edessa, he took courage and wrote a letter to Jesus, begging him to depart from Judaea and the senseless people there, and to spend his life with him from that time forward. When the Christ saw this message, he wrote in reply to Augarus, saying distinctly that he would not come, but promising him health in the letter. And they say that he added this also that never would the city be liable to capture by the barbarians. This final portion of the letter was entirely unknown to those who wrote the history of that time; for they did not even make mention of it anywhere; but the

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- τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εύρέσθαι φασίν, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ  
 ἀνάγραπτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντ' ἄλλου του  
 φυλακτηρίου ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποίηνται  
 27 πύλαις. γέγονε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Μήδοις χρόνῳ τινὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 ὕστερον, οὐχ ἀλοῦσα μέντοι, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.  
 28 ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αὔγαρος ἔλαβε,  
 κακῶν μὲν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀπαθῆς γέγονε, συχνὸν  
 δὲ τῇ ὑγιείᾳ ἐπιβιοὺς χρόνους ἐτελεύτησεν· ὅστις  
 δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων,  
 ἀνοσιώτατος γεγονὼς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ  
 τε πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἔξήμαρτε καὶ τὴν  
 ἐκ Ρωμαίων δεδιώς τίσιν προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσιος  
 29 Πέρσαις. χρόνῳ τε πολλῷ Ἐδεσσηνὸν ὕστερον  
 ἀνελόντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς σφίσιν ἐνδημοῦν-  
 τας φρουροὺς ἐνέδοσαν Ρωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. \* \* \*  
 αὐτῷ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμελές ἐστι, τεκμαιρόμενος  
 οἷς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις γέγονεν, ἀπερ ἐν τοῖς  
 30 καθήκουσι λόγοις δηλώσω. καί μοί ποτε ἔννοια  
 γέγονεν ώς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἀπερ ἐρρήθη ὁ Χριστὸς  
 ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἀνθρωποι  
 ἥλθον, φυλάξαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάλωτον ἐθέλει τὴν  
 πόλιν, ώς μήποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινὰ σκῆψιν  
 διδοίη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταῦτη  
 ἔχέτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω.  
 31 Χοσρόη δὲ τότε προῦργου διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν  
 εἶναι Ἐδεσσαν ἔξελεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βάτνην  
 ἀφίκετο, πόλισμα μὲν βραχὺ καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς  
 ἄξιον, ἡμέρας δὲ ὄδῳ Ἐδέσσης διέχουν, ἐνταῦθα  
 μὲν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσατο, δρθρού δὲ  
 βαθέος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐδεσσαν

men of Edessa say that they found it with the letter, so that they have even caused the letter to be inscribed in this form on the gates of the city instead of any other defence. The city did in fact come under the Medes a short time afterwards, not by capture however, but in the following manner. A short time after Augarus received the letter of the Christ, he became free from suffering, and after living on in health for a long time, he came to his end. But that one of his sons who succeeded to the kingdom showed himself the most unholy of all men, and besides committing many other wrongs against his subjects, he voluntarily went over to the Persians, fearing the vengeance which was to come from the Romans. But long after this the citizens of Edessa destroyed the barbarian guards who were dwelling with them, and gave the city into the hands of the Romans. \* \* \* <sup>1</sup> he is eager to attach it to his cause, judging by what has happened in my time, which I shall present in the appropriate place. And the thought once occurred to me that, if the Christ did not write this thing just as I have told it, still, since men have come to believe in it, He wishes to guard the city uncaptured for this reason, that He may never give them any pretext for error. As for these things, then, let them be as God wills, and so let them be told.

For this reason it seemed to Chosroes at that time a matter of moment to capture Edessa. And when he came to Batne, a small stronghold of no importance, one day's journey distant from Edessa, he bivouacked there for that night, but at early dawn he was on the march to Edessa with his whole

<sup>1</sup> Nine MS. lines are missing at this point.

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32 ἥλαυνε. καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη πλάνη περιπεσοῦσι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλίζεσθαι χῶρον·  
33 ὅπερ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ δὶς ξυμβῆναι. μόλις δὲ ἄγχιστα Ἐδεσσης γενομένῳ Χοσρόῃ ῥεύματός φασιν ἐς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιπεσόντος ἐπῆρθαι τὴν γνάθον. διὸ δὴ τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἥθελε, Παῦλον δὲ πέμψας χρήματα Ἐδεσ-  
34 σηνοὺς ὢτε. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει μὲν δεδιέναι ἥκιστα ἔφασκον, ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῖς χωρίοις λυμήνηται, ὡμολόγησαν δύο χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δώσειν. καὶ δς τά τε χρήματα ἔλαβε καὶ διεσώσατο τὰ ξυγκείμενα.

## XIII

1 Τότε καὶ γράμματα Χοσρόη βασιλεὺς Ἰου-  
στινιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτελέσειν ὁμολογῶν τά τε  
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγ-  
2 κείμενα. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα  
εἶδε, τούς τε ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε καὶ συνεσκευάζετο ἐς  
τὴν ἄφοδον,<sup>1</sup> τούς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους  
3 ἀποδίδοσθαι ἅπαντας ἥθελεν. ὅπερ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ  
ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον, προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς  
κρείσσω. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς δς οὐ τὰ λύτρα ἐν  
τῷ ιερῷ φέρων ὑπὲρ τούτων δὴ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων  
4 κατὰ λόγον τῆς οὐσίας κατέθετο. εἰσὶν δὲ οἱς καὶ  
μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ λόγον ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. αἴ τε  
γὰρ ἔταιραι τὸν κόσμον ἀφελοῦσαι, ὅσος αὐταῖς  
ἐν τῷ σώματι ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ εἴ τῷ  
γεωργῷ ἐπίπλων ἡ ἀργυρίου σπανίζοντι δόνος ἡ

<sup>1</sup> ἄφοδον Ρ: ἄφοδον Η.

army. But it fell out that they lost their way and wandered about, and on the following night bivouacked in the same place; and they say that this happened to them a second time also. When with difficulty Chosroes reached the neighbourhood of Edessa, they say that suppuration set in in his face and his jaw became swollen. For this reason he was quite unwilling to make an attempt on the city, but he sent Paulus and demanded money from the citizens. And they said that they had absolutely no fear concerning the city, but in order that he might not damage the country they agreed to give two centenaria of gold. And Chosroes took the money and kept the agreement.

### XIII

AT that time also the Emperor Justinian wrote a letter to Chosroes, promising to carry out the agreement which had been made by him and the ambassadors regarding the peace.<sup>1</sup> When this message was received by Chosroes, he released the hostages and made preparations for his departure, and he wished to sell off all the captives from Antioch. And when the citizens of Edessa learned of this, they displayed an unheard-of zeal. For there was not a person who did not bring ransom for the captives and deposit it in the sanctuary according to the measure of his possessions. And there were some who even exceeded their proportionate amount in so doing. For the harlots took off all the adornment which they wore on their persons, and threw it down there, and any farmer who was in want

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. x. 24.

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προβάτιουν ἦν, τοῦτο δὴ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδῆ  
5 πολλῇ ἤγειν. ἀθροίζεται μὲν οὖν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ  
ἀργύρου καὶ ἄλλων χρημάτων πάμπολυ πλῆθος,  
6 δέδοται δὲ ὑπὲρ λύτρων οὐδέν. Βούζης γὰρ  
ἐνταῦθα παρὼν ἔτυχεν, ὃς διακωλύσαμε τὴν πρᾶξιν  
ὑπέστη, κέρδος οἱ ἐσεσθαι μέγα τι ἐνθένδε καρα-  
δοκῶν. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους  
7 ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος πρόσω ἔχώρει. Καρρηνοὶ  
δὲ ἀπήντων χρήματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενοι· ὁ  
δὲ οὐ προσήκειν ἔφασκεν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι οὐ  
Χριστιανοί, ἀλλὰ δόξης τῆς παλαιᾶς τυγχάνουσιν  
δύτες.

8 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Κωνσταντινιέων χρήματα δι-  
δόντων ἐδέξατο, καίπερ φάσκων οἱ ἐκ πατέρων  
προσήκειν τὴν πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Καβάδης  
Ἀμίδαν εἶλεν, "Εδεσσάν τε καὶ Κωνσταντίναν  
9 ἔξελειν ἥθελεν. ἀλλ' Ἐδεσσῆς μὲν ἀγχοῦ γενό-  
μενος τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴ οἱ ἀλώσιμος ἡ  
πόλις ἔσται, δείξας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ χωρίον  
10 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐ-  
δεμιᾶ μηχανῆ ἔλεγον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ τὴν  
δεξιάν αὐτῇ χείρα προτείνας, οὐχ ἀλώσεως ταύτῃ  
οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὄτουοῦν χαλεποῦ ξύμβολον, ἀλλὰ  
11 σωτηρίας διδοίη. καὶ ὃς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐπεί-  
θετό τε καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίναν τὸ στρά-  
12 τευμα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐνστρατοπεδεύε-  
σθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐπέ-  
13 στελλεν. ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίνης ἴερεὺς τότε  
Βαράδοτος, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μά-  
λιστα φίλος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς ὅ τι βού-  
λοιτο ἀεὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων· οὐ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον  
ἰδὼν ἂν τις εὐθὺς εἴκασεν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδελε-

of plate or of money, but who had an ass or a sheep, brought this to the sanctuary with great zeal. So there was collected an exceedingly great amount of gold and silver and money in other forms, but not a bit of it was given for ransom. For Bouzes happened to be present there, and he took in hand to prevent the transaction, expecting that this would bring him some great gain. Therefore Chosroes moved forward, taking with him all the captives. And the citizens of Carrhae met him holding out to him great sums of money ; but he said that it did not belong to him because the most of them are not Christians but are of the old faith.

But when, likewise, the citizens of Constantina offered money, he accepted it, although he asserted that the city belonged to him from his fathers. For at the time when Cabades took Amida, he wished also to capture Edessa and Constantina. But when he came near to Edessa he enquired of the Magi whether it would be possible for him to capture the city, pointing out the place to them with his right hand. But they said that the city would not be captured by him by any device, judging by the fact that in stretching out his right hand to it he was not giving thereby the sign of capture or of any other grievous thing, but of salvation. And when Cabades heard this, he was convinced and led his army on to Constantina. And upon arriving there, he issued orders to the whole army to encamp for a siege. Now the priest of Constantina was at that time Baradotus, a just man and especially beloved of God, and his prayers for this reason were always effectual for whatever he wished ; and even seeing his face one would have straightway surmised that

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- 14 χέστατα κεχαρισμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἶη. οὗτος ὁ Βαράδοτος τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τὸν Καβάδην ἐλθὼν οἰνόν τε ἦνεγκε καὶ ἴσχάδας καὶ μέλι καὶ καθαροὺς ἄρτους, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδεῖτο μὴ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι πόλεως ἢ οὕτε λόγου ἀξία ἔστι καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπημέληται λίαν, οὕτε στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἔχουσα οὕτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκήτορας μόνους, ἀνθρώπους οἰκ-  
15 τρούς. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπε· Καβαδῆς δὲ αὐτῷ τήν τε πόλιν χαριεῖσθαι ώμολόγησε καὶ τοὺς σιτίοις ἐδωρήσατο αὐτὸν ἄπασιν ὅσα οἱ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐσ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαστο, μεγάλους ὑπερφυῶς οὖσιν οὕτω τε ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκ πα-  
τέρων οἱ προσήκειν ἥξιον τὴν πόλιν.  
16 Ἐς Δάρας τε ἀφικόμενος ἐσ πολιορκίαν καθί-  
στατο. ἔνδοθεν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μαρτῖνος ὁ στρατηγός (καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὅν ἔτυχε) τὰ ἐσ ἀντί-  
17 στασιν ἔξηρτύοντο. δύο δὲ ἡ πόλις τείχεσι περι-  
βέβληται, ὃν τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθέατον  
ἀτεχνῶς ἔστιν (ἐσ ὑψος γὰρ διήκει πύργος μὲν  
ἔκαστος ποδῶν ἐκατόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τείχος ἔξη-  
κοντα), τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς πολλῷ μὲν ἔλασσον συμβαίνει  
εἰναι, ἄλλως δὲ ἔχυρόν τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξιόν  
18 ἔστι. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ χωρίον εὑρος οὐχ ἥσσον ἡ πεντήκοντα ἔχει ποδῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰώθασι Δα-  
ρηνοὶ τούς τε βίας καὶ τᾶλλα ζῷα πολεμίων  
19 σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων ἐμβάλλεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Χοσρόης προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐσ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ περιβόλου πλήθει τε βελῶν βιασάμενος, τὰς πύλας τείχους τοῦ βραχέος  
20 ἐνέπρησεν. ἐντὸς μέντοι γενέσθαι οὐδεὶς τῶν

this man was most completely acceptable to God. This Baradotus came then to Cabades bearing wine and dried figs and honey and unblemished loaves, and entreated him not to make an attempt on a city which was not of any importance and which was very much neglected by the Romans, having neither a garrison of soldiers nor any other defence, but only the inhabitants, who were pitiable folk. Thus spoke the priest ; and Cabades promised that he would grant him the city freely, and he presented him with all the food-supplies which had been prepared by him for the army in anticipation of the siege, an exceedingly great quantity ; and thus he departed from the land of the Romans. For this reason it was that Chosroes claimed that the city belonged to him from his fathers.

And when he reached Daras, he began a siege ; but within the city the Romans and Martinus, their general (for it happened that he was there), made their preparations for resistance. Now the city is surrounded by two walls, the inner one of which is of great size and a truly wonderful thing to look upon (for each tower reaches to a height of a hundred feet, and the rest of the wall to sixty), while the outer wall is much smaller, but in other respects strong and one to be reckoned with seriously. And the space between has a breadth of not less than fifty feet ; in that place the citizens of Daras are accustomed to put their cattle and other animals when an enemy assails them. At first then Chosroes made an assault on the fortifications toward the west, and forcing back his opponents by overwhelming numbers of missiles, he set fire to the gates of the small wall. However

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βαρβάρων ἐτόλμησεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατώρυχα ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως ἔγνω. ταύτη γὰρ μόνον ὀρύσσεσθαι ἡ γῆ οὖτα τέ ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπὶ πέτρας τοῖς 21 δειμαμένοις πεποίηται. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου ἀρξάμενοι ὤρυσσον. ἡς δὴ βαθείας κομιδῇ οὔσης, οὕτε καθεωρῶντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὕτε αὐτοῖς τινα αἰσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου 22 παρείχοντο. ἥδη μὲν οὖν ὑπέδυσαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ἔκτὸς τείχους, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἐκατέρου περιβόλου γινόμενοι ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ μέγα τείχος ἀμείψαντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, ἀλλ' (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔδει Πέρσαις ἄλωναι) εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατοπέδου ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσην ἀγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου μόνος ἀφίκετο, εἴτε ἀνθρώπος ὁν εἴτε τι ἄλλο ἀνθρώπου κρείσσον, δόξαν τε τοῖς ὄρῶσι παρείχετο ὅτι δὴ τὰ βέλη ἔνθλέγοι ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀφῆ- 23 καν. ταῦτά τε ποιῶν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος ἐρεσχελεῖν τε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι τωθάζειν ἐδόκει. εἴτα φράσας αὐτοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐγρηγορέναι πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ ώς ἔνι μάλιστα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιμε- 24 λεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σημήνας ἀπιὼν ὥχετο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τείχους ἐκατέρου θορύβῳ 25 πολλῷ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐκέλευον σκάπτειν. καὶ Πέρσαι μέντοι οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα οὐδέν 26 τι ἡσσον ἔργου εἶχοντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὀρθήν τινα ἐνερθεν ποιουμένων ὄδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς

no one of the barbarians dared to get inside. Next he decided to make a tunnel secretly at the eastern side of the city. For at this point alone can the earth be dug, since the other parts of the fortifications were set upon rock by the builders. So the Persians began to dig, beginning from their trench. And since this was very deep, they were neither observed by the enemy nor did they afford them any means of discovering what was being done. So they had already gone under the foundations of the outer wall, and were about to reach the space between the two walls and soon after to pass also the great wall and take the city by force; but since it was not fated to be captured by the Persians, someone from the camp of Chosroes came alone about midday close to the fortifications, whether a man or something else greater than man, and he made it appear to those who saw him that he was collecting the weapons which the Romans had a little before discharged from the wall against the barbarians who were assailing them. And while doing this and holding his shield before him, he seemed to be bantering those who were on the parapet and taunting them with laughter. Then he told them of everything and commanded them all to be on the watch and to take all possible care for their safety. After revealing these things he was off, while the Romans with much shouting and confusion were ordering men to dig the ground between the two walls. The Persians, on the other hand, not knowing what was being done, were pushing on the work no less than before. So while the Persians were making a straight way underground to the wall of the city, the Romans by the

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πόλεως τεῦχος, τῶν δὲ Ἐρωμαίων [τε]<sup>1</sup> Θεοδώρου γυνώμη, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός, ἐγκαρσίαν τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐργαζομένων καὶ βάθους ἵκανῷς ἔχουσαν, ξυνέβη Πέρσας κατὰ μέσον τοῦ περιβόλου γεγενημένους ἐκ τοῦ αὐφυιδίου ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἐρωμαίων κατώρυχα.

27 καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πρώτους Ἐρωμαῖοι ἔκτειναν, οἵ δὲ ὅπισθεν φυγόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. διώκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ

28 Ἐρωμαῖοι οὐδαμῆ ἔγνωσαν. ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ὁ Χοσρόης ἀποτυχῶν ἐλεῦν τε τὴν πόλιν μηχανῆ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιὰ ἐλπίσας, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐς λόγους ἥλθε, χίλια τε κεκομισμένος ἀργύρου σταθμὰ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη ἔχώρει.

29 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔμαθεν, οὐκέτι τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελή ποιήσειν ἥθελεν, ἐπικαλῶν Χοσρόη δτὶ δὴ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν σπουδαῖς ἔξελεν ἐνεχείρησε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ἐρωμαίοις ξυνέβη, καὶ τὸ θέρος μὲν ἐτελεύτα.

## XIV

- 1 Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης πόλιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις δειμάμενος ἐν χώρῳ<sup>2</sup> Κτησιφῶντος πόλεως διέχοντι ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, Ἀντιόχειάν τε τὴν Χοσρόου αὐτὴν ἐπωνόμασε καὶ Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς αὐχμαλώτους ἐνταῦθα ξυνώκισεν ἄπαντας, οὓς δὴ βαλανεῖον τε καὶ ἵπποδρόμιον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις
- 2 τρυφαῖς ἀνεῖσθαι ἐποίει. τούς τε γὰρ ἡνιόχους

<sup>1</sup> [τε] bracketed by Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> χώρῳ Maltretus: χώρα MS.

advice of Theodorus, a man learned in the science called mechanics, were constructing their trench in a cross-wise direction and making it of sufficient depth, so that when the Persians had reached the middle point between the two circuit-walls they suddenly broke into the trench of the Romans. And the first of them the Romans killed, while those in the rear by fleeing at top speed into the camp saved themselves. For the Romans decided by no means to pursue them in the dark. So Chosroes, failing in this attempt and having no hope that he would take the city by any device thereafter, opened negotiations with the besieged, and carrying away a thousand pounds of silver he retired into the land of Persia. When this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he was no longer willing to carry the agreement into effect, charging Chosroes with having attempted to capture the city of Daras during a truce. Such were the fortunes of the Romans during the first invasion of Chosroes; and the summer drew to its close.

#### XIV

Now Chosroes built a city in Assyria in a place one day's journey distant from the city of Ctesiphon, and he named it the Antioch of Chosroes and settled there all the captives from Antioch, constructing for them a bath and a hippodrome and providing that they should have free enjoyment of their other luxuries besides. For he brought with him charioteers and musicians

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- καὶ τοὺς τῶν μουσικῶν ἔργων τεχνύτας ἐκ τε  
 'Αντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πόλεων  
 3 ξὺν αὐτῷ ἥγεν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ  
 τοὺς 'Αντιοχέας τούτους ἐπιμελεστέρως ἡ κατὰ  
 αἰχμαλώτους ἐσίτιζεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ  
 βασιλικοὺς καλεῖσθαι ἡξίου, ὥστε τῶν ἀρχόντων  
 4 οὐδενὶ ὑποχειρίους εἶναι ἡ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ. εἰ δέ  
 τις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων δραπέτης γεγονὼς  
 ἐς 'Αντιόχειαν τὴν Χοσρόου διαφυγεῖν ἵσχυσε,  
 καὶ τις αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ξυγγενῆ τῶν ταύτη φκημένων  
 ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκέτι ἔξῆν τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν αἰχμά-  
 λωτον τοῦτον ἀπάγειν, οὐδὲ ἦν τις τῶν λίαν ἐν  
 Πέρσαις δοκίμων ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔξανδρα ποδίσας  
 τυγχάνοι.
- 5   'Αντιοχεῦσι μέντοι τὸ ξυμβάν ἐπὶ 'Αναστασίου  
 βασιλεύοντος τέρας ἐς τοῦτο ἀποβὰν ἐτελεύτησε.  
 τότε γὰρ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ Δάφνη τῷ προαστείῳ  
 ἐκ τοῦ αἴφνιδίου ἐπιπεσόντος, τῶν κυπαρίσσων  
 αἱ ταύτη ὑψηλαὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἤσαν ἐκ ριζῶν τῶν  
 ἐσχάτων ἀνατραπεῖσαι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπεσον, ἀσπερ  
 6 οἱ νόμοις ἐκτέμνεσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἴα. ὀλίγῳ μὲν οὖν  
 ὕστερον, ἡμίκα 'Ιουστῖνος Ῥωμαίων ἡρχε, σει-  
 σμός τις ἐπιγενόμενος ἔξαλσιος λίαν τὴν τε πόλιν  
 κατέσεισε πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τά τε  
 πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἥνεγκε,  
 καὶ λέγονται τότε τριάκοντα μυριάδες 'Αντιοχέων  
 7 ἀπολωλέναι. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀλώσει ξύμπασα  
 ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, διέφθαρται. τὸ μὲν  
 οὖν 'Αντιοχέων πάθος τῇδε ἔχωρησε.
- 8   Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔξ 'Ιταλίας  
 μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν διαχειμάσαντα ἐν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν Hoeschel: αὐτῶν P.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xiv. 2-8

both from Antioch and from the other Roman cities. Besides this he always provisioned these citizens of Antioch at public expense more carefully than in the fashion of captives, and he required that they be called king's subjects, so as to be subordinate to no one of the magistrates, but to the king alone. And if any one else too who was a Roman in slavery ran away and succeeded in escaping to the Antioch of Chosroes, and if he was called a kinsman by any one of those who lived there, it was no longer possible for the owner of this captive to take him away, not even if he who had enslaved the man happened to be a person of especial note among the Persians.

Thus, then, the portent which had come to the citizens of Antioch in the reign of Anastasius reached this final fulfilment for them. For at that time a violent wind suddenly fell upon the suburb of Daphne, and some of the cypresses which were there of extraordinary height were overturned from the extremities of their roots and fell to the earth—trees which the law forbade absolutely to be cut down. Accordingly, a little later, when Justinus was ruling over the Romans, the place was visited by an exceedingly violent earthquake, which shook down the whole city and straightway brought to the ground the most and the finest of the buildings, and it is said that at that time three hundred thousand of the population of Antioch perished. And finally in this capture the whole city, as has been said, was destroyed. Such, then, was the calamity which befell the men of Antioch.

526 A.D.

And Belisarius came to Byzantium from Italy, summoned by the emperor; and after he had spent

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Βυζαντίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας  
 ἄμα ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεὺς ἔπειρψεν ἀρχοντάς  
 τε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἥκουντας, ὃν δὴ ἔνα  
 Βαλεριανὸν ἡγεύσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων  
 9 ἐκέλευε. Μαρτῖνος γὰρ ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν  
 ἑώαν σταλεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χοσρόης αὐτόν,  
 10 ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἐς Δάρας εύρε. τῶν δὲ Γότθων  
 Οὐίττιγις μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 11 ἔμπαντες ἐπὶ Χοσρόην σὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστρά-  
 τευσαν. τότε τῶν Οὐίττιγιδος πρέσβεων ἄτερος  
 μέν, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὄνόματος ἐπεβάτευεν,  
 ἐν τοῖς Περσῶν ἥθεσι θινήσκει, οὐδὲ δὴ ἔτερος  
 12 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. ὅστις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐρμηνεὺς εἴπετο  
 ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸν  
 Ἰωάννης, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν  
 ἥρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὰ Κωνσταντίνης ὅρια ξυλλαβὼν  
 ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθ-  
 εῖρξεν, ὅσπερ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαντα ἀναπυνθα-  
 13 νομένῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἔξήνεγκε. ταῦτα μὲν  
 οὖν τῇδε ἔχώρησε. Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπο-  
 μένοις κατὰ τάχος ἤει, προτερῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ  
 ἔχων πρὸν τινα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐσβολὴν αὐθις ποιή-  
 σεται ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν.

## XV

1   Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπὶ Κολχίδα τὸν  
 στρατὸν ἤγε, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένων ἐξ αἰτίας  
 2 τοιᾶσδε. Λαζὸὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα  
 ὥκουν, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὄντες, οὐ μέντοι ἐς  
 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, οὐδὲ τι ἄλλο ἐπαγγέλλουσιν

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xiv. 8-xv. 2

the winter in Byzantium, the emperor sent him as general against Chosroes and the Persians at the opening of spring, together with the officers who had come with him from Italy, one of whom, Valerianus, he commanded to lead the troops in Armenia. For Martinus had been sent immediately to the East, and for this reason Chosroes found him at Daras, as has been stated above. And among the Goths, Vittigis remained in Byzantium, but all the rest marched with Belisarius against Chosroes. At that time one of the envoys of Vittigis, he who was assuming the name of bishop, died in the land of Persia, and the other one remained there. And the man who followed them as interpreter withdrew to the land of the Romans, and John, who was commanding the troops in Mesopotamia, arrested him near the boundaries of Constantina, and bringing him into the city confined him in a prison ; there the man in answer to his enquiries related everything which had been done. Such, then, was the course of these events. And Belisarius and his followers went in haste, since he was eager to anticipate Chosroes' making any second invasion into the land of the Romans.

541 A.D.

## XV

BUT in the meantime Chosroes was leading his army against Colchis, where the Lazi were calling him in for the following reason. The Lazi at first dwelt in the land of Colchis as subjects of the Romans, but not to the extent of paying them

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## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὐτοῖς ἐπακούοντες, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν  
αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτήσειε, ξύμβολα τῆς  
ἀρχῆς τῷ διαδεξομένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων  
3 βασιλεὺς ἔπειτα. τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ξὺν  
τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσεν, ὅπως  
δὴ μὴ Οὐννοὶ πολέμιοι ἔξ ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου,  
όμορου σφίσιν ὅντος, διὰ Λαζικῆς πορευόμενοι  
4 ἐσβάλλωσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων. ἐφύλασσον  
δὲ οὗτε αὐτοὶ χρήματα ἢ στρατιὰν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων  
δεχόμενοι οὗτε Ῥωμαίοις πη ἔνστρατεύοντες, ἐπ'  
ἐμπορίᾳ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
5 αἱ τοὺς ἐν πόντῳ φέρουσιν ἐργαζόμενοι. αὐτὸλ  
μὲν γὰρ οὗτε ἄλλας οὕτε σῖτον οὕτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν  
ἔχουσι, δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας καὶ ἀνδράποδα  
παρεχόμενοι τὰ σφίσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκομίζοντο.  
6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Γουργένει τῷ Ἰβήρων βασιλεῖ  
γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν  
λόγοις ἐρρήθη, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ἐπιχω-  
ριάζειν Λαζοῦς ἡρξαντο, οἷς δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι  
ῆχθοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Πέτρῳ τῷ στρα-  
τηγῷ, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐπετῶς  
7 ἔχοντι. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος οὗτος ὥρμητο μὲν ἐξ  
Ἀρζανηῆς, ἣ ἐκτὸς Νυμφίου ποταμοῦ ἐστι,  
Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα, πρὸς Ἰουστί-  
νου δὲ βασιλέως ἦτι παῖς ὁν ἡνδραπόδιστο, ἡνίκα  
Ἰουστίνος μετὰ τὴν Ἀμίδης ἄλωσιν ξὺν τῷ  
Κέλερος στρατῷ ἐσέβαλλεν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν.  
φιλανθρωπίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ χρωμένου τοῦ κεκτημένου  
8 ἐς αὐτὸν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἐφοίτησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν  
πρώτα Ἰουστίνου γραμματεὺς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ  
Ἀναστασίου τετελευτηκότος Ἰουστίνος τὴν βασι-

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xv. 2-8

tribute or obeying their commands in any respect, except that, whenever their king died, the Roman emperor would send emblems of the office to him who was about to succeed to the throne. And he, together with his subjects, guarded strictly the boundaries of the land in order that hostile Huns might not proceed from the Caucasus mountains, which adjoin their territory, through Lazica and invade the land of the Romans. And they kept guard without receiving money or troops from the Romans and without ever joining the Roman armies, but they were always engaged in commerce by sea with the Romans who live on the Black Sea. For they themselves have neither salt nor grain nor any other good thing, but by furnishing skins and hides and slaves they secured the supplies which they needed. But when the events came to pass in which Gourgenes, the king of the Iberians, was concerned, as has been told in the preceding narrative,<sup>1</sup> Roman soldiers began to be quartered among the Lazi; and these barbarians were annoyed by the soldiers, and most of all by Peter, the general, a man who was prone to treat insolently those who came into contact with him. This Peter was a native of Arzanene, which is beyond the River Nymphius, a district subject to the Persians from of old, but while still a child he had been captured and enslaved by the Emperor Justinus at the time when Justinus, after the taking of Amida, was invading the land of the Persians with Celer's army.<sup>2</sup> And since his owner showed him great kindness, he attended the school of a grammatist. And at first he became secretary to Justinus, but when, after the death of Anastasius, Justinus took over the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xii. 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Book I. viii. 21-22.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λείαν παρέλαβε Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Πέτρος στρατηγὸς γεγονὼς ἐς τε φιλοχρηματίαν εἰπερ τις ἄλλος ἔξωκειλε καὶ ἀβελτερίᾳ πολλῇ ἐς ἅπαντας ἔχρητο.

- 9 "Τστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄλλους τε ἐς Λαζικὴν ἀρχοντας ἔπειμψε καὶ Ἰωάννην δὲ Τζίβον ἐκάλουν, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀφανῶν μὲν καὶ ἀδόξων ἀρχὴν γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγίαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἡ ὅτι πονηρότατός τε ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἀδίκους<sup>1</sup> ἰκανώτατος ἐξευρεῖν. δις δὴ ἅπαντα ἔσφηλέ τε καὶ συνετάραξε τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν πράγματα.
- 10 ματα. οὗτος καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πόλιν ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Πέτραν δονομα, ἐν Λαζοῖς δείμασθαι· ἐνταῦθα τε ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθήμενος ἦγε τε καὶ ἔφερε τὰ Λαζῶν πράγματα.
- 11 τούς τε γὰρ ἄλας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φορτία Λαζοῖς ἀναγκαῖα ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐξῆν, ἡ ἄλλοθι ἐνθένδε ὠνεῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέτρᾳ<sup>2</sup> ξυστησάμενος τὸ δὴ καλοῦμενον μονοπάλιον αὐτὸς κάπηλός τε καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐργασίας ἐπιστάτης ἐγίγνετο, ἅπαντα ὠνούμενός τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος Κόλχοις, οὐχ ἦπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' ἦπερ ἐξῆν.
- 12 ἄμα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχθοντο ἐπιχωριάζοντι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰωθὸς πρότερον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἀ δὴ οὐκέτι φέρειν οἷοί τε δυτες· Πέρσαις τε καὶ Χοσρόῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀδίκους VGP corr. : ἀδίκων P pr. m.

<sup>2</sup> Πέτρᾳ Hoeschel : πέτραις MSS.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xv. 8-12

Roman empire, Peter was made a general, and he degenerated into a slave of avarice, if anyone ever did, and showed himself very fatuous in his treatment of all.

And later the Emperor Justinian sent different officers to Lazica, and among them John, whom they called Tzibus, a man of obscure and ignoble descent, but who had climbed to the office of general by virtue of no other thing than that he was the most accomplished villain in the world and most successful in discovering unlawful sources of revenue. This man unsettled and threw into confusion all the relations of the Romans and the Lazi. He also persuaded the Emperor Justinian to build a city on the sea in Lazica, Petra by name; and there he sat as in a citadel and plundered the property of the Lazi. For the salt, and all other cargoes which were considered necessary for the Lazi, it was no longer possible for the merchants to bring into the land of Colchis, nor could they purchase them elsewhere by sending for them, but he set up in Petra the so-called "monopoly" and himself became a retail dealer and overseer of all the handling of these things, buying everything and selling it to the Colchians, not at the customary rates, but as dearly as possible. At the same time, even apart from this, the barbarians were annoyed by the Roman army quartered upon them, a thing which had not been customary previously. Accordingly, since they were no longer able to endure these things, they decided to attach themselves to the Persians and Chosroes, and immediately they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πρέσβεις τε αὐτίκα τοὺς ταῦτα διαπραξομένους  
13 κρύφα 'Ρωμαίων παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπειμψαν. οὶ δὴ  
εἴρητο τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβοῦσιν ὅτι γε  
οὗποτε Λαζοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκδώσει 'Ρωμαίοις, οὗτο  
δὴ αὐτὸν ξὺν τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἐς τὴν χώραν  
ἐπαγαγέσθαι.<sup>1</sup>
- 14 Ἀφικόμενοι τοίνυν ἐς Πέρσας οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ  
Χοσρόη λάθρα ἐς δψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε  
“Εἴ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τῶν  
μὲν οἰκείων ἀποστάντας ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον, ἀν-  
δράσι δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀγνῶσι προσκεχωρηκότας  
οὐ δέον αὐθις εὖ ποιοῦσα ή τυχη ὡς μάλιστα  
ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐπιτηδείους,  
τοιούτους δή τινας καὶ Λαζούς, ὃ μέγιστε βασι-  
15 λεῦ, νόμιζε εἶναι. Κόλχοι γὰρ Πέρσαις σύμ-  
μαχοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες πολλά τε εἰργάσαντο  
αὐτὸν ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαθον· ὃν δὴ ἐν γράμ-  
μασι μνημεῖα πολλὰ ἡμεῖς τε ἔχομεν κὰν τοῖς  
βασιλείοις τοῖς σοῦς ἐς τὸ παρὸν διασώζεται.
- 16 χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις  
τετύχηκεν εἴτε παρ' ὑμῶν ἀμεληθεῖσιν εἴτε ἄλλου  
του ἔνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἔχομέν τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτων  
17 εἰδέναι) 'Ρωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδοις γενέσθαι. καὶ νῦν  
ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ Λαζικῆς βασιλεὺς δίδομεν Πέρσαις  
ἡμᾶς τε αὐτὸν καὶ γῆν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὅ τι βούλοι-  
18 σθε χρῆσθαι. δεόμεθα δὲ ὑμῶν οὐτωσὶ σκοπεῖ-  
σθαι περὶ ἡμῶν· εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς 'Ρωμαίων  
πεπονθότες δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἔχόμενοι  
κεχωρήκαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τήνδε ἡμῶν εὐθὺς ἀπο-  
σείσασθε τὴν ἰκετείαν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαγαγέσθαι Haury: παραγαγέσθαι VG, ἀπαγαγέσθαι P,

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xv. 12-18

sent to them envoys who were to arrange this without the knowledge of the Romans. These men had been instructed that they should take pledges from Chosroes that he would never give up the Lazi against their will to the Romans, and that with this understanding they should bring him with the Persian army into the land.

Accordingly the envoys went to the Persians, and coming secretly before Chosroes they said : " If any people in all time have revolted from their own friends in any manner whatsoever and attached themselves wrongfully to men utterly unknown to them, and after that by the kindness of fortune have been brought back once more with greatest rejoicing to those who were formerly their own, consider, O Most mighty King, that such as these are the Lazi. For the Colchians in ancient times, as allies of the Persians, rendered them many good services and were themselves treated in like manner ; and of these things there are many records in books, some of which we have, while others are preserved in thy palace up to the present time. But at a later time it came about that our ancestors, whether neglected by you or for some other reason (for we are unable to ascertain anything certain about this matter), became allies of the Romans. And now we and the king of Lazica give to the Persians both ourselves and our land to treat in any way you may desire. And we beg of you to think thus concerning us : if, on the one hand, we have suffered nothing outrageous at the hands of the Romans, but have been prompted by foolish motives in coming to you, reject this prayer of ours straightway, considering

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ἔσεσθαι Κόλχους οἰόμενοι (φιλίας γὰρ διαλελυμένης ὁ τρόπος τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην πρὸς ἑτέρους  
 19 καθισταμένης ἔλεγχος γίγνεται). εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φίλοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνδράποδα γεγονότες πιστά, ἔργα πεπόνθαμεν πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετυραννηκότων ἀνόσια, δέξασθε μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθε ἔνυμάχους, κτήσασθε δὲ δούλους οὓς φίλοις ἔχρησθε, μισήσατε δὲ τυραννίδα πικρὰν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἐγηγερμένην, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄξια πράσσοντες ἦν περιστέλλειν ἀεὶ<sup>23</sup> πάτριον Πέρσαις. οὐ γὰρ ὁ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν δίκαιος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικουμένους  
 21 ἔχων ἐν ἔξουσίᾳ ῥύεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔνια δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡν τετολμήκασιν οἱ κατάρατοι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄξιον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ τὸ σχῆμα μόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπόντες, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφήρηνται, καὶ κάθηται βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑπηρέτου μοίρᾳ, τὸν  
 22 ἐπιτάπτοντα στρατηγὸν δεδιώς· στρατιᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν πλῆθος, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων φρουρήσουσιν<sup>1</sup> (οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ τις τῶν ὄμόρων ἡμᾶς πλήν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἡνώχλησεν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ὕσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθείρξαντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων γενήσονται.  
 23 λογισάμενοι δὲ συντομωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἡμῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, ὅρα, ὡς βασιλεῦ,  
 24 ἐς ὅποιαν τινά ἔννοιαν ἥλθον· τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀ μὲν περιττὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τετύχηκεν, ἀναγκάζουσιν οὐχ ἐκόντας ὧνεῖσθαι Λαζους, ὅσα

<sup>1</sup> φρουρήσουσιν VG : φρουρήσωσιν P.

that with you likewise the Colchians will never be trustworthy (for when a friendship has been dissolved, a second friendship formed with others becomes, owing to its character, a matter of reproach); but if we have been in name friends of the Romans, but in fact their loyal slaves, and have suffered impious treatment at the hands of those who have tyrannized over us, receive us, your former allies, and acquire as slaves those whom you used to treat as friends, and show your hatred of a cruel tyranny which has risen thus on our borders, by acting worthily of that justice which it has always been the tradition of the Persians to defend. For the man who himself does no wrong is not just, unless he is also accustomed to rescue those who are wronged by others when he has it in his power. But it is worth while to tell a few of the things which the accursed Romans have dared to do against us. In the first place they have left our king only the form of royal power, while they themselves have appropriated the actual authority, and he sits a king in the position of a servant, fearing the general who issues the orders; and they have put upon us a multitude of soldiery, not in order to guard the land against those who harass us (for not one of our neighbours except, indeed, the Romans has disturbed us), but in order that they may confine us as in a prison and make themselves masters of our possessions. And purposing to make more speedy the robbery of what we have, behold, O King, what sort of a design they have formed; the supplies which are in excess among them they compel the Lazi to buy against their will, while those things which are most useful

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δὲ αὐτοῖς χρησιμώτατα φέρειν Λαζικὴ πέφυκεν,  
οἵδε<sup>1</sup> ἀξιοῦσι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' ἡμῶν πρίασθαι,  
τιμῆς ἐκατέρωθι γνώμῃ τῶν κρατούντων ὄριζο-  
25 μένης. οὕτω τε ξὺν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἅπαν ἀφαι-  
ροῦνται τὸ χρυσίον ἡμᾶς, ὃνόματι μὲν τῷ τῆς  
ἐμπορίας εὐπρεπεῖ χρώμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὡς  
ἔνι μάλιστα βιαζόμενοι. ἐφέστηκέ τε ἡμῖν ἀρχων  
κάπηλος, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπορίαν ἐργασίαν τινὰ  
26 τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔξουσίᾳ πεποιημένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν  
τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτία τοιαύτη τις οὖσα τὸ  
δίκαιον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει· ὅσα δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς  
ξύμφορα ἔσται δεχομένοις τὴν Λαζῶν δέησιν  
27 αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ βασιλείαν  
ἀρχαιοτάτην προσθήσετε, μηκυνόμενόν τε ἀπ'  
αὐτῆς ἔξετε τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, μετεῖναι  
δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσης ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας  
ξυμβήσεται χώρας, ἐν ᾧ πλοιά σοι, ὡς βασιλεῦ,  
ναυπηγουμένῳ βατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ  
παλάτιον ἔσται. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐναντίωμα οὐδέν  
28 ἔστι. προσθείη δ' ἂν τις ὡς καὶ ληζεσθαι τοὺς  
όμόρους βαρβάρους τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶν  
29 ἔτος ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. ὅρεσι γὰρ τοῖς Καυ-  
κασίοις ἐπιτείχισμα μέχρι τοῦδε γεγονέναι τὴν  
Λαζῶν χώραν πάντως που καὶ ὑμεῖς ξυνεπί-  
30 στασθε. ἡγουμένου τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου, προσόν-  
τος δὲ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος, τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς λόγους  
προσέσθαι<sup>2</sup> οὐδεμιᾶς ἀν εὐβουλίας οἰόμεθα εἶναι.”  
τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἰπον.  
31 Χοσρόης δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ἥσθεις ἀμύνειν τε

<sup>1</sup> οἵδε : οἱ δὲ VG corr. P, οὐδὲ G pr. m.

<sup>2</sup> προσέσθαι Maltretus : πρόεσθαι MSS.

to them among the products of Lazica these fellows demand to buy, as they put it, from us, the price being determined in both cases by the judgment of the stronger party. And thus they are robbing us of all our gold as well as of the necessities of life, using the fair name of trade, but in fact oppressing us as thoroughly as they possibly can. And there has been set over us as ruler a huckster who has made our destitution a kind of business by virtue of the authority of his office. The cause of our revolt, therefore, being of this sort, has justice on its side; but the advantage which you yourselves will gain if you receive the request of the Lazi we shall forthwith tell. To the realm of Persia you will add a most ancient kingdom, and as a result of this you will have the power of your sway extended, and it will come about that you will have a part in the sea of the Romans through our land, and after thou hast built ships in this sea, O King, it will be possible for thee with no trouble to set foot in the palace in Byzantium. For there is no obstacle between. And one might add that the plundering of the land of the Romans every year by the barbarians along the boundary will be under our control. For surely you also are acquainted with the fact that up till now the land of the Lazi has been a bulwark against the Caucasus mountains. So with justice leading the way, and advantage added thereto, we consider that not to receive our words with favour would be wholly contrary to good judgment." So spoke the envoys.

And Chosroes, delighted by their words, promised

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Λαζοῖς ὡμολόγησε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπυνθάνετο  
 εἴ̄ οἱ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἵέναι  
 32 δυνατὰ εἴη. πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόντων ἔφα-  
 σκεν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ πρότερα δύσοδον ἐπιεικῶς  
 καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τὴν χώραν εἶναι, κρημνώδῃ  
 τε ὑπερφυῶς οὖσαν καὶ δένδροις συχνοῖς τε καὶ  
 33 ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον συνεχομένην. οἱ  
 δέ οἱ ἴσχυρίζοντο παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τὴν  
 ἐκείνη<sup>1</sup> οδὸν εὐπετή ἔσεσθαι, τέμνουσι μὲν τὰ  
 δένδρα, ἐς δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν τὰς δυσχωρίας αὐτὰ  
 34 ἐμβαλλομένοις. καὶ αὐτὸλ ὡμολόγουν τῆς τε  
 ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Πέρσαις  
 35 ἔσεσθαι πρόπονοι. ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπηρμένος  
 τῇ ὑποθήκῃ στρατιάν τε πολλὴν ἡγειρε καὶ τὰ  
 ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξηρτύετο, οὕτε τὸ βούλευμα ἐς  
 Πέρσας ἔξενεγκών, πλὴν γε δὴ οἰς τὰ ἀπόρρητα  
 κοινολογεῖσθαι μόνοις εἰώθει, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν  
 ἐπαγγεῖλας ὅπως τὰ πρασσόμενα μηδενὶ φρά-  
 σωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλετο, ώς  
 τὰ τῇδε καταστησόμενος πράγματα· ἔθνος γὰρ  
 Οὐννικὸν ἐνταῦθα πη ἐπισκῆψαι τῇ Περσῶν  
 ἀρχῇ ἐπεφήμιζεν.

## XVI

- 1   'Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος Βελισάριος ἐν Μεσο-  
 ποταμίᾳ πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἡγειρε, καὶ  
 τινας ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ ἐπεμπεν.  
 2 αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαι

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνη P: ἐκείνην VG.

to protect the Lazi, and enquired of the envoys whether it was possible for him to enter the land of Colchis with a large army. For he said that previously he had heard many persons report that the land was exceedingly hard to traverse even for an unimpeded traveller, being extremely rugged and covered very extensively by thick forests of wide-spreading trees. But the envoys stoutly maintained to him that the way through the country would be easy for the whole Persian army, if they cut the trees and threw them into the places which were made difficult by precipices. And they promised that they themselves would be guides of the route, and would take the lead in this work for the Persians. Encouraged by this suggestion, Chosroes gathered a great army and made his preparations for the inroad, not disclosing the plan to the Persians except those alone to whom he was accustomed to communicate his secrets, and commanding the envoys to tell no one what was being done ; and he pretended that he was setting out into Iberia, in order to settle matters there ; for a Hunnic tribe, he kept saying in explanation, had assailed the Persian domain at that point.

## XVI

At this time Belisarius had arrived in Mesopotamia and was gathering his army from every quarter, and he also kept sending men into the land of Persia to act as spies. And wishing himself to encounter the

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βουλόμενος, ἦν τινα ἐσβολὴν ἐς Ρωμαίων τὴν γῆν αὐθις ποιήσωνται, διεῖπε τε αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκόσμει τοὺς στρατιώτας, γυμνούς τε καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐπὶ πλεῦστον ὅντας, κατωρρωδηκότας

3 τὸ Περσῶν ὅντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἴσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι πολέμου γὰρ

4 Οὔννικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόη ἑτέρωθι εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν

5 ἥθελε. καὶ οἱ Ἀρέθας τε ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἥλθε καὶ βασιλεὺς γράμματα γράψας ἐσβάλλειν κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πολεμίων ἐπέ-

6 στελλε γῆν. ξυγκαλέσας οὖν ἄπαντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν Δάρας ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Απαντας ὑμᾶς, ὡς ξυνάρχοντες, πολέμων πολλῶν ἐμπειρους οἰδα, ξυνήγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας<sup>1</sup> ἡ παραίνεσίν τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄρμήσω (οὐ γὰρ λόγου δεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνάγοντος οἷμαι), ἀλλ’ ὅπως ξυμβουλήν τινα ἐν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἐλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἀπερ ἀν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς

7 βασιλέως πράγμασιν εἶναι. πόλεμος γὰρ εὐβούλια πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. δεῖ δέ τοὺς ἐς βουλὴν καθισταμένους αἰδοῦς τε καὶ φόβου παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν

8 γνώμην. δ τε γὰρ φόβος, ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότας ἐκπλήσσων, οὐκ ἐᾶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, ἢ τε αἰδὼς ἐπισκιάζουσα τοῖς δόξασιν εἶναι ἀμείνοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν

<sup>1</sup> ὑπομνήσας VP : ὑποκνίσας G.

enemy there, if they should again make an incursion into the land of the Romans, he was organizing on the spot and equipping the soldiers, who were for the most part without either arms or armour, and in terror of the name of the Persians. Now the spies returned and declared that for the present there would be no invasion of the enemy; for Chosroes was occupied elsewhere with a war against the Huns. And Belisarius, upon learning this, wished to invade the land of the enemy immediately with his whole army. Arethas also came to him with a large force of Saracens, and besides the emperor wrote a letter instructing him to invade the enemy's country with all speed. He therefore called together all the officers in Daras and spoke as follows: "I know that all of you, my fellow officers, are experienced in many wars, and I have brought you together at the present time, not in order to stir up your minds against the enemy by addressing to you any reminder or exhortation (for I think that you need no speech that prompts to daring), but in order that we may deliberate together among ourselves, and choose rather the course which may seem fairest and best for the cause of the emperor. For war is wont to succeed by reason of careful planning more than by anything else. Now it is necessary that those who gather for deliberation should make their minds entirely free from modesty and from fear. For fear, by paralyzing those who have fallen into it, does not allow the reason to choose the nobler part, and modesty obscures what has been seen to be the better course and leads investigation the

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9 ἐκφέρει τὴν γνῶσιν. εἴ τι τοίνυν ἡ βασιλεῖ τῷ  
 μεγάλῳ ἡ ἐμοὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων  
 10 δοκεῖ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦτο εἰσίτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ  
 μακράν που ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν πραστομένων,  
 11 οὐκ ἔχει τοῖς καιροῖς ἀρμόσαι τὰς πράξεις· ὥστε  
 φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ίόντας τὰ ξυνοί-  
 12 σοντα ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. ἐμὲ  
 δὲ ἄνθρωπόν τε ὅντα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ ἐκ τῶν  
 ἐσπερίων ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντα μὴ οὐχὶ διαλαθεῖν τι  
 13 τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὴν ἐμὴν  
 γνώμην αἰδεσθέντας ὑμᾶς προσήκει διαρρήδην  
 εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἀν ξυνοίσειν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 14 βασιλεῖ μέλλῃ.<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἀρχῆς ἐνθάδε  
 ἥκομεν, ὡς ξυνάρχοντες, ὡς διακωλύσοντες τὸν  
 πολέμιον ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιή-  
 σασθαι, νῦν δέ, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμεινον ἡ  
 κατ' ἐλπίδας κεχωρηκότων, πάρεστι περὶ τῆς  
 15 ἐκείνου βουλεύεσθαι.<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ὃ δὴ ξυνειλεγμένους  
 ὑμᾶς δίκαιον, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν  
 ἀπέρ ἀν ἄριστά τε δοκῆ καὶ ξυμφορώτατα  
 ἐκάστῳ είναι.”

16 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ  
 Βούζης ἔξηγεῖσθαι τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσοντα<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὴ τῇ γνώμῃ  
 17 εἴποντο εὐθὺς ὁ ξύλλογος ἄπας. Ρεκίθαγγος  
 μέντοι καὶ Θεόκτιστος, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρα-  
 τιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, ταῦτα μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμφὶ τῇ  
 ἐσβολῇ βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν, δεδιέναι δὲ

<sup>1</sup> μέλλῃ Dindorf: μέλλει MSS.

<sup>2</sup> βουλεύεσθαι P: βούλεσθαι VG.

<sup>3</sup> μελλήσαντα Braun, μελήσοντα P.

opposite way. If, therefore, it seems to you that any purpose has been formed either by our mighty emperor or by me concerning the present situation, let no thought of this enter your minds. For, as for him, he is altogether ignorant of what is being done, and is therefore unable to adapt his moves to opportune moments; there is therefore no fear but that in going contrary to him we shall do that which will be of advantage to his cause. And as for me, since I am human, and have come here from the West after a long interval, it is impossible that some of the necessary things should not escape me. So it behoves you, without any too modest regard for my opinion, to say outright whatever is going to be of advantage for ourselves and for the emperor. Now in the beginning, fellow officers, we came here in order to prevent the enemy from making any invasion into our land, but at the present time, since things have gone better for us than we had hoped, it is possible for us to make his land the subject of our deliberation. And now that you have been gathered together for this purpose, it is fair, I think, that you should tell without any concealment what seems to each one best and most advantageous." Thus spoke Belisarius.

And Peter and Bouzes urged him to lead the army without any hesitation against the enemy's country. And their opinion was followed immediately by the whole council. Rhecithancus, however, and Theocistus, the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, said that, while they too had the same wish as the others concerning the invasion, they feared that if

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μὴ σφῶν ἐκλελοιπότων τά τε ἐπὶ Φαινίκης καὶ  
Συρίας χωρία, κατ' ἔξουσίαν μὲν Ἀλαμούνδαρος  
ταῦτα ληίζηται, βασιλεὺς δὲ σφᾶς δι' ὄργης ἔχοι,  
ἄτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδήτων τὴν χώραν ἡς ἥρχον,  
καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συνεισβάλλειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ  
18 οὐδαμῆ ἥθελον. Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τούτῳ  
ώς ἥκιστα ἀληθῆ οἰεσθαι ἔλεγε. τοῦ γὰρ  
καιροῦ τροπὰς θερινὰς εἶναι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς  
ῶρας δύο μάλιστα μῆνας ἀνάθημα τῷ σφετέρῳ  
θεῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἐς ἀεὶ φέροντας ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπι-  
δρομῇ τινι οὕποτε χρῆσθαι ἐς γῆν ἄλλοτρίαν.  
19 διὸ δὴ ἔξηκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁμολογήσας ξὺν τοῖς  
ἐπομένοις ἀμφῷ ἀφήσειν, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτοὺς ξὺν  
τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπεσθαι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν  
τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσθολὴν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἔξηρτύετο.

## XVII

- 1 Χοσρόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν  
Ἰβηρίαν ἀμείψαντες ἐν τοῖς τῆς Λαζικῆς ὄρίοις,  
τῶν πρέσβεων σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, ἐγένοντο, τὰ  
δένδρα οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος ἐκτέμνοντες, ἅπερ  
ἐνταῦθα συχνά τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀμφιλαφῆ τε καὶ  
ὑψηλὰ ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ὅντα παντά-  
πασιν ἄβατον τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν χώραν ἐποίει,  
ταῦτά τε ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐρρίπτουν καὶ δλως
- 2 εὐπετῆ τὴν ὄδὸν ἀπειργάζοντο. ἀφικομένοις τε  
αὐτοῖς ἐς μέσην Κολχίδα (οὐ δὴ τά τε ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
Μήδειαν καὶ Ιάσονα οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι  
μυθολογοῦσιν) ἐλθὼν Γουβάζης, ὁ Λαζῶν βασι-

they abandoned the country of Phoenicia and Syria, Alamoundaras would plunder it at his leisure, and that the emperor would be angry with them because they had not guarded and kept unplundered the territory under their command, and for this reason they were quite unwilling to join the rest of the army in the invasion. But Belisarius said that the opinion of these two men was not in the least degree true; for it was the season of the vernal equinox, and at this season the Saracens always dedicated about two months to their god, and during this time never undertook any inroad into the land of others. Agreeing, therefore, to release both of them with their followers within sixty days, he commanded them also to follow with the rest of the army. So Belisarius was making his preparation for the invasion with great zeal.

## XVII

BUT Chosroes and the Median army, after crossing Iberia, reached the territory of Lazica under the leadership of the envoys; there with no one to withstand them they began to cut down the trees which grow thickly over that very mountainous region, rising to a great height, and spreading out their branches remarkably, so that they made the country absolutely impassable for the army; and these they threw into the rough places, and thus rendered the road altogether easy. And when they arrived in the centre of Colchis (the place where the tales of the poets say that the adventure of Medea and Jason took place), Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, came

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λεύς, προσεκίνησεν ἄτε δεσπότην Χοσρόην τὸν  
Καβάδου, αὐτὸν τέ οἱ ξὺν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ  
Λαζικὴν ἐνδιδοὺς ἅπασαν.

- 3     Ἐστι δὲ Πέτρα πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἐν Κόλχοις,  
πρὸς τῷ Εὔξείνῳ καλουμένῳ πόντῳ, ἣν δὴ  
φαῦλόν τι χωρίον τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν Ἰουστι-  
νιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ  
κατασκευῇ ἔχυράν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανῇ κατε-  
4 στήσατο. ἐνταῦθα τὸ Ρωμαίων στράτευμα εἶναι  
ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ μαθὼν ὁ Χοσρόης στρατιάν τε  
καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀνιαβέδην ὡς αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξε-  
5 λοῦντας<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπειμψε. γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης  
τὴν ἔφοδον οὕτε τοῦ περιβόλου τινὰ ἔξω γενέσθαι  
οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων φανῆναι τοῖς πολεμίοις  
ἐκέλευσεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα  
πλησίον πόν τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησεν, ἐπιστείλας  
συγῇ ἔχεσθαι, μήτε ἥχον μήτε φωνὴν ἀφιέντας  
6 τινά. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἄγχιστά που τοῦ περι-  
βόλου γενόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσι πολέμιον οὔτε  
καθεωράτο οὔτ' ἥκούετο, ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τὴν  
πόλιν, Ρωμαίων αὐτὴν ἐκλελοιπότων, ἐνόμιζον.  
7 διὸ δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ἥλθον,  
ώς κλίμακας εὐθύς, ἄτε οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου,  
8 ἐπιθήσοντες. πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄρῶντες  
οὔτε ἀκούοντες, πέμψαντες παρὰ Χοσροην τὰ  
9 παρόντα σφίσιν ἐδήλουν. καὶ δος τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον  
τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας πανταχόθεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι  
τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε, κριψὲ τε τῇ μηχανῇ ἀμφὶ<sup>2</sup>  
τὰς πύλας χρῆσθαι τῶν τινι ἀρχοντῶν ἐπέ-  
στελλεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόφῳ καθήμενος δος δὴ τῇ

<sup>1</sup> ἔξελοῦντας P : Haury conjectures ἔξαιρήσοντας.

and did obeisance to Chosroes, the son of Cabades, as Lord, putting himself together with his palace and all Lazica into his hand.

Now there is a coast city named Petra in Colchis, on the sea which is called the Euxine, which in former times had been a place of no importance, but which the Emperor Justinian had rendered strong and otherwise conspicuous by means of the circuit-wall and other buildings which he erected. When Chosroes ascertained that the Roman army was in that place with John, he sent an army and a general, Aniabedes, against them in order to capture the place at the first onset. But John, upon learning of their approach, gave orders that no one should go outside the fortifications nor allow himself to be seen from the parapet by the enemy, and he armed the whole army and stationed them in the vicinity of the gates, commanding them to keep silence and not allow the least sound of any kind to escape from them. So the Persians came close to the fortifications, and since nothing of the enemy was either seen or heard by them they thought that the Romans had abandoned the city and left it destitute of men. For this reason they closed in still more around the fortifications, so as to set up ladders immediately, since no one was defending the wall. And neither seeing nor hearing anything of the enemy, they sent to Chosroes and explained the situation. And he sent the greater part of the army, commanding them to make an attempt upon the fortifications from all sides, and he directed one of the officers to make use of the engine known as a ram around the gate, while he himself, seated on

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολει ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐπίκειται, θεατὴς τῶν πρασ-  
10 σομένων ἐγίνετο. αὐτίκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε  
πύλας ἀνέκλινον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἀπροσδό-  
κητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων διέ-  
φθειραν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν κριὸν τεταγ-  
μένους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις ξὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ  
11 διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. θυμῷ τε ὁ Χοσρόης  
ἔχόμενος Ἀνιαβέδην ἀνεσκολόπισεν, ἄτε κατα-  
στρατηγηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καπήλου τε  
12 καὶ ἀπολέμου τὸ παράπαν ἀνδρός. τινὲς δὲ οὐκ  
Ἀνιαβέδην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα δις δὴ ἐφειστήκει  
τοῖς τὸν κριὸν ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι  
13 φασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχιστά  
· τε τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἀφίκετο καὶ στρατο-  
14 πεδευσάμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. τῇ δὲ  
ὑστεραίᾳ κύκλῳ περιών τὸν περίβολον, ἐπεὶ οὐ  
λίαν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτὸν ὑπώπτευσεν εἶναι, τειχο-  
μαχεῖν ἔγνω. τό τε στράτευμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα  
ἐπαγαγὼν ἔργου εἴχετο, καὶ τοξεύειν ἀπαντας ἐπὶ  
15 τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι  
ταῦς τε μηχαναῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἔχρωντο τοξεύμασι.  
τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα Πέρσαι, καὶ περ συχνὰ κομιδῆ  
βάλλοντες, ὀλίγα τε Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν καὶ  
πολλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνων, ἄτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλόμενοι,  
. 16 κακὰ ἐπασχον. ἐπειτα δέ (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Πέτραν  
Χοσρόη ἀλῶναι) βληθεὶς Ἰωάννης τύχη τινὶ ἐς  
τὸν τράχηλον θνήσκει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι  
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπάντων κατέστησαν.  
17 τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρθαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον  
ἀνεχώρησαν· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε· τῇ δὲ  
ὑστεραίᾳ διώρυχα ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐπενόουν  
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

the hill which lies very close to the city, became a spectator of the operations. And straightway the Romans opened the gates all of a sudden, and unexpectedly fell upon and slew great numbers of the enemy, and especially those stationed about the ram; the rest with difficulty made their escape together with the general and were saved. And Chosroes, filled with rage, impaled Aniabedes, since he had been outgeneralled by John, a tradesman and an altogether unwarlike man. But some say that not Aniabedes, but the officer commanding the men who were working the ram was impaled. And he himself broke camp with the whole army, and coming close to the fortifications of Petra, made camp and began a siege. On the following day he went completely around the fortifications, and since he suspected that they could not support a very strong attack, he decided to storm the wall. And bringing up the whole army there, he opened the action, commanding all to shoot with their bows against the parapet. The Romans, meanwhile, in defending themselves, made use of their engines of war and all their bows. At first, then, the Persians did the Romans little harm, although they were shooting their arrows thick and fast, while at the same time they suffered severely at the hands of the Romans, since they were being shot at from an elevation. But later on (since it was fated that Petra be captured by Chosroes), John by some chance was shot in the neck and died, and as a result of this the other Romans ceased to care for anything. Then indeed the barbarians withdrew to their camp; for it was already growing dark; but on the following day they planned to assail the fortifications by an excavation, as follows.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 18 Πέτρα ἡ πόλις πὴ μὲν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀπρόσοδός  
ἐστι, πὴ δὲ ἐκ πετρῶν ἀποτόμων, αὶ ταύτη  
πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν· ἀφ' οὐ δὴ καὶ τὴν προση-  
γορίαν ἔλαχε ταύτην. μίαν δὲ εἰσοδον ἐν τῷ  
ομαλεῖ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὔρεῖαν· κρημνοὶ  
γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἔξαισιοι ἀποκρέμανται.  
20 ἐνταῦθα προορώμενοι τὰ πρότερα οἱ τὴν πόλιν  
δειμάμενοι μὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐκείνη τοῦ περιβόλου  
μέρος ἐπίμαχον εἴη, τείχη μακρὰ παρὰ τὸν κρημ-  
νὸν ἐκάτερον τῆς εἰσοδον ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πεποί-  
21 ηνται. τούτων τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐκατέρωθι πύργους  
ἐτεκτήναντο δύο, οὓχη ἥπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ  
22 ἑτέρῳ. κενὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκοδομίας  
χωρίον οὐδαμῆ εἴασαν, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι  
ἔς ὑψος μέγα τοὺς πύργους λίθοις παμμεγέθεσιν  
ἀλλήλων ἔχομένοις εἰργάσαντο, ὅπως δὴ κριῶ ἡ  
μηχανῆ ἀλλῃ ὡς ἡκιστα κατασείοιτο. τὰ μὲν  
οὖν Πέτρας τοῦ περιβόλου ταύτη πη ἔχει.  
23 Πέρσαι δὲ λάθρα ἐις τὴν γῆν κατώρυχα ποιη-  
σάμενοι ἔνερθεν θατέρου τῶν πύργων ἐγένοντο,  
τῶν τε λίθων ἐνθένδε πολλοὺς ἐκφοροῦντες, ξύλα  
ἐις τὴν ἐκείνων ἐτίθεντο χώραν, ἅπερ ὅλη γφ  
24 ὕστερον ἔκαυσαν. ἣ τε φλὸξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρο-  
μένη, διέθρυψε μὲν τὴν τῶν λίθων ἴσχυν, ὅλον δὲ  
τὸν πύργον κατασείσασα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐις  
25 τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν αὐτίκα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ  
πύργῳ ἤσαν τοσοῦτον τῶν ποιουμένων ἥσθοντο  
πρότερον, ὅσον αὐτῷ μὴ ξυμπεσεῖν ἐις τὸ ἔδαφος,  
ἀλλὰ φυγόντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου  
26 γενέσθαι. παρῆν τε ἥδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ  
ομαλεῖ τειχομαχοῦσι πόνῳ [ἐν] οὐδενὶ<sup>1</sup> τὴν πόλιν

<sup>1</sup> [ἐν] bracketed by Braun: Haury suggests ἀν οὐδενὶ, cf. v. iii. 29.

The city of Petra is on one side inaccessible on account of the sea, and on the other on account of the sheer cliffs which rise there on every hand; indeed it is from this circumstance that the city has received the name it bears. And it has only one approach on the level ground, and that not very broad; for exceedingly high cliffs overhang it on either side. At that point those who formerly built the city provided that that portion of the wall should not be open to attack by making long walls which ran along beside either cliff and guarded the approach for a great distance. And they built two towers, one in each of these walls, not following the customary plan, but as follows. They refused to allow the space in the middle of the structure to be empty, but constructed the entire towers from the ground up to a great height of very large stones which fitted together, in order that they might never be shaken down by a ram or any other engine. Such, then, are the fortifications of Petra. But the Persians secretly made a tunnel into the earth and got under one of the two towers, and from there carried out many of the stones and in their place put wood, which a little later they burnēd. And the flame, rising little by little, weakened the stones, and all of a sudden shook the whole tower violently and straightway brought it down to the ground. And the Romans who were on the tower perceived what was being done in sufficient time so that they did not fall with it to the ground, but they fled and got inside the city wall. And now it was possible for the enemy to storm the wall from the level, and thus with no trouble to take the city by force.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 27 κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες  
‘Ρωμαῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐς λόγους ἥλθον, καὶ τὰ  
πιστὰ ὑπέρ τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων  
πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν  
πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδοσαν. οὕτω μὲν Πέτραν  
28 Χοσρόης εἶλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰωάννου χρήματα  
λίαν ἀδρὰ εύρων αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τῶν δέ ἄλλων  
οὐδενὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν Περσῶν ἤψατο,  
ἄλλα ‘Ρωμαῖοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῷ  
Μήδων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο.

## XVIII

- 1   'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος τε καὶ ὁ 'Ρωμαῖων  
στρατός, οὐδέν τι πεπυσμένοι ὡν ταύτῃ ἐπράσ-  
σετο, κόσμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἐπὶ  
2   Νίσιβιν ἤεισαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέσον  
ἐγένοντο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ στράτευμα  
ἡγεν, οὐδὲ δὴ πηγαί τε ὑδάτων διαρκεῖς ἦσαν καὶ  
πεδίον ἅπασιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἴκανῷς ἔχον.  
3   ἐνταῦθα τε στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι ὅσον  
ἀπὸ σταδίων δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Νισίβιδος  
4   πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐν θαύματι  
μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη ἐθέλοι  
τοῦ περιβόλου στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ὡς  
5   ἡκιστά οἱ ἐπεσθαι ἥθελον. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος  
τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὖσιν ἔλεξεν ὡδε  
“'Εμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἐς ἄπαντας ὅσα  
γινώσκω ἔξενεγκεῖν. λόγος γάρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ  
περιφερόμενος οὐκ οἶδε τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἐπεὶ  
κατὰ βραχὺ προϊὼν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους

The Romans, therefore, in terror, opened negotiations with the barbarians, and receiving from Chosroes pledges concerning their lives and their property, they surrendered to him both themselves and the city. Thus Chosroes captured Petra. And finding the treasures of John, which were extremely rich, he took them himself, but besides this neither he himself nor anyone else of the Persians touched anything, and the Romans, retaining their own possessions, mingled with the Median army.

541 A.D.

## XVIII

MEANTIME Belisarius and the Roman army, having learned nothing of what was being done there, were going in excellent order from the city of Daras toward Nisibis. And when they had reached the middle of their journey, Belisarius led the army to the right where there were abundant springs of water and level ground sufficient for all to camp upon. And there he gave orders to make a camp at about forty-two stades from the city of Nisibis. But all the others marvelled greatly that he did not wish to camp close to the fortifications, and some were quite unwilling to follow him. Belisarius therefore addressed those of the officers who were about him thus: "It was not my wish to disclose to all what I am thinking. For talk carried about through a camp cannot keep secrets, for it advances little by little until it is carried out even to the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

6 ἐκφέρεται. ὁρῶν δὲ τούς τε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ εἰκοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἔκαστον αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ἐθέλοντα εἶναι, λέξω τανῦν ἐν ὑμῖν ὅσα χρῆν σιωπᾶν, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πρότερον ὑπειπών, ὡς πολλῶν ἐν στρατιᾷ γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ χρωμένων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.  
 7 οἵμαι τοίνυν Χοσρόην ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἴόντα βαρβάρους ὡς ἥκιστα φυλακῆς τινος αὐτάρκους χωρὶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολιπεῖν γῆν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἢ πρώτη τε τυγχάνει οὖσα καὶ  
 8 πάσης τῆς ἐκείνου γῆς προβεβλημένη. ἐν ᾧ στρατιώτας εὐ οἴδα ὅτι τοσούτους τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιούτους τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεστήσατο ὥστε ἰκανοὺς εἶναι ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐφόδοις ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ὑμῖν.  
 9 Ναβέδην γὰρ στρατηγὸν τούτοις ἐπέστησεν, ὃς δὴ μετά γε τὸν Χοσρόην αὐτὸν δόξῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀξιώματι πρώτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ.  
 10 δὸν ἔγωγε οἴμαι καὶ ἀποπειράσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἡμῖν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡσσηθέντα ἐνδώ-  
 11 σειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως ἡ ξυμβολὴ εἴη, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τε καὶ  
 12 Πέρσαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. αὐτὸι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἔχυροῦ ἐπεξιόντες εὐημερήσαντές τε, ἀν οὕτω τύχη, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον θαρρήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἡσσηθέντες εὐπετῶς διαφεύξονται τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίθεσιν.  
 13 δὶ’ ὀλίγουν γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ δίωξις ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε οὐδὲν γενήσεται βλάβος, ἢν τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῆς  
 14 ἀμυνομένων ὄρατε δήπου. ἢν δέ γε τῶν πολεμίων

<sup>1</sup> ἀποπειράσεσθαι Dindorf : ἀποπειράσασθαι MSS.

enemy. But seeing that the majority of you are allowing yourselves to act in a most disorderly manner, and that each one wishes to be himself supreme commander in the war, I shall now say among you things about which one ought to keep silence, mentioning, however, this first, that when many in an army follow independent judgments it is impossible that anything needful be done. Now I think that Chosroes, in going against other barbarians, has by no means left his own land without sufficient protection, and in particular this city which is of the first rank and is set as a defence to his whole land. In this city I know well that he has stationed soldiers in such number and of such valour as to be sufficient to stand in the way of our assaults. And the proof of this you have near at hand. For he put in command of these men the general Nabedes, who, after Chosroes himself at least, seems to be first among the Persians in glory and in every other sort of honour. This man, I believe, will both make trial of our strength and will permit of our passing by on no other condition than that he be defeated by us in battle. If, therefore, the conflict should be close by the city, the struggle will not be even for us and the Persians. For they, coming out from their stronghold against us, in case of success, should it so happen, will feel unlimited confidence in assailing us, and in case of defeat they will easily escape from our attack. For we shall only be able to pursue them a short distance, and from this no harm will come to the city, which you surely see cannot be captured by storming the wall when soldiers are defending it. But if the enemy engage

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ένταῦθα ἡμῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν πολλὴν τινα, ὡς ξυνάρχοντες, ἐλπίδα 15 ἔχω. φεύγουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐναντιοῖς πολύν τινα δρόμον ἡ ἀναμιχθέντες εἰσω πυλῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ξυνεισπεσούμεθα, ἡ προτερήσαντες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἑτέρας τινὸς ἀναγκάσομεν τετράφθαι τε καὶ διαφυγεῖν χώρας, ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς Νίσιβιν τῶν ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς εὐάλωτον καταστήσομεν.”
- 16 Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. Πέτρος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐταιρισάμενος, δις τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ καταλόγων ἄρχων μοῖραν οὐ φαύλην τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰχεν, οὐκ ἀποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ 17 σταδίων δέκα ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. Βελισάριος δὲ τούς τε ξὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἰς παράταξιν ἔστησε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπέστελλεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμβολῆς παρατάσσεσθαι μέχρι αὐτὸς σημήνη, εὖ τε εἰδέναι ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπιθήσονται σφίσιν, ἐκεῦνο δηλονότι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐς δείλην ὁψίαν μεταλαγχάνειν 18 εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ μεσημβρίαν. Βελισάριος μὲν ταῦτα παρήνει· οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἀμφὶ τε ἡμέραν μέσην τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀχθόμενοι (ἔστι γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς αὐχμῶδες) τά τε ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφροντιστήσαντες σικίους ἐνταῦθα πῃ φυομένους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιιόντες 19 κατήσθιον. ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ Ναβέδης δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπῆργεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδενὶ <λόγῳ> Herweden, οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ Suidas and Scholiast.

with us here and we conquer them, I have great hopes, fellow officers, of capturing the city. For while our antagonists are fleeing a long way, we shall either mingle with them and rush inside the gates with them, as is probable, or we shall anticipate them and compel them to turn and escape to some other place, and thus render Nisibis without its defenders easy of capture for us."

When Belisarius had said this, all the others except Peter were convinced, and they made camp and remained with him. He, however, associating with himself John, who commanded the troops in Mesopotamia and had no small part of the army, came up to a position not far removed from the fortifications, about ten stades away, and remained quietly there. But Belisarius marshalled the men who were with him as if for combat, and sent word to Peter and his men also to hold themselves in array for battle, until he himself should give the signal; and he said that he knew well that the barbarians would attack them about midday, remembering, as they surely would, that while they themselves are accustomed to partake of food in the late afternoon, the Romans do so about midday. So Belisarius gave this warning; but Peter and his men disregarded his commands, and about midday, being distressed by the sun (for the place is exceedingly dry and hot), they stacked their arms, and with never a thought of the enemy began to go about in disorderly fashion and eat gourds which grew there. And when this was observed by Nabedes, he led the Persian army running at full speed against them.

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20 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐξιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ καθεωρῶντο λαμπρῶς ἄτε ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ ἰόντες) παρά τε Βελισάριον ἐπεμπον, ἀμύνειν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες, καὶ αὐτὸι τὰ μὲν δπλα ἀνελόμενοι,  
 21 ἀκοσμίᾳ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ ἔχόμενοι ὑπηντίαζον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον, οὕπω παρὰ σφᾶς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀφικομένου γνόντες διὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ  
 22 τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ.. ἐπελθόντες τε Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους οὐχ ὑποστάντας τὴν ἔφοδον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐσ φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ πεντήκοντά τε διέφειραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου  
 23 σημεῖον ἀρπάσαντες ἔσχον. ἅπαντάς τε ἀν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διώξει ἔκτειναν ἐσ οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν ὁρῶντας, εἰ μὴ Βελισάριος τε καὶ ὁ ξὺν αὐτῷ  
 24 στρατὸς καταλαβὼν διεκώλυσε. πρώτους γὰρ ἀπάντων ξὺν δόρασι μακροῖς τε καὶ συχνοῖς Γότθους ἐπιόντας Πέρσαι οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἐσ  
 25 φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἐπισπόμενοι τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν Γότθοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔκτειναν. δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ  
 26 τάχος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. τότε μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες ἐσ τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πύργῳ τινὶ ἔστησαν ἀντὶ τροπαίου τὸ Πέτρου σημεῖον, ἀλλάντας<sup>1</sup> τε αὐτοῦ ἀποκρεμάσαντες τοὺς πολεμόις ξὺν γέλωτι ἐπετώθαζον, ἐπεξιέναι μέντοι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλασσον.

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλάντας Suidas : ἀλάντα V, ἀλλαντά G.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xviii. 20-26

And the Romans, since they did not fail to observe that the Persians were coming out of the fortifications (for they were seen clearly because moving over a level plain), sent to Belisarius urging him to support them, and they themselves snatched up their arms, and in disorder and confusion confronted their foe. But Belisarius and his men, even before the messenger had reached them, discovered by the dust the attack of the Persians, and went to the rescue on the run. And when the Persians came up, the Romans did not withstand their onset, but were routed without any difficulty, and the Persians, following close upon them, killed fifty men, and seized and kept the standard of Peter. And they would have slain them all in this pursuit, for the Romans had no thought of resistance, if Belisarius and the army with him had not come upon them and prevented it. For as the Goths, first of all, came upon them with long spears in close array, the Persians did not await their attack but beat a hasty retreat. And the Romans together with the Goths followed them up and slew a hundred and fifty men. For the pursuit was only of short duration, and the others quickly got inside the fortifications. Then indeed all the Romans withdrew to the camp of Belisarius, and the Persians on the following day set up on a tower instead of a trophy the standard of Peter, and hanging sausages from it they taunted the enemy with laughter; however, they no longer dared to come out against them, but they guarded the city securely.

# PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

## XIX

- 1 Βελισάριος τε Νίσιβιν ὁρῶν ἔχυρὰν ὑπερφυῶς οὐσαν, ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ἀλώσεως πέρι, πρόσω ίέναι ἡπείγετο ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
- 2 τοῖς πολεμίοις λυμήνηται. ἄρας τοίνυν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἥει. ἀνύσαντές τε ἡμέρας ὁδὸν φρουρίῳ ἐνέτυχον ὃ Σισαυράνων καλοῦσι
- 3 Πέρσαι. ἐνταῦθα πλήθος τε οἰκητόρων ἦν καὶ ἵππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι Περσῶν ἄριστοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἷς ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Βλησχάμης δνομα, ἐφειστήκει.
- 4 Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ φρουρίου στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, προσβολήν τε τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιησάμενοι ἀπεκρού-
- 5 σθησαν, πολλοὺς τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τό τε γὰρ τεῖχος ἐς ἄγαν ἔχυρὸν ἐτύγχανεν ὃν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι καρτερώτατα ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμύνοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπαντας ἔνγκα-
- 6 λέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Ἐμπειρία πολέμων πολλῶν, ἀνδρες ἄρχοντες, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόροις προορᾶν τε τὰ ἔνυμβησόμενα καὶ δυνατοῖς εἶναι πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν
- 7 ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. ἐπίστασθε τοίνυν πηλίκου ἐστὶ κακὸν στράτευμα ἐς γῆν πολεμίαν, πολλῶν μὲν ὀχυρωμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ μαχίμων ἐν τούτοις ἀνδρῶν ὅπισθεν ἀπολελειμμένων,
- 8 πορεύεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι τετύχηκεν. ἐπίπροσθεν γὰρ ίοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἐπόμενοι λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐν χωρίοις, ὡς τὸ

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AND Belisarius, seeing that Nisibis was exceedingly strong, and having no hope regarding its capture, was eager to go forward, in order that he might do the enemy some damage by a sudden inroad. Accordingly he broke camp and moved forward with the whole army. And after accomplishing a day's journey, they came upon a fortress which the Persians call Sisauranon. There were in that place besides the numerous population eight hundred horsemen, the best of the Persians, who were keeping guard under command of a man of note, Bleschames by name. And the Romans made camp close by the fortress and began a siege, but, upon making an assault upon the fortifications, they were beaten back, losing many men in the fight. For the wall happened to be extremely strong, and the barbarians defended it against their assailants with the greatest vigour. Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and spoke as follows : "Experience in many wars, fellow officers, has made it possible for us in difficult situations to foresee what will come to pass, and has made us capable of avoiding disaster by choosing the better course. You understand, therefore, how great a mistake it is for an army to proceed into a hostile land, when many strongholds and many fighting men in them have been left in the rear. Now exactly this has happened to us in the present case. For if we continue our advance, some of the enemy from this place as well as from the city of Nisibis will follow us secretly and will, in all probability, handle us

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εἰκός, κακουργήσουσιν ἐπιτηδείως αὐτοῖς πρὸς  
 9 ἐνέδραν ἡ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιβούλην ἔχουσιν. ἦν  
 δέ πη καὶ ἄλλος ἀπαντήσῃ στρατὸς εἰς τε μάχην  
 καθιστῶνται, πρὸς ἑκατέρους μὲν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη  
 τετάξεσθαι, πάθοιμεν δὲ ἀν οὕτω πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ  
 ἀνήκεστα· ἐώ γὰρ λέγειν ώς καὶ πταίσαντες ἐν τῇ  
 ἔνυμβολῇ, ἀν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπάνοδον ἐς Ἱωαννίων  
 10 τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾶ μηχανῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξομεν. μὴ  
 τοίνυν ἀλογίστῳ σπουδῇ χρώμενοι [έφ']<sup>1</sup> ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς ἐσκυλευκότες φαινόμεθα, μηδὲ τῷ φιλοινέ-  
 κῳ τὰ Ἱωαννίων πράγματα βλάψωμεν. τόλμα  
 μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθῆς ἐς δλεθρον φέρει, μέλλησις δὲ  
 σώφρων ἐς τὸ σώζειν ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους  
 11 ἰκανῶς πέφυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαθεζό-  
 μενοι ἔξελειν πειρώμεθα τὸ φρούριον τόδε,  
 Ἀρέθας δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας  
 12 χωρία στελλέσθω. Σαρακηνὸν γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν  
 μὲν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι φύσει, ἐς δὲ τὸ ληίζεσθαι  
 13 πάντων μάλιστα δεξιοί. συνεισβαλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ στρατιώται τῶν μαχίμων τινές, ὅπως αὐτοί  
 τε, μηδενὸς μὲν ἐναντιώματος σφίσι φανέντος, τὰ  
 ἀνήκεστα τοὺς προσπεσόντας ἐργάσωνται, ἦν δέ  
 τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον, εὐπετώς ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς  
 14 ἡμᾶς σώζοιντο. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξελόντες, ἦν θεὸς  
 θέλη, τὸ φρούριον, οὕτω δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ  
 Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβαίνωμεν, οὐ δεδιότες μὲν  
 τοὺς ὅπισθεν κακουργήσοντας, εὖ δὲ εἰδότες ὅπη  
 ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει.”

15 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος εὖ τε λέγειν ἅπασιν  
 ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ βούλευμα εὐθὺς ἐπετέλει. Ἀρέθαν  
 τε ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας ἐκέλευεν

<sup>1</sup> [έφ'] bracketed by Haury.

roughly in places which are for them conveniently adapted for an ambuscade or some other sort of attack. And if, by any chance, a second army confronts us and opens battle, it will be necessary for us to array ourselves against both, and we should thus suffer irreparable harm at their hands. And in saying this I do not mention the fact that if we fail in the engagement, should it so happen, we shall after that have absolutely no way of return left to the land of the Romans. Let us not therefore by reason of most ill-considered haste seem to have been our own despoilers, nor by our eagerness for strife do harm to the cause of the Romans. For stupid daring leads to destruction, but discreet hesitation is well adapted always to save those who adopt such a course. Let us therefore establish ourselves here and endeavour to capture this fortress, and let Arethas with his forces be sent into the country of Assyria. For the Saracens are by nature unable to storm a wall, but the cleverest of all men at plundering. And some of the soldiers who are good fighters will join them in the invasion, so that, if no opposition presents itself to them, they may overwhelm those who fall in their way, and if any hostile force encounters them, they may be saved easily by retiring to us. And after we have captured the fortress, if God wills, then with the whole army let us cross the River Tigris, without having to fear mischief from anyone in our rear, and knowing well how matters stand with the Assyrians."

These words of Belisarius seemed to all well spoken, and he straightway put the plan into execution. Accordingly he commanded Arethas with

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ιέναι καὶ αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας διακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὃν δὴ οἱ πλεῦστοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἡσαν, δορυφόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας δύο, Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φαγᾶν καλούμενον, ἅμφω ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια.

- 16 καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν Ἀρέθᾳ πειθομένοις ἄπαντα πράστειν ἐπέστελλεν, Ἀρέθαν δὲ ἄπαντα ἐκέλευε τὰ ἐν ποσὶ ληισάμενον οὕτω τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανήκοντα ἀπαγγέλλειν σφίσιν ὅποιά ποτε δυνάμεως πέρι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα εἴη.  
 17 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρέθαν Τίγρην ποταμὸν  
 18 διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο. οὐ δὴ χώραν τε ἀγαθὴν εύρόντες καὶ μακροῦ χρόνου ἀδητούν, ταύτην τε ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πολλὰ ληισάμενοι τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων χρήματα μεγάλα  
 19 περιεβάλλοντο. τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τῶν τινας Περσῶν ξυλλαβών, ἐνδεῦν τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ  
 20 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παντελῶς ἔμαθεν. οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν Δάρας τε καὶ Νισίβιδι πόλει, ἐν δημοσίῳ τὰς ἐπετείους τροφὰς ἀποτίθεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίων στρατοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐσκομισάμενοί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ  
 21 ἔφθησαν. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ φρούριον καταφυγόντων, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὡς  
 22 τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιέζοντο. ἀ δὴ Βελισάριος γνοὺς Γεώργιον ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντα, ἀποπειρασμένον τῶν [ἐν]<sup>1</sup> ταύτη ἀνθρώπων, εἰ πως  
 23 ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ δύναιτο τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. Γεώργιος δὲ παραίνεσίν τε ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ ἐς

<sup>1</sup> [ἐν] bracketed by Herwerden.

his troops to advance into Assyria, and with them he sent twelve hundred soldiers, the most of whom were from among his own guard, putting two guardsmen in command of them, Trajan and John who was called the Glutton, both capable warriors. These men he directed to obey Arethas in everything they did, and he commanded Arethas to pillage all that lay before him and then return to the camp and report how matters stood with the Assyrians with regard to military strength. So Arethas and his men crossed the River Tigris and entered Assyria. There they found a goodly land and one which had been free from plunder for a long time, and undefended besides ; and moving rapidly they pillaged many of the places there and secured a great amount of rich plunder. And at that time Belisarius captured some of the Persians and learned from them that those who were inside the fortress were altogether out of provisions. For they do not observe the custom which is followed in the cities of Daras and Nisibis, where they put away the annual food-supply in public store-houses, and now that a hostile army had fallen upon them unexpectedly they had not anticipated the event by carrying in any of the necessities of life. And since a great number of persons had taken refuge suddenly in the fortress, they were naturally hard pressed by the want of provisions. When Belisarius learned this, he sent George, a man of the greatest discretion with whom he shared his secrets, to test the men of the place, in the hope that he might be able to arrange some terms of surrender and thus take the place. And George succeeded, after addressing to them many

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- αύτοὺς ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπών, ἔπεισε τὰ πιστὰ λα-  
βόντας ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ  
 24 τὸ φρούριον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους. οὕτω Βελι-  
σάριος τὸ Σισαυράνων ἐλῶν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας  
ἀπαντας, Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέ-  
καθεν ὅντας, ἀθώους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας  
ξὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπειμψε, καὶ  
τὸν τοῦ φρουρίου περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε.  
 25 βασιλεύς τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτους τε τοὺς  
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν Βλησχάμην ἐς Ἰταλίαν Γότθοις  
πολεμήσοντας ἔπειμψε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ  
Σισαυράνῳ φρουρίῳ<sup>1</sup> ταύτη ἔχώρησεν.  
 26 Ἀρέθας δέ, δείσας μὴ τὴν λείαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίουν  
ἀφαιρεθείη, οὐκέτι ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 27 ἥθελε. πέμψας οὖν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ  
κατασκοπῇ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκέλευε λάθρα ὡς  
τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντας σημῆναι σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ  
πολὺς τις πολεμίων στρατὸς ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 28 τὴν διάβασιν εἴη. διὸ δὴ Τραιανῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννη  
παρήνει ἑτέρᾳ ὥστιν ὁδῷ ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίουν  
 29 τὴν γῆν. παρὰ μὲν οὖν Βελισάριον οὐκέτι ἥλθον,  
ἔχοντες δὲ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ οὕτω  
δὴ ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἀβόρρᾳ  
 30 ποταμῷ ὕκοντο. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων  
στρατὸς οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου  
πυθόμενοι ἡσχαλλον, ἃς τε δέος καὶ ὑποψίαν  
οὔτε φορητήν τινα οὔτε μετρίαν ἔμπιπτοντες.  
 31 χρόνου τε σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ  
τριβέντος συχνοῦ ἔννέβη πολλοῖς τῶν στρα-  
τιωτῶν πυρετῷ δυσκόλῳ ἐνταῦθα ἀλῶνται αὐχ-  
μηρὰ γὰρ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἡ Περσῶν κατήκοος

<sup>1</sup> φρουρίῳ VP : χωρίῳ G.

words of exhortation and of kindly invitation, in persuading them to take pledges for their safety and to deliver themselves and the fortress to the Romans. Thus Belisarius captured Sisauranon, and the inhabitants, all of whom were Christians and of Roman origin, he released unscathed, but the Persians he sent with Bleschames to Byzantium, and razed the fortification wall of the fortress to the ground. And the emperor not long afterwards sent these Persians and Bleschames to Italy to fight against the Goths. Such, then, was the course of events which had to do with the fortress of Sisauranon.

But Arethas, fearing lest he should be despoiled of his booty by the Romans, was now unwilling to return to the camp. So he sent some of his followers ostensibly for the purpose of reconnoitring, but secretly commanding them to return as quickly as possible and announce to the army that a large hostile force was at the crossing of the river. For this reason, then, he advised Trajan and John to return by another route to the land of the Romans. So they did not come again to Belisarius, but keeping the River Euphrates on the right they finally arrived at the Theodosiopolis which is near the River Aborras. But Belisarius and the Roman army, hearing nothing concerning this force, were disturbed, and they were filled with fear and an intolerable and exaggerated suspicion. And since much time had been consumed by them in this siege, it came about that many of the soldiers were taken there with a troublesome fever; for the portion of Mesopotamia which is subject to the Persians is

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- 32 ὑπερφυῶς ἔστιν. οὐπερ ἀήθεις δύτες Ῥωμαῖοι  
 καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ ἐκ Θράκης ὄρμώμενοι, ἐν  
 χωρέῳ ἐκτόπως ιαύχμωδει καὶ καλύβαις τισὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 πυνγηραῖς ὥρᾳ θέρους δίαιταν ἔχοντες, ἐνόσησαν  
 οὗτως ὥστε ἡμεθυῆτες τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ στρα-  
 33 τοῦ ἔκειντο. ἅπας μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ἐνθένδε  
 τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν  
 γῆν ἐπανήκειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, μάλιστα δὲ  
 ἀπάντων οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ<sup>1</sup> καταλόγων ἄρχον-  
 τες, Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος, ὄρωντες ὅτι  
 δὴ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνάθημα παρώ-  
 34 χηκεν ἦδη. Βελισαρίῳ γοῦν συχνὰ προσιόντες  
 ἐδέοντο σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρόμενοι ως  
 Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ τά τε ἐπὶ Λιβάνου καὶ Συρίας  
 χωρία ἐνδόντες κάθηνται αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.  
 35 Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἅπαντας ἔνγκαλέσας τοὺς  
 36 ἄρχοντας βουλὴν προοῦθηκεν. οὐ δὴ ἀναστὰς  
 πρώτος. Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου νιὸς ἔλεξε τοιάδε  
 “Ἄριστε Βελισάριε, στρατηγὸν μὲν οὔτε τὴν τύ-  
 χην οὔτε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου γεγενῆ-  
 37 σθαι τοιοῦτον οἴμαι οἰος αὐτὸς εἰ. δόξα τε αὐτῇ  
 οὐ Ῥωμαίων κεκράτηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβά-  
 38 ρων ἀπάντων. ταύτην μέντοι βεβαιότατα διαφυ-  
 λάξεις τὴν εὔκλειαν, ἦν γε ζῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐς  
 Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν διασώσασθαι δυνατὸς εἴης· ως  
 νῦν γε ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται.  
 οὕτωσὶ γάρ μοι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ σκόπει.  
 39 Σαρακηνὸι μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μαχιμώτα-  
 τοι Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες, ἡμέραν οὐκ οἴδα  
 ὅπόστην<sup>2</sup> ἄνω ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἀφίκοντο ὥστε

<sup>1</sup> Λιβάνῳ P: βελισαρίῳ VG.

<sup>2</sup> διπόστην Haury : διπὼς τὴν MSS.

extremely dry and hot. And the Romans were not accustomed to this and especially those who came from Thrace; and since they were living their daily life in a place where the heat was excessive and in stuffy huts in the summer season, they became so ill that the third part of the army were lying half-dead. The whole army, therefore, was eager to depart from there and return as quickly as possible to their own land, and most of all the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Rhecithancus and Theoctistus, who saw that the time which was the sacred season of the Saracens had in fact already passed. They came, indeed, frequently to Belisarius and entreated him to release them immediately, protesting that they had given over to Alamoundaras the country of Lebanon and Syria, and were sitting there for no good reason.

Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and opened a discussion. Then John, the son of Nicetas, rose first and spoke as follows: "Most excellent Belisarius, I consider that in all time there has never been a general such as you are either in fortune or in valour. And this reputation has come to prevail not alone among the Romans, but also among all barbarians. This fair name, however, you will preserve most securely, if you should be able to take us back alive to the land of the Romans; for now indeed the hopes which we may have are not bright. For I would have you look thus at the situation of this army. The Saracens and the most efficient soldiers of the army crossed the River Tigris, and one day, I know not how long since, they found themselves in such a plight that they have

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οὐδὲ ἄγγελον πέμψαι τινὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἵσχυσαν· Πεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος ἀποπορεύσονται, ώς ὁρᾶς δήπουθεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν Ἀλαμουνδάρου στρατὸν ἐν Φοίνιξι μέσοις εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἄγοντά τε καὶ φέροντα ἔνυπαντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία.

- 40 τῶν δὲ λειπομένων οἱ νοσοῦντές εἰσι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς θεραπεύσοντάς τε καὶ κομιοῦντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἐλάσσους αὐτῶν παρὰ πολὺ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὅντων, ἣν τι ἔνυμβαίη πολέμιον ἡ αὐτοῦ μένουσιν ἡ ὀπισω ἴονσιν ἡμῖν ἀπαντήσαι, οὐδ’ ἄν τις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν Δάρας Ῥωμαίοις 42 δύναιτο τὸ ἔνυπεσὸν πάθος. τὸ γὰρ ἐπίπροσθέ πητὶ ιέναι οὐδὲ λόγῳ οἷμαι δυνατὸν εἶναι. ἔως οὖν ἔτι λείπεται τις ἐλπίς, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον βουλεύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ πράσσειν ἔνυοίσει. τοῖς γὰρ ἐς κίνδυνον ἀλλως τε καὶ τοιοῦτον καθεστηκόσι μὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐς 44 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβουλὴν πολλὴ ἄνοια.” τοσαῦτα Ἰωάννης τε εἶπε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπήνεσαν, ἐς τε θόρυβον καθιστάμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν 45 κατὰ τάχος ποιεῖσθαι ἡξίουν. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος πρότερον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνθέτησεν, 46 μενος, ὑπῆργεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπειδὴ τε τάχιστα ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἀπαντα μὲν τὰ τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ εἰργασμένα ἔγνω, δίκην μέντοι λαβεῖν οὐδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἵσχυσεν, ἐπει γε οἱ ἐς ὅψιν οὐκέτι ἥλθεν. ή μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.
- 47 Χοσρόη δὲ Πέτραν ἐλόντι Βελισάριος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἡγγέλλετο καὶ ἡ ἀμφὶ πόλιν

<sup>1</sup> βουλεύεσθαι P : βούλεσθαι VG.

not even succeeded in sending a messenger to us, and Rhecithancus and Theoctistus will depart, as you see surely, believing that the army of Alamoundaras is almost at this very moment in the midst of Phoenicia, pillaging the whole country there. And among those who are left the sick are so numerous that those who will care for them and convey them to the land of the Romans are fewer in number than they are by a great deal. Under these circumstances, if it should fall out that any hostile force should come upon us, either while remaining here or while going back, not a man would be able to carry back word to the Romans in Daras of the calamity which had befallen us. For as for going forward, I consider it impossible even to be spoken of. While, therefore, some hope is still left, it will be of advantage both to make plans for the return and to put the plans into action. For when men have come into danger and especially such danger as this, it is downright folly for them to devote their thoughts not to safety, but to opposition to the enemy." So spoke John, and all the others expressed approval, and becoming disorderly, they demanded that the retreat be made with all speed. Accordingly Belisarius laid the sick in the carts and let them lead the way, while he led the army behind them. And as soon as they got into the land of the Romans, he learned everything which had been done by Arethas, but he did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon him, for he never came into his sight again. So ended the invasion of the Romans.

And after Chosroes had taken Petra, it was announced to him that Belisarius had invaded the

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Νίσιβιν ξυμβολή, φρουρίου τε τοῦ Σισαυράνων ἡ  
ἄλωσις, καὶ ὅσα Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάν τὸ ξὺν  
48 τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ στράτευμα ἔπρασσεν. αὐτίκα τε  
φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καταστησάμενος, ξὺν τῷ  
ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἀλοῦσιν ἐς τὰ  
49 Περσῶν ἥθη ἀπῆλαυνε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ  
Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Βελισά-  
ριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἐλθὼν  
διεχείμαζεν.

## XX

- 1 "Αμα δὲ ἡρι ἀρχομένῳ Χοσρόῃ ὁ Καβάδον τὸ  
τρίτον στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
ἐσέβαλλε, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων.
- 2 Κάνδιδος δέ, ὁ Σεργιουπόλεως ἰερεύς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν  
Μήδων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά που ἦκειν ἐπύθετο,  
δείσας περὶ τέ οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ  
τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ Χοσρόῃ τὰ ὡμολογημένα ὡς ἥκιστα  
ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ  
γενόμενος παρητείτο Χοσρόην μή οἱ διὰ ταῦτα  
3 χαλεπῶς ἔχειν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε  
αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βεβου-  
λῆσθαι<sup>1</sup> Σουρηνοὺς ῥύεσθαι, βασιλέα δὲ Ἰουστι-  
νιανὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων πολλὰ ἵκετεύσας ἀνόνητος  
4 αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ  
ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πικρότατα αἰκιζόμενος δι-

<sup>1</sup> βεβουλῆσθαι VGP : βεβουλεῦσθαι H.

Persian territory, and the engagement near the city of Nisibis was reported, as also the capture of the fortress of Sisauranon, and all that the army of Arethas had done after crossing the River Tigris. Straightway, then, he established a garrison in Petra, and with the rest of the army and those of the Romans who had been captured he marched away into the land of Persia. Such, then, were the events which took place in the second invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, and passed the winter there.

## XX

AT the opening of spring Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the third time began an invasion into the land of the Romans with a mighty army, keeping the River Euphrates on the right. And Candidus, the priest of Sergiopolis, upon learning that the Median army had come near there, began to be afraid both for himself and for the city, since he had by no means carried out at the appointed time the agreement which he had made<sup>1</sup>; accordingly he went into the camp of the enemy and entreated Chosroes not to be angry with him because of this. For as for money, he had never had any, and for this reason he had not even wished in the first place to deliver the inhabitants of Sura, and though he had supplicated the Emperor Justinian many times on their behalf, he had failed to receive any help from him. But Chosroes put him under guard, and, torturing him most cruelly, claimed the right to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. chap. v. 31.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πλάσια [τὰ] χρήματα, ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο, πράττειν  
 5 ἡξίου. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν τινὰς ἵκέτευε  
 πέμψαι τὰ κειμήλια ξύμπαντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῦ  
 6 ληφομένους. καὶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης  
 ἐποίει, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ὁ Κάνδιδος ξὺν  
 7 αὐτοῖς ἔπειμψεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σεργιούπολῖται  
 τοὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντας τῇ πόλει δεξά-  
 μενοι τῶν κειμηλίων πολλὰ ἔδοσαν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν  
 8 σφίσιν ἀπολελεῖθαι ἴσχυριζόμενοι. Χοσρόης  
 δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἀποχρῆν οὐδαμῆ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἔτερα  
 9 τούτων πλείω λαβεῖν ἐδικαίουν. πέμπει τοίνυν  
 τινὰς τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διερευνησομένους ἐς τὸ ἀκρι-  
 βές τὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν  
 10 καθέξοντας. καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Σεργιούπολιν  
 Πέρσαις ἀλῶναι, τῶν τις Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανὸς  
 μέν, ταπτόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλαμουνδάρφῳ, "Αμβρος  
 ὅνομα, νύκτωρ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος ἤκων  
 καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλας, ἐκέλευε Πέρσας  
 11 τῇ πόλει μηδαμῆ δέξασθαι. οὕτω τε οἱ παρὰ  
 Χοσρόου σταλέντες ἄπρακτοι ἐὰν αὐτὸν ἐπανῆλθον,  
 καὶ δι τῷ θυμῷ ζέων τὴν πόλιν ἔξελεῖν διενοεῖτο.  
 12 στράτευμα οὖν ἐς ἔξακισχιλίους στείλας ἐκέλευεν  
 ἐς τε πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι καὶ προσβολὰς  
 13 τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα  
 γενόμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο, Σεργιούπολῖται δὲ καρ-  
 τερῶς μὲν τὰ πρώτα ἡμύνοντο, ἔπειτα <δὲ><sup>1</sup>  
 ἀπειπόντες τε καὶ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον  
 ἐβουλεύοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι.  
 14 στρατιώτας γὰρ οὐ πλέον ἡ διακοσίους ἔχοντες  
 ἔτυχον. ἀλλὰ "Αμβρος, αὐθις παρὰ τὸν περί-

<sup>1</sup> <δὲ> Ηαύργ.

exact from him double the amount of money, just as had been agreed. And Candidus entreated him to send men to Sergiopolis to take all the treasures of the sanctuary there. And when Chosroes followed this suggestion, Candidus sent some of his followers with them. So the inhabitants of Sergiopolis, receiving into the city the men sent by Chosroes, gave them many of the treasures, declaring that nothing else was left them. But Chosroes said that these were by no means sufficient for him, and demanded that he should receive others still more than these. Accordingly he sent men, ostensibly to search out with all diligence the wealth of the city, but in reality to take possession of the city. But since it was fated that Sergiopolis should not be taken by the Persians, one of the Saracens, who, though a Christian, was serving under Alamoundaras, Ambrus by name, came by night along the wall of the city, and reporting to them the whole plan, bade them by no means receive the Persians into the city. Thus those who were sent by Chosroes returned to him unsuccessful, and he, boiling with anger, began to make plans to capture the city. He accordingly sent an army of six thousand, commanding them to begin a siege and to make assaults upon the fortifications. And this army came there and commenced active operations, and the citizens of Sergiopolis at first defended themselves vigorously, but later they gave up, and in terror at the danger, they were purposing to give over the city to the enemy. For, as it happened, they had not more than two hundred soldiers. But Ambrus, again coming along by the

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- βολον ἐς νύκτα ἥκων, δυοῖν<sup>1</sup> ἡμέραιν τὴν πολιορκίαν διαλύσειν Πέρσας ἔφασκε, τοῦ ὕδατος 15 αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντος. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδαμῇ ἥλθον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δίψει ἔχόμενοι ἐξανέστησάν τε καὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκοντο. Κάνδιδον μέντοι 16 Χοσρόης οὐκέτι ἀφῆκε. χρῆν γάρ, οἷμαι, αὐτὸν τὰ ομωμοσμένα ἥλογηκότα ιερέα μηκέτι είναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἔχωρησεν.
- 17 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνῶν χώραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀφίκετο, ἦν καλοῦσιν Εὐφρατησίαν, ἐς λείαν μὲν ἡ χωρίου του ἄλωσιν τρέπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἥθελεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μέχρι ἐς Σύρους τὰ μὲν ἔξελῶν, τὰ δὲ ἀργυρολογησας πρότερον ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ 18 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. γνώμην δὲ εἶχεν εὐθὺν Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κειμήλια πάντα ληίσηται. χώραν γὰρ ταῦτην ἀγάθήν τε διαφερόντως καὶ πολυχρύσων οἰκητόρων 19 είναι ἀκοῦ ἐίχε. Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἄπαντες, ἀρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιώτας, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάζειν ἡ τῇ παρόδῳ ἔμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ διενοοῦντο, τὰ δὲ ὄχυρώματα καταλαβόντες ὡς ἔκαστος ἥδύνατο, ἀποχρῆν φοντο ταῦτά τε διαφυλάσσειν καὶ αὐτοὶ σωζεσθαι.
- 20 Γνοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βελισάριον αὐθις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς δημοσίοις ὄχοιμενος, οὓς δὴ βερέδους καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἄτε οὐ στράτευμα ἔνν αὐτῷ ἔχων, τάχει πολλῷ ἐς Εὐφρατησίαν ἀφίκετο, Ἰοῦστος δέ, ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιός, ἐν

<sup>1</sup> δυεῖν MSS.

fortifications at night, said that within two days the Persians would raise the siege since their water supply had failed them absolutely. For this reason they did not by any means open negotiations with the enemy, and the barbarians, suffering with thirst, removed from there and came to Chosroes. However, Chosroes never released Candidus. For it was necessary, I suppose, that since he had disregarded his sworn agreement, he should be a priest no longer. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But when Chosroes arrived at the land of the Commagene which they call Euphratesia, he had no desire to turn to plundering or to the capture of any stronghold, since he had previously taken everything before him as far as Syria, partly by capture and partly by exacting money, as has been set forth in the preceding narrative. And his purpose was to lead the army straight for Palestine, in order that he might plunder all their treasures and especially those in Jerusalem. For he had it from hearsay that this was an especially goodly land and peopled by wealthy inhabitants. And all the Romans, both officers and soldiers, were far from entertaining any thought of confronting the enemy or of standing in the way of their passage, but manning their strongholds as each one could, they thought it sufficient to preserve them and save themselves.

The Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, again sent Belisarius against them. And he came with great speed to Euphratesia since he had no army with him, riding on the government post-horses, which they are accustomed to call "veredi," while Justus, the nephew of the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

‘Ιεραπόλει ξύν τε τῷ Βούζῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 21. καταφυγὼν ἔτυχεν. οἱ δὲ Βελισάριον οὐ μακρὰν  
 ἄποθεν ἤκειν ἀκούσαντες γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 22 ἔγραφον ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε “Καὶ νῦν  
 ὁ Χοσρόης, ὥσπερ οἰσθά που καὶ αὐτός, ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 ‘Ρωμαίους ἐστράτευσε, στρατὸν μὲν πολλῷ πλεί-  
 ονα ἡ πρότερον ἄγων, ὅπῃ ποτὲ δὲ ἵέναι<sup>3</sup> δια-  
 νοούμενος οὕπω ἐνδῆλος ὁν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι  
 αὐτὸν ἄγχιστά πη ἀκούομεν είναι, χωρίφ μὲν  
 οὐδενὶ λυμηνάμενον, ὁδῷ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐπίπροσθεν  
 23 ἴόντα. ἀλλ’ ἥκε παρ’ ἡμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, εἴπερ  
 οἶός τε εἰ λαθεῦν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον,  
 ὅπως δὴ σῶς τε αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ἔσῃ καὶ ‘Ιερά-  
 24 πολιν<sup>2</sup> ἡμῖν ξυμφυλάξῃς.” τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τὰ γε-  
 γραμμένα ἐς Εύρωπὸν τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκετο, δ  
 25 πρὸς Εὐφράτη ποταμῷ ἐστιν. ἐνθένδε τε περι-  
 πέμπων πανταχόσε τὸν στρατὸν ἤγειρε καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεστήσατο, ἀρχοντάς τε τοὺς  
 ἐν ‘Ιεραπόλει ἡμείβετο τοῖσδε, “Εἴ μὲν ἐφ’ ἑτέρους  
 ἀνθρώπων<sup>3</sup> τινάς, ἀλλ’ οὐ ‘Ρωμαίων κατηκόους  
 ὁ Χοσρόης χωρεῖ, εὖ τε καὶ ως ἀσφαλέστατα  
 26 ὑμῖν βεβούλευται ταῦτα· οἷς γὰρ πάρεστιν  
 ἡσυχῇ μένουσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, πολλὴ  
 ἄνοια ἐς κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον τινα ἵέναι·  
 εἰ δὲ νῦν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος  
 ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ἐπισκήψει βασιλέως Ιουστινιανοῦ  
 χώρᾳ, καὶ ταύτη διαφερόντως μὲν ἀγαθῇ, φρου-  
 ρὰν δὲ οὐδαμῇ στρατιωτῶν ἔχουσῃ, εὖ ἵστε ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> ἵέναι P : om. VG.    <sup>2</sup> ‘Ιεράπολιν Dindorf : ιερὰν πόλιν MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπων VG : ἀνθράκους P.

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emperor, together with Bouzes and certain others, was in Hierapolis where he had fled for refuge. And when these men heard that Belisarius was coming and was not far away, they wrote a letter to him which ran as follows : "Once more Chosroes, as you yourself doubtless know, has taken the field against the Romans, bringing a much greater army than formerly ; and where he is purposing to go is not yet evident, except indeed that we hear he is very near, and that he has injured no place, but is always moving ahead. But come to us as quickly as possible, if indeed you are able to escape detection by the army of the enemy, in order that you yourself may be safe for the emperor, and that you may join us in guarding Hierapolis." Such was the message of the letter. But Belisarius, not approving the advice given, came to the place called Europum, which is on the River Euphrates. From there he sent about in all directions and began to gather his army, and there he established his camp ; and the officers in Hierapolis he answered with the following words : "If, now, Chosroes is proceeding against any other peoples, and not against subjects of the Romans, this plan of yours is well considered and insures the greatest possible degree of safety ; for it is great folly for those who have the opportunity of remaining quiet and being rid of trouble to enter into any unnecessary danger ; but if, immediately after departing from here, this barbarian is going to fall upon some other territory of the Emperor Justinian, and that an exceptionally good one, but without any guard of soldiers, be assured that to perish

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τὸ ξὺν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ σεσῶσθαι  
 27 ἀμαχητὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. οὐ γὰρ ἀν σωτηρίᾳ  
 τοῦτο γε, ἀλλὰ προδοσίᾳ δικαίως καλοῖτο. ἀλλ'  
 ἥκετε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὸν Εύρωπόν, οὖ δὴ συλ-  
 λέξας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ὅσα ἀν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ  
 28 ἐλπίδα ἔχω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι." ταῦτα  
 ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶδον, ἐθάρρησάν  
 τε καὶ Ἰοῦστον μὲν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ  
 ἔλεπον ἐφ' ω τὴν Ἱεράπολιν<sup>1</sup> φυλάξουσιν,<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ  
 λοιποὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Εύρωπὸν ἤλθον.

## XXI

1 Χοσρόης δὲ μαθὼν Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ Ῥω-  
 μαίων στρατῷ ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ἐν Εύρωπῳ,  
 πρόσω μὲν ἐλαύνειν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, τῶν δὲ βασι-  
 λικῶν γραμματέων ἔνα, Ἀβανδάνην ὄνομα, δό-  
 ξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Βελισάριον  
 ἐπεμψε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὃποιός ποτε εἴη κατασκε-  
 ψόμενον, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ μεμψόμενον ὅτι δὴ βασιλεὺς  
 Ἰουστινιανὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς Πέρσας ἥκιστα  
 πέμψειεν,<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' ω τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κατὰ τὰ  
 ξυγκείμενα πρυτανεύσωσιν. ὅπερ μαθὼν Βελι-  
 2 σάριος ἐποίει τοιάδε. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξακισχιλίους  
 ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐμήκεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα  
 καλοὺς μάλιστα, μακράν που ἀποθεν τοῦ στρα-  
 τοπέδου ὡς κυνηγετῆσων ἐστάλη, Διογένην δὲ τὸν  
 δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα

<sup>1</sup> Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf: Ἱερατικὴν VG, Ἱερὰν πόλιν P.

<sup>2</sup> φυλάξουσιν P: φυλάξωσιν VG.

<sup>3</sup> πέμψειεν edd.: πέμψειν MSS.

valorously is better in every way than to be saved without a fight. For this would justly be called not salvation but treason. But come as quickly as possible to Europum, where, after collecting the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy as God permits." And when the officers saw this message, they took courage, and leaving there Justus with some few men in order to guard Hierapolis, all the others with the rest of the army came to Europum.

XXI

BUT Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius with the whole Roman army had encamped at Europum, decided not to continue his advance, but sent one of the royal secretaries, Abandanes by name, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, to Belisarius, in order to find out by inspection what sort of a general he might be, but ostensibly to make a protest because the Emperor Justinian had not sent the ambassadors to the Persians at all in order that they might settle the arrangements for the peace as had been agreed. When Belisarius learned this, he did as follows. He himself picked out six hundred men of goodly stature and especially fine physique, and set out to hunt at a considerable distance from the camp. Then he commanded Diogenes, the guardsman, and Adolius, the son of

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Αρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ  
ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα (σιλεντιαρίους Ρω-  
μαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἵς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπίκειται), τότε  
δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ποταμὸν  
διαβάντας<sup>1</sup> ξὺν ἵππεῦσι χιλίοις περιεῖναι τὴν  
ἐκείνη ἡιόνα ἐκέλευε, δόκησιν ἀεὶ παρεχομένους  
τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς, ἦν ἐθέλωσι τὸν Εὐφράτην  
διαβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ὁδῷ ἴέναι, οὐ  
μήποτε ἐπιτρέψουσι.<sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα  
ἐποίουν.

- 3 Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἄγχιστά  
πη ἐπέπυστο εἶναι, καλύβην ἐκ παχειῶν τινῶν  
σινδόνων πηξάμενος, ἦν δὴ παπυλεῶνα καλεῖν  
νεινομίκασιν, ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ,  
παραδηλῶν ὅτι δὴ οὐδεμιᾶ παρασκευῆ ἔνταῦθα<sup>3</sup>
- 4 ἥκοι. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας διέταξεν ὡδε. τῆς μὲν  
καλύβης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Θράκες τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ  
ἥσαν, Γότθοι δὲ μετ' αὐτούς, καὶ τούτων ἔχόμενοι  
Ἐρουλοι, μεθ' οὓς Βανδίλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι
- 5 ᥫσαν. τοῦ τε πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διῆκον. οὐ  
γὰρ ἐστῶτες ἐπὶ χώρας ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμενον,  
ἀλλὰ διεστηκότες τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ περιπάτους  
ποιούμενοι παρέργως τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα κατε-  
σπουδασμένως ἐς τὸν Χοσρόου πρεσβευτὴν
- 6 ἐβλεπον. εἰχε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε χλαμύδα<sup>4</sup>  
οὔτε ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινά, ἀλλὰ χιτῶνας μὲν  
λινοῦς καὶ ἀναξυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἴτα διεζωσ-  
7 μένοι ἐβάδιζον. εἰχε δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου μάστυγα  
ἔκαστος, ὅπλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ξίφος ἦν, τῷ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> διαβάντα Maltretus : διαβάντα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτρέψουσι Haury : ἐπιστρέψουσι MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἔνταῦθα Theophanes : ἐν ταύτῃ MSS.

<sup>4</sup> χλαμύδα Dindorf : χλανίδα MSS.

Acacius, to cross the river with a thousand horsemen and to move about the bank there, always making it appear to the enemy that if they wished to cross the Euphrates and proceed to their own land, they would never permit them to do so. This Adolius was an Armenian by birth, and he always served the emperor while in the palace as privy counsellor (those who enjoy this honour are called by the Romans "silentiarii"), but at that time he was commander of some Armenians. And these men did as directed.

Now when Belisarius had ascertained that the envoy was close at hand, he set up a tent of some heavy cloth, of the sort which is commonly called a "pavilion," and seated himself there as one might in a desolate place, seeking thus to indicate that he had come without any equipment. And he arranged the soldiers as follows. On either side of the tent were Thracians and Illyrians, with Goths beyond them, and next to these Eruli, and finally Vandals and Moors. And their line extended for a great distance over the plain. For they did not remain standing always in the same place, but stood apart from one another and kept walking about, looking carelessly and without the least interest upon the envoy of Chosroes. And not one of them had a cloak or any other outer garment to cover the shoulders, but they were sauntering about clad in linen tunics and trousers, and outside these their girdles. And each one had his horse-whip, but for weapons one had a sword,

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- 8 πέλεκυς, τῷ δὲ τόξα γυμνά. δόκησίν τε παρείχοντο ἀπαντες ὅτι δὴ ἀφροντιστήσαντες τῶν  
9 ἄλλων ἀπάντων κυνηγετήσειν ἡπεύγοντο. ὁ μὲν  
οὖν Ἀβανδάνης Βελισαρίψ ἐς ὅψιν ἥκων δεινὰ  
ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἔφη, ὅτι δὴ καθὰ  
ξυνέκειτο πρότερον οὐ πέμψει παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς  
πρέσβεις ὁ Καῖσαρ (οὗτῳ γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων  
βασιλέα καλοῦσι Πέρσαι) καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Χοσ-  
ρόης ἡνάγκαστο ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις  
10 ἦκειν. Βελισάριος δὲ οὕτε κατορρωδήσας, ἀτε πῃ  
ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδευμένων βαρβάρων τοσούτων  
τὸ πλῆθος, οὕτε τῷ λόγῳ ἐς ταραχήν τινα κα-  
ταστάς, ἄλλὰ γελῶντί τε καὶ ἀνεμένῳ τῷ  
προσώπῳ ἀμείβεται “Οὐ ταύτη” λέγων “ἢ τῷ  
Χοσρῷ τανῦν εἱργασται νενόμισται τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
11 ποις τὰ πράγματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, ἣν τι  
ἀντιλέγοιτο σφίσι τε καὶ τῶν πέλας τισί, πρεσ-  
βεύουσι μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς πρότερον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν  
μετρίων μὴ τύχωσιν, οὕτω δὴ πολέμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
12 ἵασιν. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτα  
τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προτείνεται λόγους.” ὁ μὲν  
τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο.  
13 Ὁ δὲ παρὰ Χοσρόην γενόμενος παρῆνει οἱ ὅτι  
14 τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. στρατηγῷ τε γὰρ  
ἐντυχεῖν ἔφη ἀνδρειοτάτῳ τε καὶ ξυνετωτάτῳ  
ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπάντων καὶ στρατιώταις οὖσις ἄλλους  
αὐτὸς οὐ πώποτε εἶδεν, ὃν δὴ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν θαυ-  
μάσειε μάλιστα πάντων, εἶναι τε οὐκ ἔξ ἀντιπάλου  
τοῦ κινδύνου αὐτῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίψ τὴν ἀγωνίαν,

another an axe, another an uncovered bow. And all gave the impression that they were eager to be off on the hunt with never a thought of anything else. So Abandanes came into the presence of Belisarius and said that the king Chosroes was indignant because the agreement previously made had not been kept, in that the envoys had not been sent to him by Caesar (for thus the Persians call the emperor of the Romans), and as a result of this Chosroes had been compelled to come into the land of the Romans in arms. But Belisarius was not terrified by the thought that such a multitude of barbarians were encamped close by, nor did he experience any confusion because of the words of the man, but with a laughing, care-free countenance he made answer, saying : " This course which Chosroes has followed on the present occasion is not in keeping with the way men usually act. For other men, in case a dispute should arise between themselves and any of their neighbours, first carry on negotiations with them, and whenever they do not receive reasonable satisfaction, then finally go against them in war. But he first comes into the midst of the Romans, and then begins to offer suggestions concerning peace." With such words as these he dismissed the ambassador.

And when Abandanes came to Chosroes, he advised him to take his departure with all possible speed. For he said he had met a general who in manliness and sagacity surpassed all other men, and soldiers such as he at least had never seen, whose orderly conduct had roused in him the greatest admiration. And he added that the contest was not on an even footing as regards risk for him and for Belisarius, for there was this difference, that if he

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διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν Καίσαρος νικήσει δοῦλον, ἡσσηθεὶς δέ, ἀν οὕτω τύχοι, μέγα τι αἰσχος τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ πορίσεται καὶ τῷ Περσῶν γένει, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν νενικημένοι ῥᾳδίως ἀν ἐν τε ὁχυρώμασι καὶ γῆ τῇ αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> διασώζοντο, αὐτῶν δέ, ἦν γέ τι ἐναντίωμα ξυμβαίη, οὐδ' ἀν  
 15 ἄγγελος διαφύγοι ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν. ταύτη ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναπεισθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη ἐβούλετο, ἀμηχανίᾳ δὲ  
 16 πολλῆ εἶχετο. τήν τε γὰρ διάβασιν τοῦ πόταμοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων φυλάσσεσθαι φέτο καὶ ὄδῳ τῇ αὐτῇ, ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν οὔσῃ, ὃπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οὐχ οἷός τε ἡν, ἐπεὶ ἀπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἥδη ἐπιλελοίπει<sup>2</sup> ἀπέρ τὸ πρότερον ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων  
 17 ἐσέβαλον. τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λογισαμένῳ ξυμφορώτατόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι μάχῃ διακινδυνεύσαντι ἐς γῆν τε τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἥκειν καὶ διὰ χώρας πᾶσιν εὐθηνούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ εὐ μὲν ἡπίστατο ὡς οὐδὲν δέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάβασιν Χοσρόῃ ἀναχαιτίζειν ποτὲ ἱκαναὶ εἰεν· (ὅτε γὰρ ποταμὸς πολλαχῆ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων ναυσὶ διαβατὸς ὁν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τυγχάνει, καὶ κρεῖσσον ἡν ἄλλως τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἡ πρὸς πολεμίων ὄλιγων τινῶν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι) τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον σὺν τοῖς χιλίοις ἐπεστελλε τὰ πρώτα περιέναι<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτήν, δπως δὴ ἐς ταραχὴν ἀφασίᾳ τινὶ τὸν βάρβαρον

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν V : αὐτοῖς G, αὐτῶν preferred by Christ.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιλελοίπει Dindorf cod. a : ἀπολελοίπει MSS.

<sup>3</sup> περιέναι Haury : προιέναι MS., cf. II. xxi. 2.

conquered, he himself would conquer the slave of Caesar, but if he by any chance were defeated, he would bring great disgrace upon his kingdom and upon the race of the Persians; and again the Romans, if conquered, could easily save themselves in strongholds and in their own land, while if the Persians should meet with any reverse, not even a messenger would escape to the land of the Persians. Chosroes was convinced by this admonition and wished to turn back to his own country, but he found himself in a very perplexing situation. For he supposed that the crossing of the river was being guarded by the enemy, and he was unable to march back by the same road, which was entirely destitute of human habitation, since the supplies which they had at the first when they invaded the land of the Romans had already entirely failed them. At last after long consideration it seemed to him most advantageous to risk a battle and get to the opposite side, and to make the journey through a land abounding in all good things. Now Belisarius knew well that not even a hundred thousand men would ever be sufficient to check the crossing of Chosroes. For the river at many places along there can be crossed in boats very easily, and even apart from this the Persian army was too strong to be excluded from the crossing by an enemy numerically insignificant. But he had at first commanded the troops of Diogenes and Adolius, together with the thousand horsemen, to move about the bank at that point in order to confuse the barbarian by a feeling of helplessness. But after frightening this same bar-

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- 19 καταστήσονται.<sup>1</sup> ὅνπερ δεδιξάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι  
 ἔρρηθη, ἔδεισε μή τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα εἴη ἀπαλ-  
 20 λάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς. λόγου τέ οἱ  
 πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἔξελάσαι ἐνθένδε τὸν  
 Χοσρόου στρατόν, οὐδεμιᾶ κινδυνεύσαντι μάχῃ  
 πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς ξὺν στρατιώ-  
 ταις λίαν τε ὀλίγοις οὖσι καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπτη-  
 χόσι τὸν Μῆδων στρατόν. διὸ δὴ ἐκέλευε Διο-  
 γένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον ἡσυχῇ μένειν.
- 21 Ὁ γοῦν Χοσρόης γέφυραν σὺν πολλῷ τάχει  
 πηξάμενος, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου  
 22 διέβη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ. Πέρσαις γὰρ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ  
 διαβατοί εἰσι ποταμοὶ ἀπαντεῖς, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ  
 οὐσιν ἀγκιστροειδῆ σιδήρια ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔστιν,  
 οἷς δὴ ξύλα μακρὰ ἐς ἄλληλα ἐνάρμοζοντες  
 γέφυραν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα ὅπῃ  
 23 ἀν σφίσι βουλομένοις εἴη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα γέ-  
 γονεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρᾳ ἡπείρῳ, πέμψας παρὰ  
 Βελισάριον αὐτὸς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κεχαρίσθαι τοῦ  
 Μῆδων στρατοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔφασκε, προσ-  
 δέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷν πρέσβεις, οὓς σφίσι  
 24 παρέσεσθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἄξιον εἶναι. Βελι-  
 σάριος δὲ παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ  
 τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβὰς παρὰ Χοσρόην  
 25 εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. οὗ, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, πολλὰ  
 τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐπαινέσαντες, πρέσβεις ἐς αὐ-  
 τὸν ἥξειν παρὰ βασιλέως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέ-  
 σχοντο, οἱ δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγκείμενα πρό-  
 26 τερον ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται. ἥξιον

<sup>1</sup> καταστήσονται Hoeschel : καταστήσωνται MS.

barian, as I have said, Belisarius feared lest there should be some obstacle in the way of his departing from the land of the Romans. For it seemed to him a most significant achievement to have driven away from there the army of Chosroes, without risking any battle against so many myriads of barbarians with soldiers who were very few in number and who were in abject terror of the Median army. For this reason he commanded Diogenes and Adolius to remain quiet.

Chosroes, accordingly, constructed a bridge with great celerity and crossed the River Euphrates suddenly with his whole army. For the Persians are able to cross all rivers without the slightest difficulty because when they are on the march they have in readiness hook-shaped irons with which they fasten together long timbers, and with the help of these they improvise a bridge on the spur of the moment wherever they may desire. And as soon as he had reached the land on the opposite side, he sent to Belisarius and said that he, for his part, had bestowed a favour upon the Romans in the withdrawal of the Median army, and that he was expecting the envoys from them, who ought to present themselves to him at no distant time. Then Belisarius also with the whole Roman army crossed the River Euphrates and immediately sent to Chosroes. And when the messengers came into his presence, they commended him highly for his withdrawal and promised that envoys would come to him promptly from the emperor, who would arrange with him that the terms which had previously been agreed upon concerning the peace should be put into effect. And they asked

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τε διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἄτε φίλων αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ χρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπεδέχετο ἐπιτελέσειν, εἰ τινά οἱ δοῖεν τῶν δοκίμων ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πράξου<sup>27 σιν.</sup><sup>1</sup> οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπανήκουντες τοὺς Χοσρόους λόγους ἀπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἐδεσσαν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωάννην τὸν Βασιλείου παῦδα, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πάντων τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν διαφανέστατον, ὅμηρον τῷ Χοσρόῃ οὕτι ἔκούσιον εὐθὺς ἔπειμψε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις εἶχον, μᾶλλον τε σφίσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδόκει ἡ ὅτε Γελίμερα δορυάλωτον ἦ τὸν Οὐίττιγυν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤνεγκεν. ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον, πεφοιβημένων μὲν κὰν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι κρυπτομένων Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων, Χοσρόου δὲ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν μέσῃ γεγονότος Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξὺν ὄλιγοις τισὶ δρόμῳ ὀξεῖ ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταξὺ ἥκοντα ἀπὸ ἐναντίας τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, Χοσρόην δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἦ τὴν τύχην ἦ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δείσαντα ἦ καὶ τισιν ἔξαπατηθέντα σοφίσμασιν, ἐπίπροσθεν μηκέτι χωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ φυγεῖν, λόγῳ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίεσθαι.

30     Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἀλογήσας τὰ ὡμολογημένα Καλλίνικον πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀμυνομένου εἶλε. ταύτης γὰρ τὸν περίβολον ὄρωντες Ῥωμαῖοι σαθρόν τε καὶ εὐάλωτον παντάπασιν

<sup>1</sup> πράξουσιν VP : πράξωσιν GW.

of him that he treat the Romans as his friends in his journey through their land. This too he agreed to carry out, if they should give him some one of their notable men as a hostage to make this compact binding, in order that they might carry out their agreement. So the envoys returned to Belisarius and reported the words of Chosroes, and he came to Edessa and chose John, the son of Basilius, the most illustrious of all the inhabitants of Edessa in birth and in wealth, and straightway sent him, much against his will, as a hostage to Chosroes. And the Romans were loud in their praises of Belisarius and he seemed to have achieved greater glory in their eyes by this affair than when he brought Gelimer or Vittigis captive to Byzantium. For in reality it was an achievement of great importance and one deserving great praise, that, at a time when all the Romans were panic-stricken with fear and were hiding themselves in their defences, and Chosroes with a mighty army had come into the midst of the Roman domain, a general with only a few men, coming in hot haste from Byzantium just at that moment, should have set his camp over against that of the Persian king, and that Chosroes unexpectedly, either through fear of fortune or of the valour of the man or even because deceived by some tricks, should no longer continue his advance, but should in reality take to flight, though pretending to be seeking peace.

But in the meantime Chosroes, disregarding the agreement, took the city of Callinicus which was entirely without defenders. For the Romans, seeing that the wall of this city was altogether unsound

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δόντα, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ καθαιροῦντές τινα, νέᾳ τινὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 31 ἀνενεοῦντο οἰκοδομίᾳ. τότε γοῦν μέρος τι αὐτοῦ  
 καθελόντες, οὕπω δὲ τὸ λειπόμενον τοῦτο δει-  
 μάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγχιστά πη  
 ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, τῶν χρημάτων ὑπεξαγαγόντες τὰ  
 τιμιώτατα, οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονες αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> τῶν οἰκητόρων  
 ἐς ἔτερα ἄττα ὀχυρώματα ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ  
 32 λοιποὶ στρατιωτῶν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. καὶ  
 γεωργῶν πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλέχθαι  
 συνέβη. οὓς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀνδραποδίσας ἅπαν  
 33 ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. ὀλίγῳ τε ὑστερον τὸν δμη-  
 ρον Ἰωάννην δεξάμενος, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια  
 34 ἡθη. Ἀρμένιοι τε οἱ τῷ Χοσρῷ προσκεχωρηκότες,  
 τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ρωμαίων λαβόντες, ξὺν τῷ Βασ-  
 σάκῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἤλθον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ  
 Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ρωμαίοις γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, καὶ  
 ὁ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος  
 ἤλθεν, ἐφ' ϕ ἐς Ἰταλίαν αὐθις<sup>2</sup> σταλήσεται, πονη-  
 ρῶν ἥδη παντάπασι τῶν ἐκείνη πραγμάτων  
 Ρωμαίοις δόντων.

## XXII

1 ‘Τπὸ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους λοιμὸς γεγονεν,  
 ἐξ οὐ δὴ ἅπαντα ὀλίγου ἐδέησε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια  
 ἐξίτηλα εἶναι. ἅπασι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ  
 ἐπισκήπτουσιν ἵσως ἀν καὶ λέγοιτό τις ὑπ’  
 ἀνδρῶν τολμητῶν αἰτίου λόγος, οἴα πολλὰ φι-  
 λοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ αἰτίας τερατεύεσθαι οὐ-  
 δαμῆ ἀνθρώπῳ καταληπτὰς οὔσας, φυσιολογίας

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς P: αὐτοῖς VG.

<sup>2</sup> αὐθις VG: εὐθὺς P.

and easy of capture, were tearing down portions of it in turn and restoring them with new construction. Now just at that time they had torn down one section of it and had not yet built in this interval ; when, therefore, they learned that the enemy were close at hand, they carried out the most precious of their treasures, and the wealthy inhabitants withdrew to other strongholds, while the rest without soldiers remained where they were. And it happened that great numbers of farmers had gathered there. These Chosroes enslaved and razed everything to the ground. A little later, upon receiving the hostage, John, he retired to his own country. And the Armenians who had submitted to Chosroes received pledges from the Romans and came with Bassaces to Byzantium. Such was the fortune of the Romans in the third invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, in order to be sent again to Italy, since the situation there was already full of difficulties for the Romans.

## XXII

DURING these times there was a pestilence, by which the whole human race came near to being annihilated. Now in the case of all other scourges sent from Heaven some explanation of a cause might be given by daring men, such as the many theories propounded by those who are clever in these matters ; for they love to conjure up causes which are absolutely incomprehensible to man, and

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τε ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους; ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν  
ώς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀποχρῆν δὲ ἡγούμενοι  
σφίσιν, ἦν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τῷ λόγῳ  
2 ἔξαπατήσαντες πείσωσι. τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ  
πρόφασίν τινα ἡ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ διανοίᾳ λογί-  
σασθαι μηχανή τις οὐδεμία ἔστι, πλὴν γε δὴ  
3 ὅσα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους  
τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τισὶ γέγομεν οὐδέ τινα  
ῶραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσχεν, δθεν ἀν καὶ σοφίσματα  
αἰτίας εὑρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἀλλὰ περιεβάλλετο  
μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔυμπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπαντας ἔβλαψε, καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τούναντίον  
παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὕτε φύσεώς τινος  
4 οὕτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. εἴτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοι-  
κήσει εἴτε νομφ διαίτης, ἡ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἡ  
ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἡ ἀλλω ὅτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρωποι  
διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ μόνη τῇ νόσῳ τὸ  
5 διαλλάσσον οὐδὲν ὄντησεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ τοῖς  
μὲν ὥρᾳ θέρους, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ  
τοὺς ἄλλους καιρούς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὡς πη  
ἔκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ  
μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ δθεν τε ἥρξατο ἡ νόσος  
ἥδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν  
ἔρων ἔρχομαι.

6 "Ηρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ὥκηνται ἐν  
Πηλουσίῳ. γενομένη δὲ δίχα πὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τε  
Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἔχώρησε,  
πὴ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ομόρους  
ἥλθεν, ἐντεῦθεν τε κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν σύμπασαν,  
όδῳ τε ἀεὶ προϊούσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα  
7 τοῖς καθήκουσιν. ἐπὶ ρήτοις γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν

to fabricate outlandish theories of natural philosophy, knowing well that they are saying nothing sound, but considering it sufficient for them, if they completely deceive by their argument some of those whom they meet and persuade them to their view. But for this calamity it is quite impossible either to express in words or to conceive in thought any explanation, except indeed to refer it to God. For it did not come in a part of the world nor upon certain men, nor did it confine itself to any season of the year, so that from such circumstances it might be possible to find subtle explanations of a cause, but it embraced the entire world, and blighted the lives of all men, though differing from one another in the most marked degree, respecting neither sex nor age. For much as men differ with regard to places in which they live, or in the law of their daily life, or in natural bent, or in active pursuits, or in whatever else man differs from man, in the case of this disease alone the difference availed naught. And it attacked some in the summer season, others in the winter, and still others at the other times of the year. Now let each one express his own judgment concerning the matter, both sophist and astrologer, but as for me, I shall proceed to tell where this disease originated and the manner in which it destroyed men.

It started from the Aegyptians who dwell in Pelusium. Then it divided and moved in one direction towards Alexandria and the rest of Aegypt, and in the other direction it came to Palestine on the borders of Aegypt; and from there it spread over the whole world, always moving forward and travelling at times favourable to it. For it seemed to move by

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- καὶ χρόνον τακτὸν ἐν χώρᾳ ἑκάστη διατριβὴν  
ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ  
φθόρῳ<sup>1</sup> χρωμένη, σκεδανυμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα  
μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιάς, ὡσπερ  
δεδοικυῖα μή τις αὐτὴν τῆς γῆς διαλάθοι μυχός.
- 8 οὗτε γὰρ νῆσόν τινα ἡ σπῆλαιον ἡ ἀκρώρειαν  
ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσαν· ἦν δέ  
πού τινα καὶ παρήλασε χώραν, ἡ μὴ φαύσασα  
τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἀμωσγέπως αὐτῶν ἀψα-  
μένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐθις ἐνταῦθα  
ἐπανιούσα τῶν μὲν περιοίκων, οὓς δὴ πικρότατα  
ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἥψατο, τῆς δὲ  
χώρας ἐκείνης οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἔως τὸ  
μέτρον ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν τετελευτηκότων  
ἀπέδωκεν, ὅπερ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν φέρεται
- 9 χρόνῳ τῷ προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. ἀρξα-  
μένη δὲ ἀεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἡ νόσος ἦδε, οὗτο  
δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνέβαινε χώραν. δευτέρῳ  
δὲ ἔτει ἐς Βυζάντιον μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἥρος ἀφίκετο,
- 10 ἔνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τημικαῦτα ξυνέβη. ἐγί-  
νετο δὲ ὡδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοῖς ἐς  
πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπουν ἴδεαν ὕφθη, ὅσοι τε αὐτοῖς  
παραπίπτοιεν, παίεσθαι φῶντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυ-  
χόντος ἀνδρὸς ὅπῃ παρατύχοι τοῦ σώματος,  
ἄμα τε τὸ φάσμα τούτο ἐώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ
- 11 αὐτίκα ἡλίσκοντο. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οἱ  
παραπεπτωκότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπειρῶντο,  
τῶν τε ὄνομάτων ἀποστοματίζοντες τὰ θειότατα  
καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἔξοσιούμενοι, ὡς ἔκαστος πη ἐδύ-  
νατο, ἦνυν μέντοι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ κάν  
τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πλεῦστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθεί-

<sup>1</sup> φθόρω P : φθόνω VG.      <sup>2</sup> δπερ Ηαυγυ : δσπερ MSS.

fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it. For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants ; and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back ; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior. And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time. And it came as follows. Apparitions of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled

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12 ρουτο. ὕστερον δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις καλοῦσιν ἐπακούειν ἡξίουν, ἀλλὰ καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαιτοεν προσεποιοῦντο, καίπερ ἀρασσομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν θυρῶν, δειμαίνοντες δηλονότι μὴ δαιμόνων τις ὁ καλῶν  
13 εἶη. τισὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ὁ λοιμὸς ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' ὅψιν ὀνείρου ἵδοντες ταύτο τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν ἐπιστάντος πάσχειν ἐδόκουν, ἡ λόγου ἀκούειν προλέγοντος σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ ἐς τῶν τεθνηξομένων  
14 τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀνάγραπτοι εἰεν. τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις οὔτε ὑπαρ οὔτε ὄναρ αἰσθομένοις τοῦ ἐσομένου  
15 εἴτα τῇ νόσῳ ξυνέβη ἀλῶναι. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπύρεσσον ἄφνω, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὑπνου ἐγγερμένοι, οἱ δὲ περιπάτους ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ  
16 ἄλλο ὅ τι δὴ πράσσοντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα οὔτε τι διήλλασσε τῆς προτέρας χροιᾶς οὔτε θερμὸν ἦν, ἀτε πυρετοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φλόγωσις ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀβληχρός τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ ἄχρις ἐσπέρας<sup>1</sup> ὁ πυρετὸς ἦν ὥστε μήτε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μήτε ἰατρῷ  
17 ἀπτομένῳ δόκησιν κινδύνου παρέχεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ τις τελευτῶν τῶν περιπεπτωκότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῇ αὐτῇ, τοῖς δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ, ἐτέροις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον βουβὼν ἐπῆρτο, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μόριον, ὃ δὴ τοῦ ἥτρου ἔνερθέν

<sup>1</sup> ἄχρις ἐσπέρας VP : ἄχρι ἐς πέρας G.

for refuge they were dying constantly. But later on they were unwilling even to give heed to their friends when they called to them, and they shut themselves up in their rooms and pretended that they did not hear, although their doors were being beaten down, fearing, obviously, that he who was calling was one of those demons. But in the case of some the pestilence did not come on in this way, but they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the creature who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were written down in the number of those who were to die. But with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body showed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body which is called "boubon,"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "groin."

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έστι,<sup>1</sup> βουθών κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἐντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ώτα καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν<sup>2</sup> ἔτυχε.

- 18 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδόν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἀλισκομένοις ξυνέβαινε· τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐγίνετο, ἡ ὅπη ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἴη  
 19 τῷ τὴν νόσον ἐπαγαγόντι. ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῶμα βαθύ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη δέξεια, ἐκάτεροί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἐπασχον· οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῶμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν εἰωθέτων σφίσιν ἐς ἀεὶ καθεύ-  
 20 δειν ἐδόκουν. καὶ εἰ μέν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, μεταξὺ ἡσθιον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορίᾳ  
 21 τροφῆς εὐθὺς ἔθυνσκον. οἱ μέντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἀλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τε καὶ φαντασίᾳ πολλῇ εἶχοντο, καί τινας ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ως δὴ ἀπολοῦντας, ἐς ταραχήν τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοῶντες ἔξαισιον οἷον  
 22 ἐς φυγὴν ὅρμηντο. οἵ τε αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἔχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς ἀεὶ  
 23 ἐπασχον. διὸ δὴ ἀπαντες αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἡσσον ἡ τοὺς πονουμένους ὥκτίζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι (οὗτε γὰρ ἵατρῷ οὔτε ἴδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦδε τῶν νοσούντων ἡ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπτομένῳ ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκουντας ἡ θάπτοντες ἡ θεραπεύοντες ταύτη

<sup>1</sup> ἔστι VP: ὄν G.      <sup>2</sup> μηρῶν MSS.: μερῶν Hoeschel.

that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the arm-pit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs.

Up to this point, then, everything went in about the same way with all who had taken the disease. But from then on very marked differences developed ; and I am unable to say whether the cause of this diversity of symptoms was to be found in the difference in bodies, or in the fact that it followed the wish of Him who brought the disease into the world. For there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease. For those who were under the spell of the coma forgot all those who were familiar to them and seemed to be sleeping constantly. And if anyone cared for them, they would eat without waking, but some also were neglected, and these would die directly through lack of sustenance. But those who were seized with delirium suffered from insomnia and were victims of a distorted imagination ; for they suspected that men were coming upon them to destroy them, and they would become excited and rush off in flight, crying out at the top of their voices. And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout. For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δὴ τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, πολλοὶ  
 δὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέσούσης  
 εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον), ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ  
 24 εἶχοντο. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκπίπτοντας  
 καὶ καλινδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων  
 αὐθις, καὶ ριπτεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων  
 ἐφιεμένους ὡθοῦντές τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιά-  
 25 ζοντο. ὕδωρ τε οὶς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἥθελον,  
 οὐ δὴ<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ<sup>2</sup> ἐπιθυμία (ἐς γὰρ<sup>3</sup>  
 θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὠρμητο), ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἦν  
 26 μάλιστα ἡ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. πολὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς  
 καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ  
 εὐπετῶς προσίεντο ταύτας. πολλοί τε ἀπορίᾳ  
 τοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἢ λιμῷ πιεζό-  
 27 μενοι, ἢ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις  
 δὲ οὔτε κῶμα οὔτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τούτοις  
 δὴ ὅ τε βουβῶν ἐσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς  
 28 ὁδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. τεκμη-  
 ριώσειε δὲ ἂν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασι κατὰ  
 ταῦτα ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα  
 ἤσαν, ξυνεῖναι τῆς ὁδύνης οὐδαμῆ εἶχον, τοῦ  
 πάθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰς φρένας παραιρου-  
 μένου τὴν αἰσθησιν.  
 29 Ἀπορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινες ἰατρῶν τῇ τῶν  
 ξυμπιπτόντων ἀγνοίᾳ τό τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον  
 ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμενοι, διερευ-  
 νᾶσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα ἔγυνωσαν.  
 καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβώνων τινάς, ἄνθρακος  
 δεινόν τι χρῆμα ἐμπεφυκὸς εὑρον.

<sup>1</sup> οὐ δὴ Hoeschel: οὐ δέ VG, οὐ δί P, ὕδατι conjectured by Christ, αὐτῷ by Haury. <sup>2</sup> ποτοῦ P: ποταμοῦ VG.

<sup>3</sup> γὰρ Hoeschel: γοῦν MSS.

held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing. For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they kept putting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them. And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds. They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height. And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

Now some of the physicians who were at a loss because the symptoms were not understood, supposing that the disease centred in the bubonic swellings, decided to investigate the bodies of the dead. And upon opening some of the swellings, they found a strange sort of carbuncle that had grown inside them.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

30. Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ήμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, τισί τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἔξήνθει τὸ σῶμα, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπεβίων ήμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἄπαντες 31 ἔθνησκον. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τις αὐτόματος αἴματος ἐπιγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο. 32 ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἀποφήνασθαι ἔχω, ώς τῶν ἴατρῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι προηγόρευον, οἱ δὴ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἱ δὴ διαφθαρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν<sup>1</sup> οὐδεμίᾳ ἐν 33 ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα· πᾶσι γάρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τοὺς μὲν ὄντης, τοὺς 34 δὲ οὐδέν τι ἡσσον κατέβλαψεν. ἀμελούμενοί τε πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἔχώρει· καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἔξεύρητο, οὕτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ πεπονθέναι οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι αὐτόματον.
35. Καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ὅσαι ἐκύουν προῦπτος ἐγίνετο τῇ νόσῳ ἀλισκομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλίσκουσαι ἔθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουσαι ξὺν αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείροντο. τρεῖς μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παίδων σφίσιν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> τις ἦν Maltretus: τισὶν MSS.

Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days; and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death. Moreover I am able to declare this, that the most illustrious physicians predicted that many would die, who unexpectedly escaped entirely from suffering shortly afterwards, and that they declared that many would be saved, who were destined to be carried off almost immediately. So it was that in this disease there was no cause which came within the province of human reasoning; for in all cases the issue tended to be something unaccountable. For example, while some were helped by bathing, others were harmed in no less degree. And of those who received no care many died, but others, contrary to reason, were saved. And again, methods of treatment showed different results with different patients. Indeed the whole matter may be stated thus, that no device was discovered by man to save himself, so that either by taking precautions he should not suffer, or that when the malady had assailed him he should get the better of it; but suffering came without warning and recovery was due to no external cause.

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease. For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore. However, they say that three women in confinement

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λομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μιᾶς ἥδη ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανούσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιεῖναι τῷ πατίῳ ξυμβῆναι.

- 37 Ὁσοις μὲν οὖν μείζων τε ὁ βουβὼν ἥρετο καὶ ἐς πύον ἀφίκτο, τούτοις δὴ περιεῖναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκμὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλελωφήκει τοῦ ἄνθρακος, γιώρισμά τε τῆς ὑγείας τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγίνετο· οἷς δὲ ὁ βουβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἰδέας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ὧν  
38 ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. τισὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ' οὐν ὁ βουβὼν ἐπαρθεὶς  
39 ώς ἥκιαστα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκεραίῳ τῇ γλώσσῃ περιγενέσθαι τετύχηκεν, ἀλλ' ἡ τραυλίζουσιν, ἡ μόλις τε καὶ ἄσημα φθεγγομένοις βιώναι.

## XXIII

- 1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐς τέσσαρας  
2 διῆλθε μῆνας, ἥκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. καὶ  
κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰωθότων ὀλίγῳ  
πλείους, εἴτα ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἥρετο, μετὰ  
δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρᾳ ἐκάστη ἐξικνεῦτο  
τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς μυρίους  
3 τε καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείους ἥλθε. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἐπεμελεῖτο  
τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐς  
ἄλλοτρίας θήκας ἐρρίπτουν ἡ λανθάνοντες ἡ  
βιαζόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἅπασι ξυνετα-  
4 ράχθη. δοῦλοι τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι,

survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived.

Now in those cases where the swelling rose to an unusual size and a discharge of pus had set in, it came about that they escaped from the disease and survived, for clearly the acute condition of the carbuncle had found relief in this direction, and this proved to be in general an indication of returning health; but in cases where the swelling preserved its former appearance there ensued those troubles which I have just mentioned. And with some of them it came about that the thigh was withered, in which case, though the swelling was there, it did not develop the least suppuration. With others who survived the tongue did not remain unaffected, and they lived on either lisping or speaking incoherently and with difficulty.

### XXIII

Now the disease in Byzantium ran a course of four months, and its greatest virulence lasted about three. And at first the deaths were a little more than the normal, then the mortality rose still higher, and afterwards the tale of dead reached five thousand each day, and again it even came to ten thousand and still more than that. Now in the beginning each man attended to the burial of the dead of his own house, and these they threw even into the tombs of others, either escaping detection or using violence; but afterwards confusion and disorder everywhere became complete. For slaves remained destitute of

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ἀνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λίαν εὐδαιμονες τῆς τῶν  
οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἡ νοσούντων ἡ τετελευτηκότων  
ἐστέρηντο, πολλαὶ τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι  
5 ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ξυνέβη τισὶ τῶν  
γυνωρίμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀτάφοις  
εἶναι.

Ἐει τε βασιλέα ἡ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια,  
6 ώς τὸ εἰκός, ἥλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου  
καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου  
τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, δις δὴ ἀποκρίσεσι ταῖς  
βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν  
ἰκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐθις  
δσα ἀν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ  
7 Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥω-  
μαῖοι. οἵς μὲν οὐντι παντάπασιν ἐς ἔρη-  
μίαν ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν,  
αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιοῦντο  
8 ταφάς. Θεόδωρος δὲ τά τε βασιλέως διδρὺς  
χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαναλίσκων τοὺς  
9 ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθαπτεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ  
τὰς θήκας ἀπάσας αὖ πρότερον ἡσαν ἐμπί-  
πλασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὁρύσσοντες  
ἀπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία,  
ἐνταῦθα τε τοὺς θνήσκοντας κατατιθέμενοι, ώς  
ἔκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἐπειτα δὲ  
οἱ τὰς κατώρυχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν  
ἀποθυησκόντων τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες,  
10 ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον δις  
ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστι τάς τε ὁροφὰς περιελόντες  
ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,

<sup>1</sup> οὐπω Maltretus : εἰπον V, om. G.

masters, and men who in former times were very prosperous were deprived of the service of their domestics who were either sick or dead, and many houses became completely destitute of human inhabitants. For this reason it came about that some of the notable men of the city because of the universal destitution remained unburied for many days.

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work; this man held the position of announcer of imperial messages, always announcing to the emperor the petitions of his clients, and declaring to them in turn whatever his wish was. In the Latin tongue the Romans designate this office by the term "referendarius." So those who had not as yet fallen into complete destitution in their domestic affairs attended individually to the burial of those connected with them. But Theodorus, by giving out the emperor's money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for. And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed; but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae,<sup>1</sup> and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder;

<sup>1</sup> Modern Galata.

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καὶ ξυννήσαντες, ὡς πη ἐκάστῳ παρέτυχεν,  
ἐμπλησάμενοί τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄπαντας,  
11 εἴτα ταῖς ὄροφαις αὐθις ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ'  
αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσώδες ἐσ τὴν πόλιν ιὸν ἔτι  
μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τοὺς ταύτη ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε  
ἥν καὶ ἀνεμός τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπίφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε.

12 Πάντα τε ὑπερώφθη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς  
νόμιμα. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ἢ νενόμισται  
οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ~~ὑπέρ~~  
εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἵκανὸν ἦν, εἰ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν  
ῶμων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἐσ τῆς πόλεως  
τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἐλθὼν ἔρριψεν, οὐ δὴ ταῖς  
ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδὸν ἐμελλον ὅπῃ

13 πάρατύχοι κομίζεσθαι. τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὅσοι  
στασιώται πρότερον ἤσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἐσ ἀλλή-  
λους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὁσίας τῶν τετελευτηκότων  
κοινῇ ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ φέροντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς οὐ

14 προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. ἀλλὰ καὶ  
ὅσοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσ-  
χροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἵδε τὴν ἐσ τὴν  
δίαιταν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομίαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν  
ἀκριβῶς ἤσκουν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμα-  
θόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐρασταί τινες ἐκ τοῦ

15 αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσα  
ἐμπέπηγε φύσει ἡ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλίᾳ  
ῥάστα δὴ οὕτω μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστιν,  
ὅτι μὴ θείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἀλλὰ

and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

At that time all the customary rites of burial were overlooked. For the dead were not carried out escorted by a procession in the customary manner, nor were the usual chants sung over them, but it was sufficient if one carried on his shoulders the body of one of the dead to the parts of the city which bordered on the sea and flung him down; and there the corpses would be thrown upon skiffs in a heap, to be conveyed wherever it might chance. At that time, too, those of the population who had formerly been members of the factions laid aside their mutual enmity and in common they attended to the burial rites of the dead, and they carried with their own hands the bodies of those who were no connections of theirs and buried them. Nay, more, those who in times past used to take delight in devoting themselves to pursuits both shameful and base, shook off the unrighteousness of their daily lives and practised the duties of religion with diligence, not so much because they had learned wisdom at last nor because they had become all of a sudden lovers of virtue, as it were—for when qualities have become fixed in men by nature or by the training of a long period of time, it is impossible for them to lay them aside thus lightly, except, indeed, some divine influence for good has breathed upon them—but then all, so to speak, being

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- τότε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄπαντες καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν  
τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσι, τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ  
μάλα οἰόμενοι, ἀνάγκη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάσῃ τὴν  
16 ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μετεμάνθανον. ταῦτά τοι,  
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώ-  
θησαν ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ γεγενῆσθαι ἥδη ὑπετό-  
πασαν, ἅτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων  
τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὐθις τῆς γυνώ-  
μης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω πεποιημένοι,  
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων  
ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῇ  
τε πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανομίᾳ νενικηκότες·  
ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἄν τις οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ  
εἴποι ὡς ἡ νόσος ἥδε εἴτε τύχη τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ  
ἐσ τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους  
ἀφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀποδέ-  
δεικται χρόνῳ.
- 17 Τότε δὲ ἀγοράζοντά τινα οὐκ εὐπετεῖς ἐδόκει  
εἶναι ἔν γε Βυζαντίῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ’ οἴκοι καθήμενοι  
ἄπαντες ὅσοις ξυνέβαινε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρώσθαι,  
ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευνον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευ-  
18 τηκότας ἐθρήνουν. ἦν δέ τις καὶ προιόντι  
τινὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἵσχυσεν, ὅδε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν  
ἔφερεν. ἐργασία τε ξύμπασα ἥργει, καὶ τὰς  
τέχνας οἱ τεχνῦται μεθῆκαν ἀπάσας, ἐργα τε  
19 ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ ἔκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν είχον. ἐν  
πόλει γοῦν ἀγαθοῖς ἄπασιν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθη-  
νούσῃ λιμός τις ἀκριβῆς ἐπεκώμαζεν. ἄρτου  
ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὅτιον διαρκῶς ἔχειν χαλεπόν τε  
ἐδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι ὥστε καὶ  
τῶν νοσούντων τισὶν ἄωρον ξυμβῆναι δοκεῖν  
ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστρο-

thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free. But these things were displayed to the world in later times.

During that time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of Byzantium, but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or mourning the dead. And if one did succeed in meeting a man going out, he was carrying one of the dead. And work of every description ceased, and all the trades were abandoned by the artisans, and all other work as well, such as each had in hand. Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot. Certainly it seemed a difficult and very notable thing to have a sufficiency of bread or of anything else; so that with some of the sick it appeared that the end of life came about sooner than it should have come by reason of the lack of the necessities of life.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

20 φήν. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χλαμύδα οὐκ ἡν  
ἐνδιδυσκόμενόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν  
ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη  
(καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβῶνα ἐπῆρθαι),  
ἄλλ' ἐν πόλει βασιλείαν ἔχούση ξυμπάσης τῆς  
'Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς ίμάτια ἐν ἴδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἄπαντες  
21 ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τῷ λοιμῷ ἔν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ 'Ρωμαίων γῆ καὶ ἐν  
Βυζαντίῳ ταύτη πη ἔσχεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς  
τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους  
ἄπαντας.

## XXIV

- 1 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς  
χωρίον Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἥκων πρὸς Βορρᾶν ἄνεμον,  
ἐνθεν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ
- 2 Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐν-  
ταῦθά ἐστιν, δι σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα.  
οὐ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἀσβεστον φυλάσσοντες μάγοι τά  
τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔξοσιονται καὶ μαντείω  
ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τοῦτό  
ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ 'Εστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέ-
- 3 βοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις 'Ρωμαῖοι. ἐνταῦθα  
σταλεῖς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγ-  
γελλε Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις  
ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
- 4 ἀφίξεσθαι. ἡστην δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ρήτορέ  
τε ἀμφω καὶ ξυνετώ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταν-

And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys,<sup>1</sup> and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home. Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium. And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

## XXIV

Now it happened that Chosroes had come from Assyria to a place toward the north called Adarbiganon, from which he was planning to make an invasion into the Roman domain through Persarmenia. In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians reverence above all other gods. There the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult an oracle on those matters which are of the greatest importance. This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia<sup>2</sup> in ancient times. There someone who had been sent from Byzantium to Chosroes announced that Constantianus and Sergius would come before him directly as envoys to arrange the treaty. Now these two men were both trained speakers and exceedingly clever; Constantianus was an Illyrian

548 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> The official dress.      <sup>2</sup> Vesta.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τιανὸς μὲν Ἰλλυρίος γένος, Σέργιος δὲ ἐξ Ἐδέσσης  
 5 πόλεως, ἢ ἐν Μεσοποταμῷα τυγχάνει οὖσα. οὖς  
 δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐν  
 δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ Κωνσταντιανοῦ νοσήσαντος  
 καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆ-  
 6 ψαι Πέρσαις ξυνέπεσε. διὸ δὴ Ναβέδης τηνι-  
 καῦτα ἐν Περσαρμενίοις τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων  
 ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐν Δούβιος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ιερέα  
 βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαντος παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν  
 ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν, αἵτιασόμενόν  
 τε τὴν τῶν πρέσβεων βραδυτῆτα καὶ Ῥωμαίους  
 ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ὄρμήσοντα προθυμάᾳ τῇ πάσῃ.  
 7 καὶ δις ξὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἥκων, τῷ  
 τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχών, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίοις ἀτε  
 Χριστιανὸς ἵσχυριζετο εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν καὶ οἱ  
 βασιλέα Χοσρόην πείθεσθαι ἀεὶ ἐς βουλὴν  
 πᾶσαν ὥστε ἦν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὰ  
 Περσῶν ἥθη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔλθωσιν, οὐκ ἂν τι αὐτοῖς  
 ἐμπόδισμα εἴη τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην δπη<sup>1</sup> βούλονται  
 8 διαθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπεν·  
 ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχὼν  
 λάθρᾳ Χοσρόην ἐν μεγάλοις είναι κακοῖς ἔφασκε·  
 τόν τε γάρ οἱ παῖδα τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενον ἐπανα-  
 στῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ξὺν παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν  
 στρατῷ τῇ νόσῳ ἀλώναι· δεὸ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις  
 9 τανῦν ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν ἐθέλειν οἴναι. ταῦτα  
 ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἥκουσε, τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον εὐθὺς  
 ἀπεπέμψατο, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν  
 ὑποσχόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίξεσθαι, αὐτὸς  
 δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν οὕσπερ  
 10 ἥκηκόει ἀνήνεγκεν. οἷς δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτίκα

<sup>1</sup> δπη Maltretus: ὅπου MSS.

by birth, and Sergius was from the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. And Chosroes remained quiet expecting these men. But in the course of the journey thither Constantianus became ill and much time was consumed; in the meantime it came about that the pestilence fell upon the Persians. For this reason Nabedes, who at that time held the office of general in Persarmenia, sent the priest of the Christians in Dubios by direction of the king to Valerianus, the general in Armenia, in order to reproach the envoys for their tardiness and to urge the Romans with all zeal toward peace. And he came with his brother to Armenia, and, meeting Valerianus, declared that he himself, as a Christian, was favourably disposed toward the Romans, and that the king Chosroes always followed his advice in every matter; so that if the ambassadors would come with him to the land of Persia, there would be nothing to prevent them from arranging the peace as they wished. Thus then spoke the priest; but the brother of the priest met Valerianus secretly and said that Chosroes was in great straits: for his son had risen against him in an attempt to set up a tyranny, and he himself together with the whole Persian army had been taken with the plague; and this was the reason why he wished just now to settle the agreement with the Romans. When Valerianus heard this, he straightway dismissed the bishop, promising that the envoys would come to Chosroes at no distant time, but he himself reported the words which he had heard to the Emperor Justinian. This led the emperor im-

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἡγυμένος αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μαρτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
ἀρχουσιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πολε-  
μίαν ἐπέστελλεν. εὖ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οἶδεν ὡς αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 11 πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν στήσεται. ἐκέλευε δὲ  
ξυλλεγέντας ἐς ταῦτὸ ἀπαντας οὕτω τὴν ἐσβολὴν  
ἐπὶ Περσαρμενίους ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπε-  
νεχθέντα οἱ ἀρχοντες τὰ γράμματα εἰδον, ἀπαντες  
ὅμοι τοῖς ἐπομένοις<sup>2</sup> ξυνέρρεον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίας  
χωρία.
- 12 Ἡδη δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸ Ἀδαρ-  
βιγάνων δέει τῷ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὴν  
Ἀσσυρίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπιών φέγετο, ἔνθα  
δὴ οὕπω ἐνδεδημήκει τὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ πάθος.  
Βαλεριανὸς μὲν οὖν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα  
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καταλό-  
γοις, καὶ οἱ Ναρσῆς ξυνετάττετο Ἀρμενίους τε  
 13 καὶ Ἐρούλων τινὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. Μαρτίνος  
δὲ ὁ τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸς ξύν τε Ἰλδίγερι καὶ  
Θεοκτίστῳ ἐς Κιθαρίζων τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενος  
ἐνταῦθᾳ τε πηξάμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ  
ἔμεινε· διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων  
ἡμερῶν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο· ἵνα καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ  
εἰς μακρὰν ξύν τε Ἀδολίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν  
 14 ἀρχουσιν ἥλθεν. ἥγειτο δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ καταλόγων  
Ἰσαάκης ὁ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφός. Φιλημοὺς δὲ καὶ  
Βῆρος ξὺν Ἐρούλοις τοῖς σφίσιν ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ  
ἐπὶ Χορξιανηῆς χωρία ἥλθον, τοῦ Μαρτίνου  
 15 στρατοπέδου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν. Ἰοῦστός τε ὁ  
βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ  
Νικήτου παῖς ξύν τε Δομνευτιόλῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> εὖ Haury : οὐ MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπομένοις Dindorf : ἐσομένοις MSS.

mediately to send word to him and to Martinus and the other commanders to invade the enemy's territory as quickly as possible. For he knew well that no one of the enemy would stand in their way. And he commanded them to gather all in one place and so make their invasion into Persarmenia. When the commanders received these letters, all of them together with their followers began to gather into the land of Armenia.

And already Chosroes had abandoned Adarbiganon a little before through fear of the plague and was off with his whole army into Assyria, where the pestilence had not as yet become epidemic. Valerianus accordingly encamped close by Theodosiopolis with the troops under him; and with him was arrayed Narses, who had with him Armenians and some of the Eruli. And Martinus, the General of the East, together with Ildiger and Theoctistus, reached the fortress of Citharizon, and fixing his camp there, remained on the spot. This fortress is separated from Theodosiopolis by a journey of four days. There too Peter came not long afterwards together with Adolius and some other commanders. Now the troops in this region were commanded by Isaac, the brother of Narses. And Philemouth and Beros with the Eruli who were under them came into the territory of Chorzianene, not far from the camp of Martinus. And Justus, the emperor's nephew, and Peranius and John, the son of Nicetas, together with Domentiolus and John, who was

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Φαγά τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῷ  
Φισῶν καλουμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν  
16 Μαρτυροπόλεως ὄρίων ἐστίν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν  
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ξὺν  
τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ξυνήει δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας ἐς τρισ-  
17 μυρίους. οὗτοι ἄπαντες οὔτε ἐς ταῦτα ξυνελέγη-  
σαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐς λόγους ἥλθον.  
πέμποντες δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν  
σφίσιν ἐπομένων τινὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ἐπυν-  
18 θάνοντο. ἄφινω δὲ Πέτρος, οὐδενὶ κοινολογησά-  
μενος, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐς τὴν  
πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλλεν. ὅπερ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ  
γυνόντες Φιλημούθ τε καὶ Βῆρος, οἱ τῶν Ἐρούλων  
19 ἡγούμενοι, εὐθὺς εἶποντο. ἐπεί τε ταῦτα οἵ τε  
ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἔμαθον, τῇ ἐσβολῇ  
20 κατὰ τάχος ἐχρώντο. ἄπαντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὀλίγῳ  
ῦστερον ἀνεμίγνυντο ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, πλὴν Ἰου-  
στου τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὴ μακράν τε ἀπο-  
θεει, ὃσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου  
στρατοῦ, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβολὴν  
γυνόντες, καὶ αὐτὸι μὲν ἐσέβαλλον ὡς τάχιστα ἐς  
τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίαν, ἀναμίγνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς  
21 ξυνάρχουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔσχον. οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι ξύμ-  
παντες ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺν Δούβιος, οὕτε ληιζόμενοι  
οὕτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι πράσσοντες ἐς τὴν Περσῶν  
χώραν.

## XXV

1     Ἐστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὴ  
καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὑδάτων εὐεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχου-  
σα, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ διέχει.

called the Glutton, made camp near the place called Phison, which is close by the boundaries of Martyropolis. Thus then were encamped the Roman commanders with their troops; and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand men. Now all these troops were neither gathered into one place, nor indeed was there any general meeting for conference. But the generals sent to each other some of their followers and began to make enquiries concerning the invasion. Suddenly, however, Peter, without communicating with anyone, and without any careful consideration, invaded the hostile land with his troops. And when on the following day this was found out by Philemouth and Beros, the leaders of the Eruli, they straightway followed. And when this in turn came to the knowledge of Martinus and Valerianus and their men, they quickly joined in the invasion. And all of them a little later united with each other in the enemy's territory, with the exception of Justus and his men, who, as I have said, had encamped far away from the rest of the army, and learned later of their invasion; then, indeed, they also invaded the territory of the enemy as quickly as possible at the point where they were, but failed altogether to unite with the other commanders. As for the others, they proceeded in a body straight for Doubios, neither plundering nor damaging in any other way the land of the Persians.

## XXV

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 2 καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἵππήλατά ἔστι, κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι ὥκηνται ἀγχοτάτῳ ἀλλήλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι κατ' ἔργασίαν ἐν  
3 ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. ἕκ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐθνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομιζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσι.  
4 τόν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ιερέα Καθολικὸν καλοῦσι τὴν Ἐλλήνων φωνὴν, ὅτι δὴ ἐφέστηκεν εἰς ὧν  
5 ἀπασι τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις. Δούβιος δὲ ἄποθεν ὅσον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ἰόντι ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ὅρος ἔστι δύσβατόν τε καὶ ἀλλως κρημνώδες, καὶ κώμη τις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ  
6 στενοτάτῃ κειμένη, Ἀγγλῶν ὄνομα. οὐ δὴ ὁ Ναβέδης, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἔγνω, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀποχωρήσας  
7 χωρίου τε ἴσχυΐ θαρσήσας καθεῖρξεν αὐτόν. καὶ η μὲν κώμη ἐς τοῦ ὅρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται, φρούριον δὲ ἔχυρὸν τῇ κώμη ταύτῃ ὄμώνυμον ἐν  
8 τῷ κρημνώδει ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν Ναβέδης λίθοις μὲν καὶ ἀμάξαις τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἀποφράξας εἰσόδους δυσπρόσοδον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰργάσατο ταύ-  
9 την. ἐπίπροσθε δὲ τάφρον τινὰ ὀρύξας ἐνταῦθα τὸ στράτευμα ἔστησε, προλοχίσας οἰκίσκους τινὰς παλαιοὺς ἐνέδραις πεζῶν. ἐς τετρακισ-χιλίους δὲ ἄνδρας ἅπαν ξυνήει τὸ Περσῶν στρά-  
τευμα.  
10 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς χῶρον ἡμέρας ὅδῳ Ἀγγλῶν διέ-χοντα, τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ ἰόντα

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxv. 2-10

it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there. And the priest of the Christians is called "Catholicos" in the Greek tongue, because he presides alone over the whole region. Now at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Doubios on the right as one travels from the land of the Romans, there is a mountain difficult of ascent and moreover precipitous, and a village crowded into very narrow space by the rough country about, Anglon by name. Thither Nabedes withdrew with his whole army as soon as he learned of the inroad of the enemy, and, confident in his strength of position, he shut himself in. Now the village lies at the extremity of the mountain, and there is a strong fortress bearing the same name as this village on the steep mountain side. So Nabedes with stones and carts blocked up the entrances into the village and thus made it still more difficult of access. And in front of it he dug a sort of trench and stationed the army there, having filled some old cabins with ambuscades of infantrymen. Altogether the Persian army amounted to four thousand men.

While these things were being done in this way, the Romans reached a place one day's journey distant from Anglon, and capturing one of the enemy who was going out as a spy they enquired

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λαβόντες ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅπη ποτὲ τανῦν ὁ Ναβέδης  
 εἴη. καὶ ὃς ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἔξ 'Αγ-  
 11 γλῶν παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἔφασκεν. ὃ δὴ ὁ  
 Ναρσῆς ἀκούστας δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ξυνάρ-  
 12 χουσι τὴν μέλλησιν ὄνειδίζων ἐλοιδορεῖτο. ταῦτὸ  
 δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι ἐποίουν, ἐς ἀλλήλους<sup>1</sup> ὑβρίζου-  
 τες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μάχης τε καὶ κινδύνου ἀφρο-  
 τιστήσαντες ληίζεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐν σπουδῇ  
 13 ἐποιοῦντο. ἄραντες τοίνυν ἀστρατήγητοί τε καὶ  
 ἄτακτοι<sup>2</sup> κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπίπροσθεν ἥεσαν, οὔτε τι  
 ἔχοντες σύμβολον ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις ἀγώσιν εἴθισται, οὔτε πῃ διακεκριμένοι  
 14 ἐν τάξει. τοῖς γὰρ σκευοφόροις οἱ στρατιῶται  
 ἀναμιγνύμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἐτοι-  
 15 μοτάτην ίόντες χρημάτων μεγάλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ 'Αγ-  
 γλῶν ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πέμπουσι κατασκόπους, οἱ  
 δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐπανιόντες ἀπήγγελλον τὴν τῶν πολε-  
 16 μίων παράταξιν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκή-  
 τῷ καταπλαγέντες ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ξὺν στρατῷ  
 τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος αἰσχρόν τε καὶ ἄνανδρον  
 δλως φῶντο εἶναι, τάξαντες δὲ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόν-  
 των εἰς τὰ τρία τέλη τὸ στράτευμα εὐθὺ τῶν  
 17 πολεμίων ἔχώρουν. Πέτρος μὲν οὖν κέρας τὸ  
 δεξιὸν εἶχε, Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, εἰς δὲ τὸ  
 μέσον οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον ἐτάσσοντο. γενόμενοι δὲ  
 ἄγχιστά πῃ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσύχαζον, τὴν τάξιν  
 18 σὺν ἀκοσμίᾳ φυλάσσοντες. αἵτιον δὲ ἦν ἡ τε  
 δυσχωρία κρημνώδης ὑπερφυῶς οὖσα καὶ τὸ ἔξ

<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους P : ἄλλους VGr.    <sup>2</sup> ἄτακτοι GP : ἄκοσμοι V.

where in the world Nabedes was then. And he asserted that the man had retired from Anglon with the whole Median army. And when Narses heard this, he was indignant, and he heaped reproaches and abuse upon his fellow-commanders for their hesitation. And others, too, began to do the very same thing, casting insults upon one another; and from then on, giving up all thought of battle and danger, they were eager to plunder the country thereabout. The troops broke camp, accordingly, and without the guidance of generals and without observing any definite formation, they moved forward in complete confusion; for neither had they any countersign among themselves, as is customary in such perilous situations, nor were they arranged in their proper divisions. For the soldiers marched forward, mixed in with the baggage train, as if going to the ready plunder of great wealth. But when they came near to Anglon, they sent out spies who returned to them announcing the array of the enemy. And the generals were thunder-struck by the unexpectedness of it, but they considered it altogether disgraceful and unmanly to turn back with an army of such great size, and so they disposed the army in its three divisions, as well as the circumstances permitted, and advanced straight toward the enemy. Now Peter held the right wing and Valerianus the left, while Martinus and his men arrayed themselves in the centre. And when they came close to their opponents, they halted, preserving their formation, but not without disorder. The cause for this was to be found in the difficulty of the ground, which was very badly broken up, and in the fact that they

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ὑπογύνου διαταχθέντας ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίστασθαι.
- 19 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀλίγον  
ξυναγαγόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, περισκοπούμενοι  
τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δύναμιν, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς  
πρὸς Ναβέδου χειρῶν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα ἄρχειν, ἢν  
δέ πη ἐπισκήψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν  
σφίσιν ἀμύνασθαι.
- 20 Πρῶτος δὲ Ναρσῆς ξύν τε τοῖς Ἐρούλοις καὶ  
Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς χεῖρας τοῦς πολεμίους  
ἡλθεν, ὥθισμοῦ τε γενομένου ἐτρέψατο τοὺς κατ'  
21 αὐτὸν Πέρσας. φεύγοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ  
φρούριον ἀνέβαινον δρόμῳ, ἔνθα δὴ ἀλλήλους  
22 ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ εἰργάζοντο. καὶ  
τότε Ναρσῆς τε αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευ-  
σάμενος πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέκειτο,  
23 καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ λοιποὶ ἔργου εἴχοντο. ἐξελθόντες  
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς  
οἰκίσκων οἱ προλοχίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν τε  
Ἐρούλων τινάς κτείνουσιν, ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπε-  
σούντες, καὶ Ναρσῆν κατὰ κόρρης αὐτὸν παίουσι.  
24 καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰσαάκης ὁ ἀδελφὸς καιρίαν τυπέντα  
ὑπεξήγαγε τῶν μαχομένων. δις δὴ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον  
ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ  
25 γενόμενος. ταραχῆς δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐνθένδε πολ-  
λῆς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐμπεσούσης, ἅπαν ὁ  
Ναβέδης ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ Περσῶν  
26 στράτευμα. οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς  
ἐς πολεμίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος πολλούς τε ἄλλους  
εὐπετῶς ἔκτεινον καὶ διαφερόντως Ἐρούλους, οἱ  
ξύν τῷ Ναρσῇ τὰ πρώτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιπεσόν-

were entering battle in a formation arranged on the spur of the moment. And up to this time the barbarians, who had gathered themselves into a small space, were remaining quiet, considering the strength of their antagonists, since the order had been given them by Nabedes not under any circumstances to begin the fighting, but if the enemy should assail them, to defend themselves with all their might.

And first Narses with the Eruli and those of the Romans who were under him, engaged with the enemy, and after a hard hand-to-hand struggle, he routed the Persians who were before him. And the barbarians in flight ascended on the run to the fortress, and in so doing they inflicted terrible injury upon one another in the narrow way. And then Narses urged his men forward and pressed still harder upon the enemy, and the rest of the Romans joined in the action. But all of a sudden the men who were in ambush, as has been said,<sup>1</sup> came out from the cabins along the narrow alleys, and killed some of the Eruli, falling unexpectedly upon them, and they struck Narses himself a blow on the temple. And his brother Isaac carried him out from among the fighting men, mortally wounded. And he died shortly afterwards, having proved himself a brave man in this engagement. Then, as was to be expected, great confusion fell upon the Roman army, and Nabedes let out the whole Persian force upon his opponents. And the Persians, shooting into great masses of the enemy in the narrow alleys, killed a large number without difficulty, and particularly of the Eruli who had at the first fallen upon the enemy with Narses and were fighting for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. section 9 above.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τες ἀφύλακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμάχοντο.
- 27 οὕτε γὰρ κράνος οὔτε θώρακα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον Ἐρουλοι ἔχουσιν, διτι μὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τριβώνιον ἀδρόν, δ δὴ διεζωσμένοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα
- 28 καθίστανται.<sup>1</sup> δοῦλοι μέντοι Ἐρουλοι καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρὶς ἐς μάχην<sup>2</sup> χωροῦσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, οὕτω δὴ ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐφιᾶσιν οἱ δεσπόται προβάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς. τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἐρούλων<sup>3</sup> ταύτη πῃ ἔχει.
- 29 Ρωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνὰ κράτος ἀπαντες ἔφευγον, οὔτε ἀλκῆς μεμυημένοις οὔτε τινὰ αἰδῶ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες.
- 30 Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποπτεύοντες οὐκ ἐς φυγὴν ἀναίσχυντον οὕτω τετράφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνέδραις τισὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, ἄχρι ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας διώξαντες εἴτα ἀνέστρεφον, οὐ τολμῶντες ἐν τῷ
- 31 ὄμαλεῖ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διαμάχεσθαι. Ρωμαῖοι μέντοι, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες, δίωξιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι ἔφευγον ἔτι μᾶλλον, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν, θέουσι μὲν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι μάστιγι καὶ κραυγῇ, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅπλα ῥιπτοῦντες σπουδῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἐς ἔδαφος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντιτάξασθαι καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐθάρσουν Πέρσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνοις τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ποσὶ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας εἰχον καί, τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ φυγὴ ὥστε τῶν ἵππων σχεδόν τι αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς διεβίω, ἀλλ' ήνίκα τοῦ δρόμου ἐπαύσαντο, πεσόντες εὐθὺς
- 33 διεφθάρησαν. καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα Ρωμαίοις

<sup>1</sup> καθίστανται G: καθίσταντο VP.

<sup>2</sup> μάχην VP: τὸν ἀγῶνα G.

the most part without protection. For the Eruli have neither helmet nor corselet nor any other protective armour, except a shield and a thick jacket, which they gird about them before they enter a struggle. And indeed the Erulian slaves go into battle without even a shield, and when they prove themselves brave men in war, then their masters permit them to protect themselves in battle with shields. Such is the custom of the Eruli.

And the Romans did not withstand the enemy and all of them fled as fast as they could, never once thinking of resistance and heedless of shame or of any other worthy motive. But the Persians, suspecting that they had not turned thus to a shameless flight, but that they were making use of some ambuscades against them, pursued them as far as the rough ground extended and then turned back, not daring to fight a decisive battle on level ground, a few against many. The Romans, however, and especially all the generals, supposing that the enemy were continuing the pursuit without pause, kept fleeing still faster, wasting not a moment; and they were urging on their horses as they ran with whip and voice, and throwing their corselets and other accoutrements in haste and confusion to the ground. For they had not the courage to array themselves against the Persians if they overtook them, but they placed all hope of safety in their horses' feet, and, in short, the flight became such that scarcely any one of their horses survived, but when they stopped running, they straightway fell down and expired. And this proved a disaster for the Romans

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οίον οὕποτε πρότερον γέγονε. πολλοί τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔθανον καὶ πλείους ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις  
34 ἐγένοντο. ὅπλα τε αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὑπο-  
ξύνγια ἔλαβον τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πλουσιώ-  
τερα δοκεῖν ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τὰ  
35 Περσῶν πράγματα. Ἀδόλιος δὲ διὰ φρουρίου ἐν  
ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὑπαγωγῇ παριὼν ἐν Περσαρμενίοις  
κειμένου λίθῳ τε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρός του τῶν  
ταύτη φύκημένων πληγεὶς αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, οἵ τε  
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰοῦστον καὶ Περάνιον ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὰ  
ἐπὶ Ταραύνων χωρία καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα ληισάμενοι  
εὐθὺς ἐπανῆλθον.

## XXVI

- 1 Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἔτει Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδον τὸ  
τέταρτον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλεν, ἐπὶ τὴν  
2 Μεσοποταμίαν τὸ στράτευμα ἄγων. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
ἐσβολὴ τῷ Χοσρῷ τούτῳ οὐ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν  
τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πεποίηται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπ'  
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν  
3 ὅνπερ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται μόνον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν  
τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἐδέσσης ἀποτυχῶν ἀνεχώρησε,  
πολλὴ τις ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ τε καὶ μάγοις, ἀτε πρὸς  
τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἡσσημένοις, κατήφεια.  
4 ἦν δὴ παρηγορῶν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις  
Ἐδεσσηνοὺς μὲν ἀνδραποδεῖν ἡπείλησεν ἀπαντας  
ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη, τὴν δὲ πόλιν μηλόβοτον  
5 καταστήσεσθαι. παντὶ γοῦν τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχοῦ

so great as to exceed anything that had ever befallen them previously. For great numbers of them perished and still more fell into the hands of the enemy. And their weapons and draught animals which were taken by the enemy amounted to such an imposing number that Persia seemed as a result of this affair to have become richer. And Adolius, while passing through a fortified place during this retreat—it was situated in Persarmenia—was struck on the head by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants of the town, and died there. As for the forces of Justus and Peranius, they invaded the country about Taraunon, and after gathering some little plunder, immediately returned.

## XXVI

AND in the following year, Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the fourth time invaded the land of the Romans, leading his army towards Mesopotamia. Now this invasion was made by this Chosroes not against Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, nor indeed against any other man, but only against the God whom the Christians reverence. For when in the first invasion he retired, after failing to capture Edessa,<sup>1</sup> both he and the Magi, since they had been worsted by the God of the Christians, fell into a great dejection. Wherefore Chosroes, seeking to allay it, uttered a threat in the palace that he would make slaves of all the inhabitants of Edessa and bring them to the land of Persia, and would turn the city into a pasture for sheep. Accordingly when he had approached the

544 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. xii. 31-34.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ἐδέσσης γενόμενος, Ούννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων  
 τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἔπειμψεν δὲ  
 δὴ τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου καθύπερθέν ἐστιν, ἄλλο μὲν  
 οὐδὲν κακουργήσοντας, πρόβατα δὲ ἀρπασομένους  
 ἅπερ οἱ ποιμένες πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα πῃ παρὰ τὸ  
 τείχισμα στήσαντες ἔτυχον, χωρίου τε ἴσχυΐ  
 θαρσοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ ἀναντες ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ  
 οὕποτε τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι οὗτω  
 6 πῃ ἄγχιστα τοῦ τείχους ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρ-  
 βαροι τῶν προβάτων ἥπτοντο ἥδη, οἱ δὲ ποιμένες  
 7 καρτερώτατα [ἀμυνόμενοι] διεκάλυνον. Περσῶν τε  
 τοῖς Ούννοις ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων<sup>1</sup> πολλῶν, ἀγέλην  
 μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ οἱ βάρβαροι ἴσχυσαν,  
 'Ρωμαίων δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 δήμου ἐπεξελθόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐκ  
 χειρὸς γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ ἀγέλη αὐτόματος ἐς τοὺς  
 8 ποιμένας ἐπανῆκεν αὐθις. τῶν τέ τις Ούννων πρὸ<sup>2</sup>  
 τῶν ἄλλων μαχόμενος μάλιστα πάντων ἡνῶχλει  
 9 'Ρωμαίους. καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἀγροῦκος ἐς γόνυ τὸ  
 δεξιὸν σφειδόνη ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ πρηηῆς  
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἕπου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὔθὺς ἔπεσεν, δὴ  
 10 'Ρωμαίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. ἡ τε μάχη  
 πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν, ἐν ἡ  
 11 ἐκάτεροι τὸ πλέον ἔχειν οἰόμενοι διελύθησαν. καὶ  
 'Ρωμαῖοι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ  
 βάρβαροι ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐπτὰ διε-  
 σκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες.  
 12 Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης εἴτε τινὰ δψιν ὀνείρου εἶδεν ἢ  
 τις αὐτῷ ἐννοια γέγονεν, ὡς δἰς ἐγχειρήσας ἦν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων VP : ἐπιβεβηκότων G.

city of Edessa with his whole army, he sent some of the Huns who were following him against that portion of the fortifications of the city which is above the hippodrome, with the purpose of doing no further injury than seizing the flocks which the shepherds had stationed there along the wall in great numbers: for they were confident in the strength of the place, since it was exceedingly steep, and supposed that the enemy would never dare to come so very close to the wall. So the barbarians were already laying hold of the sheep, and the shepherds were trying most valiantly to prevent them. And when a great number of Persians had come to the assistance of the Huns, the barbarians succeeded in detaching something of a flock from there, but Roman soldiers and some of the populace made a sally upon the enemy and the battle became a hand-to-hand struggle; meanwhile the flock of its own accord returned again to the shepherds. Now one of the Huns who was fighting before the others was making more trouble for the Romans than all the rest. And some rustic made a good shot and hit him on the right knee with a sling, and he immediately fell headlong from his horse to the ground, which thing heartened the Romans still more. And the battle which had begun early in the morning ended at midday, and both sides withdrew from the engagement thinking that they had the advantage. So the Romans went inside the fortifications, while the barbarians pitched their tents and made camp in a body about seven stades from the city.

Then Chosroes either saw some vision or else the thought occurred to him that if, after making two

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δυνατὸς εἴη Ἐδεσσαν ἔξελεῖν, πολλὴν οἱ αἰσχύνην  
13 τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι ξυμβήσεται. διὸ δὴ πολλῶν  
χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ἐδεσ-  
14 σηνοῖς ἔγνω. τῇ γοῦν ἐπιγινομένη ἡμέρᾳ Παῦλος  
έρμηνεὺς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἥκων ἔφασκε Ῥωμαίους  
χρῆναι παρὰ Χοσρόην σταλῆναι τῶν δοκίμων  
15 τινάς. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος τέσσαρας ἀπολεξάμενοι  
16 τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῶν ἐπεμψαν. οὶς δὴ  
ἐς τὸ Μήδων ἀφικομένοις στρατόπεδον ἐντυχὼν  
γνώμῃ βασιλέως ὁ Ζαβεργάνης ἀπειλᾶς τε πολ-  
λαῖς δεδιξάμενός ἀνεπινθάνετο αὐτῶν ὅπότερα  
σφίσιν αἱρετώτερα τυγχάνει ὄντα, πότερον τὰ ἐς  
17 τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγοντα. τῶν δὲ  
τὴν εἰρήνην ἐλέσθαι ἀν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμο-  
λογούντων, “Οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, “ἀνεῖ-  
σθαι ὑμᾶς ταύτην ἀνάγκη χρημάτων πολλῶν.”  
18 οἵ τε πρέσβεις ἔφασαν τοσαῦτα δώσειν ὅσα  
παρέσχοντο πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν  
19 ἔξελῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥλθε. καὶ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης  
αὐτοὺς ξὺν γέλωτι ἀπεπέμψατο, ἐφ' ὃ ἐνδελεχέ-  
στατα βουλευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ οὗτῳ δὴ  
20 αὖθις παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθωσιν. διλύγω τε ὕστερον  
μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Χοσρόης, ἐπειδὴ παρ'  
αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, κατέλεξε μὲν ὅσα τε πρότερον καὶ  
ὄντινα τρόπον ἔξηνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων χωρία,  
ἡπείλησε δὲ τὰ δεινότερα Ἐδεσσηνοῖς πρὸς Περ-  
σῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πάντα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα  
δοῖεν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν οὕτω γὰρ  
μόνως ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν  
21 ἔφασκε. ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ὡμο-

attempts, he should not be able to capture Edessa, he would thereby cover himself with much disgrace. Accordingly he decided to sell his withdrawal to the citizens of Edessa for a great sum of money. On the following day, therefore, Paulus the interpreter came along by the wall and said that some of the Roman notables should be sent to Chosroes. And they with all speed chose out four of their illustrious men and sent them. When these men reached the Median camp, they were met according to the king's order by Zaberganes, who first terrified them with many threats and then enquired of them which course was the more desirable for them, whether that leading to peace, or that leading to war. And when the envoys agreed that they would choose peace rather than the dangers of war, Zaberganes replied : "Therefore it is necessary for you to purchase this for a great sum of money." And the envoys said that they would give as much as they had provided before, when he came against them after capturing Antioch. And Zaberganes dismissed them with laughter, telling them to deliberate most carefully concerning their safety and then to come again to the Persians. And a little later Chosroes summoned them, and when they came before him, he recounted how many Roman towns he had previously enslaved and in what manner he had accomplished it; then he threatened that the inhabitants of Edessa would receive more direful treatment at the hands of the Persians, unless they should give them all the wealth which they had inside the fortifications; for only on this condition, he said, would the army depart. When the envoys heard this, they agreed

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λόγουν μὲν παρὰ Χοσρόου τὴν εἰρήνην ὡνήσεσθαι,  
 ἦν γε σφίσι μὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπαγγείλειε· τοῦ δὲ  
 κινδύνου τὸ πέρας οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἔφασαν πρὸ<sup>22</sup>  
 τῆς ἀγωνίας ἔνδηλον εἶναι. πόλεμον γὰρ τοῖς αὐτὸν  
 διαφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις οὐ μὴ ποτε  
 εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ξὺν ὄργῃ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς  
 πρέσβεις ἐκέλευεν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.  
 23 Ἡμέρα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ὄγδοῃ λόφον  
 ἐπαναστῆσαι χειροποίητον τῷ τῆς πόλεως περι-  
 βόλῳ βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκτεμὼν αὐτοῖς  
 φύλλοις πολλὰ ἐκ χωρίων ἐγγύς πη δύτων πρὸ<sup>24</sup>  
 τοῦ τείχους ἐν τετραγώνῳ ξυνέθηκεν, οὐδὲ βέλος  
 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, χοῦν τε  
 πολὺν τινα ἀτεχνῶς ὑπερθεν τῶν δένδρων ξυ-  
 αμησάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα λίθων ἐπέβαλλεν, οὐκ  
 ἔχόντων εἰς οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείως, ἀλλ’ εἰκῇ  
 τμηθέντων, ἐκείνου μόνου ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως δὴ  
 25 ὁ λόφος ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς ὑψος μέγα ἐπαίροιτο. καὶ  
 ξύλα μακρὰ τοῦ τε χοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων μεταξὺ ἐς  
 ἀεὶ ἐμβαλλόμενος ἔνδεσμον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔργου,  
 26 ὅπως μὴ ὑψηλὸν γενόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἴη. Πέτρος  
 δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ξὺν Μαρ-  
 τίνῳ καὶ Περανίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὃν) τοὺς ταῦτα  
 ἐργαζομένους ἀναστέλλειν ἐθέλων Οὔννων τῶν οἱ  
 27 ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπειμψεν. οἱ δὲ πολ-  
 λοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, καὶ  
 πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τις δορυφόρων, Ἀργῆ<sup>28</sup>  
 28 ὅνομα· μόνος γὰρ ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐκτεινε. τῶν  
 μέντοι βαρβάρων φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ τὸ λοιπὸν  
 ποιουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπεξιέναι τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἔσχον.<sup>1</sup> ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες ἐντὸς βέλους οἱ τεχνῦται

<sup>1</sup> Ισχον VP: γνων G.

that they would purchase peace from Chosroes, if only he would not prescribe impossible conditions for them : but the outcome of a conflict, they said, was plainly seen by no one at all before the struggle. For there was never a war whose outcome might be taken for granted by those who waged it. Thereupon Chosroes in anger commanded the envoys to be gone with all speed.

On the eighth day of the siege he formed the design of erecting an artificial hill against the circuit wall of the city ; accordingly he cut down trees in great numbers from the adjacent districts and, without removing the leaves, laid them together in a square before the wall, at a point which no missile from the city could reach ; then he heaped an immense amount of earth right upon the trees and above that threw on a great quantity of stones, not such as are suitable for building, but cut at random, and only calculated to raise the hill as quickly as possible to a great height. And he kept laying on long timbers in the midst of the earth and the stones, and made them serve to bind the structure together, in order that as it became high it should not be weak. But Peter, the Roman general (for he happened to be there with Martinus and Peranius), wishing to check the men who were engaged in this work, sent some of the Huns who were under his command against them. And they, by making a sudden attack, killed a great number ; and one of the guardsmen, Argek by name, surpassed all others, for he alone killed twenty-seven. From that time on, however, the barbarians kept a careful guard, and there was no further opportunity for anyone to go out against them. But when the

## PROCOPius OF CAESAREA

τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐγένοντο, καρτερώτατα ἥδη  
 ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε  
 σφενδόνας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐνήργουν. διὸ  
 29 δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπενόουν τάδε. προκαλύμματα  
 ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν, ἢ δὴ καλοῦσι Κιλίκια,  
 πάχους τε καὶ μῆκος διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, ἀρτήσαν-  
 τες ἐκ ξύλων μακρῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ τὴν ἄγεσταν  
 ἔργα ζομένων ἐτίθεντο (οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ  
 30 Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι). ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὗ-  
 τε πυρφόροι οἰστοὶ οὕτε τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι  
 εἶχον, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προκαλυμμάτων ἀπο-  
 31 κρουόμενα ξύμπαντα ἔμενε. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς  
 δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ  
 Χοσρόην σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐπεμπον καὶ Στέ-  
 φανον σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐν γε τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἰατροῖς  
 λόγιον, διὸ δὴ Καβάδην τὸν Περόζου νοσούντα  
 ποτε ἰασάμενος κύριος χρημάτων μεγάλων πρὸς  
 32 αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. διὸ δή, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ξὺν  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένετο, ἔλεξεν ὡδε, “Βασιλέως τὴν  
 φιλανθρωπίαν ἀγαθοῦ γνώρισμα πάντες ἐκ πα-  
 33 λαιοῦ νενομίκασιν. οὐκοῦν, ὡς κράτιστε βασιλεῦ,  
 φόνους σοι καὶ μάχας ἔργα ζομένῳ καὶ πόλεων  
 ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἵσως ὀνομάτων  
 παρέσται<sup>1</sup> τυχεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐ  
 34 μήποτε ἔσται. καίτοι πασῶν γε ἥκιστα χρῆν τῇ  
 Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλει παρὰ σοῦ τι ξυμβῆναι φλαῦ-  
 35 ρον. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὅρμημα, ὅσπερ σε τῶν  
 ἐσομένων οὐδὲν προειδὼς ἐξέθρεψά τε καὶ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> παρέσται Hoeschel: παραστάναι V, παρεστάναι GP.

artisans engaged in this work, as they moved forward, came within range of missiles, then the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance from the city wall, using both their slings and their bows against them. Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goat's hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the "agesta"<sup>1</sup> (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there. And then the Romans, falling into a great fear, sent the envoys to Chosroes in great trepidation, and with them Stephanus, a physician of marked learning among those of his time at any rate, who also had once cured Cabades, the son of Perozes, when ill, and had been made master of great wealth by him. He, therefore, coming into the presence of Chosroes with the others, spoke as follows: "It has been agreed by all from of old that kindness is the mark of a good king. Therefore, most mighty King, while busying thyself with murders and battles and the enslavement of cities it will perhaps be possible for thee to win the other names, but thou wilt never by any means have the reputation of being "good." And yet least of all cities should Edessa suffer any adversity at thy hand. For there was I born, who, without any foreknowledge of what was coming to pass, fostered thee from childhood and counselled

<sup>1</sup> Latin *agger*, "mound."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ξύμβουλος γεγονώς, ἐφ' ὃ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταστήσεται, σοὶ μὲν τῆς Περ-  
 σῶν βασιλείας αἰτιώτατος γέγονα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι  
 36 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλὰ  
 τῶν ἀτυχημάτων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-  
 37 στον τῶν ξυμβησομένων προστρίβονται. ἀλλ’ εἴ  
 τίς σε τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας εἰσέρχεται μνήμη,  
 μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἔργασῃ περαιτέρω κακὸν, ταῦτην δι-  
 δούς μοι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἐξ ἣς σοι, ὡς βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ  
 δοκεῖν ὡμοτάτῳ εἶναι ξυμβήσεται.” Στέφανος  
 38 μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλ-  
 λαγήσεσθαι ὡμολόγει ἐνθένδε, εἰ μὴ Πέτρον τε  
 καὶ Περάνιον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν Ῥωμαῖοι, δτι δή οἱ,  
 δοῦλοί γε ὅντες<sup>1</sup> πατρῷοι, τετολμήκασιν ἀντιτά-  
 39 ξασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μὴ δρᾶν Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἥδονῃ  
 ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπάναγκες ἐλέσθαι τὸ  
 ἔτερον, ἡ πεντακόσια κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ σφίσι  
 διδόναι, ἡ δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων  
 τινάς, οἱ τὰ χρήματα διερευνησάμενοι ἀπαντα  
 τὸν μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, δσον δὴ ἐνταῦθα  
 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, κομίζοντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἥξουσι,  
 40 τἄλλα δὲ τοὺς κυρίους ἑάσουσιν ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὲν  
 οἱ Χοσρόης ἀπέρριψεν, “Εδεσσαν ἔξελεῖν πόνω  
 οὐδενὶ ἐλπίδα ᔁχων. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις (ἀπαντα γὰρ  
 σφίσιν ἀδύνατα ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγ-  
 γελλε) διαπορούμενοί τε καὶ λίαν ἀσχάλλοντες  
 41 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον. ἐπεί τε ἐντὸς τοῦ περι-  
 βόλου γενόμενοι τὰ παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπήγγελλον,  
 θορύβου τε καὶ θρήνων ἡ πόλις ἔμπλεως ἐγένετο.  
 42 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπὶ τε ὑψος  
 ἥρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει.

<sup>1</sup> γε ὕντες VGP : γεγονότες H.

thy father to appoint thee his successor in the kingdom, so that to thee I have proved the chief cause of the kingship of Persia, but to my fatherland of her present woes. For men, as a general thing, bring down upon their own heads the most of the misfortunes which are going to befall them. But if any remembrance of such benefaction comes to thy mind, do us no further injury, and grant me this requital, by which, O King, thou wilt escape the reputation of being most cruel." Such were the words of Stephanus. But Chosroes declared that he would not depart from there until the Romans should deliver to him Peter and Peranius, seeing that, being his hereditary slaves, they had dared to array themselves against him. And if it was not their pleasure to do this, the Romans must choose one of two alternatives, either to give the Persians five hundred centenaria of gold, or to receive into the city some of his associates who would search out all the money, both gold and silver, as much as was there, and bring it to him, allowing everything else to remain in the possession of the present owners. Such then were the words which Chosroes hurled forth, being in hopes of capturing Edessa with no trouble. And the ambassadors (since all the conditions which he had announced to them seemed impossible), in despair and great vexation, proceeded to the city. And when they had come inside the city-wall, they reported the message from Chosroes, and the whole city was filled with tumult and lamentation.

Now the artificial hill was rising to a great height and was being pushed forward with much haste.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

‘Ρωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ δράσουσι,<sup>1</sup> πάλιν  
 43 τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπέστελλον. οἵπερ  
 ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένοντο,  
 περὶ τε τῶν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι ἔφασκον ἥκειν,  
 λόγου μὲν οὐδὲ ὄπωστιοῦν πρὸς Περσῶν ἔτυχον,  
 ὑβρει δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἔξελαυνόμενοι  
 44 ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔχώρουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα ‘Ρω-  
 μαῖοι τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόφον τεῖχος ἐτέρᾳ ἐνεχείρουν  
 οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταυτῆς τὸ  
 Περσῶν ἔργον πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον ἐγίνετο ἥδη,  
 τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν, Μαρτίνον δὲ  
 πείθουσι τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ  
 βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι. καὶ δις ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν  
 πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῶν τισιν ἐν  
 45 Πέρσαις ἀρχόντων ἐς λόγους ἥλθεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν  
 Μαρτίνον ἔξαπατῶντες εἰρηναῖα μὲν σφῶν τὸν  
 βασιλέα βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα  
 οἴόν τε εἶναι τὸν ‘Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα πείθειν  
 τῆς πρὸς Χοσρόην φιλονεικίας ἀφέμενον τὴν  
 46 εἰρήνην ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ  
 Βελισάριον, ὅνπερ τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι  
 πολὺ Μαρτίνου προῦχειν οὐδὲ ἀν αὐτὸς ἀντείποι,  
 πεῖσαι μὲν ἔναγχος τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅντα  
 δὴ που ἐν μέσοις ‘Ρωμαίοις, ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσ-  
 σεσθαι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη, ὑποσχόμενον πρέσβεις  
 τε παρ’ αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐκ Βυζαντίου  
 ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κρατύνα-  
 σθαι, πρᾶξαι δὲ τῶν ὡμολογημένων οὐδέν,  
 ἀδύνατον γεγονότα τὴν Ιουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως  
 βιάσασθαι γνώμην.

<sup>1</sup> δράσουσι VGP: δράσωσιν H.

## HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxvi. 42-46

And the Romans, being at a loss what to do, again sent off the envoys to Chosroes. And when they had arrived in the enemy's camp, and said that they had come to make entreaty concerning the same things, they did not even gain a hearing of any kind from the Persians, but they were insulted and driven out from there with a great tumult, and so returned to the city. At first, then, the Romans tried to over-top the wall opposite the hill by means of another structure. But since the Persian work was already rising far above even this, they stopped their building and persuaded Martinus to make the arrangements for a settlement in whatever way he wished. He then came up close to the enemy's camp and began to converse with some of the Persian commanders. But they, completely deceiving Martinus, said that their king was desirous of peace, but that he was utterly unable to persuade the Roman Emperor to have done with his strife with Chosroes and to establish peace with him at last. And they mentioned as evidence of this the fact that Belisarius, who in power and dignity was far superior to Martinus, as even he himself would not deny, had recently persuaded the king of the Persians, when he was in the midst of Roman territory, to withdraw from there into Persia, promising that envoys from Byzantium would come to him at no distant time and establish peace securely, but that he had done none of the things agreed upon, since he had found himself unable to overcome the determination of the Emperor Justinian.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XXVII

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποίουν τοιάδε. διώρ-  
ρυχα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔνερθεν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ  
χώματος ἐργασάμενοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὄρυσσοντας  
μὴ μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, ἵνας ὑπὸ τὸν  
λόφον γένωνται μέσον. ταύτη γὰρ καῦσαι τὸ  
2 χῶμα τοῦτο διενοοῦντο. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς  
διώρυχος κατὰ τὸν λόφον μάλιστα μέσον  
πάταγός τις ἐσ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ὑπερθεν ἐστῶτας  
3 ἥλθεν. αἰσθόμενοί τε τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ αὐτὸι  
ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ μέσου ὕρυσσον,  
ὅπως λάβοιεν τοὺς ἐκείνη κακουργοῦντας Ῥω-  
4 μαίους. ὃ δὴ γνόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τούτου μὲν  
ἀπέσχοντο, χοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν κενωθέντα χῶρον<sup>1</sup>  
ἐπιβαλόντες, ἐκ δὲ ἄκρου χώματος κάτωθεν, ὃ  
πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐτύγχανεν ὅν, ξύλα τε καὶ λίθους  
καὶ χοῦν ἐκφορήσαντες καθάπερ οἰκίσκου σχῆμα  
εἰργάσαντο, πρέμνα τε δένδρων τῶν ῥᾶστα  
καιομένων ξηρὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐσέβαλλον, ἐλαίφ τε  
καταβεθρεγμένα τῷ ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένῳ καὶ  
5 θείφ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πολλῇ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα  
ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες  
πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες Μαρτίνῳ τοιαῦτα μὲν οἴα  
πέρ μοι εἴρηται διελέχθησαν, δόκησιν παρεχό-  
μενοι ὡς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐνδέξονται λόγους.  
6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόφος αὐτοῖς ἐτετέλεστο ἥδη, καὶ  
πλησιάζων μὲν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὑψει δὲ

<sup>1</sup> χῶρον VP: τόπον G.

## XXVII

In the meantime the Romans were busying themselves as follows : They made a tunnel from the city underneath the enemy's embankment, commanding the diggers not to leave this work until they should get under the middle of the hill. By this means they were planning to burn the embankment. But as the tunnel advanced to about the middle of the hill, a sound of blows, as it were, came to the ears of those Persians who were standing above. And perceiving what was being done, they too began from above and dug on both sides of the middle, so that they might catch the Romans who were doing the damage there. But the Romans found it out and abandoned this attempt, throwing earth into the place which had been hollowed out, and then began to work on the lower part of the embankment at the end which was next to the wall, and by taking out timbers and stones and earth they made an open space just like a chamber ; then they threw in there dry trunks of trees of the kind which burn most easily, and saturated them with oil of cedar and added quantities of sulphur and bitumen. So, then, they were keeping these things in readiness; and meanwhile the Persian commanders in frequent meetings with Martinus were carrying on conversations with him in the same strain as the one I have mentioned, making it appear that they would receive proposals in regard to peace. But when at last their hill had been completed, and had been raised to a great elevation, approaching the circuit-wall of the city and

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αὐτὸν πολλῷ ὑπεραιρών ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπῆρτο,  
Μαρτίνου μὲν ἀπεπέμψαντο διαρρήδην ἀπει-  
πόντες τὴν ξύμβασιν, ἔργου δὲ ἔχεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν  
ἔμελλον.

- 7 Διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν δένδρων τὰ πρέμνα εὐθὺς  
ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαστο. τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς  
μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ χώματός τινα καύσαντος, οὕπω  
δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἔξικνεῖσθαι ισχύσαντος, τὰ ξύλα  
δεδαπανῆσθαι πάντα ἔτυχεν: ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐσέβαλον  
ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ξύλα ἔτερα, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες  
8 καιρόν. ἥδη δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἅπαν ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ  
χῶμα, καπνός τις ὑπερθεν πανταχῆ τοῦ λόφου  
ἔφαινετο νύκτωρ, Ῥωμαῖοι τε οὕπω ἐθέλοντες  
αἴσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου Πέρσαις παρέχειν  
9 ἐπενόσουν τάδε. ἀνθράκων τε καὶ πυρὸς ἀγγεῖα  
μικρὰ ἐμπλησάμενοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ πυρφόρους  
οἰστοὺς τοῦ χώματος πανταχόσε συχνὰ ἐπεμπον·  
ἀ δὴ οἱ Πέρσαι, ὅσοι φυλακήν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ξὺν  
πάσῃ σπουδῇ περιιόντες ἐσβέννυν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
10 φύεσθαι τὸν καπνὸν φόντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ  
κακοῦ πλήθει μὲν πολλῷ ἐβοήθουν οἱ βάρ-  
βαροι, βάλλοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ περι-  
11 βόλου Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. οὐ δὴ καὶ  
Χοσρόης ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἥλθε, καὶ οἱ τὸ  
πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ εἴπετο, ἐς τε τὸν λόφον  
ἀναβὰς πρῶτος ἔλαβε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴσθησιν.  
12 ἐνερθεν γὰρ ἀπεφήνατο τοῦ καπνοῦ τὸ αἴτιον  
εἶναι, οὐκ ἀφ' ὃν ἐσηκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι, βοηθεῖν  
13 τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα δλον. καὶ  
Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον, τῶν δὲ  
βαρβάρων οἱ μέν τινες χοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπε-

rising far above it in height, then they sent Martinus away, definitely refusing to arrange the treaty, and they intended from then on to devote themselves to active warfare.

Accordingly the Romans straightway set fire to the tree-trunks which had been prepared for this purpose. But when the fire had burned only a certain portion of the embankment, and had not yet been able to penetrate through the whole mass, the wood was already entirely exhausted. But they kept throwing fresh wood into the pit, not slackening their efforts for a moment. And when the fire was already active throughout the whole embankment, some smoke appeared at night rising from every part of the hill, and the Romans, who were not yet willing to let the Persians know what was being done, resorted to the following device: They filled small pots with coals and fire and threw these and also ignited arrows in great numbers to all parts of the embankment. And the Persians who were keeping guard there, began to go about in great haste and extinguish these, and they supposed that the smoke arose from them. But since the trouble increased, the barbarians rushed up to help in great numbers, and the Romans, shooting them from the wall, killed many. And Chosroes too came there about sunrise, followed by the greater part of the army, and, upon mounting the hill, he first perceived what the trouble was. For he disclosed the fact that the cause of the smoke was underneath, not in the missiles which the enemy were hurling, and he ordered the whole army to come to the rescue with all speed. And the Romans, taking courage, began to insult them, while the barbarians were at work,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

βάλλοντες ἡ ὁ καπνὸς διεφαίνετο, περιέσεσθαι  
 τοῦ δεινοῦ ἥλπιζον, ἀνύειν<sup>1</sup> μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ  
 14 εἶχον. ἡ τε γὰρ ὁ χοῦς ἐπιβληθείη, ταύτη μὲν ὁ  
 καπνός, ώς τὸ εἰκός, ἀνεστέλλετο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐκ  
 εἰς μακρὰν ἀνείδοτο, αὐτὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ  
 βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἀναγκάζοντος·  
 τό τε ὕδωρ ἡ μάλιστα ἐπισκήψει, πολλῷ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον τὴν τε ἀσφαλτον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνεργεῖν  
 ἵσχυεν ἐπί τε τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ὑλην ἀκμάζειν ἐποίει,  
 καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω πάει ἐνῆγεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ  
 χώματος ἐντὸς οὐδαμῆ τοσοῦτον ἔξικνεῖσθαι τοῦ  
 ὕδατος εἶχεν ὅσον τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασβέσαι<sup>2</sup>  
 15 τὴν φλόγα οἴόν τε εἶναι. ὁ δὲ καπνὸς ἀμφὶ δείλην  
 ὄψιαν τοσοῦτος ἐγίνετο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Καρρηνοῖς  
 καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολλῷ ἐπέκεινα φόκημένοις  
 16 ἔνδηλος εἶναι. Περσῶν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν  
 ὑπερθεν ἀναβεβηκότων τοῦ χώματος, μάχης τε  
 καὶ ὀθισμοῦ ἐνταῦθα ξυστάντος, ἐνίκων Ῥω-  
 17 μαιοι. τότε καὶ ἡ φλὸξ λαμπρῶς ἐκδοθεῖσα  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ χῶμα ἐφαίνετο, Πέρσαι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔργου  
 τούτου ἀπέσχοντο.  
 18 Ἔκτη δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ, ὅρθρου βαθέος,  
 μοίρᾳ τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου λάθρα ἐπέσκηψαν  
 κλίμακας ἔχοντες, οὐ δὴ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμα-  
 19 σται. τῶν δὲ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχόντων Ῥω-  
 μαίων πρᾶόν τινα καθευδόντων ὑπνον, ἄτε τῆς  
 νυκτὸς πρὸς πέρας ιούσης, ἡσυχῇ τὰς κλίμακας  
 20 τῷ τείχει ἐρείσαντες ἀνέβαινον ἥδη. τῶν δέ

<sup>1</sup> ἀνύειν Maltretus: ἀνύσειν MSS.

<sup>2</sup> κατασβέσαι Haury: κατασκᾶσαι V, καταπαῦσαι Dindorf.

some throwing on earth, and others water, where the smoke appeared, hoping thus to get the better of the trouble; however, they were absolutely unable to accomplish anything. For where the earth was thrown on, the smoke, as was natural, was checked at that place, but not long afterwards it rose from another place, since the fire compelled it to force its way out wherever it could. And where the water fell most plentifully it only succeeded in making the bitumen and the sulphur much more active, and caused them to exert their full force upon the wood near by; and it constantly drove the fire forward, since the water could not penetrate inside the embankment in a quantity at all sufficient to extinguish the flame by its abundance. And in the late afternoon the smoke became so great in volume that it was visible to the inhabitants of Carrhae and to some others who dwelt far beyond them. And since a great number of Persians and of Romans had gone up on top of the embankment, a fight took place and a hand-to-hand struggle to drive each other off, and the Romans were victorious. Then even the flames rose and appeared clearly above the embankment, and the Persians abandoned this undertaking.

On the sixth day after this, at early dawn, they made an assault secretly upon a certain part of the circuit-wall with ladders, at the point which is called the Fort. And since the Romans who were keeping guard there were sleeping a quiet, peaceful sleep, as the night was drawing to its close, they silently set the ladders against the wall and were already ascending. But one of the rustics alone among the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τις ἀγροίκων μόνος ἐγρηγορῶς ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν  
ἔτυχεν, διὸ δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ  
21 ἅπαντας ἥγειρε. καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης  
ἡστῶνται Πέρσαι, ἃς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρη-  
σαν, αὐτὸν λιπόντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἀσπερ κατ'  
22 ἔξουσίαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεῆλκον. Χοσρόης δὲ ἀμφὶ  
ἡμέραν μέσην πολλήν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν  
ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην πύλην ὡς τειχο-  
23 μαχήσοντας ἔπειμψεν. οἰς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπαντιά-  
σαντες οὐ στρατιώται μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγροῦκοι  
καὶ τοῦ δήμου τινὲς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες παρὰ  
24 πολὺ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. ἔτι τε Περσῶν  
διωκομένων Παῦλος ἔρμηνεν παρὰ Χοσρόου ἥκων  
ἐς μέσους Ῥωμαίους ἀπήγγελε Ρεκινάριον ἐπὶ  
τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἥκειν, οὕτω τε ἀμφότεροι  
25 διελύθησαν. ἥδη δέ τισι πρότερον ἡμέραις ὁ  
Ρεκινάριος ἐς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον  
26 ἀφῆκτο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐς Ῥωμαίους ως ἥκιστα  
ἐξήνεγκαν Πέρσαι, καραδοκοῦντες δηλούντι τὴν  
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλήν, ὅπως, ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ ἐξελεῦν  
δύνωνται, μηδαμῆ ἐς τὰς σπουδὰς παρανομεῖν  
δόξωσιν, ἡσσηθέντες δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐς τὴν  
ξύμβασιν, Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων πρὸς αὐτάς,  
27 θήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ρεκινάριος ἐγένετο εἴσω πυλῶν,  
Πέρσαι μὲν ἥξιον τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διοικησομέ-  
νους παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἴέναι, Ῥω-  
μαῖοι δὲ σταλήσεσθαι πρέσβεις ἡμέραις τρισὶν  
ῦστερον ἔφασαν· ταῦν γὰρ σφίσι κακῶς τοῦ  
σώματος Μαρτίνου τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔχειν.  
28 Εἶναι τε ὑποτοπάζων οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον  
Χοσρόης τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ

Romans happened to be awake, and he with a shout and a great noise began to rouse them all. And a hard struggle ensued in which the Persians were worsted, and they retired to their camp, leaving the ladders where they were ; these the Romans drew up at their leisure. But Chosroes about midday sent a large part of the army against the so-called Great Gate in order to storm the wall. And the Romans went out and confronted them, not only soldiers, but even rustics and some of the populace, and they conquered the barbarians in battle decisively and turned them to flight. And while the Persians were still being pursued, Paulus, the interpreter, came from Chosroes, and going into the midst of the Romans, he reported that Reginarius had come from Byzantium to arrange the peace ; and thus the two armies separated. Now it was already some days since Reginarius had arrived at the camp of the barbarians. But the Persians had by no means disclosed this fact to the Romans, plainly awaiting the outcome of the attempts upon the wall which they had planned, in order that, if they should be able to capture it, they might seem in no way to be violating the treaty, while if defeated, as actually happened, they might draw up the treaty at the invitation of the Romans. And when Reginarius had gone inside the gates, the Persians demanded that those who were to arrange the peace should come to Chosroes without any delay, but the Romans said that envoys would be sent three days later ; for that just at the moment their general, Martinus, was unwell.

And Chosroes, suspecting that the reason was not a sound one, prepared for battle. And at that time

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τότε μὲν πλίνθων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα  
ἐπέβαλε, δυοῖν<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραιν παντὶ τῷ  
στρατῷ ὡς τειχομαχήσων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως  
29 περίβολον ἥλθεν. ἐν τε πύλῃ ἑκάστη τῶν τινας  
ἀρχόντων καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατεύματος κατα-  
στησάμενος ἅπαν τε τὸ τεῖχος ταύτη περιβαλὼν  
30 κλίμακάς τε αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγεν. ὅπι-  
σθεν δὲ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν τῶν Περ-  
σῶν τισιν ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ὃ τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλωσιν,  
ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας σαγηνεύσαντες  
31 λάβωσι. τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη τὸ στράτευμα ὁ  
Χοσρόης οὕτω διέταξε. τῆς δὲ μάχης πρωὶ  
ἀρξαμένης κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὰ Περσῶν καθυπέρ-  
32 τερα ἦν. πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λίαν ὀλίγους ἐμάχοντο,  
ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλεῦστοι ἀνήκοοί τε τῶν  
ποιουμένων καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ἤσαν.  
33 προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς θορύβων τε καὶ  
ταραχῆς ἔμπλεως ἡ πόλις ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξύμπαντες  
ἡδὴ αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδαρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος  
34 ἀνέβαινον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώ-  
ταις καρτερώτata τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο, καὶ  
τῶν ἀγροικῶν πολλοὶ ἐις τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργα  
35 θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείκνυντο. παῖδες δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες  
ξὺν τοῖς γεγηρακόσι λίθους τε τοῖς μαχομένοις  
36 ξυνέλεγον καὶ τάλλα ὑπούργουν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ  
λέβητας ἐλαίου πολλοὺς ἔμπλησάμενοι πυρί τε  
αὐτοὺς πανταχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐις διαρκῆ θερμήναυ-  
τες χρόνον καὶ ζέον ὑπεράγαν τὸ ἔλαιον περιρ-

<sup>1</sup> δυοῖν Maltretus: δυεῖν MSS.

he only threw a great mass of bricks upon the embankment ; but two days later he came against the fortifications of the city with the whole army to storm the wall. And at every gate he stationed some of the commanders and a part of the army, encircling the whole wall in this way, and he brought up ladders and war-engines against it. And in the rear he placed all the Saracens with some of the Persians, not in order to assault the wall, but in order that, when the city was captured, they might gather in the fugitives and catch them as in a drag-net. Such, then, was the purpose of Chosroes in arranging the army in this way. And the fighting began early in the morning, and at first the Persians had the advantage. For they were in great numbers and fighting against a very small force, since the most of the Romans had not heard what was going on and were utterly unprepared. But as the conflict advanced the city became full of confusion and tumult, and the whole population, even women and little children, were going up on to the wall. Now those who were of military age together with the soldiers were repelling the enemy most vigorously, and many of the rustics made a remarkable show of valorous deeds against the barbarians. Meanwhile the women and children, and the aged also, were gathering stones for the fighters and assisting them in other ways. Some also filled numerous basins with olive-oil, and after heating them over fire a sufficient time everywhere alone the wall, they sprinkled the oil, while boiling fiercely, upon the enemy who were assailing

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ραντηρίοις τισὶν ἐπιχέοντες ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τῷ περιβόλῳ προσιόντας ἐλύπουν.

- 37 ἦδη μὲν οὖν ἀπειπόντες οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐρρίπτουν, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἀντέχειν οὐκέτι ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι.  
 38 θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἔχόμενος καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἐγκελευόμενος ἄπασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
 39 ἐνῆργεν. οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ τούς τε πύργους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς τῷ τειχεὶ προσῆγον καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπετίθεντο, ὡς τὴν πόλιν  
 40 αὐτοβοεὶ ἔξαιρήσοντες. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων συχνά τε βαλλόντων καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἀμυνομένων, τρέπονται μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναχωροῦντα δὲ τὸν Χοσρόην ἐτώθαζον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τειχομάχιαν παρακαλοῦντες. μόνος δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Σοίνας καλουμένας ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐμάχετο, οὐ δὴ Τριπυργίαν καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον.  
 42 Τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὄντων σφίσιν ἀξιομάχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀπειπόντων, ἦδη τὸ ἐκτὸς τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι προτείχισμα, πολλαχῆ διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἵσχυρότατα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου περιβόλου ἀμυνομένοις ἐνέκειντο, ἕως αὐτοῖς Περάνιος ξύν τε στρατιώταις πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν τισιν ἐπεξῆλθε μάχῃ τε  
 43 νικήσας ἔξήλασε. καὶ ἡ τειχομαχία πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα εἰς δείλην ὄψιαν, ἀμφότεροί τε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἡσυχῆ ἐμενον, Πέρσαι μὲν περὶ τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι δεδιότες καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λίθους τε ξυλλέγοντες ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τάλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ποιούμενοι,

<sup>1</sup> ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸν πολεμίους Ηαργύ: ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμίους μᾶλλον MSS.

the wall, using a sort of whisk for the purpose, and in this way harassed them still more. The Persians, therefore, soon gave up and began to throw down their arms, and coming before the king, said that they were no longer able to hold out in the struggle. But Chosroes, in a passion of anger, drove them all on with threats and urged them forward against the enemy. And the soldiers with much shouting and tumult brought up the towers and the other engines of war to the wall and set the ladders against it, in order to capture the city with one grand rush. But since the Romans were hurling great numbers of missiles and exerting all their strength to drive them off, the barbarians were turned back by force ; and as Chosroes withdrew, the Romans taunted him, inviting him to come and storm the wall. Only Azarethes at the so-called Soinian Gate was still fighting with his men, at the place which they call Tripurgia.<sup>1</sup> And since the Romans at this point were not a match for them, but were giving way before their assaults, already the outer wall, which they call an outwork, had been torn down by the barbarians in many places, and they were pressing most vigorously upon those who were defending themselves from the great circuit-wall ; but at last Peranius with a large number of soldiers and some of the citizens went out against them and defeated them in battle and drove them off. And the assault which had begun early in the morning ended in the late afternoon, and both sides remained quiet that night, the Persians fearing for their defences and for themselves, and the Romans gathering stones and taking them to the parapets and putting everything else in

<sup>1</sup> "Three Towers."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ώς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 44 τεῦχος προσβαλοῦσιν.<sup>2</sup> ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐπιγε-  
 νομένῃ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον  
 ἥλθε, τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην μοῦρα μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ  
 Χοσρόου ἐγκελευομένου ταῖς Βαρλαοῦ καλου-  
 μέναις πύλαις ἐπέσκηψεν, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ  
 'Ρωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἡστήθησάν τε παρὰ πολὺ τῇ  
 μάχῃ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρη-  
 45 σαν. καὶ τότε Παῦλος ὁ Περσῶν ἐρμηνεὺς παρὰ  
 τὸ τεῦχος ἦκων Μαρτίνου ἐκάλει, ἐφ' ὃ τὰ ἐς τὴν  
 46 ξύμβασιν διοικήσηται. οὕτω τε Μαρτίνου τοῖς  
 Περσῶν ἄρχουσιν ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντος ξυνέβησαν,  
 καὶ πέντε κεντηνάρια πρὸς τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν ὁ  
 Χοσρόης λαβὼν ἐν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμολο-  
 γίαν ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μηδὲν 'Ρωμαίοις περαιτέρω λυμῆ-  
 νασθαι, τά τε χαρακώματα πάντα ἐμπρήσας ἐπ'  
 οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ.

## XXVIII

- 1 'Τπὸ τὸν χρόνον τούτον 'Ρωμαίων τετελευτή-  
 κασι στρατηγοὶ δύο, 'Ιοῦστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνε-  
 ψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος ὁ 'Ιβηρ, 'Ιοῦστος μὲν νόσῳ  
 διαφθαρεῖς, Περανίψ δὲ συνέβη ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ τοῦ  
 2 ἵππου ἐκπεπτωκότι<sup>3</sup> διαρραγῆναι. διὸ δὴ ἀντ' αὐ-  
 τῶν βασιλεὺς ἐτέρους καταστησάμενος ἐπεμψε  
 Μάρκελλόν τε, τὸν ἀδελφίδον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι  
 γενειάσκοντα, καὶ Κωνσταντιανόν, δις δὴ ὀλίγῳ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ V : ἦν ἐπὶ G.      <sup>2</sup> προσβάλωσιν G.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκπεπτωκότι Maltretus : ἐπιπεπτωκότι MSS.

complete readiness, so as to fight against the enemy on the morrow when they should attack the wall. Now on the succeeding day not one of the barbarians came against the fortifications ; but on the day after that a portion of the army, urged on by Chosroes, made an assault upon the so-called Gate of Barlaus ; but the Romans sallied forth and confronted them, and the Persians were decidedly beaten in the engagement, and after a short time retired to the camp. And then Paulus, the interpreter of the Persians, came along by the wall and called for Martinus, in order that he might make the arrangements for the truce. Thus Martinus came to conference with the commanders of the Persians, and they concluded an agreement, by which Chosroes received five centenaria from the inhabitants of Edessa, and left them, in writing, the promise not to inflict any further injury upon the Romans ; then, after setting fire to all his defences, he returned homeward with his whole army.

## XXVIII

AT about this time two generals of the Romans died, Justus, the nephew of the emperor, and Peranius, the Iberian, of whom the former succumbed to disease, while Peranius fell from his horse in hunting and suffered a fatal rupture. The emperor therefore appointed others in their places, dispatching Marcellus, his own nephew who was just arriving at the age of manhood, and Constantianus, who a little

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πρότερον ἄμα Σεργίῳ παρὰ Χοσρόην πρεσβεύων  
3 ἐστάλη. ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρέσ-  
βεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει Κωνσταν-  
4 τιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον ἔπειμψεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν  
καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, οὐδὲ πολίσματα  
δύο Σελεύκειά τε καὶ Κτησιφῶν ἐστι, Μακεδόνων  
αὐτὰ δειμαμένων οἱ μετὰ τὸν Φιλίππου Ἀλέ-  
ξανδρον Περσῶν τε ἥρξαν καὶ τῶν ταύτη ἐθνῶν.  
5 ἀμφω δὲ ταῦτα Τίγρης ποταμὸς διορίζει· οὐ γὰρ  
6 ἀλλην χώραν μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν. ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόν-  
τες Χοσρόης οἱ πρέσβεις ἡξίουν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς  
Λαζικῆς χωρία Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδοῦναι, βεβαιότατα  
δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κρατίνασθαι.  
7 Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ διάδιον αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν εἶναι  
ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, ἢν μή τινα ἐκεχειρίαν θέμενοι  
· πρότερον οὕτω τε ἀδεέστερον ἀεὶ ἐσ αλλήλους  
φοιτῶντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς  
8 εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν θήσονται. χρῆ-  
ναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀεὶ ἐκεχειρίας χρήματά τε οἱ  
τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα δοῦναι καὶ τινα Τρι-  
βούνον δονομα ἰατρὸν πέμψαι, ἐφ' ὃ οἱ ξυνδιατρί-  
9 ψει τακτόν τινα χρόνον. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὁ ἰατρὸς  
οὗτος νόσου τε αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξας χαλεπῆς πρό-  
τερον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φίλος τε καὶ ποθεινὸς ἐσ τὰ  
10 μάλιστα ὅν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς  
ἡκουσε, τόν τε Τριβούνον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐθὺς  
11 ἔπειμψε ξυνιόντα ἐσ κεντηνάρια εἴκοσιν. οὕτω τε  
αἱ σπουδαὶ γεγόνασι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐσ  
ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε, δέκατον τε καὶ ἕνατον ἔτος  
Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν  
ἔχοντος.  
12 Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρέθας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούν-

earlier had been sent as an envoy with Sergius to Chosroes. Then the Emperor Justinian sent Constantianus and Sergius a second time to Chosroes to arrange the truce. And they overtook him in Assyria, at the place where there are two towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, built by the Macedonians who after Alexander, the son of Philip, ruled over the Persians and the other nations there. These two towns are separated by the Tigris River only, for they have nothing else between them. There the envoys met Chosroes, and they demanded that he should give back to the Romans the country of Lazica, and establish peace with them on a thoroughly secure basis. But Chosroes said that it was not easy for them to come to terms with each other, unless they should first declare an armistice, and then should continue to go back and forth to each other without so much fear and settle their differences and make a peace which should be on a secure basis for the future. And it was necessary, he said, that in return for this continued armistice the Roman Emperor should give him money and should also send a certain physician, Tribunus by name, in order to spend some specified time with him. For it happened that this physician at a former time had rid him of a severe disease, and as a result of this he was especially beloved and greatly missed by him. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he immediately sent both Tribunus and the money, amounting to twenty centenaria. In this way the treaty was made between the Romans and the Persians for five years, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And a little later Arethas and Alamoundaras, the

545 A.D.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δαρος, οι των Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντες, πόλεμον πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους κατὰ μόνας διέφερον, οὕτε Ῥωμαίων  
 13 οὕτε Περσῶν ἀμυνόντων σφίσι. καὶ Ἀλαμούνδα-  
 ρος μὲν ἔνα τῶν Ἀρέθα παιδῶν<sup>1</sup> ὑππους νέμοντα ἐξ  
 ἐπιδρομῆς ἐλὼν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐθὺς ἔθυσε, καὶ ἀπ'  
 αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθη οὐ καταπροτεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων  
 14 πράγματα Πέρσαις Ἀρέθαν. μετὰ δὲ ξυνίασι  
 μὲν ἐς μάχην ἐκάτεροι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νικῶσι  
 δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ, τρεψάμενοί τε  
 τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. καὶ παρ'  
 δλίγον Ἀρέθας ἦλθε δύο τῶν Ἀλαμουνδάρου  
 παιδῶν ζώντας ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι γε εἰλε. τὰ μὲν  
 οὖν Σαρακηνῶν ταύτη πῃ εἰχεν.

15 Χοσρόης δέ, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ἔνδηλος  
 γέγονε τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν νῷ δολερῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους  
 πεποιημένος, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην  
 ἀναπεπτωκότας λαβὼν ἀνήκεστόν τι ἐργάσεται.

16 τρίτῳ γὰρ τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐνιαυτῷ μηχανᾶται  
 τοιάδε. ἡστην ἐν Πέρσαις ἀδελφοὶ δύο, Φάβριζός  
 τε καὶ Ἰσδιγούσνας, ἀρχὰς μὲν περιβεβλημένω  
 ἐνταῦθα μεγίστας καὶ ἄλλως λογισμῷ πονηροτάτῳ  
 Περσῶν ἀπάντων καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ τῇ δεινότητι καὶ

17 κακοτροπίᾳ πολλὴν ἔχοντε. βουλευσάμενος οὖν  
 πόλιν Δάρας καταλαβεῖν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ Λαζικῆς  
 ἔξοικίσαι<sup>2</sup> Κόλχους ἄπαντας, Πέρσας δὲ ἀντ'  
 αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας καταστήσασθαι, τὰ ἄνδρε  
 τούτω ἐς ἄμφω τὰ ἔργα ὑπηρετήσοντας εἰλετο·

18 ἔρμαιον γὰρ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο  
 εἶναι γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα σφετερισαμένῳ ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> παιδῶν Maltretus : παῖδα MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἔξοικίσαι Justice : ἔξοικίσας H.

rulers of the Saracens, waged a war against each other by themselves, unaided either by the Romans or the Persians. And Alamoundaras captured one of the sons of Arethas in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and straightway sacrificed him to Aphrodite ; and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians. Later they both came together in battle with their whole armies, and the forces of Arethas were overwhelmingly victorious, and turning their enemy to flight, they killed many of them. And Arethas came within a little of capturing alive two of the sons of Alamoundaras ; however, he did not actually succeed. Such, then, was the course of events among the Saracens.

But it became clear that Chosroes, the Persian king, had made the truce with the Romans with treacherous intent, in order that he might find them remiss on account of the peace and inflict upon them some grave injury. For in the third year of the truce he devised the following schemes. There were in Persia two brothers, Phabrizus and Isdigousnas, both holding most important offices there and at the same time reckoned to be the basest of all the Persians, and having a great reputation for their cleverness and evil ways. Accordingly, since Chosroes had formed the purpose of capturing the city of Daras by a sudden stroke, and to move all the Colchians out of Lazica and establish in their place Persian settlers, he selected these two men to assist him in both undertakings. For it seemed to him that it would be a lucky stroke and a really important achievement to win for himself the land of

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βεβαίῳ τῆς κτήσεως ἔχειν, ξύμφορον λογισαμένῳ τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ κατὰ πολλὰ ἔσεσθαι  
 19 τοῦτό γε. τὴν τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἐπειτα ἔξειν, οὐκ ἀν ἔτι ἔχόντων Ἰβήρων ἐφ' οὖστινας ἀνθρώπων ἀποστάντες σωθήσονται.  
 20 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τούτων δὴ λογιμώτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ Γουργένη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἰδον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθε λόγοις ἐρρήθη, οὗτε βασιλέα σφίσι καταστήσεσθαι τὸ ἐνθένδε ξυνεχώρουν Πέρσαι οὕτε αὐτογνωμονοῦντες Περσῶν κατήκοοι Ἰβηρες ἡσαν, ἀλλ ὑποψίᾳ τε καὶ  
 21 ἀπιστίᾳ ἐς ἀλλήλους πολλῷ εἴχοντο. ἐνδῆλοί τε Ἰβηρες ἡσαν δυσανασχετοῦντες τε ἵσχυρότατα καὶ νεωτεριοῦντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἦν τινός  
 22 ποτε καιροῦ λαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. καὶ πρὸς Οὔννων τῶν Λαζικῆ προσοίκων ἀδήτων μὲν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἀεὶ ἔσεσθαι, ρᾶσιν δὲ καὶ ἀπονάτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιπέμψειν, ἡνίκα ἀν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐν Καυκάσῳ οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἦ  
 23 ἐπιτείχισμα Λαζικὴν εἶναι. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων κατὰ τοῦτο ξυνοίσειν πρὸς<sup>1</sup> Λαζικῆς ἐπικράτησιν ἥλπιζε Πέρσαις, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι δυνήσονται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καταθέοντες καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου πόντου χωρία Καππαδόκας μὲν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔχομένους Γαλάτας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς παραστήσεσθαι, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δὲ Βυζαντίους αἱρήσειν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν  
 24 ἀντιστατοῦντος. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἔνεκα προσποιεῖσθαι Χοσρόης Λαζικὴν ἥθελεν, ἐπὶ Λαζοῖς δὲ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς MSS. : Christ would delete.

Colchis and to have it in secure possession, reasoning that this would be advantageous to the Persian empire in many ways. In the first place they would have Iberia in security forever afterwards, since the Iberians would not have anyone with whom, if they revolted, they might find safety; for since the most notable men of these barbarians together with their king, Gourgenes, had looked towards revolt, as I have stated in the preceding pages,<sup>1</sup> the Persians from that time on did not permit them to set up a king over themselves, nor were the Iberians single-minded subjects of the Persians, but there was much suspicion and distrust between them. And it was evident that the Iberians were most thoroughly dissatisfied and that they would attempt a revolution shortly if they could only seize upon some favourable opportunity. Furthermore, the Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire. For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them. But most of all he hoped that the subjugation of Lazica would afford this advantage to the Persians, that starting from there they might overrun with no trouble both by land and by sea the countries along the Euxine Sea, as it is called, and thus win over the Cappadocians and the Galatians and Bithynians who adjoin them, and capture Byzantium by a sudden assault with no one opposing them. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was anxious to gain possession of Lazica, but in the Lazi

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book I. xii. 5 ff.

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- 25 θαρσεῖν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, Λαζῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπιεικῶς ἤχθετο. μονότροποι γάρ, εἰπερ ἄλλοι τινές, οἱ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς  
 26 τὴν δίαιταν ὑπεράγαν σκληροί. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἵ τε νόμοι δυσπρόσοδοί εἰσι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτά. πρὸς μέντοι Λαζοὺς καὶ διαφερόντως τὸ διαλλάσσον τῆς τε γυνώμης ἀεὶ καὶ τῆς διαίτης παρὰ πολὺ διαφαίνεται, ἐπεὶ Λαζὸς μὲν Χριστιανοί εἰσι πάντων μάλιστα, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν τὰ ἐς τὸ  
 27 θεῖον ἅπαντα ἔχει. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἄλλες μὲν τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐδαμῇ γίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὔτε σῖτος  
 28 οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν φύεται. ἐκ δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παραλίων ἅπαντα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπεισέρχεται σφίσι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χρυσίον τοῖς συμβάλλουσι προϊεμένοις, ἄλλὰ δέρρεις τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πολὺ<sup>2</sup>  
 29 περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνει. τούτου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἥσχαλλον. ὃν δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης αἰσθόμενος προτερῆσαι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ,  
 πρὶν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειαν,<sup>1</sup> ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε.  
 30 καὶ οἱ βουλευομένῳ ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γονβάζην τὸν Λαζῶν βασιλέα ἐκποδὼν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιησαμένῳ Λαζοὺς ἐνθένδε πανδημεὶ ἀναστήσειν, οὕτω τε Πέρσας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἔθνη ξυνοικεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ.  
 31 Ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης βεβουλευμένος Ἰσδιγούσναν ὡς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλει, καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος

<sup>1</sup> νεωτερίσειαν Dindorf : νεωτερίσειν MSS.

he had not the least confidence. For since the time when the Romans had withdrawn from Lazica, the common people of the country naturally found the Persian rule burdensome. For the Persians are beyond all other men singular in their ways, and they are excessively rigid as regards the routine of daily life. And their laws are difficult of access for all men, and their requirements quite unbearable. But in comparison with the Lazi the difference of their thinking and living shows itself in an altogether exceptional degree, since the Lazi are Christians of the most thorough-going kind, while all the Persian views regarding religion are the exact opposite of theirs. And apart from this, salt is produced nowhere in Lazica, nor indeed does grain grow there nor the vine nor any other good thing. But from the Romans along the coast everything is brought in to them by ship, and even so they do not pay gold to the traders, but hides and slaves and whatever else happens to be found there in great abundance ; and when they were excluded from this trade, they were, as was to be expected, in a state of constant vexation. When, therefore, Chosroes perceived this, he was eager to anticipate with certainty any move on their part to revolt against him. And upon considering the matter, it seemed to him to be the most advantageous course to put Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, out of the way as quickly as possible, and to move the Lazi in a body out of the country, and then to colonize this land with Persians and certain other nations.

When Chosroes had matured these plans, he sent Isdigousnas to Byzantium, ostensibly to act as an envoy, and he picked out five hundred of the most

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πεντακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐπιστείλας σφίσι γε-  
νέσθαι μὲν ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐν οἰκίαις δὲ κατα-  
λῦσαι πολλαῖς, ταύτας τε νύκτωρ ἀπάσας  
ἐμπρῆσαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο  
ἡσχολημένων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπάντων ἀνοιγούνται  
μὲν τὰς πύλας εὐθύς, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ ἄλλο

- 32 Περσῶν στράτευμα δέξασθαι. προείρητο γὰρ  
τῷ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἄρχοντι στρατιωτῶν  
πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη ἐγκρυφιαζούντι ἐν παρασκευῇ  
ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς φέτο Χοσρόης οὐδενὶ<sup>1</sup>  
πονφ Ῥωμαίους τε ἀπαντας διαχρήσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
τὴν πόλιν Δάρας ἐν βεβαίῳ καταλαβόντας  
33 σχήσειν. ἀλλά τις εὐ εἰδὼς τὰ πρασσόμενα,  
Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνήρ, αὐτόμολος δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον  
ἐς Πέρσας ἤκων, τὸν πάντα λόγον Γεωργίῳ  
φράζει, ἐνταῦθα τότε διατριβὴν ᔁχοντι, οὐ δὴ ἐν  
τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ἀτε Περσῶν  
ἀναπείσαντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ Σισαυράνων πολιορκου-  
μένους φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίους.  
34 Γεώργιος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν  
όριοις ἀπαντήσας τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ ᔁφασκεν  
οὐ κατὰ πρεσβείαν τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι, καὶ οὐ  
ποτε Πέρσας τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν πόλει  
35 Ῥωμαίων αὐλίσασθαι. χρῆν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἄλ-  
λους ἀπαντας ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμώδιος ἀπολιπεῖν,  
αὐτῷ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς πόλιν Δάρας  
36 ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσδιγούσνας ἥγανάκτει  
τε καὶ δυσφορούμενῳ ἐφέκει, ἀτε περιυθρισμένος  
οὐ δέον, καὶ περ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων  
37 βασιλέα στελλόμενος. Γεώργιος δέ οἱ οὐ προσ-  
έχων τὸν νοῦν ἥγιριωμένῳ διεσώσατο τὴν πόλιν

<sup>1</sup> διαχρήσασθαι VG.

valorous of the Persians and sent them with him, directing them to get inside the city of Daras, and to take their lodgings in many different houses, and at night to set these all on fire, and, while all the Romans were occupied with this fire, as was natural, to open the gates immediately, and receive the rest of the Persian army into the city. For word had been sent previously to the commander of the city of Nisibis to conceal a large force of soldiers near by and hold them in readiness. For in this way Chosroes thought that they would destroy all the Romans with no trouble, and seizing the city of Daras, would hold it securely. But someone who knew well what was being arranged, a Roman who had come to the Persians as a deserter a little earlier, told everything to George, who was staying there at the time; now this was the same man whom I mentioned in the preceding pages<sup>1</sup> as having persuaded the Persians who were besieged in the fortress of Sisauranon to surrender themselves to the Romans. George therefore met this ambassador at the boundary line between Roman and Persian soil and said that this thing he was doing was not after the fashion of an embassy, and that never had so numerous a body of Persians stopped for the night in a city of the Romans. For he ought, he said, to have left behind all the rest in the town of Ammodios, and must himself enter the city of Daras with some few men. Now Isdigousnas was indignant and appeared to take it ill, because he had been insulted wrongfully, in spite of the fact that he was dispatched on an embassy to the Roman emperor. But George, paying no heed to him in his fury, saved the city

<sup>1</sup> Book II. xix. 23.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ρωμαίοις. ξὺν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν ἐδέξατο.

- 38 Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχὼν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ὡς πρεσβεύων ἐσ Βυζάντιον ἥλθε, τήν τε γυναικα καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπαγόμενος δύο (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ παραπέτασμα τοῦ ξυνεληλυθότος ὄμιλου), τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐσ δψιν ἥκων ἀμφὶ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων τινὶ οὐ μέγα οὐ μικρὸν ἵσχυσεν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ οὐχ ἡσσον ἢ μῆνας δέκα κατα-  
39 τρίψας ἐν 'Ρωμαίων τῇ γῆ. τὰ μέντοι δῶρα παρὰ Χοσρόου, ἥπερ εἴθισται, καὶ γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε, δι' ὧν ὁ Χοσρόης Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα σημῆναι ἤξιον εἴ οἱ τὸ σῶμα ὑγιείας  
40 πέρι ὡς ἄριστα ἔχοι. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλεὺς μάλιστα πρέσβεων ἀπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ξύν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἰκανῶς ἥγανγεν.  
41 ὥστε καὶ ἥνικα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐστιφῆ, Βραδούκιον, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ ἔρμηνεὺς εἶπετο, ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε, πρᾶγμα πώποτε οὐ γεγονὸς  
42 πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. ἔρμηνέα γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τινι καταδεεστέρων ἀρχόντων, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεῖ ὁμοτράπεζον γεγονότα οὐδείς ποτε  
43 εἶδεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἢ κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐδέξατό τε καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο, καίπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ τὴν πρεσβείαν,  
44 ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, πεποιημένον. ἦν γάρ τις τάς τε δαπάνας διαριθμήσαυτο καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὅσα ἐνθένδε κεκομισμένος Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀπιὼν ὠχετο, πλέον αὐτὰ κατατείνοντα ἢ ἐσ χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δέκα εύρήσει. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐσ Δάρας πόλιν ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ Χοσρῷ ἐσ τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

for the Romans. For he received Isdigousnas into the city with only twenty men.

So having failed in this attempt, the barbarian came to Byzantium as if on an embassy, bringing with him his wife and two daughters (for this was his pretext for the crowd which had been gathered about him); but when he came before the emperor, he was unable to say anything great or small about any serious matter, although he wasted no less than ten months in Roman territory. However, he gave the emperor the gifts from Chosroes, as is customary, and a letter, in which Chosroes requested the Emperor Justinian to send word whether he was enjoying the best possible health. Nevertheless the Emperor Justinian received this Isdigousnas with more friendliness and treated him with greater honour than any of the other ambassadors of whom we know. So true was this that, whenever he entertained him, he caused Braducius, who followed him as interpreter, to recline with him on the couch, a thing which had never before happened in all time. For no one ever saw an interpreter become a table-companion of even one of the more humble officials, not to speak of a king. But he both received and dismissed this man in a style more splendid than that which befits an ambassador, although he had undertaken the embassy for no serious business, as I have said. For if anyone should count up the money expended and the gifts which Isdigousnas carried with him when he went away, he will find them amounting to more than ten centenaria of gold. So the plot against the city of Daras ended in this way for Chosroes.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XXIX

1    Ἐς τε Λαζικὴν πρῶτα μὲν ξύλα παμπληθῆ ἐς  
 νηῶν ποίησιν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπειμψεν, οὐδενὶ  
 φράσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ αὐτὰ πέμψειν, ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 λόγῳ μηχανᾶς ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῷ περιβόλῳ καταστη-  
 2 σόμενος ταῦτα ἔστελλεν. ἔπειτα δὲ Περσῶν  
 μαχίμους τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, Φάβριζὸν  
 τε, οὐπερ ἀρτίως ἐπεμνήσθην, αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας  
 ἐνταῦθα στέλλει, ω̄ δὴ ἐπήγγελλε Γουβάζῃν ὡς  
 λαθραιότατα διαχρήσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐνθένδε αὐτῷ  
 3 μελήσειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ξύλα ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἐς Λαζικὴν  
 ἐκομίσθη, κεραυνόβλητα ἔξαπιναίως γενόμενα  
 τετεφρώσθαι ξυνέβη· Φάβριζος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τρια-  
 κοσίοις ἐς Λαζικὴν ἀφικόμενος ἐπρασσεν ὅπως  
 δὴ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζῃ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐπηγγελ-  
 4 μένα ὑποτελοίη. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Κόλχοις  
 λογίμων, Φαρσάνσης ὄνομα, τῷ Γουβάζῃ προσ-  
 κεκρουκῶς ἐς μέγα τέ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμπεπτωκῶς  
 ἔχθος καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα θαρσῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν  
 5 ἥκειν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Φάβριζος ἔγνω, τὸν Φαρσάνσην  
 μεταπεμψάμενος<sup>1</sup> ἐκοινολογεῖτό τε καὶ τὸν ἄπαντα  
 λόγον ἔξενεγκὼν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπῃ  
 6 οἱ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἴη. ἔδοξε τοίνυν  
 σφίσιν ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις Φάβριζον μὲν  
 ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, μεταπέμψασθαι δὲ  
 Γουβάζῃν ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως οἱ ἀγγέλλοι οσα δὴ  
 βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ ξυνοίσοντι Λαζοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη.  
 7 ἀλλ' ὁ Φαρσάνσης κρύφα τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐσήμηνε

<sup>1</sup> μεταπεμψάμενος VG : μετακαλεσάμενος P.

## XXIX

His first move against Lazica was as follows. He sent into the country a great amount of lumber suitable for the construction of ships, explaining to no one what his purpose was in so doing, but ostensibly he was sending it in order to set up engines of war on the fortifications of Petra. Next he chose out three hundred able warriors of the Persians, and sent them there under command of Phabrizus, whom I have lately mentioned, ordering him to make away with Goubazes as secretly as possible; as for the rest, he himself would take care. Now when this lumber had been conveyed to Lazica, it happened that it was struck suddenly by lightning and reduced to ashes. And Phabrizus, upon arriving in Lazica with the three hundred, began to contrive so that he might carry out the orders received by him from Chosroes regarding Goubazes. Now it happened that one of the men of note among the Colchians, Pharsanses by name, had quarrelled with Goubazes and in consequence had become exceedingly hostile to him, and now he did not dare at all to go into the presence of the king. When this was learned by Phabrizus, he summoned Pharsanses and in a conference with him disclosed the whole project, and enquired of the man in what way he ought to go about the execution of the deed. And it seemed best to them after deliberating together that Phabrizus should go into the city of Petra, and should summon Goubazes there, in order to announce to him what the king had decided concerning the interests of the Lazi. But Pharsanses secretly

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- τὰ πρασσόμενα. διὸ δὴ Γουβάζης παρὰ μὲν Φάβριζον οὐδαμῆ ἥλθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐς  
8 ἀπόστασιν εἶδε. Φάβριζος δὲ Πέρσαις μὲν τοῖς  
ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
πάση δυνάμει ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ώς  
ἀσφαλέστατα ἔξαρτύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς  
τριακοσίοις ἐπ' οἴκου ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε.  
9 Γουβάζης δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα  
τὰ παρόντα σφίσι τῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα πεπραγ-  
μένων Λαζοῖς ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμονα εἶναι, ἀμῦναι δὲ  
σφίσι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἀπαλλαξείουσι τῆς  
Μήδων ἀρχῆς. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μόνας δυνήσεσθαι  
Κόλχους ἀποκρούσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν.  
10 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἥκουσε,  
περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἄνδρας ἐπτακισχιλίους καὶ  
Δαγισθαῖον ἀρχούτα καὶ Τζάνους χιλίους ἐς ἐπι-  
11 κουρίαν Λαζοῖς ἔπειψεν. οἱ δὴ ἐν γῇ τῇ Κολχίδι  
γενόμενοι ἅμα Λαζοῖς τε καὶ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐνστρα-  
τοπεδευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς  
12 πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. Περσῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα  
δυτῶν καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων,  
χρόνον τῇ προσεδρείᾳ πολὺν τετρίφθαι ξυνέβη,  
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν οἱ Πέρ-  
13 σαι διαρκῶς ἔτυχον. τούτοις δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυ-  
ταραχθεὶς στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἵππεων τε καὶ πεζῶν  
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν, οἷς δὴ ἀρχούτα Μερμερόην  
ἐπέστησεν. ὡνπερ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ  
Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπίκοινα βουλευσάμενος ἐποίει τάδε.  
14 Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχιστά πη τῶν

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revealed to Goubazes what was being prepared. He, accordingly, did not come to Phabrizus at all, but began openly to plan a revolt. Then Phabrizus commanded the other Persians to attend as carefully as they could to the guarding of Petra, and to make everything as secure as possible against a siege, and he himself with the three hundred returned homeward without having accomplished his purpose. And Goubazes reported to the Emperor Justinian the condition in which they were, and begged him to grant forgiveness for what the Lazi had done in the past, and to come to their defence with all his strength, since they desired to be rid of the Median rule. For if left by themselves the Colchians would not be able to repel the power of the Persians.

When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he was <sup>549 A.D.</sup> overjoyed, and sent seven thousand men under the leadership of Dagisthaeus and a thousand Tzani to the assistance of the Lazi. And when this force reached the land of Colchis, they encamped together with Goubazes and the Lazi about the fortifications of Petra and commenced a siege. But since the Persians who were there made a most stalwart defence from the wall, it came about that much time was spent in the siege; for the Persians had put away an ample store of victuals in the town. And Chosroes, being greatly disturbed by these things, dispatched a great army of horse and foot against the besiegers, putting Mermeroes in command of them. And when Goubazes learned of this, he considered the matter together with Dagisthaeus and acted in the manner which I shall presently set forth.

The river Boas rises close to the territory of the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Τζανικῆς ὄρίων ἐν Ἀρμενίοις οὐ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον φέκηνται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χωρεῖ, βραχύς τε ἵὸν καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ γινόμενος ἐσβατὸς ἀπασιν ἄχρι ἐς χῶρον οὐδὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβήρων τὰ ὅριά ἔστι, καταν-  
15 τικρὺ δὲ τελευτᾶ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος. ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ Ἀλανοί τε καὶ Ἀβασγοὶ φέκηνται Χριστιανοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ δυτεροῦ, Ζῆχοί τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Οὐννοί,  
16 οὖτοι Σάβειροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἀφίκηται ἵνα δὴ τοῦ τε Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰβηρίας τὰ ὅριά ἔστιν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγινομένων οἱ καὶ ἄλλων ὑδάτων μείζων τε παρὰ πολὺ γίνεται καὶ Φᾶσις ἀντὶ Βόα τὸ ἐνθένδε καλούμενος φέρεται, ναυσίπορος γεγενημένος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον, οὐδὲ δὴ οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Λαζική ἔστιν.  
17 ἀλλ' ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ξύμπασα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα πρὸς τῶν τῆδε ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖται μέχρι τῶν  
18 Ἰβηρίας ὄρίων. κῶμαι τε γὰρ αἱ Λαζῶν πᾶσαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ πολίσματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφίσι ταύτῃ πεποίηνται, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαιόπολις, ἔχυρωτάτη οὖσα, Σεβαστόπολις τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ Πιτιοῦντος φρούριον ἔστι Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανὶς πρὸς τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὄροις. πόλεις μέντοι ἀξιολογώταται ἐνταῦθά εἰσι Ῥο-  
19 δόπολις καὶ Μοχήρησις. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λαζικῆς μὲν τὰ ὅριά ἔστι μέχρι ἐς ἡμέρας ὅδὸν εὐέργειαν φέρημον δὲ ξυμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν εἶναι. ταύτην προσοικοῦσι

Tzani among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangium. And at first its course inclines to the right for a great distance, and its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the territory of the Iberians lies on the right, and the end of the Caucasus lies directly opposite. In that place many nations have their homes, and among them the Alani and Abasgi, who are Christians and friends of the Romans from of old ; also the Zechi, and after them the Huns who bear the name Sabeiri. But when this river reaches the point which marks the termination of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters also are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of Phasis instead of Boas<sup>1</sup> ; and it becomes a navigable stream as far as the so-called Euxine Sea into which it empties ; and on either side of it lies Lazica. Now on the right of the stream particularly the whole country for a great distance is populated by the people of Lazica as far as the boundary of Iberia. For all the villages of the Lazi are here beyond the river, and towns have been built there from of old, among which are Archaeopolis, a very strong place, and Sebastopolis, and the fortress of Pitius, and Scanda and Sarapanis over against the boundary of Iberia. Moreover there are two cities of the greatest importance in that region, Rhodopolis and Mocheresis. But on the left of the river, while the country belongs to Lazica as far as one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, the land is without human habitation. Adjoining this land is the home of the Romans who

<sup>1</sup> Procopius seems to have confused two separate and distinct rivers.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ρωμαῖοι τὴν χώραν οἱ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται.  
 20 ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὄρίοις,<sup>1</sup> ἔνθα δὴ ἀνθρωποι  
 οὐδαμῇ φέρουσι, Πέτραν Ἰουστινιανὸς [ό] βασι-  
 λεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις ἐδείματο.  
 21 οὐπερ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Τζίβος ἐπικαλούμενος, τὸ  
 μονοπώλιον καταστησάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αἴτιος τῆς ἀποστάσεως  
 22 Λαζοῖς γέγονεν. ἐκ δὲ Πέτρας πόλεως ἴόντι εὐθὺς  
 πρὸς ἀνεμονόντον τοῖς Ρωμαίων ὅροι ἐκδέχονται,  
 χωρία τε πολυνάνθρωπα ἐνταῦθα ἔστι, τό τε  
 Ριζαῖον καλούμενον καὶ Ἀθῆναι ἄλλα τε ἄπτα  
 23 μέχρι Τραπεζούντιων. ἡνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐπηγάγοντο  
 Χοσρόην Λαζοί, Βόαν ποταμὸν διαβάντες τόν τε  
 Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες ἐς Πέτραν ἥλθον, τῷ μὲν  
 λόγῳ προνοήσοντες ὡς μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ  
 πολλῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι ἀναγκάζωνται ποταμὸν  
 Φᾶσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα οἰκία Πέρ-  
 24 σαις ἐνδείκνυνται. καίτοι<sup>2</sup> δύσοδος πανταχόθι  
 Λαζική ἔστιν ἐντός τε καὶ ἔκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσι-  
 25 δος. σκόπελοι γὰρ ὑπερφυεῖς ἐφ' ἔκάτερα τῆς  
 χώρας δύντες στενωποὺς ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνταῦθα  
 ποιοῦνται κλεισούρας ἐλληνίζοντες τὰς τοιαύτας  
 26 ὁδὸς Ρωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τότε Λαζικὴ  
 ἀφύλακτος ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα, ῥᾷστα δὴ ἐν Πέτρᾳ  
 ἔντι τοῖς ἡγεμόσι Λαζοῖς ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι.  
 27 Νῦν δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης μαθὼν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον  
 τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε πέμψαι μὲν τινας οἱ  
 φυλάξουσι τὸν στενωπὸν ἵσχυρότατα δις ἔκτὸς  
 Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἔστι, τὴν μέντοι προσεδρείαν

<sup>1</sup> δρίοις P : χωρίοις VG.

<sup>2</sup> καίτοι Dindorf : καὶ τι P.

are called Pontic. Now it was in the territory of Lazica, in the part which was altogether uninhabited, that the Emperor Justinian founded the city of Petra in my own time. This was the place where John, surnamed Tzibus, established the monopoly, as I have told in the previous narrative,<sup>1</sup> and gave cause to the Lazi to revolt. And as one leaves the city of Petra going southward, the Roman territory commences immediately, and there are populous towns there, and one which bears the name of Rhizaeum, also Athens and certain others as far as Trapezus. Now when the Lazi brought in Chosroes, they crossed the River Boas and came to Petra keeping the Phasis on the right, because, as they said, they would thus provide against being compelled to spend much time and trouble in ferrying the men across the River Phasis, but in reality they did not wish to display their own homes to the Persians. And yet Lazica is everywhere difficult to traverse both to the right and to the left of the River Phasis. For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes "clisurae" when they put their own word into a Greek form.<sup>2</sup>) But since at that time Lazica happened to be unguarded, the Persians had reached Petra very easily with the Lazi who were their guides.

But on this occasion Goubazes, upon learning of the advance of the Persians, directed Dagisthaeus to send some men to guard with all their strength the pass which is below the River Phasis, and he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book II. xv. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Latin *clausura*, "a narrow shut-in road."

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ώς ἥκιστα λύειν, ἔως τὴν τε Πέτραν καὶ Πέρσας  
 28 τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἔξελεῖν δύνωνται. αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
 τῷ Κόλχων στρατῷ ἐσ τὰ Λαζικῆς ἔσχατα ἥλθεν,  
 ώς τὸν ἐνταῦθα στενωπὸν διαφυλάξων δυνάμει τῇ  
 29 πάσῃ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον Ἀλανούς τε  
 καὶ Σαβείρους ἐσ ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οἵπερ  
 ὡμολόγησαν κεντηναρίων τριῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀδήστον  
 Λαζοῦς ξυμφυλάξειν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν  
 οὗτῳ καταστήσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν ἕρημον ως μηδὲ  
 Πέρσαις ἐνθένδε τὸ λοιπὸν ἴέναι δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι.  
 ταῦτά τε σφίσι τὰ χρήματα βασιλέα Γουβάζης  
 30 ὑπέσχετο δώσειν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐσ  
 βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν τὰ ξυγκέιμενα τοῖς τε  
 βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἰκέτευε πέμπειν  
 καὶ Λαζοῦς ἄγαν κεκακωμένοις παραψυχὴν  
 31 προέσθαι τινά. ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ τὸ  
 δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὄφείλειν ἐνιαυτῶν δέκα,  
 ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς σιλευτιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενος  
 οὐδὲν κεκομισμένος ἐνθένδε εἴη, ἐξ οὐ δὴ ἐσ γῆν  
 32 τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἥλθε.<sup>1</sup> βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰου-  
 στινιανὸς ἐπιτελέσειν μὲν διενοεῖτο τὴν αἰτησιν,  
 ἐπιγενομένης δέοι ἀσχολίας τινὸς οὐκ ἐπεμψε τῷ  
 καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τὰ χρήματα. Γουβάζης μὲν  
 οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

33 Δαγισθαῖος δὲ (ἥν γάρ τις νεανίας πόλεμόν τε  
 διενεγκεῖν Μηδικὸν οὔδαμῇ ἀξιόχρεως) τοῖς  
 34 παροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχρητο. δέον οὖν  
 ἀμέλει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐσ τὸν στενωπὸν  
 στεῖλαι, τάχα δ' ἂν που καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ  
 τούτῳ παραγενέσθαι, ἐσ ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ  
 τι πάρεργον διαχειρίζων, ἐπεμψε μόνους· αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἥλθε VGP : ἐσῆλθε W.

bade him not on any account to abandon the siege until they should be able to capture Petra and the Persians in it. He himself meanwhile with the whole Colchian army came to the frontier of Lazica, in order to devote all his strength to guarding the pass there. Now it happened that long before he had persuaded the Alani and Sabeiri to form an alliance with him, and they had agreed for three centenaria not merely to assist the Lazi in guarding the land from plunder, but also to render Iberia so destitute of men that not even the Persians would be able to come in from there in the future. And Goubazes had promised that the emperor would give them this money. So he reported the agreement to the Emperor Justinian and besought him to send this money for the barbarians and afford the Lazi some consolation in their great distress. He also stated that the treasury owed him his salary for ten years, for though he was assigned a post among the privy counsellors in the palace, he had received no payment from it since the time when Chosroes came into the land of Colchis. And the Emperor Justinian intended to fulfil this request, but some business came up to occupy his attention and he did not send the money at the proper time. So Goubazes was thus engaged.

But Dagisthaeus, being a rather young man and by no means competent to carry on a war against Persia, did not handle the situation properly. For while he ought to have sent certainly the greater part of the army to the pass, and perhaps should have assisted in person in this enterprise, he sent only one hundred men, just as if he were managing a matter of secondary importance. He himself,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δὲ Πέτραν πολιορκῶν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν  
ῆνυσσε, καίπερ τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγων ὅντων.  
κατ' ἄρχας μὲν γάρ οὐχ ἡσσους ἡ πεντα-  
35 κόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἦσαν, πρὸς Ῥωμαίων  
δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τειχομαχούντων  
βαλλόμενοί τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μάλιστα  
πάντων ὡν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, θινήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ  
καὶ σφίσιν ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ἀποκεκρίσθαι  
36 ξυνέπεσε. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐς ἀπόγυνωσίν τε καὶ  
ἀπορίαν ἐμπεπτώκότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ῥωμαῖοι  
δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυχα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ  
πεποίηνται, ὃ τε ταύτη περιβόλος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν.  
37 ἀλλὰ ξυνέβῃ τούτου δὴ τοῦ χώρου ἐντὸς οἰκημα  
εἶναι οὐδὲν τοῦ περιβόλου διεστηκός, δὲ  
38 ἔξικνεῖτο ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἐφεξῆς ὅλον καὶ ἀντὶ<sup>1</sup>  
τοῦ τείχους πολιορκουμένοις γενόμενον ἐν τῷ  
39 ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδέν τι ἡσσον αὐτοὺς καθίστη. ὅπερ  
Ῥωμαίους ξυνταράξαι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν. εὐ γάρ  
εἰδότες ὡς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἐτέρωθι ἐργαζόμενοι  
τὴν πόλιν ρᾶστα αἱρήσουσιν, εὐέλπιδες πολλῷ  
40 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος  
βασιλεῖ μὲν τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα ἐδήλου, ἀθλα δέ  
οἱ τῆς νίκης ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι προύτεινετο,  
σημήνας ὅσοις δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν  
αὐτοῦ χρῆν βασιλέα δωρήσασθαι. Πέτραν γάρ  
41 αἱρήσειν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν  
Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Τζάνους καρτερώτατα τειχο-  
μαχούντας παρὰ δόξαιν ὑφίσταντο, καίπερ ὀλίγοι  
42 ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐς ἄγαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχο-  
μαχούντες οὐδὲν ἦνυσσον, ἐπὶ τὸ διορύσσειν αὐθις  
ἐτράποντο. ἐς τόσον τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀφί-

moreover, though besieging Petra with the whole army, accomplished nothing, although the enemy were few. For while they had been at the beginning not less than fifteen hundred, they had been shot at by Romans and Lazi in their fighting at the wall for a long time, and had made a display of valour such as no others known to us have made, so that many were falling constantly and they were reduced to an exceedingly small number. So while the Persians, plunged in despair and at a loss what to do, were remaining quiet, the Romans made a trench along the wall for a short space, and the circuit-wall at this point fell immediately. But it happened that inside this space there was a building which did not stand back at all from the circuit-wall, and this reached to the whole length of the fallen portion; thus, taking the place of the wall for the besieged, it rendered them secure none the less. But this was not sufficient greatly to disturb the Romans. For knowing well that by doing the same thing elsewhere they would capture the city with the greatest ease, they became still more hopeful than before. For this reason Dagisthaeus sent word to the emperor of what had come to pass, and proposed that prizes of victory should be in readiness for him, indicating what rewards the emperor should bestow upon himself and his brother; for he would capture Petra after no great time. So the Romans and the Tzani made a most vigorous assault upon the wall, but the Persians unexpectedly withheld them, although only a very few were left. And since the Romans were accomplishing nothing by assaulting the wall, they again turned to digging. And they went so far in this work that the foundations of the

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

κοντο ώς μηκέτι ἐπ' ἁδάφους τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου  
θεμέλια εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κενοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεύ-  
στον ἔσταναι, πεσούμενα, ώς τὸ εἰκός, αὐτίκα  
43 δὴ μάλα. καὶ εἰ μὲν Δαγισθαῖος εὐθὺς ἥθελε  
πῦρ τοῖς θεμελίοις ἐνάψαι, οἷμαι εὐθυωρὸν σφίσι  
τὴν πόλιν ἀλῶναι· νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως  
καραδοκῶν ἐλπίδας μέλλων τε ἀεὶ καὶ τρίβων  
τὸν χρόνον ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ  
'Ρωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐπράσσετο τῆδε.

## XXX

- 1 Μερμερόης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὅρσυς παντὶ
  - τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἥμειψε, πρόσω ἔχώρει, ποτα-  
μὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων διὰ γάρ τῶν ἐπὶ
    - Λαζικῆς χωρίων ἴεναι οὐδαμῇ ἥθελε, τοῦ μή
- 2 τί οἱ ταῦτη ἐμπόδισμα ὑπαντιάσαι. Πέτραν  
γὰρ πόλιν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διασώ-  
σασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, καίτοι καὶ μοῖρά τις
- 3 τοῦ περιβόλου καταπεπτώκει ἔξαπιναίως. ἥώρη-  
το γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται· ἄνδρες τε τοῦ 'Ρω-  
μαίων στρατοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐθελούσιοι ἐν τῇ  
πόλει γενόμενοι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβόων
- 4 καλλίνικον. ἥγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν νεανίας τις Ἀρμέ-  
νιος γένος,<sup>1</sup> Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶς οὐδέ, ὅνπερ
- 5 Γούζην ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν. οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς  
πολλὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων  
ἐδείματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν  
ἔκεινῃ στρατιωτῶν ἥρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ
- 6 ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης, Περσῶν σφίσιν

<sup>1</sup> γένος Ρ : γενόμενος VG.

circuit-wall were no longer on solid ground, but stood for the most part over empty space, and, in the nature of things, would fall almost immediately. And if Dagisthaeus had been willing immediately to apply fire to the foundations, I think that the city would have been captured by them straightway ; but, as it was, he was awaiting encouragement from the emperor, and so, always hesitating and wasting time, he remained inactive. Such, then, was the course of events in the Roman camp.

## XXX

BUT Mermeroes, after passing the Iberian frontier with the whole Median army, was moving forward with the River Phasis on his right. For he was quite unwilling to go through the country of Lazica, lest any obstacle should confront him there. For he was eager to save the city of Petra and the Persians in it, even though a portion of the circuit-wall had fallen down suddenly. For it had been hanging in the air, as I have said ; and volunteers from the Roman army to the number of fifty got inside the city, and raised the shout proclaiming the Emperor Justinian triumphant. These men were led by a young man of Armenian birth, John by name, the son of Thomas whom they used to call by the surname Gouzes. This Thomas had built many of the strongholds about Lazica at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor an intelligent person. Now John, when the Persians joined battle with his men,

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, πληγεὶς αὐτίκα ξὺν τοῖς  
 ἐπομένοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ  
 οὐδεὶς οἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔτερος  
 7 ἀμύνων ἦλθε. Πέρσης δὲ ἀνήρ, Μιρράνης ὄνομα,  
 ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἥρχεν, ἀμφὶ  
 τῇ πόλει δείσας, Πέρσαις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐπέστελλε  
 τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα ἔχεσθαι,  
 αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Δαγισθαῖον σταλεὶς θῶπάς τε  
 καὶ ἀπατηλὸν προύτεινετο λόγους, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ<sup>1</sup>  
 ὁμολογῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν.  
 ταύτη τε παρακρούσασθαι ἵσχυσεν, ὡς μὴ ἐς  
 τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ  
 εἶναι.<sup>2</sup>

8 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μερμερόν ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς  
 τὸν στενωπόν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὸ Ῥωμαίων  
 φυλακτήριον ὑπηντίαζον ἐς ἑκατὸν δυτες, καρ-  
 τερῶς τε ἡμύνουτο, καὶ τοὺς τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπο-  
 9 πειρωμένους ἀνέστελλον. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ  
 ὑπεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κτεινομένους ἀεὶ ἔτεροι  
 ἐκδεχόμενοι πρόσω ἔχώρουν, παντὶ σθένει τὴν  
 10 εἰσόδον βιαζόμενοι. Θυήσκουσι μὲν Πέρσαι πλέον  
 ἡ χίλιοι, κτείνοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεῖπον, τοῦ τε  
 ὄμιλου σφᾶς βιαζομένου ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ ἐς  
 τῶν ἐκείνη ὄρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀναδραμόντες  
 11 ἐσώθησαν. ταῦτα Δαγισθαῖος μαθὼν αὐτίκα  
 τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσεν, οὐδὲν τῷ στρατῷ<sup>3</sup>  
 ἐπιστείλας, ἐπὶ Φᾶσίν τε ποταμὸν ἤλαυνε· καὶ οἱ  
 Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες εἴποντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν  
 12 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπόντες. Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ  
 ποιούμενα κατιδόντες τάς τε πύλας ἀνέψησαν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> πόνῳ GP : λόγῳ V.      <sup>2</sup> εἶναι Maltretus : ιέναι MS.

<sup>3</sup> στρατῷ VP : στρατοπέδῳ G.

was wounded and straightway withdrew to the camp with his followers, since no one else of the Roman army came to support him. Meanwhile the Persian Mirranes who commanded the garrison in Petra, fearing for the city, directed all the Persians to keep guard with the greatest diligence, and he himself went to Dagisthaeus, and addressed him with fawning speeches and deceptive words, agreeing readily to surrender the city not long afterwards. In this way he succeeded in deceiving him so that the Roman army did not immediately enter the city.

Now when the army of Mermeroes came to the pass, the Roman garrison, numbering one hundred men, confronted them there and offered a stalwart resistance, and they held in check their opponents who were attempting the entrance. But the Persians by no means withdrew, but those who fell were constantly replaced by others, and they kept advancing, trying with all their strength to force their way in. Among the Persians more than a thousand perished, but at last the Romans were worn out with killing, and, being forced back by the throng, they withdrew, and running up to the heights of the mountain there were saved. Dagisthaeus, upon learning this, straightway abandoned the siege without giving any commands to the army, and proceeded to the River Phasis; and all the Romans followed him, leaving their possessions behind in the camp. And when the Persians observed what was being done, they opened

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐπεξελθόντες ἀμφὶ τὰς καλύβας τῶν πολεμίων  
13 ἡλθον, ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔξαιρήσοντες. Τζάνοι  
δὲ (οὐ γὰρ Δαγισθαίφ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔτυχον)  
ἔβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τρεψάμενοί τε πόνῳ  
14 οὐδενὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. Πέρσαι  
μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο,<sup>1</sup>  
Τζάνοι δὲ ληισάμενοι τὸ 'Ρωμαίων στρατόπεδον  
εὗθὺ τοῦ 'Ριζαίου ἔχωρησαν. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας  
ἔλθόντες διὰ Τραπεζούντιων ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομί-  
σθησαν.
- 15 Μερμερόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἐνταῦθα  
ἡλθον ἡμέρα μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν  
ἐνάτῃ· οὐ δὴ ἀπολελειμμένους ἐκ τοῦ Περσῶν  
φυλακτηρίου τραυματίας μὲν καὶ ἀπομάχους  
γεγενημένους πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους εὑρουν,  
ἀκραιφνεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους· οἱ
- 16 γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀπαντεῖς ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ὅντερ τὰ  
σωματα οἱ περιόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἔκτὸς οὐδαμῆ  
ἔρριψαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὁσμῆς δυσσώδει ἀποπνι-  
γομενοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ὡς μή τινα ἐς τὸ  
πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἅτε τῶν
- 17 πλείστων ἀπολωλότων σφίσι, παρέχωνται. ὁ τε  
Μερμερόης ἐπιτωθάξων δακρύων τε καὶ θρήνων  
ἀξίαν 'Ρωμαίων τὴν πολιτείαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, οἷς  
γε δὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἀσθενείας περιεστήκει τὰ πράγ-  
ματα, ὡς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀτειχίστους
- 18 Πέρσας μηδεμιᾶ μηχανῆ ἔξελεῖν δεδυνῆσθαι. καὶ  
τοῦ μὲν περιβόλου ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅσα κατα-  
πεπτώκει ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε  
τίτανον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐς τὴν  
οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει

<sup>1</sup> ἐγένοντο Ρ : ἔκτειναν VG.

their gates and came forth, and approached the tents of the enemy in order to capture the camp. But the Tzani, who had not followed after Dagisthaeus, as it happened, rushed out to defend the camp, and they routed the enemy without difficulty and killed many. So the Persians fled inside their fortifications, and the Tzani, after plundering the Roman camp proceeded straight for Rhizaeum. And from there they came to Athens and betook themselves to their homes through the territory of the Trapezuntines.

And Mermeroes and the Median army came there on the ninth day after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus; and in the city they found left of the Persian garrison three hundred and fifty men wounded and unfit for fighting, and only one hundred and fifty men unhurt; for all the rest had perished. Now the survivors had in no case thrown the bodies of the fallen outside the fortifications, but though stifled by the evil stench, they held out in a manner beyond belief, in order that they might not afford the enemy any encouragement for the prosecution of the siege, by letting them know that most of their number had perished. And Mermeroes remarked by way of a taunt that the Roman state was worthy of tears and lamentation, because they had come to such a state of weakness that they had been unable by any device to capture one hundred and fifty Persians without a wall. And he was eager to build up the portions of the circuit wall which had fallen down; but since at the moment he had neither lime nor any of the other necessary materials for the building ready at hand, he devised the following plan.

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 19 τάδε. θυλάκους λινοῦς, οῖς δὴ Πέρσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν ἐσεκομίσαντο ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα, φάμμου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐς τῶν λίθων τὴν χώραν ἐτίθετο, οἱ δὴ ἐνταῦθα βαλλόμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ 20 τοίχου<sup>1</sup> ἐγίνοντο. καὶ τρισχιλίους μὲν τῶν μαχίμων ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, οἰσπερ τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐκ ἐς χρόνου κατέθετο μῆκος, ἐπιστείλας τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὅπίσω ἀπῆγλαυνεν.
- 21 Ἐπεί τέ οἱ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἰόντι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγίνετο πόρος, ἅπαντα ἐν Πέτρᾳ λιπόντι ἄπερ ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ὁ στρατὸς ἔτυχεν, ἄλλην τινὰ πορεύαν ίέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτη ὄρῶν διενοεῖτο, ἵνα δὴ ἀνθρώπους οἰκεῖν ἔμαθεν, 22 ὅπως ληζόμενοι ἀποξῆν δύνωνται. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἐν Λαζοῦς λογίμων, Φούβελις δνομα, Πέρσας αὐλιζομένους ἐνήδρευσε, Δαγισθαίον ἄμα Ῥωμαίων δισχιλίους ἐπαγόμενος, οἱ δὴ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἵππους νέμοντάς τινας ἔκτειναν, ἵππους τε ἀλησάμενοι δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Μερμερόης τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐνθένδε ἦει.
- 23 Ὁ δὲ Γουβάζης, μαθὼν ὅσα δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ τῷ στενωπῷ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὐδὲν ὡς ἔδεισεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν στενωπῷ φυλακὴν εἴασεν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς 24 ἐλπίδος οἰόμενος εἶναι. ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὡς, ἦν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ βιασάμενοι Πέρσαι τὸν στενωπὸν διαβῆναι καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ

<sup>1</sup> τοίχου GP : τείχους V.

Filling with sand the linen bags in which the Persians had carried their provisions into the land of Colchis, he laid them in the place of the stones, and the bags thus arranged took the place of the wall. And choosing out three thousand of his able fighting men, he left them there, depositing with them victuals for no great length of time, and commanding them to attend to the building of the fortifications; then he himself with all the rest of the army turned back and marched away.

But since, if he went from there by the same road, no means of provisioning his army was available, since he had left everything in Petra which had been brought in by the army from Iberia, he planned to go by another route through the mountains, where he learned that the country was inhabited, in order that by foraging there he might be able to live off the land. In the course of this journey one of the notables among the Lazi, Phoubelis by name, laid an ambush for the Persians while camping for the night, bringing with him Dagisthaeus with two thousand of the Romans; and these men, making a sudden attack, killed some of the Persians who were grazing their horses, and after securing the horses as plunder they shortly withdrew. Thus, then, Mermeroes with the Median army departed from there.

But Goubazes, upon learning what had befallen the Romans both at Petra and at the pass, did not even so become frightened, nor did he give up the guarding of the pass where he was, considering that their hope centred in that place. For he understood that, even if the Persians had been able by forcing back the Romans on the left of the River Phasis to cross over the pass and get into Petra, they could

## PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

γενέσθαι δεδύνηται, οὐδὲν ἀν ἐνθένδε Λαζῶν τῇ  
 χώρᾳ προστρίψαιντο βλάβος, Φᾶσιν διαβῆναι  
 οὐδεμιὰ μηχανῆ ἔχοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ νηῶν οὐ  
 25 παρουσῶν σφίσιν. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους  
 μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἴκανώτατα ἔχει, εὔρους δὲ ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 26 πλεῖστον διήκει. τῆς μέντοι ρύμης αὐτῷ τοσοῦ-  
 τον περίεστιν ὥστε δὴ ἐσ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν  
 ἐπὶ μακρότατον κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῆ ταύτη  
 ἐπιμιγνύμενος. ὕδωρ ἀμέλει πότιμον τοῖς ἐκείνῃ  
 ναυτιλλομένοις ὑδρεύεσθαι πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ  
 27 πελάγει. καὶ φυλακτήρια μέντοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 ἐντὸς πεποίηνται πανταχόθι Λαζοί, τοῦ μηδὲ  
 ναυσὶ διαπορθμευομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπό-  
 βασιν ἐσ τὴν γῆν εἰναι.

28 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Σαβείρων μὲν τῷ  
 ἔθνει τὰ ἔντονα χρήματα ἐπεμψε, Γουβάζην  
 29 δὲ καὶ Λαζοὺς χρήμασιν ἄλλοις δεδώρηται. ἐτύγ-  
 χανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα  
 λόγου ἄξιον ἐσ Λαζικὴν πέμψας, οἱ οὕπω ἀφικό-  
 μενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχον. ἥρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἄρκιθαγγος  
 ἐκ Θράκης, ἀνὴρ ἔνυετός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέ-  
 μια. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτη πη εἰχε.

30 Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Μερμερός ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν, ὥσ-  
 περ μοι εἴρηται, Πέτραν ἐνθένδε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων  
 ἐμπιπλάναι ἐν σπουδῇ εἰχεν. ἐπαρκέσειν γὰρ τῷ  
 ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίῳ ἐσ τρισχιλίους ὅντι τὰ  
 31 ἐδώδιμα οὐδαμῆ φέτο ἀπερ εἰσκομισάμενοι ξὺν  
 αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ σφίσι γινό-  
 μενα μόλις ἀπέχρη ἐσ τὴν δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ  
 ταύτη, οὐχ ἥσσον ἡ τρισμυρίοις<sup>1</sup> οὐσι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀπ-

<sup>1</sup> τρισμυρίοις G : τρισμυρίων VP.

<sup>2</sup> οὐσι VG : οὐση P.

thereby inflict no injury upon the land of the Lazi, since they were utterly unable to cross the Phasis, in particular because no ships were at their disposal. For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a very great distance, without mingling at all with the sea-water. Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of the sea. Moreover, the Lazi have erected fortresses all along the right bank of the river, in order that, even when the enemy are ferried across in boats, they may not be able to disembark on the land.

The Emperor Justinian at this time sent to the nation of the Sabeiri the money which had been agreed upon, and he rewarded Goubazes and the Lazi with additional sums of money. And it happened that long before this time he had sent another considerable army also to Lazica, which had not yet arrived there. The commander of this army was Rhecithancus, from Thrace, a man of discretion and a capable warrior. Such then was the course of these events.

Now when Mermeroës got into the mountains, as I have said, he was anxious to fill Petra with provisions from there. For he did not by any means think that the victuals which they had brought in with them would suffice for the garrison there, amounting to three thousand men. But since the supplies they found along the way barely sufficed for the provisioning of that army, which numbered no less than thirty thousand, and since on this account

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αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πέμπειν ἐς τὴν  
 Πέτραν οἷοί τε ἡσαν, λογισάμενος εὑρεσκε σφίσιν  
 ἀμεινον εἶναι τὸ μὲν πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλ-  
 λάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος, ὀλίγους δέ τινας  
 ἐνταῦθα μεῖναι, οἱ δὴ ἔμελλον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἰς  
 ἀν ἐντύχοιεν πολλὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐν Πέτρα φυλακ-  
 τήριον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις αὐτοὶ διαρκῶς  
 32 χρῆσθαι· ἄνδρας οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπο-  
 λεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, οὶς δὴ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους  
 33 τε τρεῖς καὶ Φάβριζον κατεστήσατο. πλείους γὰρ  
 ἐνταῦθα λείπεσθαι οὐ οἱ ἔδοξεν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι,  
 πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ὄντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ  
 στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσαρμενίαν ἐλθὼν ἡσύχαζεν ἐν  
 τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δούβιος χωρίοις.  
 34 Οἱ δὲ πεντακισχιλιοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγγυτέρω τῶν  
 Λαζικῆς ἐσχάτων ἥλθον, παρὰ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν  
 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπαντες, ἔνθεν τε κατ' ὀλί-  
 35 γους περιύόντες ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. ὧν  
 δὴ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέ-  
 στελλε βοηθεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδῇ· δράσειν γὰρ  
 σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους κακόν τι μέγα δυνατὰ  
 36 ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, παντί τε τῷ  
 Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ  
 ἔχων ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ἔως ἐς χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα  
 δὴ οἱ Λαζοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσοντο ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τοῦ  
 37 ποταμοῦ ὅχθῃ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ταύτη ὁ Φᾶσις  
 διαβατὸς ὃν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν καὶ Πέρσαι  
 ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων ὡς ἡκιστα ὑπετό-  
 παζον, Λαζοὶ μέντοι ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐνταῦθα  
 διέβησαν ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥω-  
 μαίων στρατῷ· Πέρσαι δὲ ἄνδρας χιλίους τῶν  
 ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀπολεξάμενοι ἐπεμψαν, ώς

they were able to send nothing at all of consequence to Petra, upon consideration he found it better for them that the greater part of the army should depart from the land of Colchis, and that some few should remain there, who were to convey to the garrison in Petra the most of the provisions which they might find, while using the rest to maintain themselves comfortably. He therefore selected five thousand men and left them there, appointing as commanders over them Phabrizus and three others. For it seemed to him unnecessary to leave more men there, since there was no enemy at all. And he himself with the rest of the army came into Persarmenia and remained quietly in the country around Doubios.

Now the five thousand, upon coming nearer to the frontier of Lazica, encamped in a body beside the Phasis River, and from there they went about in small bands and plundered the neighbouring country. Now when Goubazes perceived this, he sent word to Dagisthaeus to hasten there to his assistance : for it would be possible for them to do the enemy some great harm. And he did as directed, moving forward with the whole Roman army with the River Phasis on the left, until he came to the place where the Lazi where encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Now it happened that the Phasis could be forded at this point, a fact which neither the Romans nor the Persians suspected in the least because of their lack of familiarity with these regions ; but the Lazi knew it well, and they made the crossing suddenly and joined the Roman army. And the Persians chose out a thousand men of repute among them and sent them forth, that no one might advance

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μή τις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ἵοι.  
 38 ὥνπερ δύο ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ προτερήσαντες καὶ  
 παρὰ δόξαιν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκότες τὸν  
 39 πάντα λόγον ἐσήγγειλαν. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοί τε  
 καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἔξαπιναίως ἐπέστησαν,  
 οὐδείς τε αὐτῶν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν  
 πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ζωγρή-  
 σαντες οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον τό-  
 τε μέτρον τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 μῆκος μαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ  
 40 παρόντα ἔχοι. ἄραντες οὖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ  
 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥεσαν, διαριθμούμενοι ὅπως πόρρω  
 που τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιπέσοιεν σφίσι· τετρακισχί-  
 41 λιοι δὲ καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι  
 πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες μακρόν τινα ὑπνον  
 ἐκάθευδον τόν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν ἀπόρευτον φῶντο  
 εἶναι καὶ τοὺς χιλίους, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ὑπαντιά-  
 42 σαντος, ἐπὶ μακρότατόν πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι  
 δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Λαζοὶ ὅρθρου βαθέος ἀπροσδόκητοι  
 ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὑπνον αἴρουμένους  
 εὗρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι ἔξ ὑπνου ἐγγηρεμένους καὶ  
 43 γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων κειμένους. διὸ δὴ  
 αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ' οἱ  
 μὲν πλεῦστοι καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθιησκον,  
 τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώγρησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐν τοῖς  
 καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕνα τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ὀλύγοι  
 44 δέ τινες ἐν σκότῳ διαφεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. τό-  
 τε στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ αἰροῦσι καὶ  
 τὰ σημεῖα πάντα, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα  
 μεγάλα ἐληίσαντο, καὶ ὑππων τε καὶ ἡμίονων  
 45 μέγα τι χρῆμα. ἐπὶ μακρότατον δὲ τὴν δίωξιν  
 ποιησάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας πόρρω ἀφίκοντο. ἔνθα

against the camp to harm it. And two of this force, who had gone out ahead of their fellows to reconnoitre, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy and informed them of the whole situation. The Romans, therefore, and the Lazi fell suddenly upon the thousand men, and not one of them succeeded in escaping, but the most of them were slain, while some also were captured; and through these the men of Goubazes and Dagisthaeus succeeded in learning the numbers of the Median army and the length of the journey to them and the condition in which they then were. They therefore broke camp and marched against them with their whole army, calculating so that they would fall upon them well on in the night; their own force amounted to fourteen thousand men. Now the Persians, having no thought of an enemy in their minds, were enjoying a long sleep; for they supposed that the river was impassable, and that the thousand men, with no one to oppose them, were making a long march somewhere. But the Romans and Lazi at early dawn unexpectedly fell upon them, and they found some still buried in slumber and others just roused from sleep and lying defenceless upon their beds. Not one of them, therefore, thought of resistance, and the majority were caught and killed, while some also were captured by the enemy, among whom happened to be one of the commanders; only a few escaped in the darkness and were saved. And the Romans and Lazi captured the camp and all the standards, and they also secured many weapons and a great deal of money as plunder, besides great numbers of horses and mules. And pursuing them for a very great distance they came well into Iberia. There they happened upon

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δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Περσῶν ἐντυχόντες πολλοὺς  
 46 ἔκτειναν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι ἀπήλλα-  
 ἔξαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαζοὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια  
 καὶ ἄλευρα παμπληθῆ ἐνταῦθα εὑρόντες ἅπαντα  
 ἔκανσαν ἅπερ ἐξ Ἰθηρίας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηγά-  
 47 γοντο ἐφ' ω̄ ἐς Πέτραν ἐσκομίσονται.<sup>1</sup> Λαζῶν  
 τε πολλοὺς ἐλίποντο ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, ὡς μηκέτι  
 Πέρσαις ἐς Πέτραν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι  
 δυνατὰ εἴη, ξύν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμα-  
 48 λώτοις ἀνέστρεφον. καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα  
 Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Πέρσας ἐκεχειρίας, τρίτον καὶ  
 εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτο-  
 κράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.

49 Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον  
 βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἥλθε. τηνι-  
 κάδε γὰρ Θεοδώρᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐπεγένετο ἡ  
 50 τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου. τῶν μέντοι πρόσθεν  
 ἀξιωμάτων ἀνασώσασθαι οὐδὲ ὅτιοῦν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου τιμῆς ἵερεὺς ἔμεινε· καίτοι  
 φάντασμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγεγόνει πολλάκις ὡς  
 51 εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφίξεται. φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον,  
 ὅπερ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὥραΐζεσθαι πέφυκεν,  
 ἀπὸ μειζόνων τε καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐλπίδων κρεμᾶν  
 οἷς δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾶς φύσεως τὴν διάνοιαν  
 52 ἔσταναι ξυμβαίνει. καὶ τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ  
 ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τερατολόγοι φαντάσεις ἐς ἀεὶ<sup>2</sup>  
 προῦλεγον καὶ ὡς χρῆν αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Αὔγουστου  
 53 ἀμπίσχεσθαι σχῆμα. ἦν δέ τις ἵερεὺς ἐν Βυ-  
 ζαντίῳ, Αὔγουστος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ τῶν κειμηλίων  
 54 τοῦ τῆς Σοφίας ἱεροῦ φυλακὴν είχεν. ἡνίκα  
 τοίνυν Ἰωάννης ἀποθριξάμενος τῆς ἵερωσύνης

<sup>1</sup> ἐσκομίσονται VP : ἐσκομίσωνται G.

certain others of the Persians also and slew a great number. Thus the Persians departed from Lazica ; and the Romans and Lazi found there all the supplies, including great quantities of flour, which the barbarians had brought in from Iberia, in order to transport them to Petra, and they burned them all. And they left a large number of Lazi in the pass, so that it might no longer be possible for the Persians to carry in supplies to Petra, and they returned with all the plunder and the captives. And the fourth year of the truce between the Romans and Persians came to an end, being the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

549 A.D.

And John the Cappadocian one year before this came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor. For at that time the Empress Theodora had reached the term of her life. However, he was quite unable to recover any of his former dignities, but he continued to hold the priestly honour against his will ; and yet the vision had often come to the man that he would arrive at royalty. For the divine power is accustomed to tempt those whose minds are not solidly grounded by nature, by holding before their vision, on great and lofty hopes, that which is counted splendid among men. At any rate the marvel-mongers were always predicting to this John many such imaginary things, and especially that he was bound to be clothed in the garment of Augustus. Now there was a certain priest in Byzantium, Augustus by name, who guarded the treasures of the temple of Sophia. So when John had been shorn

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ηξίωτο βίᾳ, οὐ γὰρ ἡν αὐτῷ ἐσθῆς ἴερεῖ πρέ-  
πουσα, τούτου δὴ τοῦ Αὐγούστου, ἐγγύς πη  
ῶντος, τόν τε φαινόλην καὶ τὸν χιτώνα ἐνδιδύ-  
σκεσθαι πρὸς τῶν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐφεστώτων ἡνάγ-  
καστο, ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη, οἶμαι, ἡ  
πρόρρησις.

and declared worthy of the priestly dignity by force, inasmuch as he had no garment becoming a priest, he had been compelled by those who were in charge of this business to put on the cloak and the tunic of this Augustus who was near by, and in this, I suppose, his prophecy reached its fulfilment.



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