BOOK 1 The Time of Adam

1. Adam, the first man, was made, or created by God from earth. He was six feet tall, including his head; that is, his height was 96 fingers' widths; his hand span was 14 fingers' widths; his foot was 16 fingers' widths. He lived 930 years. **(6)** His wife was Eve, and she bore sons, Cain, Abel and Seth, and two daughters, Azoura and Asouam. At God's command Adam gave names to all four-footed beasts, winged creatures, amphibians, creeping things, fish, and to his offspring. An angel of the Lord told them Adam's own name and that of his wife. His son Seth had wisdom from God and at God's command gave names to all the stars and the five planets, so that they could be recognized by men. He called the first planet Kronos, the second Hera, the third Ares, the fourth Aphrodite and the fifth Hermes. He also wrote down the seven vowels corresponding to the five stars and the two great lights. He was the first to invent Hebrew script and to write with it. God himself named the two great lights - the sun to rule the day, and the moon to rule the night. The most learned Fortunus, the Roman chronicler, wrote this in the account he delivered in Constantinople. Seth lived 912 years and took as his wife Asouam, one of his own sisters. He became the father of children and many generations of men and women descended from them. Cain also took his own sister, Azoura, as his wife.

2. **(7)** In the middle of their time Enoch the just, the son of Jareth, was taken away and did not die. He was taken away after 1287 years. Enoch was the seventh from Adam, according to the interpretation Aquila the Jew gave of the Hebrew scriptures written by Moses. For the priests of the Jews interpreted Moses' Hebrew accounts as follows, "The

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1. P 5.24-6.37; A 231.20-232.20, B 2.2, GM 6.2-10, 10.5-12, PsS 21v, Ke 16.5-6, LG 247.12-15 (9.15-18), Sk 4.25-5.3, JN 2.1-3; Slav: Ist 5-6, EL frag.2.

The time of Adam (5.24): cf 'Concerning Adam and those who came after him. The Hellenic chronographer, or annalist, starts his account of the genesis of the world thus' Slav; see Tvorogov, 1975, 274.

96 fingers' widths (5.30) P, B, Slav: wrongly printed by Istrin.

14 fingers' widths (5.31): A, B, Slav add 'his forearm was 24 fingers' widths'.

Asouam (6.4) A, B, GM, PsS, Ke, Sk, cf P 6.34: 'Souanni' P ('Sousanni' Istrin); A and GM add here different passages about Cain and Abel.

Hera (6.17): 'Zeus' A, B, GM, JN, Slav; see Reinert, 1981, 66, note 12.

2. P 7.1-23; A 232.20-28, B 2.6-8, PsS 22r-v, Ke 18.18-20, 20.12-14, Sk 5.12-13; Slav: Ist 7, Mify 23, Soph 2.

1287 (7.4; cf the system of CP; see Gelzer, 1885, 142): cf '1200' A.

according to...as follows (7.5-8): perhaps an interpolation in P; see Gleye, 1899, 504.

sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and took them wives of all which they chose and came in unto them, as Moses says, and they bare sons to them. There were giants in the earth in those days, the men which were of old, the men of renown" (*Gen.* 6.2,4).

From Adam until the angels, the sons of Seth, desired women, or rather the daughters of men, of the tribe of Cain, there were 2122 years.

3. In that time God sent a ball of fire from the heavens against the giants in the Celtic land and burnt it and them. The ball plunged into the river Jordan and was extinguished. They tell stories of this fire and say that Phthaethon, the son of the sun, fell from his chariot to earth, a tale which Ovid has written poetically. But Plutarch of Chaironeia speaks of this more truthfully when he says that the ball of fire fell on the Celtic land. Although the remaining giants saw so many of their number struck by lightning,**(8)** they remained stubborn. God said to them in anger, "My spirit will not abide in these men, for they are flesh" (*Gen.* 6.3), as is recorded in Moses' writings. The most learned Pindar, who was a Hellenic poet after the time of Moses, described these giants poetically as men born from earth, with serpents' feet, who made certain daring attacks against the highest divine powers. He called them serpent-footed and said that they were destroyed by the gods through various punishments. The most learned Timotheos interpreted this poetic story as follows, saying that the reason why the poet called these men serpent-footed was because their minds were brutalized and they considered human values of no account, but had feet which moved towards the evil and unjust things of the earth. For this reason the divine...the usual motion both of the sun and of the moon, ordered that some should be destroyed by a thunderbolt, others should have their bodies turned to stone, others were to be shot with the swiftest of deadly arrows, others were to be torn apart by wounds as from a spear, and the remainder were to be drowned in the ocean depths. Thus the giants, or serpent-footed creatures, perished miserably and ended their lives. Servius said that they lived in a low-lying plain and had fought a war with people of the mountain tops, and crawling on their bellies they were slaughtered by the mountain dwellers.

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the angels...tribe of Cain (7.20-22): cf 'the sons of God desired the daughters of men' A.
2122 (7.23;corr) A, B, Slav: cf '2000' P; see Reinert, 1981, 65, note 7.
3. P 7.24-8.40; A 232.29-233.3, B 2.9-13, PsS 22v, Ke 19.4-12, JN 2.3; Slav: Ist 7-8, Mify 23, Soph 4.
They (7.30) B: 'The Hellenes' A, Slav.
Phthaethon, the son of the sun (7.31;corr Istrin, 24) A, B: 'the son' P.
Ovid (7.32;corr) B, cf Slav: 'Oundios' P; but see Gleye, 1893, 160-1.
Pindar (8.6): 'Peisander' B, Slav; see Gleye, 1899, 505 and RE 19.1, 145-6, Peisander 12.
...the usual motion both (8.24): 'the motion of the stars and' Slav. Since there is a half-line gap in P before 'usual' (νομικῆς), Gleye, 1899, 505 credibly proposes 'astronomical' (ἀστρονομικῆς); we mark a lacuna in the belief that at least one other word has dropped out here.
Servius (8.35; corr Istrin) PsS: 'Serivios' P, 'the learned Servius' Slav.
and crawling on their bellies (8.39): 'and that they attacked the

4. (9) There was a man named Noah who was beloved of God. Noah was 500 years old when he became the father of three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth. God commanded Noah to make an ark and he made it as the Lord instructed him. Noah reached the age of 600 and the Lord commanded him to take everything into the ark with him. And Noah took everything into the ark with him – all his family and all the four-footed beasts, creeping things, winged creatures and amphibians, male and female, as the Lord commanded him. And there was a flood upon the earth for 40 days and 40 nights and all flesh that had the breath of life died, as is recorded in the Hebrew scriptures.

Thus altogether from Adam to Noah's flood there were 2552 years. In the 601st year of his life Noah came out of the ark, and his wife and his daughters and his sons and his sons' wives and every soul from his family and all the four-footed beasts and winged creatures and amphibians and creeping things that were in the ark, and they all increased according to their kind. After the flood had ceased and the waters had abated, the ark was found to have settled on the mountains of Ararat in the province of Pisidia, whose metropolis is Apameia. Its timbers are there to the present day, as Pergamos the Pamphylian has written. Josephos and Eusebios Pamphilou and other chroniclers have stated that the mountains (10) of Ararat are near Armenia, between the Parthians, the Armenians and the Adiabenoi, and the ark settled there. The family of Noah produced children and there was a multitude of men and women. The Tower of Babel was built by the men who had known how to construct the ark and had first invented boats and set them to float on water.

Thus from the flood to the building of the Tower there were 370 years.

5. In the middle of that time after the flood Shem, the son of Noah, became the father of Arphaxad Cainan, who after the flood wrote about astronomy when he discovered, engraved on a stone slab, the names which Seth, the son of Adam, and his children had given the stars, as the most learned Josephos has written in the second book of his *Archaeology*. He says that Seth's descendants were god-fearing men and, having foreknowledge of the destruction, or change, that was then to affect mankind, made two tablets, the one of stone and the other of clay. On these they inscribed everything that Seth, their grandfather, had stated concerning the heavens, considering that, if the earthly world of men were to be changed through water, the stone tablet and its inscription would remain; if through fire, the clay tablet would remain and its inscription become known to those who were saved from the

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mountain dwellers on their hands (PsS, Ke add 'and feet') and crawling on their bellies like serpents' Slav, PsS, Ke.

4. P 9.1-10.11; A 233.4-15, De virt 1 (157.1-7), B 2.14-15, cf PsS 22v, cf Ke 20.18-19, Sk 5.20-22, JN 3; Slav: Soph 6. See Josephos, *Ant.*, I 93-5.

Apameia (9.35;corr) B: 'Apamasia' P.

5. P 10.12-11.4; A 233.16-29, B 2.16, GM 10.12-24, PsS 21v, Ke 16.11-16, JN 4.1-2; Slav: Ist 10-11, Soph 6,7. See Josephos, *Ant.*, I 70-1.

if through fire, the clay tablet would remain (10.34; corr Istrin 25) A, B, GM, cf PsS, Ke, Slav: om P.

disaster and survived. The stone tablet remained on Mount Siris after the flood and lies there to the present, as Josephos has stated. **(11)** So the generation of Arphaxad was 135 years.

Thus from Adam to the completion of the Tower of Babel there were 2922 years.

6. Then the tribes of the sons of Noah, I mean of Shem, Ham and Japheth, the three brothers, were divided. The tribe of Shem took as the length of its territory the land from Persia and Bactria as far as India and, as for the breadth, as far as Rhinokourouroi, that is, from the East as far as the region of the South, including Syria and Media and the river called the Euphrates. The tribe of Ham, Noah's second son, took for its territory the land from Rhinokourouroi in Egypt in a southward direction as far as the region of the West, and all Libya and the river Nile known as gold-flowing and Africa and as far as Mauritania and the Pillars of Herakles and the great Adriatic Sea. The tribe of Japheth, Noah's third son, took the territory from Media to the North as far as the British Isles, including all the area of the Pontic Sea as far as the region of the West, and the rivers Danube and Tanais and the area by the Caucasus mountains and the Abasgoi, all those nations, beginning from the river Tigris which divides Media and Babylonia and up to the Pontic Sea, the area near Rhodes, Cyprus and Attalesis.

The three tribes were divided throughout the earth in 72 nations, as Eusebios Pamphilou, the most learned chronicler, has stated.

7. During that time a **(12)** learned Indian astronomer appeared, named Gandoubarios, of the family of Arphaxad. He was the first to write about astronomy for the Indians. There was another man of the tribe of Shem, named Cush, an Ethiopian, who became the father of Nimrod, the giant, who built Babylon. The Persians say that he was

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Arphaxad was (11.1-2): 'Arphaxad lasted until the building of the Tower, and Arphaxad lived' A, perhaps correctly.
135 (11.4): cf '125' A.
6. P 11.4-38; A 233.30-32, B 2.17, Synk 46.23-47.11, 54.13-55.20, LG 250.20-28 (14.18-15.4), PsS 23v, 25v, Ke 23.19-24.9, 25.21; Slav: Soph 7.
as for the breadth (11.9): cf Synk, PsS and Ke who add 'from India'.
Rhinokourouroi (11.10): cf Synk, PsS and Ke who add 'in Egypt'.
the river called (11.13): cf 'the river defining his boundaries' Synk, PsS, Ke.
the great Adriatic Sea (11.22) B: a strange phrase, perhaps a corruption somehow of 'Gadeira' used elsewhere in a similar way of Ham's inheritance; see, eg, CP 49.7, 52.10, 52.18 and Synk 52.10, 53.2.
the Pontic Sea (11.26): cf Slav which adds 'and the Great Sea'.
Tanais (11.28; corr Gleye) B: 'Aias' P; see Gleye, 1899, 506.
which divides (11.32; corr reading διαχωρίζοντος for διαχωρίζοντο cf Synk, PsS, Ke: 'they were divided' P.
Attalesis (11.35): B leaves a blank after its first letter; Gleye, 1899, 507 suggests 'some others' (τινας ἄλλας for τὴν Ἀττάλησιν). This whole sentence is unsatisfactory as Greek.
7. P 11.39-12.13; A 233.32-234.7, CP 64.10-18, GM 11.1-15, B 4.1, PsS 25v, 26v, Ke 27.3-6, 8-10, 28.8-10, JN 5.1-4; Slav: Ist 11-12, Soph 8.
Gandoubarios (12.2; corr Istrin, 26) A, Slav: cf 'Andoubarios' CP, PsS, Ke, 'Gardoubarios' P.
Babylon (12.6; corr) A, GM, PsS, Ke, Slav: 'Babylonia' P, B, CP.

deified and became the star in the heaven which they call Orion. He was the first to practise hunting, and he provided everyone with wild animals to eat and was a leader amongst the Persians.

8. From this tribe of Shem, Noah's first son, which held Syria, Persia and the remaining areas of the East, there was born and appeared a man who was of the race of giants, named Kronos, given that name by Damnos his father after the planet. He was a strong man who was the first to practise ruling, that is, the governing and controlling of other men. He was the first to reign over the Assyrians, which he did for many years, and he subjugated the entire land of Persia, beginning from Assyria. He was feared by all as a savage and warlike man who destroyed everyone. This man had a wife Semiramis, also known as Rhea by the Assyrians because she was proud and boastful. She was of the same tribe. Kronos had a son, named Picus, who was called Zeus by his parents, also after the planet. Kronos had another son, named Ninos, and a daughter **(13)** named Hera. Picus Zeus took as his wife his own sister, named Hera; some people called her "wifely retribution" because she was good, just and universally benevolent. Picus had a son by her whom he called Belos, because the child was very sharp.

9. Kronos, the grandfather, left his son Picus in Assyria and his wife Rhea Semiramis with his son Picus Zeus; taking a large force, a host of valiant men, he went off to the West which was without an emperor and not subject to any governor. He disappeared from Assyria and took possession of the western regions. He remained in control, reigning over all the West for many years. He had there a wife named Philyra, by whom he had a son named Aphros to whom he gave the land near Libya. Aphros controlled the district there and reigned over it; he married Astynome from the island of Lakeria and became the father of a daughter whom he called Aphrodite, likewise after the planet, the heavenly Aphrodite. She became a philosopher and married Adonis the Athenian, himself a philosopher, the son of Kinyros by his own daughter.

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practise (12.10-11;corr Istrin, 26 reading κατεδίωξεν for κατέδειξεν) A, CP, Ke, Slav, cf GM, P 12.22: 'pursue' P.

8. P 12.13-13.8; A 234.7-23, CP 64.19-65.19, GM 11.16-12.8, Anon Mal 17.14-18.6, B 4.1-4, LG 250.29-251.1 (15.5-10), PsS 26r-27v, Ke 28.10-18, JN 6.1-3; Slav: Ist 12-13, Mify 23, Soph 8, 9.

Damnos (12.19) CP, cf Slav: cf 'Domnos' A, 'Ouranos' Anon Mal; see Reinert, 1981, 82, 160, note 19.

Rhea (12.31; 'Arhea' Istrin) A, B, GM, CP, PsS, Ke: 'Area' Slav, and elsewhere.

She was of the same tribe (12.33-34) B: 'She was of the tribe of Shem, son of Noah' A, CP, cf Slav.

called her "wifely retribution" (13.4) B, CP: cf 'called her his lawful wife' Slav. It is hard to see how the phrase in the text could have been intended as a compliment; did Malalas read it as something like 'balanced justice'? See Reinert, 1981, 90.

good, just and universally benevolent (13.5-6) cf B: 'good and desired all justice' CP.

9. P 13.8-14.13; A 234.23-35, CP 65.19-66.15, PsS 27r, Ke 28.20-22, 29.9-12, LG 251.1-3 (15.10-13), JN 6.4-5; Slav: Ist 13-14, Mify 23-4, Soph 9, 10.

by his own daughter...which they call mysteries (13.31-14.7): attested

Kinyros, having performed this act which went against nature, secretly exposed the child in the mountains, where he was reared by those known as the mountain nymphs. He became extraordinarily handsome and Aphrodite fell in love with him. Ares became angry **(14)** and struck him for he was a rival for Aphrodite's affections. They say that Aphrodite went down with Adonis to Hades not to die but to resurrect him because she loved him very much. There are various stories about him which they call mysteries. They are said to have practised philosophy together until death. Kronos had by Philyra another son known as Cheiron, also a philosopher.

10. After Picus Zeus had reigned over Assyria for four years, he too left his mother and Hera, his sister and his wife, and, making his son Belos emperor of Assyria, went off to the West to his father Kronos. Belos reigned over the Assyrians for eight years and he died, whereupon the Persians deified him. When Kronos saw his son Picus Zeus had come to him in the West, he yielded to him rule over the West. For Kronos was weak and had become feeble; Picus Zeus reigned over the West, that is, Italy, for another 62 years. After Belos, Ninos, Kronos' other son, ruled Assyria. He had taken his mother Semiramis as his wife; from him the Persians derive the custom of marrying their mothers and sisters, because Picus too **(15)** took his own sister Hera to wife; as the most learned Homer states it, "He addressed Hera, his sister and wife" (*Iliad* 16, 431-2, 18.356). Kronos died.

11. After Ninos had become master of Assyria, he built Nineveh, the city of the Assyrians, and was the first to rule in it, having Semiramis Rhea, his wife and mother, with him. From his family was born Zoroaster, the famous Persian astronomer, who when on the point of death prayed that he should be consumed by fire from heaven. He said to the

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nowhere else and perhaps an interpolation; see Gleye, 1899, 507-8 and Reinert, 1981, 107-8 and notes 107-8 on pp 170-1.

loved him (14.5; corr, reading τοῦτο): 'it' (τοῦτον) P.

They are said to have practised philosophy together (14.8-9): cf 'They continued practising philosophy together chastely' CP, perhaps the original Malalas which set off the interpolation.

10. P 14.13-15.5; A 234.35-235.15, CP 66.15-67.9, PsS 26r, 27v, Ke 29.12-19, B 4.5-6, LG 251.8-10(15.13-18), JN 7.1-4; Slav:Ist 14, Mify 24, Soph 11.

four (14.15): '30' A, B, CP, PsS, Ke, Slav; see Reinert, 1981, 158, note 5.

eight (14.22): 'two' A, CP, Ke, Slav.

Picus Zeus had come (14.24-25; corr, reading Πῆκον τὸν Δία ἐλθόντα for Πῆκον τὸν διελθόντα) CP, Slav: 'had crossed' P.

had become feeble (14.28): Slav adds 'Others, however, claim that Picus captured his father and cut out his kidneys and cast them into the sea, and plunged his father into the depths and confiscated his kingdom', though probably not original Malalas; see Shustorovich, 1970, 105-110.

Hera to wife (15.2): Slav alone adds 'and because Ninos took his mother Semiramis', indispensible according to Gleye, 1899, 508 but rejected by Reinert, 1981, 158, note 8, probably correctly. (NB: Reinert's statement, *ibid.*, about a lacuna in P is incorrect.)

11. P 15.6-25; A 235. 15-23, CP 67.9-22, PsS 27r, Ke 29.19-30.5, cf B 4.6; Slav: Ist 15, Soph 12.

Persians, "If the fire burns me up, take some of my charred bones and preserve them; empire will not depart from your land as long as you preserve my bones". Then he prayed to Orion and was consumed by fire from heaven. The Persians did as he told them and they have preserved his incinerated remains until now.

12. After Ninos a man named Tharras reigned over the Assyrians. His father Zames, the brother of Rhea, renamed him Ares after the planet. He became a savage fighting man, who campaigned against the northern regions. He attacked a certain Kaukasos, who was also a strong man of the race of the giants and very warlike; he was descended from the tribe of Japheth, son of Noah. Tharras fought Kaukasos, defeated him and took possession of his land. **(16)** He came to Thrace where he died and is buried. It was to Ares that the Assyrians erected the first statue and they worshipped him as a god; to this day they call him the god Belos in Persian, which means when translated "Ares, the warrior god". The prophetic words of Daniel and the three young men refer to him, saying that they were forced to worship him. After the death of Ares, Lames reigned and after Lames the Assyrians were ruled by Sardanapalos the Great, whom Perseus, the son of Danae, slew and took the empire from the Assyrians. When he had become their ruler, he named them Persians after himself, as Membronios of Babylon has written for the Persians.

13. Ninos' brother, Picus Zeus, continued to reign over Italy. At that time there was no city or administration in the West but all that land was simply inhabited by the members of the tribe of Japheth, son of Noah, who had migrated there. Picus Zeus lived 130 years, controlling the West and reigning over it. He had many sons and daughters by beautiful women, for he used to beguile them. For he had mystic knowledge and used to put on displays and astonish the women, who regarded him as a god and were seduced by him since he showed them displays by mechanical means. Picus Zeus had a son named Faunus, whom he also called Hermes after the planet. **(17)** When on the point of death

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12. P 15.26-16.19; A 235.24-236.3, CP 68.1-19, LG 251.10-12 (15.21-3), PsS 26r, 27v, Ke 30.5-19, B 6.1-2, Su II 722.9-14; Slav: Ist 15-16, Soph 13.
Tharras (15.26) A: 'Thouras' B, CP, Ke, Su, Slav.
fought Kaukasos, defeated him (15.36-37: 'fought Kaukasos, killed him' A, CP, Su, cf PsS, Ke.
Belos (16.5): 'Baal' A, B, CP, LG, PsS, Ke, Su, Slav.
the warrior god (16.6): 'the god of wars' B, CP, PsS, Ke, cf A, Su.
saying that they were forced to worship him (16.9): perhaps an interpolation of P (see Gleye, 1899, 509); cf *Daniel* 3.1-23, discussed by Reinert, 1981, 93.
the son of Danae (16.14;corr) A, B, CP, PsS, Ke: 'Danas' P.
as Membronios of Babylon has written for the Persians (16.18-19) Slav: cf 'as Semeronios the Babylonian Persian has written' CP, perhaps correctly; see Gelzer, 1885a, 77.
13. P 16.20-17.14; A 236.9-20, CP 68.20-69.7, 80.1-10, LG 251.8-10 (15.18-20), PsS 26v, Ke 30.20-31.17, B 6.4, Su IV 124.13-17; Slav: Ist 16-17, Mify 24, Soph 14.
130 (16.27): '120' A, B, CP, Slav.

Picus Zeus ordered his body to be laid to rest in burial on the island of Crete. His children built a shrine in his honour and laid him in a tomb on the island of Crete. This tomb, which was in Crete, survives till the present with an inscription, "Here lies Picus Zeus, whom they also call Dia". Diodoros, the most learned chronicler, has written about this and in the narrative of his treatise on gods, said that Zeus, the son of Kronos, lies in Crete.

14. After the death of Picus Zeus, his son Faunus Hermes reigned over Italy for 35 years. He was a crafty man, willing to learn, who was the first to discover gold-mining in the West and smelting. He learnt that his brothers by the women seduced by his father Picus Zeus were jealous of him and wanted to kill him. There were many of them, perhaps about 70, for Zeus produced children from liaisons with many women. One son was known as Menados. Zeus had intercourse with the Theban Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon, and had another son by her, named Herakles son of Alkmene, and also known as Triesperos. He was the first to practise philosophy in the regions of Hesperia, that is, in the West. Members of his family deified him after his death and called a star in the heavens after **(18)** him, the star known as Herakles' Tunic. They picture him as wearing a lion-skin, carrying a club and holding three apples - about which they recount a myth, saying that he stole the three apples when he slew the dragon with his club; that is, he conquered the seductive thoughts of evil desire with the club of philosophy, girt with a valiant mind as if with a lion-skin, and in this way he made off with the three apples, that is, the three virtues of freedom from anger, freedom from avarice and freedom from sensuality. For with the club of the steadfast soul and the lion-skin of resolute and chaste thought, he was victorious in the earthly struggle with base desire, and practised philosophy until his death, as the most learned Herodotos has written, who related that there were seven other Herakles. What has been said allegorically about Herakles has been stated by Theophilos, the most learned chronicler.

When Hermes became aware of his brothers' plot against him, he withdrew, pocketing an excessive amount of gold and went off to Egypt, to the tribe of Ham, son of Noah. They received him with honour and he stayed there, treating everyone with arrogance and wearing a golden robe. He practised philosophy amongst the Egyptians, pronouncing oracles for them. He was by nature very rational and they revered him, calling Hermes a god since he told the **(19)** future, supplied them with the answer from god about the future and provided them with money; so they

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to be laid to rest in burial (17.3;corr) CP: cf P which omits 'to be laid to rest' and A, B, Su, Slav which omit 'in burial'; 'to be laid to rest in death' PsS, Ke.

14. P 17.15-19.5; A 236.21-33, CP 80.13-81.10, LG 251.13-16(15.23-16.3), PsS 27r-v, Ke 29.6-9, 32.9-15, 33.1-34.3, Su II 580.21-28, II 584.6-15, IV 707.1-8, B 6.5-6; Slav: Ist 17-19, Mify 24, 25, Soph 15, 16.

willing to learn (17.19): 'of great learning' A, B, CP, PsS, Ke.

One son was known as Menados (17.29): 'Zeus had Faunus Hermes by his first wife Maia, whom he had seduced in Italy' Slav, cf 'He was the son of Maia (Μαιάδος), the first wife whom Zeus had in Italy' Ke, cf PsS.

Triesperos (17.33) B, PsS, Ke: 'Trisperos' wrongly read in P by Istrin.

Herodotos (18.19) B, Ke: 'Diodoros' Slav; see Reinert, 1981, 167, note 77.

called him "giver of riches", considering him the golden god.

15. So when Hermes came to Egypt, Mestrem of the family of Ham then reigned over the Egyptians. On his death, the Egyptians made Hermes emperor and he reigned over the Egyptians for 39 years arrogantly.

After him Hephaistos reigned over the Egyptians for 1680 days, that is, for four years and 38 days. For the Egyptians then did not know how to measure years, but they called the cycle of the day "years". They called Hephaistos a god, for he was also a fighting man with mystic knowledge. He fell with his horse when he had gone into battle and was left with a limp from his wound.

Hephaistos issued a law that Egyptian women were to be monogamous and to live chastely, while those who were caught in adultery were to be punished. The Egyptians were grateful to him, since this was the first law on chastity which they received.

Hephaistos through a mystic prayer received tongs from the air for the manufacture of implements from iron. Thus he became dominant in wars. They deified him, since he had legislated for chastity and he had procured food for men by the manufacture of implements and in war had given them power and safety; for before his day men had fought with clubs and stones.

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considering (19.5): P ends at this point and V (originally part of the same ms but now divided; see Richard, 1955, 333-4) continues without a break; V (which is unpublished) is used as the base text for the translation until Ba begins at Bo 23.1.

15. V f148r; A 236.34-237.9, CP 81.10-82.12, B 6.7, PsS 27v, Ke 35.12-22, Su II 161.6, II 598.19-28; Slav: Ist 19, Mify 25, Soph. 17, Hyp 278.

four years and 38 days: 'four and a half years and 38 days' Slav, cf PsS, Ke.

BOOK 2

1. (23) After the death of Hephaistos, his son Helios reigned over the Egyptians for 4477 days, that is, for 12 years and 97 days; for neither the Egyptians in those times nor any other people knew how to calculate the number. Some calculated the cycles of the moon as years, others calculated the cycles of the days as years; for counting by the twelve months (24) was devised after this from the time when it was customary for men to be tax-payers to emperors.

2. Helios, the son of Hephaistos, was very generous. He was informed by someone that an Egyptian woman, one of those who enjoyed wealth and rank amongst them, had fallen in love with someone and was committing adultery with him. When Helios heard this, he wanted to catch her, because of his father Hephaistos' law, so that it should not be broken. He took soldiers from his army, having discovered that her adultery took place at night. He burst in on her when her husband was not there and found her sleeping with another man, her lover. Immediately he took her away and paraded her throughout the land of Egypt after torturing her. Chastity became widespread in the land of Egypt. He put that adulterer to death, and was thanked. The poet Homer tells this story poetically; Helios, he says, condemned Aphrodite for having intercourse at night with Ares. He used the name Aphrodite for the desire for fornication condemned by the emperor Helios. The truth, as it has been written above, was written by the most learned chronicler Palaiphatos.

3. After the death of the emperor Helios, son of Hephaistos, Sosis

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1. Bo 23.1-24.2; CP 82.12-18, A 237.10, JA 6.8, cf 5, Su II 563.17-21, PsS 27r, Ke 36.1, JN 12.1; Slav: Ist 1.1-7, Soph 18, Hyp 279.
Hephaistos (23.1): Ba begins at this point, after 'Hephaist'.
4477 days (23.2; corr Chil) CP, JA, Su: '4407 days' Ba (,δυζ' wrongly for ,δυοζ'; see Chil 502), '7477 days' Slav.
12 years and 97 days (23.2) JA: cf '12 years, 3 months and 4 days' CP, Su, '12 and a half years' Slav.
the number (23.3; corr) CP: 'a number' Ba, 'a year' JA (corrupt passage; see Chil 502, who proposes 'any other number' on the basis of CP, ms P).
it was customary (24.1; corr Dind) CP: 'it was named' Ba.
2. Bo 24.2-18; CP 82.18-83.15, JA 6.8, Su II 563.21-27; Slav: Ist 1.7-19, Soph 18, Hyp 279.
Helios (24.2): 'Emperor Helios' CP, Slav.
very generous (24.3): 'a powerful philosopher' CP, perhaps correctly, 'a powerful man' Slav.
heard this (24.6; corr Dind) CP: Ba adds 'from him'.
3. Bo 24.19-25.17; CP 83.16-84.14, A 237.10-23, JA 6.9, Su II 722.26-723.6, PsS 27r, Ke 36.3-10; Slav: Ist 2.1-1, Soph 19. See Jacoby, FGrHist III, No. 609, pp.82-3; Erbse, 1941, 207 (No.16).

reigned over the Egyptians; after his reign, Osiris reigned; after Osiris, Horus; and after Horus, Thoulis, who captured (25) all the land as far as the Ocean with a large force. While he was returning, he came arrogantly to the oracle in the land of Africa. When he had sacrificed he made his petition, saying, "Tell me, lord of fire, you who do not lie, blessed one, you who bend your etherial course - who before my reign was able to subjugate everything, and who will do so after me?" This response was given to him, "First God, thereafter the Word and the Spirit with them. All things were created together and proceed towards the One whose power is everlasting. Go with swift feet, mortal, and finish your ignominious life". He left the oracle immediately and was murdered in Africa by his own soldiers who had plotted against him.

The history of these ancient and historic empires of the Egyptians was written by Manetho. In his writings it is recorded that different names are given to the five planets: the planet known as Kronos was called the Shining One, the planet Zeus the Torch, Ares the Fiery, Aphrodite the Fairest and Hermes the Brilliant. The most learned Sotates interpreted these names later.

4. . Then in the period after this Sostris was the first of the tribe of Ham to reign over the Egyptians. He took up arms and made war on the Assyrians. He subjugated them and the Chaldaeans and the Persians as far as Babylon. Likewise he subjugated Asia, all of Europe, Scythia and Moesia. (26) While he was returning to Egypt from the land of Scythia, he chose 15,000 young fighting men. He made them migrate and commanded them to live in Persia, giving them there whatever land they chose. These Scythians have remained in Persia from that time to the present day; they were called by the Persians Parthians which in the Persian language means Scythians. They preserve the dress, language, and laws of the Scythians to the present day; they are also very fierce in battle, as the most learned Herodotos has written.

5. In the time of the reign of the Sostris mentioned above, lived the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistos, a man of tremendous wisdom. He declared that the name of the ineffable creator comprised three very great essences, but he said that they were one divinity. And so he was called Hermes Trismegistos (that is, Hermes Three-greatest) by the Egyptians. For he is recorded in various of his writings to Asklepios

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you who bend (25.4) Erbse : cf 'you who, shining, bend' Slav.
All things were created together (25.7) JA, Su: 'All these things were created together and are one' A, cf CP (probably the original order; see Erbse, 1941, 111-3, 207).
was murdered (25.10; corr Dind) CP, PsS, Ke: Ba adds 'immediately'.
4. Bo 25.18-26.9; CP 84.15-85.7, A 237.26-34, JA 6.10, cf 5, Su IV 409.13, 59.6, PsS 27v, Ke 36.10-15, GM 15.12-16; Slav: Ist 2.17-3.9, Soph 20.
Sostris (25.19) Slav, A, JA, PsS, Su IV 409.13, GM: cf 'Sesostris' CP, Su IV 59.6, Ke.
5. Bo 26.10-27.14; CP 85.8-86.13, A 238.1-20, JA 6.10-12, Su II 413.32-414.10, PsS 27r-28r, Ke 36.15-37.10, GM 15.18-19, JN 15.1-2; Slav: Ist 3.10-4.10, Soph 21. See Cyril, *Contra Julianum* I (PG 76, 556, 552); Erbse, 1941, 104-11, 202-3.
creator (26.13): CP, PsS, Ke add 'God'.

as saying the following about the nature of God, "Had there not been some foresight of the Lord of all to disclose this word to me, such passion to enquire into this subject would not have seized you. For it is not possible that such mysteries should be provided for the uninitiated - but listen with your intellect. There is only one intelligent light that existed before intelligent light and there existed always Intellect, light of the intellect. **(27)** There was nothing else other than its unity; it exists forever in itself; it embraces all things forever with its intellect, light and spirit. Outside this there is no god, no angel, no demon, nor any other being. For it is the Lord and God of all, and all things exist through it and in it. For its Word went forth and was completely perfect and fertile, and capable of creation. It descended on fertile nature, on fertile water and made the water fruitful". Having spoken thus, he prayed, saying, "I swear by you, Heaven, the wise accomplishment of almighty God; may you be propitious. I swear by you, voice of the Father, the first which he uttered when he established the whole world with his counsel; voice of the Father the first which he uttered, his only-begotten Word". These things are recorded in the material collected by the most holy Cyril in his work *Against the Emperor Julian,* where he says that, even though Hermes Trismegistos was ignorant of what was to come, he confessed the consubstantiality of the Trinity.

6. The emperor Sostris reached Egypt after his victory and died. After him Pharaoh, also called Naracho, reigned over the land of the Egyptians, and successors from his family reigned over the Egyptians.

7. **(28)** In the time of Picus Zeus mentioned above there appeared in the regions of the West in the land of the Argives a man of the tribe of Japheth, named Inachos. He was the first to reign in that land and he built a city there which he named Iopolis, after the moon, which he worshipped. For the Argives to the present say in their

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for the uninitiated (26.18; corr Dind) CP, Cyril: 'the uninitiated' Ba.
is (26.19): 'was' Slav, CP, A, Su, Cyril, Erbse 202.
existed (26.20) Slav, CP, A, JA, Su: cf 'exists' Cyril, Erbse 202.
than (27.1; corr Dind) Slav, CP, JA, Cyril: om Ba, Su, A.
it is (27.4; corr) Cyril, Su, Erbse: om Ba, CP, Ke.
Lord (27.4): Slav, CP, A, Su, Ke add 'and Father', cf PsS which adds 'Saviour', 'Creator and Father' JA 6.11, 'Lord and Father and God and Source and Life and Power and Light and Intellect and Spirit' Erbse 202.
voice of the Father (27.10) Slav, CP (Cyril's gloss on the three preceeding lines of verse; see Erbse 108): other witnesses make changes to cover this awkwardness and to make 'may you be propitious' refer to God or his Word.
6. Bo 27.15-18; CP 86.14-17, JA 6.13, GM 15.21-16.1, PsS 28r, Ke 37.10-15; Slav: Ist 4.11-13, Soph 21.
Sostris (27.15) JA, PsS, GM: cf 'Sesostris' Slav, CP, Ke.
Naracho (27.17) Slav, PsS, GM: 'Nachor' CP, 'Narecho' Ke, 'Karacho' JA, 'Maracho' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 222.
7. Bo 28.1-30.3; CP 74.6-76.10, JA 6.14, GM 16.1-6, PsS 28r, Ke 37.16-38.9, JN 22.1-4, cf A 238.21-23, Su II 646.23-30; Slav: Ist 4.14-6.10, Soph 22.

mysteries that Io is the secret name of the moon. He also built in the city a temple to the moon, dedicating to it a bronze statue, on which he inscribed, "Io, blessed Lightbearer". Inachos took a wife named Melia, by whom he had three children, Kasos, Belos and a daughter whom he named Io after the moon, for the girl was extremely beautiful.

Then Picus Zeus, emperor of the regions of the West, hearing that Inachos had a beautiful virgin daughter, sent for Io, daughter of Inachos, and carried her off. He seduced her, made her pregnant and had a daughter by her whom he called Libye. But Io was upset by what had happened to her and, not wishing to live with Picus, escaped from him and everyone else and abandoned her daughter. Since she was ashamed to appear before her father Inachos, she fled and sailed to Egypt. She entered the land of Egypt and lived there. But when some time later Io learnt that Hermes, the son of Picus Zeus, was reigning in Egypt, she fled from there in fear of him to (29) Mount Silpios in Syria. There some years later Seleukos Nikator the Macedonian built a city, which he called Antioch the Great, after his son. Io went off to Syria and died there, as the most learned Theophilos has written. Others have stated that Io died in Egypt.

Inachos, her father, sent her brothers and relations, and with them Triptolemos and some Argives, in search of Io; they searched everywhere but did not find her. When the Argives from Iopolis learnt that Io had died in the land of Syria, they went there and stayed for a short time, knocking on each house there and saying, "May the soul of Io be saved". A response was revealed to them in a dream and they saw a heifer, which addressed them in a human voice, saying, "Here am I, Io". When they awoke they continued to wonder at the meaning of the dream. Then, reasoning that Io was buried on that mountain, they built a shrine to her there on Mount Silpios and lived there, building a city for themselves, which they called Iopolis. Its inhabitants have been called Ionitai by the Syrians to the present day. From that time when the Argives came in search of Io to the present the Syrians of Antioch have performed this memorial rite, knocking at the houses of the Hellenes at this time each year. The reason why the Argives remained there in Syria was that they had been given instructions by the emperor Inachos, Io's father, as they left the land of the Argives, "Unless (30) you bring my daughter, Io, do not return to the land of the Argives". So the Ionitai built a temple there to Kronos on Mount Silpios.

8. Libye, the daughter of Io and Picus Zeus, married a man named Poseidon; from them were born three children, Agenor, Belos and Enyalios. Agenor and Belos too came to Syria, in search of Io, to see if she was still alive, and to look for her brothers to see if they were there, for they were their relatives. But they found no one and they returned. Belos went to Egypt where he married Sida and had two sons, Egyptos and Danaos. Agenor went to Phoenice and married Tyro. He built a city, which he named Tyre, after his wife. So he reigned there and had sons by Tyro - Kadmos, Phoinix, Syros and Kilix - and a daughter

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beautiful (28.13): 'very beautiful' Slav, CP.
and saying (29.11) CP: om Ba; see Bury, 1897, 222.
8. Bo 30.4-31.22; CP 76.11-78.12, A 238.24-33, JA 6.15, GM 16.6-17.4, PsS 28r-v, Ke 38.10-39.12, JN 23.1-8, 24.1-3; Slav: Ist 6.11-7.21, Soph 23, Mify 25.

whom he named Europe. Agenor reigned over these regions for 63 years. Poets have stated that Europe was the daughter of Phoinix, the son of the emperor Agenor, but they do not agree with the chroniclers.

Tauros, the emperor of Crete, attacked the city of Tyre; he fought in a sea-battle and captured the city of Tyre in the evening. He plundered the city and captured many prisoners there, amongst whom was Europe, the daughter of the emperor Agenor. Agenor and his sons were fighting on the *limes*. Realizing this, (31) Tauros, the emperor of Crete, unexpectedly attacked the country by sea. The people of Tyre have performed a memorial rite for that evening to the present day, calling it, "Accursed Evening". Tauros took Europe to his own land and made her his wife since she was a virgin and beautiful. He called those regions "European" after her. He had a son by Europe, called Minos, as the most learned Euripides has written poetically. He says, "Zeus, transformed into a bull (Tauros), carried off Europe".

The emperor Tauros built on the island of Crete a great city which he named Gortyn, after his mother, who was of the family of Picus Zeus. But he named the *tyche* of the city Kallinike, after the maiden he had sacrificed. The emperor Agenor came back to Tyre from the war and learnt about Tauros' unexpected attack and rape. He immediately sent Kadmos with a large sum of money and an army in search of Europe. When on the point of death the emperor Agenor ordained that all the land which he had subjugated should be divided up between his three sons. Phoinix took Tyre and its neighbourhood, calling the land subject to him Phoenicia; likewise Syros named the land allotted to him Syria, after himself; equally Kilix named the region allotted to him Cilicia, after himself.

9. (32) In the time of the reign of Phoinix there lived the philosopher Herakles, known as the Tyrian, who discovered the murex. While he was wandering along the seashore by the city of Tyre, he saw a shepherd's dog eating what is known as a murex, which is a small kind of sea snail. He saw the shepherd, who thought that the dog was bleeding, snatch up a tuft of wool from his flock, wipe off what was dribbling from the dog's mouth, and so stain the wool. But Herakles, noticing that this was not blood but a dye of unusual quality, was amazed. Knowing that the dye remaining on the wool came from the murex, he took the wool from the shepherd and brought it as a great gift to Phoinix, the emperor of Tyre.

Phoinix too was astonished by the sight of the wonderful colour of the dye and amazed at its discovery. He commanded that wool be dyed with the colour from the murex and that it be made into an imperial robe for himself. So Phoinix was the first to wear a robe of purple. Everyone marvelled at his imperial clothing, saying that it was a wonderful sight. The emperor Phoinix ordered that from that time forth no one

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Realizing (30.23; corr Chil) Slav, CP: om Ba (but cf Festugière, 1979, 227).
poetically (31.7): cf 'in his poetry' Slav, 'the poet' CP.
9. Bo 32.1-33.10; CP 78.13-79.22, A 239.13-24, JA 6.16, GM 17.5-23, Su II 584.18-20, PsS 28r, Ke 39.12-14, 34.4-16, JN 20.1-3; Slav: Ist 8.1-9.4, Soph 24.
there lived (32.1; corr Chil) Slav, CP, GM: om Ba.
mouth (32.7; corr Chil) CP, A, Ke : 'drink' Ba.

from his empire should dare to wear such glorious attire, derived from the land and from the sea, except himself and those who reigned over Phoenice after him, so that the emperor might be recognised by the army and all the people because of his amazing and unusual attire. For previously (33) men did not know how to dye cloaks of different colours, but they made sheep's fleeces - whatever they were like - into cloaks and wore them. Even emperors wore cloaks whose colours were those of the wool from which they happened to be made, and emperors were not readily recognised by their subject people. Thereafter when the emperors in each area, or rulers and toparchs, heard of this, they devised for themselves robes, or else golden brooches and mantles, which they dyed purple or red with dye from certain plants; and they wore these so they could be recognised by their people, as the most learned Palaiphatos has written.

10. Many years later the Romans subjugated the land of Phoenice and they wore the true imperial costume which had originally been discovered from the murex and which they called in the Roman language a "toga"; and this is what the Roman consuls wear to the present day. Numa Pompilius, who reigned over Rome after Romus and Remus, received ambassadors from the land of the people known as Pelasgians. They were wearing cloaks with red stripes, as do men from the land of the Isaurians. Numa was delighted with the costume and became the first to arrange that cloaks should be worn in Rome: imperial ones of purple with gold stripes, and others for his senators and men of civil and military rank with purple stripes, which were a symbol of imperial apparel and showed their rank in the Roman state and their loyalty to it. Numa ordered that no one (34) be allowed to come before him in the palace without a costume including this cloak. The palace guards did not allow anyone to enter the palace unless he wore a cloak with the distinctive symbol of the imperial dress, as the most learned Tranquillus, the historian of the Romans, has written.

11. Syros, the son of Agenor, who became a learned man, wrote on arithmetical philosophy in the Phoenician script. He also suggested that the first principles are incorporeal and that bodies and souls migrate into other kinds of animals. Syros was the first to state these doctrines, as the most learned Clement has written.

12. In that time lived Phalek, the son of Heber, a god-fearing and learned man, who lived for 339 years and about whom the prophet Moses wrote.

Thus from Adam to Phalek there were 3000 years, according to the prophecy.

13. Picus Zeus, mentioned above, in earlier times had, as well

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10. Bo 33.10-34.5; CP 217.16-218.9, Su IV 809.15-18, Ke 34.16-35.6; Slav: Ist 9.4-18, Soph 24.
Pompilius (33.14; corr Dind) Slav, CP: 'Pompeianus' Ba.
cloaks (33.16; corr Dind) Slav, CP, GM: 'a cloak' Ba.
Tranquillus (34.4): 'Suetonius Tranquillus' Slav, CP.
11. Bo 34.6-10; JA 6.17, Ke 35.7-11; Slav: Ist 9.19-22, Soph 25.
also (34.8): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 222.
Clement (34.10) Ke: written as 'Klemios' Ba, Slav.
12. Bo 34.11-14; JA 6.18; Slav: Ist 9.23-25, Soph 25.
13. Bo 34.15-35.12; CP 69.7-70.4, JA 6.18, Su III 346.16, PsS 28r,

as Hermes and Herakles, another son Perseus by a beautiful woman named Danae, who was the daughter of Akrisios who was originally from the land of the Argives. The most learned Euripides recounted a myth about her, in the plot of his play, that Danae was put into a chest and thrown into the sea, after she was ravished by Zeus who had been transformed into gold. The most learned Bouttios, the historical chronicler, stated that, **(35)** when Danae was in her chamber situated by the sea, Picus Zeus persuaded her with a large sum of gold and was able to win her over; he carried her off as she was very beautiful and seduced her. He had by her the son named Perseus, mentioned above. People write that Perseus had wings, because from childhood he was very quick. Thus his father Picus Zeus taught him to carry out and complete the sorcery of the loathsome *skyphos*, teaching him all its mystic and impious deceptions. Zeus said to Perseus, "You will conquer all your enemies with this, and those who hate you and every opponent; all those who look at that face will be blinded and motionless, as if dead and slaughtered by you".

14. So Perseus was persuaded by his father Picus Zeus. Later, after the death of his father Picus and when he had become full-grown, he coveted the Assyrians' empire. He was jealous of the children of Ninos, his uncle, his father's brother. So, having consulted the oracle, he went off to the land of Libya. Along the road a country girl, a virgin, with wild hair and eyes met Perseus. He stopped and questioned her, saying, "What is your name?" She answered freely, "Medusa". Perseus grasped her by her hair and cut off her head with the sickle-shaped sword which he was carrying. Perseus took her head and immediately performed mysteries over it, as he had been instructed by his father Picus, in the deception of loathsome sorcery. **(36)** He carried the head to help him against all his opponents and enemies, to subjugate and destroy them. He called the head "Gorgon" (quick), because of the swift way it helped and because of its effectiveness against enemies.

15. Crossing over from there he came to the land of Ethiopia, over which Kepheus reigned. Finding there a temple of Poseidon, he entered and saw a girl, a virgin known as Andromeda, living in the temple; she had been dedicated in accordance with a vow of her father Kepheus. Perseus dragged her away from the temple, ravished her because of her beauty and made her his wife.

16. Perseus sailed away and left that land. Travelling towards the country of the Assyrians, he came to the land of Lykaonia. When the people there heard this, they immediately opposed him and fought against

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Ke 39.15-40.1; Slav: Ist 10.1-16, Soph 26, Mify 24.
into the sea (34.20; corr Dind) Slav, CP: om Ba.
Bouttios (34.22) Slav: cf 'Brouttios' CP.
enemies (35.9; corr Chil) CP: 'wars' Ba.
that face (35.10-11): 'the face of the Gorgon' CP, Slav.
14. Bo 35.12-36.4; CP 70.4-21, JA 6.18, Su III 346.17-22, PsS 28r, Ke 40.2-11, JN 21.1-4; Slav: Ist 10.16-11.5, Soph 26, Mify 24.
Picus (35.14, 24) Slav: cf 'Picus Zeus' CP.
15. Bo 36.4-10; CP 70.21-71.5, JA 6.18, Su III 346.23-24, PsS 28v, Ke 40.11-14; Slav: Ist 11.6-10, Soph 26.
16. Bo 36.10-14; CP 71.5-9, JA 6.18, GM 14.12-13, Su III 346.25, PsS

him. Perseus, with the help of the Gorgon's head, conquered the Lykaonians.

17. Finding a village known as Amandra, he made it a city, and outside the gates set up a statue of himself, carrying the image of the Gorgon. He made a sacrifice and named the *tyche* of the city Persis after himself. This statue stands there till the present. He named the city Iconium because he had taken there the image (*icon*) of his first victory with the Gorgon. He also subjugated the rest of the country meeting no resistance.

18. As Perseus came to Isauria and Cilicia and met resistance from the enemy, he was given this oracle, "When you dismount from your horse and place the sole of your foot (*tarsos*) on (37) the ground, may you gain victory". So, getting down from his horse in the village known as Andrasos, Perseus placed the sole of his foot there. Winning a victory by means of the Gorgon, he made the village into a city and called it Tarsos, from the oracle about his foot. He sacrificed an innocent girl named Parthenope to purify the city.

19. After he had made his thanksgiving, he set out from there by way of Mount Argaios against the Assyrians. He defeated them and slew Sardanapolos, their emperor, who was descended from his own family. He subjugated the Assyrians and reigned over them for 53 years. He called them Persians after himself, depriving the Assyrians of both their empire and their name. He planted trees and called them *perseai*; he planted *perseai* not only there but also in the Egyptian lands in memory of himself. He taught the Persians too the rite of the loathsome and unholy *skyphos* of Medusa, and because of this teaching he called their land the land of the Medes.

20. After Perseus had reigned over the Persian land for many years, he learned that Ionitai from Argos were living in the land of Syria. So he went to Mount Silpios in Syria to see them, as they were his relatives. They welcomed him with all honour and made obeisance to him. When these Iopolitai from Argos realized that Perseus too was descended from the Argive race, (38) they were delighted and praised him. But a storm came up and the river known as the Drakon but now called the Orontes, which flows beside the city of the Ionitai, was in full flood. Perseus asked the Ionitai to pray. While they were praying

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28r, Ke 40.14-16, JN 21.4-5; Slav: Ist 11.10-13, Soph 26.
Gorgon's head (36.13; corr Chil) Slav, CP: 'the girl Gorgon' Ba.
17. Bo 36.14-21; CP 71.9-16, JA 6.18, Su III 346.25-27, GM 14.13-15, PsS 28r, Ke 40.16-18, JN 21.6; Slav: Ist 11.13-18, Soph 26.
taken (36.20) Slav, CP: 'placed' (reading ἔβαλεν for ἔλαβεν) was probably the original wording.
18. Bo 36.21-37.6; CP 71.16-72.2, JA 6.18, Su III 346.27-31, GM 14.15-18, PsS 28r, Ke 40.18-21, JN 21.7-8; Slav: Ist 11.18-21.1, Soph 26.
19. Bo 37.6-16; CP 72.2-11, JA 6.18, Su III 346.31-34,GM 14.19-15.1, PsS 28v-29r, Ke 40.21-41.5, JN 21.9-12; Slav: Ist 12.1-9, Soph 26.
his own family (37.9; corr Chil) CP: 'their family' Ba.
Medes (37.15): Slav adds 'This is recorded by the most learned chronicler Anthios'.
20. Bo 37.17-38.16; CP 72.11-73.12, JA 6.18, Su III 346.35-347.1, GM 15.1-7, PsS 29r, Ke 41.5-17, JN 21.13-18; Slav: Ist 12.10-27.

and performing the mysteries, a ball of thunder fire fell from heaven, and made the storm stop and checked the waters of the river. Amazed by this event, Perseus immediately lit a fire from that fire and he kept it with him under protection. He took the fire into his own empire in the Persian regions. Perseus taught the people to revere that fire which, he told them, he had seen fall from heaven. The Persians till the present revere this fire as divine. Perseus built a temple for the Ionitai which he called the Temple of Eternal Fire. Likewise he built a temple of Fire in Persia and appointed holy men to serve there, whom he called *magoi*. Pausanias, the most learned chronicler, has written this.

21. After a time the emperor Kepheus, the father of Andromeda, attacked him from Ethiopia and made war on him. Because of his old age Kepheus was unable to see. When Perseus heard that Kepheus was making war on him, he was extremely angry. He marched out against him **(39)** holding the Gorgon's head and showed it to him. Since Kepheus could not see, he charged at him on horseback. Then Perseus, unaware that Kepheus could not see, thought that the Gorgon's head which he was holding had lost its powers. So he turned the head towards himself and looked at it. He was blinded, stood motionless as if dead, and was killed. Then the son of Perseus and Andromeda reigned over the Persians, appointed by his grandfather, Kepheus, the emperor of Ethiopia. Kepheus gave the order and the loathsome head of the Gorgon was burned; and he departed to his own land. The descendants of Perseus remained there after that, reigning over the land of Babylonia.

22. In earlier times mentioned above Kadmos, the son of Agenor, reached the land of Boiotia from Phoenice. His father had sent him to look for and rescue Europe, his sister. When Kadmos learned that she was reigning over Crete, he set out for Boiotia. While he was in Boiotia, he taught the people the Phoenician script, of which they were ignorant. So they honoured him and made him emperor of Boiotia, for he was handsome in appearance. He reigned over the Boiotians for 62 years. He married a woman from that land named Harmonia. By her he had six daughters, Ino, Agave, Semele, Eurynome, Kleantho, and Eurydike. When these girls grew up, they were called the **(40)** Kadmiades (the daughters of Kadmos). Kadmos built a great city in Boiotia, which he called Kadmeia after himself, and reigned there.

23. He recalled from exile Teiresias, a Boiotian philosopher, a hunter, a man well-endowed with wealth, rank and wisdom. It was he who

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stop (38.5; corr Chil) Slav, CP, cf Ke: 'burn up' Ba.
took the fire (38.8-9):Slav adds 'with him when he went',cf CP, PsS, Ke.
revere (38.11; corr Chil) Slav, CP: 'hold amongst yourselves' Ba, 'revere' Ba second hand; see Bury, 1897, 222.
21. Bo 38.17-39.11; CP 73.13-74.5, JA 6.19-20, Su III 347.2-5, PsS 29r, Ke 41.17-42.3; Slav: Ist 13.1-12, Soph 27, Mify 24-5.
the son (39.6): CP, Su, PsS, Ke add 'Meros', cf JA, Slav which add 'Merros'.
22. Bo 39.12-40.3; PsS 29r-v, Ke 42.4-12, cf LG 259.3 (28.9); Slav: Ist 13.13-22, Soph 28.
23. Bo 40.3-41.3; A 239.1-12, PsS 29v, Ke 42.12-22, 82.7-18, cf LG 259.3-6 (28.10-12); Slav: Ist 14.1-17. See Kannicht and Snell, TrGF II, 170-1 (Adespota 618), and especially Erbse, 1941, 140-3, 208, who edits ω, Malalas' lost source.

brought to the Hellenes the belief that all things move of their own accord and that the world is without design. The priests conspired against him, and he was exiled to the temple of Apollo Daphnaios charged with having an effeminate mind and with too zealously enquiring how a woman conceives after intercourse with a man, how the nature of blood is divided into bones, flesh, veins, nerves and blood, and how a child is given life and is born. The most learned Kephalion has written these things. The most learned Sophokles wrote a play and said poetically that Teiresias saw Pallas bathing and became a woman. Teiresias, he said, sought to know the wisdom of the creator and was not able to do so. Hence Sophokles stated in his writings that the following is true, "There is one God who created heaven and the broad earth, the swell of the gleaming blue sea, and the force of the winds. But we mortals, being greatly deceived in our hearts, have established as solaces for our sufferings images of the gods made out of stone **(41)** and wood or figures worked in gold or ivory. Performing sacrifices and empty festivals to them, we think we are pious". Sophokles seems to have believed in one ruling principle.

24. Kadmos gave his daughter Agave in marriage to a senator named Echion, who had by her a son named Pentheus, an intelligent man both in practical wisdom and everything else. A man named Polymedon fell in love with Semele, Kadmos' other daughter, who was exceedingly beautiful. Polymedon was the son of the senator Aitherion, who was descended from the family of Picus Zeus. Polymedon won over and seduced Semele, and had a son by her. While Semele was carrying the child in her womb, a storm occurred with mighty flashes of lightning and thunder. The girl Semele was terrified and immediately gave birth to a seven-month baby, but she could not endure the pains and died. Kadmos sent the baby to the land of Nysia where he was reared. Because the child was delivered prematurely, he received a portion of life in addition to the time of his birth, and for this reason, it was written that Zeus sheltered the child in his own bosom for the rest of the time he should have been in his mother's womb, as the most learned Palaiphatos has written. The child's grandfather, Kadmos, called him Nysios, but other people, because he worked miracles with his prayer to the sun, changed his name to Dionysos, since his father's family was from Zeus. They deified **(42)** Dionysos for discovering food for men through the vine. He discoursed about the vine and agriculture. Dionysos also learned some mystical practices and became expert in the mysteries and worked some miraculous displays. He went off to the Persians and the Indians and into many lands; he took a large army with him and showed some miraculous displays as he fought.

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that the following is true, "There is one God (40.16-17): 'There is in truth one, one God' Ke, cf A, TrGF, Erbse.
the swell of the gleaming blue sea (40.18): 'the gleaming blue swell of the sea' A, Ke, TrGF, Erbse.
we mortals, being greatly deceived (40.18): 'many of us mortals being deceived' Slav, A, Ke, TrGF, cf 'we mortals being deceived in many matters' Erbse.
24. Bo 41.4-42.7; PsS 29v, Ke 42.22-43.16; Slav: Ist 14.18-15.12.
Nysios (41.19): Slav adds 'others called him Ludios'.

25. Kadmos grew old and yielded the administration of the empire of the Boiotians to the son of Echion, his grandson Pentheus. Pentheus was approved by the senators and the whole people. Then Kadmos took Teiresias and lived in the countryside of Boiotia, most of the time on Mount Kithairon. When Dionysos heard that his grandfather had grown old, he came to the city of Kadmeia with a distinguished force of armed men, in order to reign there. Pentheus saw that he was working miraculous displays and had troops, and that he was summoning all his kin and teaching the mysteries of the sun's Bacchic rites to his female relatives whom they called Bacchanals. Equally Dionysos was also teaching the citizens secret ritual prayers to the sun, so as to persuade the Boiotians that he was able to claim **(43)** the kingdom, since he was equipped with weapons and an army, whom, they say, he called Leapers (*skirtoi*), as they were quick and leaped about. They were from the land of the Bessoi and had been instructed in mystic wisdom.

26. Learning all this, Pentheus was jealous of Dionysos, since he heard that he too desired to reign over the Boiotians. They became enemies and fought a battle in the city. Pentheus defeated Dionysos and captured him, then had him tied up and imprisoned, awaiting the arrival of Kadmos, their grandfather. But Agave, Dionysos' aunt and Pentheus' mother, persuaded her son and made him release Dionysos. When he was set free, he plotted how to kill Pentheus. When he had prepared his forces, he summoned Agave and asked her to reconcile him with Pentheus and to go with him to Kadmos. With many entreaties she persuaded her son Pentheus to be reconciled with Dionysos and to go to Kadmos because he was displeased with them both. Agave arranged to go with them to persuade her father. But Dionysos was angry with Pentheus, as he had been tied up and slandered by him; for Pentheus told everyone that Dionysos had been born out of wedlock. For this reason Euripides, who years later discovered an account to this effect, wrote a play called *The Bacchae* in which he gave these words to Pentheus, "Semele, **(44)** brought to childbirth by union with a mortal, attributed the sin of the birth to Zeus".

27. After they were reconciled, Dionysos ordered his army to take up position along the road in a narrow place and to seize Pentheus. When they were preparing to set out, Dionysos went to him with a few men. Then Pentheus, not suspecting the plot, also took only a few men with him; Agave was with them too. During their journey Dionysos' army fell upon Pentheus and seized him. Immediately Dionysos ordered that he should be beheaded, and his head given to his mother because she insulted Dionysos. Then Dionysos returned to Kadmeia to reign there. This is why they say that Agave beheaded her own son, because she persuaded Pentheus to be reconciled with Dionysos and was the cause of her own son's death.

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25. Bo 42.7–43.3; PsS 29v, Ke 43.16-18; Slav: Ist 15.12-24.
to his female relatives (42.16; corr: reading συγγενίδας for συγγενικάς), cf 'to the women' Slav: 'family' ('family Bacchic rites') Ba.
26. Bo 43.3–44.1; PsS 29v, Ke 43.18-21; Slav: Ist 15.25-16.9. See Eur *Bac* 28-29.
of the birth (44.1; corr Chil, reading λέχους for λέγει, cf Eur *Bac* 29: 'he says' Ba.
27. Bo 44.2–14; JA 7; cf Tz *Hist* VI 575-6; Slav: Ist 16.9-18.

28. The senators and citizens of the city of Kadmeia did not accept Dionysos as administrator of their empire. They said that he killed his own cousin without being emperor; if he became emperor, he would destroy Boiotia. They summoned Lykourgos, a learned man, pleaded with him and told him what had happened. Lykourgos took up arms against Dionysos, and expelled him from the city of Kadmeia and from Boiotia. When Dionysos realized that Lykourgos had taken up arms against him, **(45)** he fled from him and went to Delphi where he died. Dionysos' body was laid there in a tomb and he hung up his weapons there in the temple, as the most learned Deinarchos has written about him. Equally the most learned Philochoros has written the same thing; in his account about Dionysos he said that his burial-place could be seen at Delphi, next to the golden Apollo. His tomb is identified with a certain base on which is written, "Here in death lies Dionysos, the son of Semele". Likewise the most learned Kephalion has stated these matters in his writings.

29. After the death of Kadmos, emperor of Boiotia, Nykteus began to reign. He had a daughter, named Antiope, who was a priestess of the temple of Helios. She had been instructed in the prayer to the Sun (*Helios*), or the mysteries of the Bacchic rites of Dionysos; and so she was called a Bacchanal. Her father Nykteus had a brother named Lykos, emperor of Argos. The emperor Lykos had a senator named Theoboos, who was the son of a certain Bronton, Dirke's cousin, and descended from the family of Picus Zeus. Theoboos the senator came from Argos to sleep the night in the temple of Helios in fulfilment of a vow and saw the priestess Antiope, who was very beautiful and of good height; he **(46)** was overcome with desire for her. He remained in the temple, using the vow of prayer as a pretext as he was related to her; he seduced and ravished her, and made her pregnant. Then, in fear of Nykteus, emperor of Boiotia, he departed to his own country.

30. When the emperor Nykteus, Antiope's father, learned that she had been seduced, he took her from the temple and questioned her. He learned from her that the seducer, Theoboos, was one of his brother Lykos' senators, and came from his wife's family. Not realizing that she was pregnant, Nykteus, Antiope's father, sent her off to his brother, Lykos, emperor of Argos, so that he might himself inquire into the fact of Antiope's seduction. If it was true that her seducer was from Argos, Lykos should both take vengeance on Antiope, since she was a defiled priestess, and also punish the offender who had dared to

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28. Bo 44.14-45.10; PsS 29v, Ke 43.22-23; Slav: Ist 16.18-17.7. See Müller, FHG IV 391 (Deinarchos), I 387 (Philochoros, fr.22), III 628 (Kephalion, fr.5).
When Dionysos...against him (44.21; corr Chil): 'because Lykourgos had taken up arms against him. When Dionysos realised this' Ba.
Deinarchos (45.3; corr Bentley) Slav: 'Demarchos' Ba.
base on which is written (45.8; corr Chil): 'pit on which he wrote' Ba.
29. Bo 45.11-46.4; De virt 2 (157.8-16), JA 8.1, PsS 29v, Ke 43.23-44.2, cf Tz, *Hist.* I 319-332; Slav: Ist 17.8-19, Soph 29.
Theoboos (45.17): written as 'Theobos' Slav, 'Theoboios' JA, PsS, Ke, 'Theobris' De virt, 'Theoboon' Tz.
30. Bo 46.4-18; De virt 2 (157.17-22), Su I 238.25; Slav: Ist 17.19-18.3, Soph 29.

commit such an act on a priestly person. But when the emperor Lykos had Antiope brought in for questioning, he saw her beauty and, realizing that she was pregnant, took pity on her. He said that she must wait until she gave birth, and then she would be punished for defiling her priestly office.

31. The emperor Lykos' wife was Dirke. He handed Antiope over to her and said that she was to keep her by her until she gave birth. The emperor Lykos was Antiope's uncle. Antiope gave birth to twins, whom she called Amphion and Zethos. **(47)** At the emperor Lykos' command the babies, when they were born, were exposed in the village known as Derasthea, near Mount Kithairon. Out of pity for these babies Ordion, a farmer who was childless, took the children from those who were exposing them. He was aware that they were the children of the priestess Antiope; for he knew her and that she was a priestess. And so he brought them up.

32. Some time later war began in the land of the Argives, so the emperor Lykos went out to battle. He spent a long time fighting. Dirke, the emperor Lykos' wife, reasoned that Lykos had not yet punished Antiope after the birth of her children but had left her alone because he desired her and was having intercourse with her secretly, as she was very beautiful. So she took Antiope and went off, as if into the country, with a few soldiers to Mount Kithairon, to the village where Antiope's sons had been brought up. Dirke did not know this. She brought a wild bull out from that place, fastened a torch to its horns and gave orders that Antiope was to be tied up, the rope wound round the bull's neck, and Antiope was to be dragged along by the bull like this and killed.

33. Everyone from the estate learned about Antiope's imminent death and heard her shrieks, and they came out from the village known as Derasthea. There was a great crowd of peasants there. Also amongst them were **(48)** Antiope's two sons with the farmer Ordion who had brought them up. They begged Dirke not to kill her by such a terrible death. But Dirke replied that Antiope was a priestess of Helios who had been seduced and through her fornication had given birth to twin boys, and she should be punished. When Antiope's sons, Zethos and Amphion, heard from their foster-father, Ordion, that it was their mother Antiope who was about to be punished, they assembled all the peasants of the district, marched out with them and killed the soldiers. Seizing Dirke, they tore off the imperial finery which she was wearing, and set Antiope

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beauty (46.16): Slav, De virt add 'and stature'.
31. Bo 46.18–47.6; De virt 2 (157.22-29), PsS 29v, Ke 44.2-5; Slav: Ist 18.3-10.
Derasthea (47.2; corr): 'Deras Theas' De virt, 'Deresthea' Slav, 'Rasthea' Ba, but cf Bo 47.20.
32. Bo 47.6–18; De virt 2 (157.29-158.5), Su I 238.25-34, PsS 29v-30r, Ke 44.6-11; Slav: Ist 18.10-19, Soph 29.
a torch (47.15): 'torches' Slav, De virt, cf Su.
33. Bo 47.18–48.18; De virt 2 (158.5-12), PsS 30r, Ke 44.11-15; Slav: Ist 18.19-19.11, Soph 29.
great crowd of peasants (47.21; corr, reading ἐν πλήθει πολλῷ for ἐν πλήθει πολλοί): 'a large number of peasants in the crowd' Ba.
Antiope's two sons (48.1): Slav adds 'Zethos and Antion' (ie Amphion).

free. When Antiope was freed from her bonds, she commanded her children, Amphion and Zethos, to kill Dirke. They took her and tied her to the wild bull, and so she perished, dragged along by the bull. But the bull was thirsty from the running and, finding a spring, stopped to drink. The rope snapped and left Dirke's body near the spring. So the spring in that district has been called Dirke from that time to the present day.

34. Then Zethos and Amphion took their mother Antiope and fled to their own country Boiotia and were recognised by the Boiotians when they appeared there. Their grandfather Nykteus, the emperor of the land of Boiotia, had now grown old and, stricken by disease, died. Later, after the death of the emperor Nykteus, all the Boiotians **(49)** asked Amphion and Zethos to reign over them, since they belonged to the imperial family of Nykteus. So they were proclaimed emperors and Amphion and Zethos, the musicians, reigned over the land of Boiotia.

35. Amphion, the lyre player, immediately built a very large city which had twelve gates and was formerly the village known as Enchilia. The brothers called this city Thebes after their father, at their mother Antiope's command. They reigned over Thebes for many years and then the region round it was also called Thebes. The emperor Lykos, Dirke's husband and their uncle, died in the war. Kephalion has written these facts truthfully but the most learned Euripides wrote a play poetically, saying that Zeus in the form of a satyr seduced Antiope, and that from this were born Zethos and Amphion, the musicians. He meant that their father Theoboos was descended from Picus Zeus by the process of metempsychosis, when he stated that Zeus seduced Antiope after being transformed into a satyr, which in the Boiotian language means into another more lowly body.

36. After the reign of Amphion and Zethos, their descendants reigned over Thebes until the reign of Oidipous, son of Laios and Iokaste.

Laios, emperor **(50)** of Thebes, had a son called Iokkas, whose name was changed to the Oidipous mentioned above. Laios was told by an oracle that his son would have intercourse with his mother, Iokaste, and ordered soldiers from his bodyguard to take Oidipous into the forest. His feet were to be put into a piece of wood with holes cut in it, and nails were to be driven into the wood. From this is derived the punishment known to the present day among soldiers as the *cuspos*. Acting on their instructions, the soldiers left Oidipous in the forest to be the prey of wild beasts.

A peasant named Meliboios came into the forest to cut wood. He found Oidipous dragging himself along the ground with swollen feet. So

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34. Bo 48.18-49.4; De virt 2 (158.12-14), PsS 30r, Ke 44.15-16; Slav: Ist 18.11-17, Soph 29.

35. Bo 49.4-17; JA 8.1, Su I 238.34, PsS 30r, Ke 44.16-45.1; Slav: Ist 19.18-20.2, Soph 29. See Müller, FHG III 630 (Kephalion, fr.6).

Enchilia (49.6):cf 'Enthaleia' JA, 'Enelechelia' Slav, 'Encheleia' Dind.

Kephalion (49.11): 'The most learned Kephalion' Slav.

in the form of a satyr (49.13; cf Cameron, 1973, 68): cf 'after being transformed into a satyr' Slav, PsS, Ke.

36. Bo 49.18-50.14; JA 8.2, Su IV 616.2-8, PsS 30r, Ke 45.1-9, JN 25; Slav: Ist 20.3-15, Soph 29.

he picked up and, with the axe which he was carrying, broke the plank in which Oidipous' feet were trapped. He took him and reared him and called him Oidipous (Swollen-Foot) because of his swollen feet. When he was fully grown Oidipous became a valiant man.

37. There appeared in that land a widow, named Sphinx, who was hideous, with large breasts, a country-woman. After her husband's death she collected a band of peasant robbers of similar disposition to herself in her village known as Moabe, which lies between two mountains with only one narrow path between them. Taking her robber band with her, Sphinx settled on one of the mountain peaks; she murdered all the travellers and traders who passed by and stole all their possessions. She became famous in Thebes. Many generals (51) marched out, and with them a large army sent by the emperor Laios, but not one was able to overcome her because of her strong position in the mountains and the crowd of peasant robbers who shared with her the possessions of the passing foreigners and citizens.

38. When Oidipous was full-grown he learned that he was originally from the city of Thebes. He also heard that a woman, named Sphinx, a brigand, maltreated all those who were going to Thebes and that the city was in trouble. So, having thought up a clever plan to destroy Sphinx, he collected valiant peasants from the estate where he was brought up, because, he said, he intended to become a robber with Sphinx. He went to her and asked if he might become a brigand with her. She saw what the young man and his companions looked like and accepted him and his band; so Oidipous too attacked those passing by. Finding a moment when Sphinx did not have a crowd of robbers with her, he seized a spear and killed her. He carried off all her spoils, at the same time killing many of her men. Oidipous took Sphinx's corpse to the city of Thebes since he and his men were expecting to receive money from the emperor Laios. All the citizens of Thebes were astonished and praised Oidipous, and clamoured for him to be emperor of Thebes.

39. (52) The emperor was angry with the inhabitants of the city and sent the army against them. When a civil war had broken out, Laios came to make his defence before them but he was shot by an arrow and killed. Then Iokaste, not wishing to be driven out from the empire, immediately summoned Oidipous and made him emperor, having discovered that he did not have a wife; she married Oidipous for the good of the city and the senate. So Oidipous reigned over Thebes for 19 years, without Iokaste or Oidipous knowing that she was his mother. Oidipous had two sons by her, Eteokles and Polyneikes, and two daughters, Ismene and Antigone.

40. But after some time Iokaste asked Oidipous where he had

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37. Bo 50.14-51.4; JA 8.2, Su IV 616.8-11, PsS 30r, Ke 45.10-16; Slav: Ist 20.15-21.1, Soph 30.

38. Bo 51.4-19; JA 8.2-3, Su IV 616.11-14, PsS 30r, Ke 45.16-46.1; Slav: Ist 21.1-13, Soph 30.

and his band (51.12): cf 'she told him a riddle which he solved, and stayed with her' Ba, in the margin.

39. Bo 51.19-52.11; JA 8.4, Su IV 616.14-19, PsS 30r, Ke 46.1-7; Slav: Ist 21.13-21, Soph 30.

19 years (52.8) PsS, Ke: cf '12 years' Slav.

40. Bo 52.11-20; JA 8.4-5, Su IV 616.19-22, PsS 30r-v, Ke 46.7-15; Slav: Ist 21.21-22.1, Soph 30.

come from, and who his father was. Oidipous replied that it was Meliboios who had brought him up. Iokaste sent for Meliboios who had brought him up and learnt from him that Oidipous was not Meliboios' son but that he had found him in the forest. On asking the year, Iokaste realized that Oidipous was her son and told him. When Oidipous heard this, he picked up some nails and thrust them into his eyes and died. He left the empire to his two sons, ordering them to reign year and year about.

41. But they became enemies because of the empire and fought each other, and each killed the other in single combat. Polyneikes was driven out from the empire and **(53)** expelled from Thebes by Eteokles, his brother. He went to Argos where he married the daughter of Adrastos, the emperor of Argos. Having won over the emperor Adrastos and other emperors, Polyneikes marched against his brother and Thebes with a great army. Those whom he had won over and who campaigned with him were the following: Adrastos, Kapaneus, Amphiaraos, Parthenopeus and Hippomedon. But when the two brothers had died, as has been described, the emperors retreated with their troops to their own countries.

42. So the empire of Thebes, or the Boiotians, which had lasted for 369 years, came to an end. All that has been mentioned above the most learned Palaiphatos has written truthfully. The most learned Euripides wrote a play poetically about Oidipous, Iokaste and Sphinx. The chronicler Africanus has also written about the empire of Thebes.

43. In the earlier period mentioned above Seruch was born, of the tribe of Japheth. He was the first to bring in the Hellenic beliefs about idolatry, as Eusebios Pamphilou has written. Because those who had of old **(54)** been fighting men, leaders, or had done something brave or virtuous in life were worth remembering and especially those who had worked mysteries by some power, they honoured them with monumental statues as being their forefathers; all worshipped them as benefactors, like a god; and they made sacrifices to honour them because discovering a benefit...coming either through skill, or through construction or through wisdom or through some other virtue of whatever kind. These they deified, as the most learned Rheginos has written the names of the men who were deified.

44. But later generations, who were not aware of their ancestors'

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41. Bo 52.20-53.9; Su IV 616.22-26, PsS 30v, Ke 46.15-17; Slav: Ist 22.1-9, Soph 30.
Kapaneus (53.6; corr Chil) Slav: 'kai ppaneus' Ba; Slav adds 'Toudeos' (ie Tydeus).
Amphiaraos (53.6; corr Dind): 'Amphiaros' Ba, 'Amphiraos' Slav.
their own countries (53.9): cf 'The mother Iokaste...destroyed herself ...children' Ba, in the margin.
42. Bo 53.9-14; PsS 30v, Ke 46.17-18; Slav: Ist 22.9-13, Soph 30.
the chronicler (53.14): 'the learned chronicler' Slav.
43. Bo 53.15-54.8; CP 87.6-14, JA II 1 (FHG IV 545), Su IV 343.23-27, GM 57.17-20, Ke 81.14-21, JN 26; Slav: Soph 31, Tikh.
period (53.15; corr Chil) Ke: om Ba.
the men (54.8): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 222.
44. Bo 54.8-55.6; A 239.25-6, Su IV 343.27-29, I 10.17, GM 57.20-58.2, Ke 81.21-82.6; Slav: Tikh. See Diodorus Siculus I 2.1-2, 6.1.

attitude - that they honoured these men as forefathers and devisers of good only as a memorial - revered them and sacrificed to them as if they were heavenly gods and not mortal men who were born and suffered like themselves. The most learned Diodoros comments on this in his writings, saying that the gods were men whom other men addressed as gods, thinking them immortal because of their good deeds; in some cases even rulers of territories were named in this way. Men did this because they were full of ignorance. This was the method of deification: **(55)** when men died, their names were placed in their priestly books, and at the proper time people celebrated their festival and sacrificed at the tombs in which they lay, saying that their souls were in the Islands of the Blessed, and they are no longer being judged or burnt by fire. They continued to do this until the time of Tharras, the father of Abraham.

45. Tharras was a sculptor and modeller, who made gods from stone and wood and sold them. He introduced the error of statues and idolatry to men through representations of their ancestors, especially of those who discovered writing and the arts. The Egyptians, Babylonians and Phrygians and those from Hellas joined with them eagerly, for they belonged to this cult. They too were makers of images and initiators into the mysteries and wonder-workers. It was through them especially that this cult was introduced to the Hellenes, by a man named Hellen, himself a son of Picus Zeus, who performed mystic practices. He was one of the inhabitants of Hellas and was of the tribe of Japheth, the third son of Noah. The Ionians, descended from Io, became the leaders in these matters, for they had been taught by the giant Ioaneus, who with others built the Tower of Babel. **(56)** Their languages were divided, and so men were called "articulate", because their speech had been articulated into many tongues and languages. Plutarch of Chaironeia was reproaching these people when he stated that certain men introduced the error concerning images in his *Ancient Philosophy,* praised by Hellenes and barbarians. He himself, he said, preferred to deify the heavenly lights, introducing the sun and the moon, as in the theology of the Egyptians, and thought that they administer the whole world, nurturing and developing all things with the threefold movement of the five planets and of the remaining disposition of the stars, in accordance with creation and air. Porphyrios praised Plutarch of Chaironeia in his own philosophical chronicle.

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when (55.2; corr Chil): 'because' Ba.
priestly books (55.1; corr Dind) Su, Ke: 'priestly palaces' Ba.
to do this (55.5; corr Dind) Ke, cf JA, Su: om Ba.
45. Bo 55.6-56.11; CP 87.14-88.14, A 239.27-240.11, Su IV 343.29-37, GM 92.11-12, 93.1-3, 54.15-17, Ke 82.19-83.4; Slav: Tikh.
Phrygians and those from Hellas (55.11-12;corr) A, Slav: 'Phrygians from Hellas' Ba.
in his *Ancient Philosophy,* praised (56.4; corr) A: *'Ancient Philosophy'* Ba.
threefold (56.9; corr Chil) Ke, cf A: 'third' Ba.

BOOK 3 The Time of Abraham's Knowledge of God

1. **(57)** When Abraham acquired a knowledge of God, he realized that the statues which his father Tharras made were of men who had died and that they should not be honoured as gods in heaven since they had become earth and dust. So he denounced his father, Tharras, saying, "Why do you lead men astray for profit? Surely there is no God other than the one in the heavens who created all this visible world?" So he took all the statues and broke them. Then Abraham left his father and went to Mesopotamia, as Eusebios Pamphilou, the learned chronicler, has stated.

2. In the time of Abraham, there lived Melchisedek, a god-fearing man and a Gentile; he was descended from the family of Sidos, son of Egyptos, emperor of the land of Libya, from whom the Egyptians took their name. **(58)** Sidos left Egypt and invaded the land of the people known as the Canaanites, that is, the land now known as Palestine. He subjugated it and lived there, and built a city which he called Sidon after himself; it is now within the territory of Phoenice. Now Melchi, the father of Sedek, was descended from the family of Sidos, and on becoming priest and emperor, he received the new name Melchisedek as mentioned above. So he was priest and emperor of the Canaanites. He built on the mountain known as Sion a city which he called Salem, which means the city of peace. Melchisedek reigned in that city for 113 years and he died, a just and celibate man, as Josephos has stated in his *Archaeology.* John and Cyril, the most holy bishops, have mentioned the same facts.

3. Thus from the flood to Abraham there were 893 years and from the building of the Tower of Babel, 523 years.

Thereafter knowledge of God was received by Abraham and by Isaac, his son, and Jacob, his grandson, and by their seed and from them sprang the Hebrews who from the time of Abraham received the mark of their race through circumcision.

Thus from Adam to Abraham there were 3745 years.

4. Abraham was 100 years old when he became the father of Isaac, **(59)** who became the father of Jacob, known as Israel. The Jews took

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1. **Bo 57.1-9**; A 240.12-19, cf Su I 10.19-22, GM 93.16-20.
2. **Bo 57.10-58.13**; A 240.20-32, Su III 358.20-24, 357.20-23, GM 101.15-102.6, JN 27.1-10, cf LG 257.15-16 (25.17-19), JA 11.1, PsS 30v, Ke 49.18-19; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 49.19-50.7 (Tikh).
3. **Bo 58.14-19**; A 240.20, 32-241.3; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 50.7-11 (Tikh).
knowledge of God (58.15; corr) A: om Ba.
3745 years (58.19; corr Chil): '3445 years' Slav, '3423 years' A, '200745 years' Ba.
4. **Bo 58.20-59.4**; A 241.4-5.

their name from Judah, the fourth son of Jacob, who had twelve sons. The tribe of Judah controlled the Jews and administered them, and this is how they acquired their name.

5. In that time there appeared from the tribe of Japheth a man named Hesiod. He invented the Hellenic alphabet and, when he had organized it, he was the first to explain it to the Hellenes.

6. In the time of Abraham, Endelechos, of the tribe of Shem, son of Noah, reigned over the Assyrians. He was the first to reign over them after the extinction of Perseus' family. Empire returned once more to the Assyrians.

The first emperor from the tribe of Ham, son of Noah, Pharaoh also known as Naracho reigned over the Egyptians. The most learned Manetho has written about the ancient empires of the Egyptians that preceded him, as mentioned above, while Theophilos, the most learned chronicler, has written about the later empires of the Egyptians, I mean from Naracho onwards.

In the time of Abraham, Naracho from the tribe of Shem reigned over the Assyrians. Petephres, the emperor Pharaoh's chief cook, bought Joseph, son of Jacob, from the Saracens. Joseph's brothers had sold him to the Saracens, since they were jealous of him because he was beloved of their father. **(60)** Joseph was handsome to look at. Joseph interpreted for the emperor Pharaoh the dream which he had about the famine which was to last in Egypt and every land for seven years.

The emperor was amazed at Joseph's understanding and set him free. He granted him high rank and the daughter of the chief priest of Helioupolis in Egypt to be his wife. Pharaoh also commanded Joseph to administer all Egypt for seven years and to have the authority to act as he wished. Joseph built store-houses and set corn aside in them for seven years, and he himself regulated everywhere the buying and selling of goods, acting as he wished. When famine spread throughout the whole world, his brothers came to Egypt from the land of Canaan, to buy corn. Joseph recognized them and ordered them to be arrested. He assured them that he was their brother, and he compelled them to go away and bring back to him his younger brother Benjamin and his father Jacob and all his family. His brothers went away and brought to him their father and their brother Benjamin and all their family, a group of 75 men and women. Joseph kept them there and they lived in Egypt for many years. There descended from these Hebrews a huge number of people, who lived in Egypt until the time of Moses, who was commanded by God to bring **(61)** the people of the Hebrews out from the land of Egypt - as all these facts have been recorded accurately in the Hebrew scriptures.

7. In the time of the emperors mentioned above, there appeared in the land of Caria a philosopher of the race of giants, from the tribe of

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5. Bo 59.5-7; A 241.6-8, JA 11.4, JN 28.1-2, cf GM 40.15-16; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 50.12-13 (Tikh).

6. Bo 59.8-61.2; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 50.13-22 (Tikh), Soph 35.

of the tribe of Shem reigned over the Assyrians (59.18-19) Slav: 'of the tribe of Ham ruled over the Egyptians' Chil, probably correctly.

7. Bo 61.3-14; A 241.9-15, JA 11.4, Ke 126.12-21, JN 28.3-6; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 50.23-29 (Tikh), Soph 35.

Japheth, named Endymion. He said mystic prayers to the moon and asked if he could learn the divine name from her in a dream. While he was praying he went to sleep and heard the divine name in a dream, but never woke up. His relics exist to the present day in Caria like a vibrant corpse and each year they open up his tomb there and see his relics, a vibrant corpse as they say. The most learned Auleas has written about this, which is the origin, it is said, of the story men write about the moon falling in love with Endymion.

8. Thus from Abraham to the exodus of the sons of Israel from Egypt with Moses there were five generations, 443 years. From the flood to the birth of Moses there were 1484 years. From Adam to the birth of Moses there were 4036 years. Moses lived for 120 years. After Moses, Joshua, the son of Nun, and Phinees administered Israel. Thus from Adam to the death of Moses and Aaron there were 4156 years.

9. In the time of Joshua, the son of Nun, a man of the tribe of Japheth, **(62)** named Ogyges, an original inhabitant of the country, reigned over the land of Attica for 32 years. In his reign a great flood occurred and Ogyges and all the land were destroyed, as was every soul living in that land of Attica, but only there. From that time the land remained barren and uninhabited for 270 years, as is related in the writings of Africanus.

10. In the days in which the exodus of the sons of Israel with Moses from Egypt was about to happen, a man named Aides, an original inhabitant of the place, reigned over the land of the Molossians. He married a woman known as Melindia and had a beautiful daughter by her, whom he called Persephone. In their own language, the Molossians called beautiful women "girls" *(korai)*. Peirithous, one of the emperor Aides' senators and a wealthy young man, seemed to be in love with Persephone. With the girl's consent, he planned to carry her off at night. When her father, the emperor Aides, discovered this, he was angry and planned to retaliate against Peirithous in a surreptitious way, so that he could pretend ignorance to everyone. Aides had an enormous fierce sheep dog, which he called Trikerberos, because it had the head and bodily size of three dogs. He shut the dog outside where the girl lived. The girl was unaware of this after her mother's death. When Peirithous appeared at night and came to carry her off, the dog attacked and killed him. On hearing the uproar Persephone **(63)** came out, and the dog killed her too. And so, they say, the story is told about Persephone, that Pluto carried her off. This is what the most learned Palaiphatos has written.

11. In the time of Moses, Erechtheus reigned over the Assyrians while Petissonios, the Pharaoh who was mocked, reigned over the

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8. Bo 61.15-21; cf JA 11.5; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.1-3 (Tikh), Soph 35.

9. Bo 61.22-62.6; JA 13.1, PsS 38r, Ke 143.10-14, JN 29.1-2; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.3-5 (Tikh).

Ogyges (62.1; corr Dind) JA: 'Gygoges' Ba, 'Gyges' Ke, 'Goigyges' Slav.

270 years (62.5): '206 years' JA, JN, cf '260 years' Slav, '200 years' Ke.

10. Bo 62.7-63.3; JA 13.2, PsS 38r, Ke 143.15-144.4, Su III 157.4-12; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.6-13 (Tikh).

11. Bo 63.4-64.11; Ke 83.5-20, cf JN 30.1; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.14-16 (Tikh), 48.1-3 (EL), Soph 35.

Egyptians. Petissonios had powerful *magoi* in his court, Jannes and Jambres. During his reign the race of Jews in Egypt had increased from the family of Jacob who came to Egypt to join his son Joseph, until the time of their leader Moses and his brother Aaron. Moses married an Egyptian woman, the daughter of Iothor, who was chief priest of the Hellenes and a man honoured by the emperor Pharaoh and the Egyptians. Moses himself had been educated in all the wisdom of Egypt.

The Egyptians began to be afraid of the Jews, who had become numerous. They made a report to Pharaoh about them, and the emperor Pharaoh ordered the Jews to undertake work for the Egyptians and lay bricks under compulsion. Any Egyptian who wanted to build a house or wall a field would force the Jews to do the work and make bricks, and so all the Jews were lamenting at their toil. Moses and his brother Aaron became aware of the lamentations of the sons of Israel and they prayed to God. The Lord God ordered Moses to approach Pharaoh, emperor of Egypt, and say to him, "Release the people of Israel **(64)**, so that they may worship him". Moses took his brother Aaron and approached Petissonios Pharaoh, emperor of Egypt; for Moses had freedom of access, because of his father-in-law Iothor, who was priest of the Hellenes, and because he was leader of the Jews. Moses reported to Pharaoh God's command, "God, who made the heaven, the earth, the sea and all that is in them, commands you to release his people to worship him". When Pharaoh heard this, he said to Moses, "If you are speaking the truth, that your God has ordered you to say these things to me, see, there are Egyptians with me who work miracles. If you overcome them by praying to your God, I will grant you what you say he has ordered".

12. Pharaoh stood Jannes and Jambres and Moses and Aaron opposite each other, and sat down, as did his nobles. Then Jannes and Jambres, using their wizardry, turned their rod into a snake which attacked Moses. Moses prayed and he too hurled to the ground the rod which he held. His rod also turned into an extremely large snake which swallowed up the snake which Jannes and Jambres had made. So Moses won, and the king and his whole court were amazed. Likewise Jannes and Jambres made a river of the clearest water become blood in the presence of the king and his whole court. Then Moses prayed and the streams of the river became pure water again, as they had been before. They performed other contests against each other, and Moses defeated them. **(65)** So he said to Pharaoh, "Behold, you have seen the power of the God of Israel. Release us so that we may worship him".

Although Pharaoh made an agreement with Moses, he continued to delay. So Moses prayed to God to send plagues on Pharaoh and the Egyptians, so that their emperor might be forced to release the people of Israel. The God of Israel sent down a sevenfold wrath and so the emperor begged Moses and said to him, "Pray to your God for this land to be freed from these great woes. As the Lord your God lives, I will not prevent you from taking your people of Israel so that you may worship him". This is recorded in the Hebrew scriptures. When Moses heard the emperor's words, he went to pray to the God of Israel and said to the Jews, "The emperor has released you all to depart and worship God".

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12. Bo 64.11-65.13; Ke 83.20-84.21; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.16-17 (Tikh), Soph 35.
sevenfold wrath (65.6): cf 'tenfold wrath' Ke.

13. The emperor Pharaoh Petissonios immediately went away to the famous oracle in Memphis. After he had made a sacrifice he questioned the Pythia, saying, "Explain this to me, who is it that is first among you, and great God of Israel?" This response was given to him, "There will have descended from great heaven a celestial, everlasting and imperishable fire that surpasses flame, at which everything trembles - the sky, the earth and the sea, and even the deep Hell-dwelling demons shudder in fear. This is God, self-fathering, **(66)** fatherless, a father son of himself thrice-blessed. We belong to a small part of the angels. Now you have learnt this, go in silence".

14. When the emperor Pharaoh heard these words from the oracle, he ordered that the words given to him by the prophecy be engraved on a stone tablet. They are engraved to the present day on a stone tablet up in the temple of Memphis from where the river Nile flows. When the emperor Pharaoh returned from the oracle, he immediately set the people of Israel free, including Moses and Aaron. So the whole Jewish people departed from Egypt. They took ornaments and a huge quantity of silver as though it were a loan from the Egyptian women and men. After they had gone Pharaoh, the emperor of Egypt, repented when he learned that they had borrowed ornaments, silver and money and fled. He pursued them with his chariots and all his armed forces and caught up with them by the sea. The Israelites turned and, seeing the emperor Pharaoh and his army coming up behind them and the sea in front of them, they cried out to God with a mighty shout.

Moses, who was leading the people, struck the waters of the sea with his rod. Dry land appeared and they crossed. Moses remained at the rear behind all his people and, turning back, he struck the dry land once again with his rod, and it became a surging sea. **(67)** Pharaoh Petissonios, the emperor of Egypt, and his chariots and all his forces were overwhelmed by the sea. The ocean waves covered him and those with him. So the Lord saved the people of the Jews together with Moses and Aaron as they walked through the sea's waves as if on dry land. They fled from Egypt with 630,000 people, as Moses himself has written in his most learned chronicle.

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13. Bo 65.13-66.2; A 241.16-26, PsS 34r, Ke 84.22, 73.21-74.8, JN 30.2-3; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.18-25 (Tikh), 48.3-11 (EL). See Erbse, 1941, 114, 207 (fr.14) (reconstructing ω, Malalas' lost source, to which has been added extra material, especially at 169, line 17).
This response..."There (65.17; corr Chil) cf PsS, Ke: 'The response... "He' Ba, cf A, Erbse.
will have descended (65.17) A: 'has descended' PsS, Ke, Erbse.
14. Bo 66.3-67.7; PsS 34r, Ke 74.8-10, 84.23-85.8, JN 30.4, 8-10; Slav: Ist xv-xviii, 51.26-29 (Tikh), 48.11-16 (EL), Soph 35.
630,000 (67.6): cf '600,900' Slav.

BOOK 4 The Time of the Empire in the Land of the Argives

1. **(68)** After Inachos, Phoroneus and many others reigned over the Argives until the reign of Lynkeus who married Hypermnestra, one of the daughters of Danaos. Lynkeus made war upon the emperor Danaos, killed him and took his empire and his daughter, as the most learned Archilochos has written. After the reign of Lynkeus, Triopas reigned in the land of the Argives for five years. In the fifth year of his reign, the empire of the Argives was destroyed and the Sikyonians took possession of it. The empire, or toparchy, of the Argives lasted for 549 years, as the most learned Diodoros has written. Aigialeus was the first to reign over the Sikyonians, who are now known as the Helladikoi. He reigned for 52 years, **(69)** and then there were 26 other emperors until Zeuxippos, who reigned over them for 32 years. Then their priests administered the land, and their empire lasted for 985 years, as the most learned Africanus has written.

2. The West, that is the area around Italy, was at that time without an emperor, and was administered by the sons of Picus Zeus and by their descendants.

3. At this time Moses and Aaron died in the desert, and Joshua, the son of Nun, administered Israel, as mentioned above. Joshua made war on and seized Jericho and the city of Jerusalem, mentioned previously, which Joshua, son of Nun, renamed Jeboun. Joshua seized the land and settled in a city known as Shechem, changing its name to Neapolis. After the death of Joshua, son of Nun, who at God's command made the people of the Jews cross the river Jordan and enter the land of Palestine and destroy the walls of Jericho with a mystic trumpet - after him, Phinees led Israel. After Phinees, Israel was administered by 13 judges, elected from the people.

4. In their time there lived amongst the Hellenes Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas and all-seeing Argos, whom men called Hundred-eyes because he was perspicacious and **(70)** quick. There was also Deukalion, the son of Hellen, the son of Picus. Argos invented the arts in the

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1. Bo 68.1-69.4; C 227.8, JA 13.3, LG 257.32 (26.12), PsS 38r, Ke 143.3-9, 144.5-7; Slav: Ist 1.1-13, Soph 37.
five years (68.7): Slav, PsS, Ke add 'only'.
Diodoros (68.10): cf 'Heliodoros' Slav.
32 years (69.2): '31 years' Slav, PsS, Ke.
2. Bo 69.5-7; PsS 38r, Ke 144.9-10; Slav: Ist 1.14-15, Soph 38.
3. Bo 69.7-18; JN 32.1-2, cf LG 258.3-10 (26.17-27.2); Slav: Ist 1.15-2.9, Soph 38.
4. Bo 69.19-70.10; JA 13.4, Su IV 214.2-8, LG 258.15-17 (27.7-9), PsS 38r-v, Ke 144.10-22, JN 33, 34.1,3; Slav: Ist 2.10-19, Soph 40.
the arts (70.2) Slav: 'carpentry' Chil, perhaps correctly; cf 'all manner of handicrafts' JN 33.

regions of the West. Atlas interpreted astronomy; men say that he supports the sky, because he holds knowledge of the heavens in his heart. Prometheus invented the science of writing. Men say that Prometheus created mankind, in that, when they were ignorant, he made them capable of learning through philosophy, and of knowing events in advance. Epimetheus invented music. Deukalion wrote about the events of the partial flood, as the most learned Eusebios Pamphilou has written.

5. After the judges of the Jews had died, Barach, the son of Abinoem, led the people. There was a prophetess named Deborah, who told the Jews all that was to happen.

At that time there was also a seer amongst the Hellenes, Sybil.

6. At that time Pharaoh Naracho reigned over the Egyptians and Kekrops, who was originally from Egypt, reigned over the Athenians. He was very large and so men called him Double-natured. He was the first emperor of the Athenians after the flood in Attica, for after the flood in Attica empire came to the Athenians. As soon (71) as Kekrops began to reign over the Athenians, he ordered a law to be issued that the women who were subject to his empire, while virgins, were to marry one man.. In his law he called them nymphs because virgin girls are like springs when they give birth and produce a stream of milk from obscure sources. Before Kekrops' reign, all the women of Attica, both the Athenians and those from the surrounding countryside, had intercourse like wild animals, sleeping with each man who pleased them, so long as the woman was willing. Women who were abducted were considered no one's wives but went with everyone, giving themselves up to fornication. They remained in a man's house, supported by him, for as many days as he wished to keep them. If the man wished, he let them go again to any men who wanted them. This custom was excluded from Attica, so that women were not compelled to be with a man who was chosen for them. Thus no one knew who was his son or daughter, and the mother gave the child she bore, whether male or female, to whichever man she wished of those who had had intercourse with her, and they accepted the child joyfully.

Kekrops, who was originally from Egypt, promulgated this law, saying that the land of Attica was being destroyed because of this practice. Then all women learnt chastity, and the unmarried virgins attached themselves to men, while a woman who had fornicated married one man whom she chose. The Athenians admired the emperor's law, and so some have stated that the reason why the Athenians called him Double-natured was that he ennobled children through their knowing their own parents. Kekrops reigned over (72) the Athenians for 50 years, and after him Kranaos reigned for nine years.

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5. **Bo 70.11-14**; Su IV 214.9; Slav: Ist 2.19-23.
Abinoem (70.12;corr Chil): written as 'Aminoem' Ba, Slav.
seer (70.14; corr Chil) Slav: 'martyr' Ba.
6. **Bo 70.15-72.5**; JA 13.5-6, Su IV 214.9-21, LG 258.31-2 (28.3-4), PsS 37v, 38r, Ke 144.22-145.3, 8-17, JN 35.1-8; Slav: Ist 2.23-4.3, Hyp 278-9.
from Egypt (70.17) Slav: Su, cf JA, adds 'and being not unaware of the legislation of Hephaistos who had reigned there'.
who was his son or daughter (71.14): Slav adds 'but the mother would say, "It is this man's son or daughter", however she pleased', cf Su.

At that time Sappho was recognised as the first lyric poetess.

After Kranaos, Phoroneus and others reigned, up to Kodron who reigned for 21 years. So their empire lasted for 492 years.

7. In the time of the archons a man named Drakon was the first to make laws for the Athenians. After him came Solon, who repealed Drakon's laws. Thales the Milesian once more made laws. Aischylos was the first to reign over them again; he reigned for 21 years, and after Aischylos, Alkmaion reigned over them for two years. The most learned Euripides wrote a play about Alkmaion. After Alkmaion, 18 others reigned over them up to Eryxias, who reigned for 12 years. Then the empire of the Athenians, which had lasted for 907 years, was destroyed, as Africanus the most learned chronicler has stated.

8. After Barach Gideon became the leader of Israel. At that time lived Orpheus of Thrace, the Odryssian lyre-player, a very learned and famous poet. He wrote about the genealogy of the gods, the creation of the world and the making of mankind. He said in the beginning of his composition that he did not write anything about God or the creation of the world from his own inspiration, but he said that (73) by asking through prayer he learnt from Phoibos Titan, the Sun, about the genealogy of the gods, the creation of the world and who made it. For this is recorded in lines of verse in his account as follows:

> O Lord, son of Leto, far-shooter, mighty Phoibos,
> All-seeing, sovereign over mortals and immortals,
> Sun borne aloft on golden wings,
> Twelve times now I have hearkened to this divine utterance from you;
> When your speech is done, may I make you, o far-shooter, my witness;

that is,

> O master, son of day, you who shoot everything from afar with your rays, pure and powerful; you who oversee everything, ruler of mortals and immortals; Sun raised into the air with honoured wings. Twelve times I have heard this god-like voice from you; as you have spoken to me I make you my witness, you who shine from afar.

Orpheus recited many other verses on this subject, and he spoke just

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first lyric poetess (72.2) Slav: cf 'first of the Muses' PsS, Ke.
their empire (72.4): 'the Athenian empire' Slav, cf PsS, Ke.
7. Bo 72.6-15; JA 13.6, Su III 476.21-2, PsS 38v, Ke 145.17-146.1; Slav: Ist 4.3-11.
In the time (72.6): before this Slav, Ke add 'Then the twelve archons ruled', cf PsS.
Alkmaion (72.10,11): written as 'Akmaion' Ba; see Gelzer, 1885a, 155.
Eryxias (72.12): written as 'Arexion' Ba; see Gelzer, 1885a, 155.
12 years (72.13): '10 years' Slav, Eusebios (92.19).
8. Bo 72.16-74.1; A 241.27-242.2, PsS 38v, Ke 101.11-102.8, cf 147.18-21, Su III 565.26-7, JN 36.1-2, cf JA 13.7, LG 259.21 (29.6); Slav: Ist 4.12-5.2, cf Soph 42. See Kern, *Orph Fr* 62 (pp. 145-6).
After Barach (72.16; corr, reading Βάραχ for βραχὺ , cf Bo 70.12) Slav: 'After a short while' Ba.
my witness (73.16; corr Dind): om Ba.

as he recorded in the lines of verse mentioned above, though it is not possible to record his large number of verses **(74)** in this work.

9. This is what Orpheus stated. He said that at the beginning Aither was revealed to Time, having been created by God, and there was Chaos on this side of Aither and on that, while dark Night held everything and covered what was under Aither, signifying that Night came first. Orpheus said in his account that there was a certain Being who was incomprehensible, supreme over all, before all, and the creator of all things, including the Aither itself and Night and the whole creation that was concealed and was beneath the Aither. He said that the Earth was invisible beneath the darkness. He declared that Light broke through the Aither and illuminated the Earth and all creation, saying that the Light which broke through the Aither was that Being mentioned above, that was supreme over all things, whose name Orpheus heard from the oracle and declared: "Metis, Phanes, Erikepaios". This in the common language means "Counsel, Light and Life-giver".

Orpheus also said in his account that the three divine powers with these names were one power and might of the one God, whom no one can see; the form and nature of this power no one can know. From this power all things came into being, the incorporeal first principles, the sun and the moon, the authorities and all the stars, the earth and the sea, all things visible in them and invisible.

10. He said that the race of men **(75)** was moulded out of earth by God and took a rational soul from Him, as the all-wise Moses has stated. Orpheus wrote in his book that all things came into being through these three names of the one divinity, and that God himself is all things.

Orpheus also wrote many lines of poetry about the wretched race of men, some of which are as follows:

Beasts and fowl and fruitless tribes of mortals,
Burdens of earth, created images, knowing nothing at all,
Understanding neither how to perceive approaching evil,
Nor how to turn aside from evil afar off,
Nor how to attend to and grasp the present good **(76)**
But vainly unwitting and improvident.

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lines of verse mentioned above (73.17): Slav adds 'He wrote down the divinations which he had heard concerning the relationships of the gods and the creation of the world', cf Ke.

9. Bo 74.1-74.20; A 242.2-19, PsS 38v, Ke 102.8-103.2, cf 147.21-148.3, Su III 565.27-566.6, cf JA 13.7; Slav: Ist 5.2-16. See Kern, *Orph Fr* 65 (pp.146-7).

Time (74.2) Slav: cf 'the world' A, Ke, om Su.

Metis, Phanes, Erikepaios (74.13; corr Bentley): μή τινα φᾶναι τὰ ἐρικεπεὼ Ba, 'Metis' Ke.

the one God (74.16): 'the heavenly God' A, 'God the creator of all' Ke.

10. Bo 74.20-76.9; A 242.19-25, PsS 38v, Ke 103.2-20, cf 148.3-11, Su III 566.6-11, JN 36.2; Slav: Ist 5.16-6.1, Soph 42. See Kern, *Orph Fr* 233 (pp.246-7).

the race (74.20) A, Ke, Su, Slav: om Ba; see Bury, 1897,222.

Beasts...improvident (75.8-76.3): we print poem and version separately, not in interlinear form as in the Greek, adopting Kern's text; see also Costanza, 1959.

that is,

> Wild animals and birds, the races of man that perish, a weight on the earth, a constructed form, knowing neither why they were born nor why they die; men neither perceiving evil coming against them nor able to defend themselves, or to turn away from evil at a distance, nor capable when good is approaching of turning back from evil, and holding onto good; but they are carried along in utter ignorance, according to chance, with no forethought.

The very learned Orpheus also wrote many other lines. The most learned chronicler Timotheos has stated all this, saying that Orpheus had said so many years ago that a consubstantial Trinity had created all things.

11. After Gideon, Tholas led Israel. During the time of Tholas, Marsyas, the philosopher, lived in the land of Phrygia. He invented reed flutes for music and then he went out of his mind, proclaiming himself divine and saying, "I have found nourishment for men through the melody of musical reeds". Marsyas lived on his own estates for the whole of his life. He incurred divine anger and went out of his mind and while he was distraught, hurled himself into a river and perished. Men of that country call this river Marsyas to the present day. The poets say of him that he had a quarrel with Apollo. They mean, according to the story, that he blasphemed and went out of his mind and was killed, as the most learned Ninos has written. The most learned (77) Lucian, who said that Marsyas came from Kalchis, has also recorded this story.

12. During the time of Tholas there lived the hero Herakles and the Argonauts, Jason of Thessaly, Kastor and Polydeukes, Hylas and Telamon and the rest. While they were passing through the Hellespont, they were suddenly attacked by Kyzikos, emperor of Hellespont. They clashed with him in a sea battle and killed him. Then, gaining entry by night, they captured Kyzikos, the metropolis of the province of Hellespont. When they learnt from the citizens and senators that it was Kyzikos who had been slain by them, they mourned for him because he was a relative of theirs and traced his family from their own country. So they asked forgiveness for the ignorance of both sides, and after justifying themselves before them they built a temple in the city of Kyzikos after the victory.

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11. Bo 76.10-77.2; PsS 38v, Ke 148.12-17, Su III 331.5-9, JN 39.1-3, cf JA 15.1; Slav: Ist 6.2-12, Soph 44.

Israel (76.10): 'the Jewish people' Slav, cf Ke.

Kalchis (77.2; see Bury, 1897, 222): 'Chalkydone' Slav, 'Kolchis' Bo, PsS, Ke.

12. Bo 77.3-78.6; C 194.28-195.3, JA 15.1, PsS 38v-39r, Ke 104.4-13, 209.10-210.7, JN 40.1-9; Slav: Ist 6.13-7.8, Soph 45. See Erbse, 1941, 180 (paras 53-4), 205 (II, 9), 211 (10), where the second of the three stages in the transmission of the oracle is a reconstruction of ω, Malalas' indirect source.

through the Hellespont (77.6): 'along the route to the Pontic Sea' C, Ke, cf Slav.

emperor of Hellespont (77.7) C: 'emperor of the province of Hellespont' Slav.

Then the Argonauts went to the oracle at the place called Pythia Therma and, after making a sacrifice, they put questions, saying, "Prophesy to us, prophet, Titan, Phoibos Apollo. Whose shrine will this be, or what will it be?" And this response was given them by the Pythia, "Do all that leads to virtue and honour. I proclaim only a triune, high-ruling God, whose imperishable Word will be conceived in an innocent girl. He, like a fiery arrow coursing through the midst of the whole world, will (78) make it captive and bring it as a gift to his father. This will be her house and her name will be Mary". The heroes inscribed the oracle in bronze letters on stone, that is, on marble, and placed it over the door of the temple, calling it the House of Rhea, mother of the gods. Many years later this house was made into a church of the Holy Mary, Mother of God, by the emperor Zeno.

13. The Argonauts set out from the Hellespont and sailed to the Princes' Islands. From there they followed the route to Chalkedon, wishing to pass through the strait to the Pontic Sea. They were attacked next by Amykos and, afraid of his forces, fled into a wooded bay which was densely forested and wild. They saw in a vision an apparition coming towards them as though from heaven, a tremendous man with wings on his shoulders, like those of an eagle, who foretold to them victory over Amykos. So they were encouraged and attacked Amykos. When they had conquered and killed him, in thanksgiving they built a temple in the place where they had seen the apparition. They set up there an image of the apparition which they had seen and called the place, or temple, Sosthenion, since they had fled there and been saved. The place has kept this name to the present day.

After he had begun to reign in Byzantion, (79) the emperor Constantine the Great examined this temple, when he went to close it. He had become a Christian and, looking carefully at the monumental statue which was standing there, he said that it represented an angel in the clothing of a monk of the Christian faith. Astounded by the site and the building, he offered prayers to find out what apparition the angel's image represented, and slept in the place. When he heard the name of the apparition in a dream, he immediately woke up and adorned the place, making a prayer towards the East. He renamed the chapel, or the place, after the holy Archangel Michael.

After their victory over Amykos, the Argonauts left that area and sailed to the Pontic Sea in search of the Golden Fleece. They seized it from the land of Kolchis, and also took Medeia, the daughter of Aetes, emperor of Scythia. After this comes the story about Jason and Glauke, the daughter of Kreon, king of Thessaly. Because of some accident Glauke was burnt to death, together with her father, at her wedding. There are other parts of the story, which the most learned Apollonios the historian has written.

I proclaim only a triune (77.20; corr Erbse) Slav: 'I bid you fear' Ke, Bo.
13. Bo 78.7-79.17; C 195.3-20, PsS 39r, Ke 210.7-211.2, JA 15.2, JN 41.1-13; Slav: Ist 7.8-8.6, Soph 46.
and killed (78.16) Slav: om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 222.
Sosthenion (78.19; corr)C, Ke: 'Sosthenes' Ba, PsS, Slav.
the daughter (79.14; corr Chil) Slav: 'and the daughter' Ba.

14. After Tholas, Eglom, the Zaboulonite, led Israel.

At that time another seer, the Erythraian Sibyl, lived amongst the Hellenes.

15. At that time Tros, the father of Ilios and Ganymede, reigned over Phrygia. He built two cities, one called Troy, after himself, and the other called Ilion **(80)**, after Ilios his elder son. When he had completed the walls of the cities, he summoned all the toparchs, or rulers, of the land of Europe, except for Tantalos, emperor of the land of the Mykenaians. Tantalos was displeased at this and felt great enmity towards him. Before beginning to build the cities, Tros had vowed to send gifts and make sacrifices in the temple of Zeus in the land of Europe. So when he had finished the walls, two years later he sent his younger son, known as Ganymede, whom he loved because he was handsome and younger, to take the gifts to the temple of Zeus and to perform the sacrifice he had vowed. He gave him 50 men. Ganymede crossed the sea and went to the temple of Zeus.

When Tantalos learnt of this, he thought that Ganymede had come to spy out the land of Europe; so he sent many armed men, who captured Ganymede and the men with him before they could reach the temple. Ganymede became sick with cowardly fear. Tantalos questioned him, saying, "How have you dared to come as a spy in foreign kingdoms?" Ganymede replied, "My companions and I have come to make sacrifice to Zeus". When Tantalos learnt this, he ordered Ganymede to stay with him and rest because of his sickness. But after three days' illness Ganymede died. Tantalos commanded that the gifts and sacrifice which Ganyede had brought were to be handed over to the temple of Zeus, and Ganymede's **(81)** body was, as an honour, to be buried inside the temple of Zeus. The men who had been sent with him made a tomb for him and put him in it, with the inscription, "Tros, emperor of Asia, has dedicated to Zeus, together with the sacrifice, his son Ganymede who lies here". Tantalos did this to appease Ganymede's father, for it was not a custom amongst the Hellenes to bury the remains of a mortal man inside a sacred temple, so that its holiness should not be polluted. The most learned Didymos, the historian and chronicler, has written about this. Some people say that Ganymede was seized by an eagle, because death came to him very suddenly.

16. After Tros, Ilios reigned over the Phrygians. At that time there occurred the famous victory in the contest between Pelops the Lydian and Oinomaos, the Pisaian. This victory was celebrated during the festival of the Sun. The historian Charax has written about it.

17. After this time the judge and leader of Israel was Sampson, a valiant man with mystic knowledge and a worker of miracles, as is

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14. Bo 79.18-20; Su II 632.1; Slav: Ist 8.7-9.

15. Bo 79.20-81.10; PsS 39r, Ke 211.2-18, Su II 632.2-15; Slav: Ist 8.9-9.11, Soph 48.

younger son (80.8;corr Chil) Su, Slav: 'younger brother' Ba.

Zeus (80.19): 'European Zeus' PsS, Ke, Su, Slav.

16. Bo 81.11-14; Slav: Ist 9.11-14, Soph 48.

The historian Charax...it (81.14): 'The most learned Philochoros has recorded all this and Charax also' Slav.

17. Bo 81.15-83.6; PsS 39r, Ke 211.19-212.15, JN 43.1-3; Slav: Ist 9.15-10.21, Soph 50.

recorded in the Hebrew scriptures.

At that time Lapathos reigned over the land of Egypt. He had two sons, Achaos and Lakon. When on the point of death, he ordered his sons to divide the territory of his empire into two. After his father's death Achaos divided **(82)** the whole land into two, and he gave his brother Lakon half of the land from their father's empire.

Lakon called the land over which he reigned Lakonia after himself. He reigned for 33 years and built a city, named Githillia, by the sea. After him many others reigned over the Lakonians, up to the reign of Thestios, king of the Lakonians. He built a city called Thestia, after himself, by the river known as Eurotas. Thestios had three daughters, all exceptionally beautiful - Leda, Klytia and Melanippe. When they were fully grown they were called the Lakonides (daughters of Lakon). Her father Thestios gave Leda in marriage to a man named Tyndareos, who after the death of Thestios reigned over the country of the Lakonians. Tyndareos had a daughter by Leda named Klytaimnestra, who, some time later when she had grown up, married Agamemnon, the emperor of the land of the Mykenaians.

Leda however committed adultery, being seduced by a young senator named Kyknos, son of Ederion, emperor of Achaia, descended from Picus Zeus. Tyndareos, Leda's husband, was unaware of the adultery. Leda committed adultery while taking the air on her country estate beside the river Eurotas. Becoming pregnant by the adulterer Kyknos, son of the emperor Ederion, she gave birth to triplets, Kastor, **(83)** Polydeukes and Helen. Helen's beauty was tremendous. Later Tyndareos gave her in marriage to Menelaos, the emperor of the Argives and foster-brother of Agamemnon, as the most learned Palaiphatos has written, for he says that the poets tell a foolish story when they say poetically that Zeus became a swan and dishonoured Leda.

18. During the time of Sampson, Dardanos, son of Ilios, ruled the land of the Phrygians.

At that time a man named Abas reigned over the Hellenes, that is, Hellas, for 23 years. After him Proitos reigned for 17 years. His wife was Stheneboia, also known as Anteia, who fell in love with Bellerophon. She sent messengers to him, but he was not persuaded. He said, "Before Proitos became emperor he found me a waif and brought me up, and granted me the honour of eating with him, as his own son. Should I then do such a thing against him? It is not the custom amongst the Hellenes!" When Stheneboia heard this, she reasoned that Bellerophon, who had a son's right of access to Proitos, might tell him that she had sent messengers to him saying that she loved him. So she said secretly to her husband, "Bellerophon loves me and is making approaches to me, and I am afraid

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Egypt (81.18) cf 'Aigistheus' JN, 'Aigysthos' Slav: 'Europe' PsS, Ke.
Achaos (81.19, 21): 'Achaios' PsS, Ke, Slav, JN.
Lakon called...himself (82.3-4): 'Achaios called the portion of the kingdom that was under his rule Achaia, after himself, and similarly Lakon...himself' Slav, cf JN.
Githillia (82.5): written as 'Gathynia' Ke, 'Gethynia' PsS, 'Gothia' Slav.
18. Bo 83.7-84.17; De virt 3 (158.15-159.8), PsS 39v-40r, Ke 212.16-213.10, cf JA 21, Su IV 371.10-16; Slav: Ist 10.22-11.20, Soph 51.
amongst the Hellenes (83.16): De virt, Slav add 'to do this'.

that he might give me poison, and that I might die preserving my chastity for you, since I love my husband". Proitos replied to her, **(84)** "It is the law amongst the Hellenes not to harm anyone who eats with you. But I shall send him to your father Iobates, with whom he has never eaten, and I shall write telling him to kill Bellerophon, since he has plotted against my empire and yourself". Proitos did this and gave the letter to Bellerophon, sealing it with the imperial seal. Bellerophon took the letter, not suspecting the plot against him and went off to the emperor Iobates, whom he found eating his morning meal. When Iobates learnt that he had come, he summoned Bellerophon and, thinking he was loved by Proitos, his son-in-law, ordered him to eat with him like a son.

When Iobates received the letter and read what was written to him, he realised that he had shared a meal with Bellerophon, and he said to himself, "This man is accused too much; for if he were guilty of evil, justice would not have allowed him to eat with me, because it is the custom amongst the Hellenes not to harm anyone who has eaten with you". He wrote this to his son-in-law, together with the rest, as recorded by Euripides, the tragic poet, in the play he composed.

19. After the reign of Proitos, Akrisios the Second reigned for 31 years. Then, after his victory over Oinomaos, Pelops reigned for 32 years. The Helladikoi were called Peloponnesians after him. He built a city which he called Peloponnesos. **(85)** From then on the empire of Hellas was called Peloponnesian.

20. At that time there lived Demokritos who taught philosophical subjects. He stated in his philosophical writing that any man who wished to become a philosopher should practise temperance, shun all evil, and think and act correctly in all matters; when he had become a philosopher in this respect, he would learn the name written with nine letters and would see the son of God, the Word that is without suffering but would appear in the future as a sufferer. This is contained in the writings of the most learned chronicler Theophilos.

At that time Hippokrates practised philosophy; he wrote on medical philosophy.

21. After the reign of Pelops, Atreus reigned for 20 years; after him, Thyestes reigned for 16 years; after him, Agamemnon for 18 years; after him, Aigisthos reigned for 7 years. The empire of the Hellenes, or Peloponnesians, lasted for 164 years.

In earlier times, as mentioned above, Minos, the son of Europe, was the first to reign over Crete. He controlled the sea after fighting against the Athenians, and issued laws. The most learned Plato, they say, mentioned him in his treatise on laws.

At that time lived Daidalos and Ikaros, **(86)** who became notorious because of Pasiphae, the wife of the emperor Minos, and because of Tauros, her secretary. Pasiphae committed adultery with Tauros and gave birth to a son called Minotaur; Daidalos and Ikaros had been go-betweens

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written to him (84.11): 'written by Proitos' De virt, Slav.
19. Bo 84.18-85.2; PsS 40r, Ke 213.10-13, GM 18.3-5, JN 44.1-3, cf JA 21; Slav: Ist 11.21-25, Soph 51.
20. Bo 85.3-12; PsS 40r, Ke 213.14-214.2; Slav: Ist 11.25-12.3, Soph 51.
21. Bo 85.13-86.11; De virt 4 (159.9-13), PsS 40r, Ke 214.7-15; Slav: Ist 12.3-19, Soph 51, (Mify 28).

in her committing adultery. The emperor Minos shut Pasiphae up in her chamber with two slave girls and provided her with food, then he left her there and never saw her again. Pasiphae was grieved since she had lost her imperial rank and, stricken by an illness, she died. Daidalos and Ikaros were killed. Ikaros, while escaping from prison, was drowned as he sailed away, but Daidalos was murdered. The poet Euripides wrote a play about Pasiphae.

22. At that time lived Herakles, the wonder-worker with mystic knowledge who performed labours. He went off to the land of Libya where he fought with Antaion, who also had mystic knowledge and performed terrestrial deeds. Herakles was defeated and killed him, but after his victory Herakles was stricken by an illness and hurled himself into a fire and died. The most learned Didymos has written about Herakles.

After Dardanos, Laomedon his son then reigned over Ilion.

After Sampson, Eli the priest led Israel.

23. In earlier times Androgeos, the son of Pasiphae and Minos, emperor of Crete, died. **(87)** Equally Minos himself died and, when on the point of death, he ordered that Minotaur should reign over Crete. So after Minos' death Minotaur, the son of Pasiphae and Tauros her secretary, reigned over Crete. The senators of Crete considered it an insult to be ruled by Minotaur, since he was born out of wedlock, and they plotted against him. They invited Theseus, the son of Aigeus, emperor of Thessaly, as he was a valiant man, to fight against Minotaur. They agreed to hand Minotaur and the whole country over to him and also to give him as his wife Minotaur's sister, Ariadne, the daughter of Pasiphae and the emperor Minos. For the children of Pasiphae and Minos were Androgeos and Ariadne.

So Theseus went immediately to Crete to attack Minotaur, while all the senators and the army abandoned Minotaur and decided to flee to the city of Gortyn. Minotaur learnt of the treachery and he too fled to the district of Labyrinth where he climbed a mountain and hid himself in a cave. But in his pursuit of Minotaur, Theseus learnt from someone where he was hidden. He dragged him out and immediately slew him.

Then Theseus entered the city of Gortyn, where he celebrated a triumph for his victory over Minotaur. He was acclaimed by the senators and by the whole country. He asked them if he might go to Aigeus, his father, to celebrate his victory with him too. But before he could reach his father by sea, a sailor had left and brought a message telling the emperor **(88)** Aigeus, Theseus' father, that Minotaur had escaped from the city. Aigeus assumed that the Cretans had laid a trap for Theseus, for the saying about them is "Cretans are always liars"; so he hurled himself into the sea and perished.

When Theseus returned he found his father dead. He was persuaded by his senate to spurn the empire of Crete and Ariadne, since his father had reigned over Thessaly. He married Ilia, also known as Phaidra, while Ariadne entered the temple of Zeus and remained a holy virgin until she died there.

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22. Bo 86.12-19; PsS 40r, Ke 214.16-20; Slav: Ist 12.20-26, Soph 52, (Mify 28).
23. Bo 86.20-88.10; De virt 4 (159.13-28), PsS 40r-v, Ke 214.21-215.15, Su II 157.12-25; Slav: Ist 12.26-13.24 (Mify 28-9).
trap (88.2; corr Chil) Slav: 'another' Ba, De virt, 'a trick' PsS, Ke.

24. At that time there were false rumours in Thessaly about Phaidra's passion for Hippolytos, her stepson and Theseus' son by a concubine. The most learned Euripides later wrote a play poetically about Phaidra. The affair involving Phaidra took place 52 years after the death of Pasiphae, as the most learned chronicler Domninos has noted. In appearance Phaidra was well grown, with a good figure and a long face; she was chaste. Hippolytos in appearance was well grown, strong, with dark skin, short hair, a slightly upturned nose, and a broad face; he had large teeth and a thin beard; he was a hunter, chaste and peaceable. When the emperor Theseus heard the rumours in the city about his wife, Ilia Phaidra, he was displeased with her. Though he was also angry **(89)** with his son Hippolytos, he did not reveal this to them. He took a white bull and gave it as a sacrifice to Poseidon, cursing his son Hippolytos and asking that he meet a cruel death.

It happened that three months later Hippolytos went out hunting on horseback to pursue a wild boar. His horse stumbled and he was thrown off and fell to the ground; but since he was holding the horse's reins in his left hand and the thong had become twisted around his hand, he was dragged along by the horse. He suffered an injury to the head and was carried by his slaves to the palace in the city. On the sixth day Hippolytos died from his head injury. He was 22 years old.

The emperor Theseus mourned for him and spoke out to Phaidra of his displeasure, reproaching her and telling her what was rumoured in the town and countryside about Hippolytos and herself. When Phaidra heard this, she swore to Theseus that she did not know of any such thing, but that she belonged to him, and the people in the city had suspected her and spread this slander without cause. Theseus did not believe her and felt shamed before his senate, so he banished her from his sight, ordering her never to appear before him again. He was distressed by the death of his son, for he loved him. Phaidra, who was very chaste, was distraught because of the false accusation made by those in the town and the country, and she was ashamed of her rejection by her husband, so she committed suicide, dying at the age of 39, **(90)** as the most learned Kephalion has written. He said that the story of the chaste Phaidra's desire for Hippolytos was a false invention of those who wrote poetic stories about her.

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24. Bo 88.11-90.3; De virt 4 (159.29-160.9), PsS 40v, Ke 215.15-23; Slav: Ist 13.25-14.27. See Mueller, FHG III 630 (Kephalion, fr. 7).
52 years (88.14): cf '42 years' Slav.
with a good figure (88.17): Slav adds 'with fairish hair and a good nose'. .
upturned nose (88.19): Slav adds 'a short neck'.
broad face (88.19): Slav adds 'he was stout'.
an injury (89.8): 'a great injury' Slav.
slaves (89.9): Slav adds 'who were with him'.
she did not know of any such thing, but that she belonged to him (89.14-15): 'she was guilty of no such thing, but that she disliked him' De virt.

25. At that time Eurystheus reigned over the Lakedaimonians for 42 years as their first emperor; after him there were 8 other emperors, who reigned for 246 years altogether. Alkamenes reigned for 37 years. The empire of the Lakedaimonians lasted for 325 years in all, as the most learned Africanus has written.

After Eli, the prophet of the Jews, the first to reign over the Jews was Saul, the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, who reigned for 20 years in the city of Gabaon. After the Lakedaimonians, Aletes reigned then over the Corinthians for 35 years, and 11 other emperors reigned for 277 years. Afterwards Automenes ruled for one year. The empire of the Corinthians lasted for 313 years.

In the time of Saul, the Pisaians devised the first contest of the Olympic festival, celebrating at that time the universal festival of Olympian Zeus. The most learned Africanus chronicled this.

At that time Samuel the prophet became priest of the Jews. At God's command he appointed David, the son of Jesse, king of the Jewish people.

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25. Bo 90.4-20; PsS 40v, Ke 215.23-216.8, cf LG 260.9 (30.8); Slav: Ist 15.1-3, Soph 54, 56.
Eurystheus (90.5; corr Chil, see Gelzer, 1885a, 143) Ke: 'Erystheus' Ba, Slav.
Alkamenes (90.6; corr Chil, see Gelzer, 1885a, 144): 'Alkmainos' Ba, 'Alkmaionos' Slav.
Automenes (90.13; corr Chil, see Gelzer, 1885a, 147): 'Automedon' Slav, om Ba.

BOOK 5 The Time of the Trojans

1. **(91)** In the time of David, Priam, son of Laomedon, reigned over Ilion, or the land of the Phrygians. In his reign Ilion and Dardanon and Troy and the whole land of Phrygia were laid waste then by the Achaians, amongst whom are recorded Agamemnon, Menelaos and the rest together with Neoptolemos Pyrrhos, all of whom joined the expedition against Ilion because of the abduction of Helen by Paris Alexander; for he had fallen in love with her. Helen was well grown, with a good figure and good breasts; she was white as snow, with good eyebrows, a good nose, good features, curly fairish hair, and large eyes; she was charming, with a lovely voice, and was a tremendous sight among women. She was 26 years old. The evils which led to the destruction of Troy and the entire land of Phrygia and its empire are known to have started for the following reason.

2. **(92)** When Hekabe gave birth to Paris, Priam, the child's father, went to Phoibos' oracle and asked about the son who had been born to him. This response was given to him, "A son Paris, unlucky Paris, has been born to you; when he reaches his 30th year he will destroy the empire of the Phrygians". On hearing this Priam immediately renamed him Alexander and sent him to an estate named Amandra, to be nursed by a farmer until he had passed the 30 years referred to by the oracle. So Priam, the child's father, left Alexander Paris on the estate, where he built a large wall, and he called it a city, Parion. Paris remained there to be brought up, and lived and studied there. He became eloquent and well-educated and wrote an encomium on Aphrodite, saying that there was no goddess greater than she, not even Hera or Athene. For he said that Aphrodite was Desire; so he said in his account that everything comes into being through Desire. Because of this, they tell a story that Paris judged between Pallas, Hera and Aphrodite and gave the apple, that is, the victory, to Aphrodite, saying that Desire, that is, Aphrodite, brings everything into being - children, wisdom, temperance, the arts **(93)** and everything else both in

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1. Bo 91.1-13; C 197.8-14, PsS 40v, 41r, Ke 216.10-13, 217.20-21, Tz I 369-75; Slav: Ist 1.1-11, Soph 58.
Troy (91.3): cf Slav which adds 'famed in song'.
Menelaos (91.5): C, Slav add 'and Achilles'; see Noack, 1891/3, 408.
white as snow (91.9): Slav adds 'young in body'.
large eyes (91.10): 'large, moist eyes' Slav.
2. Bo 92.1-93.3; C 197.14-198.2, JA 23, 24.1, PsS 40v-41r, Ke 216.14-217.4, Su IV 57.2-9, Tz I 233-46; Slav: Ist 1.12-2.16.
Phoibos (92.2): 'Apollo' C, Slav.
Amandra (92.7) cf 'Mandra' Slav, PsS: cf 'Amandros' C, Su, Tz I, 'Mandro' Ke.
Pallas (92.17): cf 'Athena' Slav.

rational and irrational beings; nothing exists which is greater and better than it. Paris also wrote a hymn to Aphrodite, known as *The Girdle.*

3. After he had passed his 32nd year, Priam considered that the period referred to by the oracle that he had been given, about Paris' 30 years, was over, so he sent word and brought Alexander Paris with all honour from the estate, for he loved him. Priam, accompanied by his senators and all Paris' brothers and everyone from the city, came out to meet him. So Paris entered Troy in his 33rd year, in the month Xanthikos-April. When Priam saw that he was so noble in appearance, in strength and in conversation, he ordered him to take gifts and go to sacrifice in Hellas to Apollo Daphnaios, saying, "He has pitied my old age and removed my misfortunes; for behold, the period of the oracle has passed". The emperor Priam prepared a letter for Paris to take to all the emperors, or toparchs, of the land of Europe, so that they would receive his son, Paris Alexander, when he came to perform a vow of sacrifice to Apollo. So he sent Paris off, sending gifts also to the emperors through him. He left on 18th Daisios-June, 57 days after his arrival in Troy. He set sail with many imperial gifts, accompanied by 100 Phrygian youths.

4. He arrived at the city **(94)** in Hellas known as Sparta, in which Menelaos, son of Pleisthenes, was emperor, or toparch. Menelaos had been brought up in the palace of Atreus, emperor of the Argives, together with Atreus' son Agamemnon. Hence they were called the two Atreidai (the sons of Atreus). Menelaos was ready to sail immediately to Crete with his relatives, since he had to sacrifice to Zeus and Europe in Gortyn, a city in Crete, when Paris came to him in the city of Sparta. For it was Menelaos' custom to hold festivals and sacrifices at that time every year in memory of Europe, since he was of her family. When he received Alexander Paris and the letter from Priam, emperor of Phrygia and Asia, and the imperial gifts given by him, he embraced Alexander Paris and welcomed him kindly, as if he were his own son; he set aside for him living quarters in his own palace, most honourably, together with provisions and hospitality of every kind for him and his attendants. He told him to remain in the city for as many days as he wished, asking him to stay there to recover from the weariness of the voyage and then to go to fulfil his vow of sacrifice in the temple of Apollo. As soon as Menelaos had seen to his accommodation with every attention, he sailed for Crete, leaving Paris in his own palace.

5. While Menelaos was staying in Crete and sacrificing to Zeus Asterios and Europe in the city of Gortyn, it happened that **(95)** Helen came down into her palace garden to take a walk with Aithra, Menelaos' relative through Pelops, and Klymene, of the family of Europe. Paris

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3. **Bo 93.3-23**; C 198.3-17, JA 23, PsS 41r, Ke 217.5-9, Tz I 334-43; Slav: Ist 2.16-3.10.
April (93.11): 'April 22nd' Slav, Tz I.
4. Bo 93.23-94.21; C 198.17-31, JA 23, PsS 41r, Ke 217.9-16, Tz I 353-59; Slav: Ist 3.10-4.3.
Zeus (94.6): 'Asterios Zeus' C, PsS, Ke, Slav; see Noack, 1891/3, 408.
5. **Bo 94.22-96.4**; C 198.32-199.13, JA 23, PsS 41r-v, Ke 217.16-19, 21-218.7, Tz I 367-8, 379-85; Slav: Ist 4.3-24. See Sept I 3.
Klymene (95.3,7,11,21; corr Dind) JA, Slav (cf *Iliad* 3.144; Gleye,

looked out into the garden and noticed Helen's beauty and youth. Falling in love with her, he seduced her with the aid of Aithra, Menelaos' relative through Pelops, and Klymene from the family of Europe. He took her and fled in the ships he had with him from Troy, with 300 *litrai* of money and much precious jewellery and silver, together with Aithra, of the family of Pelops, and Klymene, of the family of Europe, and five handmaidens, Helen's *cubicularii*. He crossed over to Sidon and from there to Proteus, emperor of Egypt, without going to the temple of Apollo or making a sacrifice in Hellas. When the soldiers who were guarding Menelaos' palace learnt of Helen's flight, they were terrified and immediately sent off three soldiers from the city of Sparta in Hellas to Gortyn, the city in Crete, to inform emperor Menelaos that Helen had been stolen by Paris, and that as well as Helen, he had taken Aithra, his relative, and Klymene. Menelaos remained in a state of stupefaction when he heard this; he was particularly displeased because of Aithra, since **(96)** he had supposed her to be extremely chaste. He immediately set sail and returned to Hellas to the city of Sparta, sending everywhere in search of Helen and Paris and those with her. They did not find them.

6. Some time later, Paris returned from Egypt with Helen and the money and all her wealth. When Priam and Hekabe saw Helen with Paris and marvelled that she possessed such beauty, they enquired from her who she was and from whom she was descended. Helen said, "I am a kinswoman of Alexander Paris, and am more related to Priam and Hekabe than to Pleisthenes' son, Menelaos". For she said she was descended from Danaos and Agenor, the Sidonians, and from the family of Priam, and so she came from Priam's family. For Atlas and Elektra were the children of Plesione, the daughter of Danaos. Elektra was the mother of the emperor Dardanos, from whom came Tros and the emperors of Ilion; ... through Phoinix, the son of Agenor, whose descendant was the emperor Dymas, Hekabe's father; and Leda had said she was of the family of Dymas. After saying this to Priam and Hekabe, Helen begged them and bound them by an oath not to betray her. She said that she had taken nothing that belonged to Menelaos but **(97)** had only her own possessions. Then Hekabe embraced her and kissed her and preferred her to all others.

7. When Agamemnon and Menelaos learnt that Helen had arrived in

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1896, 453): 'Klytaimnestra' Ba.
He took her (95.8): C adds 'by night'; see Noack, 1891/3, 408.
Klymene (95.21; corr Dind): 'Klytaimnestra's' Ba.
everywhere (96.2): Slav adds 'across the whole sea'.
6. Bo 96.5-97.2; C 199.13-29, JA 23, PsS 41v, Ke 218.7-18; Slav: Ist 5.1-14. See Sept I 8-10.
from the family of Priam...Priam's family (96.12-13) Slav, cf 'for Danaos and Agenor were the ancestors of herself and Priam's family' Sept: cf 'as was Priam' C.
...through Phoinix (96.16) cf C: 'She found a relationship on her mother's side with Hekabe. For Phoinix was the son of Agenor' Sept. We postulate a lacuna in Ba, containing the sense preserved in Sept.
Dymas (96.17) Sept, PsS, Ke: written as 'Dynas' Ba; see Gleye, 1896,454.
Leda (96.18): C, Ke, Slav add 'my mother'.
7. Bo 97.3-98.2; C 199.30-200.4, JA 23, PsS 41v, Ke 218.18-22; Slav: Ist 5.15-6.8. See Sept I 13-14.

Troy with Paris, they sent ambassadors asking for her to be handed back. For her sister Klytaimnestra pressed her husband Agamemnon, the emperor of Argos, about the return of Helen, her sister. She wrote a letter to her, which was meant to persuade her, and gave it to Menelaos. Menelaos came to Priam, before the outbreak of war, seeking Helen his wife, but the sons of Priam could not be persuaded to hand her back.

And so the Atreidai, the emperors, prepared an expedition against Ilion, summoning the leaders, or toparchs. They entreated Peleus and his wife Thetis and her father Cheiron, the philosopher emperor, to send them Achilles, son of Thetis and Peleus and grandson of Cheiron. Cheiron sent for Achilles and brought him, for he was staying with the emperor Lykomedes, his father-in-law and father of Deidameia, on his island. Achilles left with the Atreidai, bringing his own army of 3000 of the men known then as Myrmidons but known now as Bulgars, with Patroklos, the stratopedarch, and Nestor. They had been begged by Cheiron, Peleus and Thetis to accompany Achilles. **(98)** Achilles went to Ilion as sole leader of his army of Argives and Myrmidons.

8. The Atreidai, the emperors, had summoned, or entreated the rest of the emperors, or toparchs, and leaders from each country of Europe, each with his own army and ships. They all sailed off and gathered in the land known as Aulis. A storm blew up, and the seer Kalchas declared that Agamemnon had to give his own daughter as a sacrifice to Artemis, the goddess of that country. Odysseus went off to Argos and by a trick, using a letter apparently from Agamemnon, brought his daughter Iphigeneia back. When Agamemnon saw her coming, he wept bitterly, but fearing the army and the toparchs he handed her over to be a sacrifice to Artemis. While she was going to the temple of Artemis to be sacrificed, a deer crossed the road in front of them, in the midst of the emperors, the army, the priest and the maiden Iphigeneia. On seeing the deer, the priest and seer said, "Seize the deer and take it for sacrifice to Artemis instead of the maiden". So the deer was caught and slaughtered for Artemis. He restored Iphigeneia to her father Agamemnon, and Agamemnon left her there as a priestess in the temple of Artemis. Then Agamemnon was proclaimed emperor over all by the whole expeditionary force and, setting off from there, they came to Troy.

9. **(99)** When the Hellenes came to Troy, the Trojans resisted them and did not permit them to land. Many were slain from both sides, amongst whom was Protesilaos, a leader of the Danaoi, but the Danaoi did

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they sent (97.4): 'they often sent' C, Slav.
Ilion (97.12): cf 'the city of Ilion' Slav (and frequently elsewhere).
Bulgars (97.21): Slav adds 'and Huns'.
sole leader (98.1): Given the reference to Patroklos and Nestor we cannot solve this contradiction.
8. **Bo 98.2-23**; C 200.6-24, 201.17, PsS 41v, Ke 218.22-219.8, 21-220.3; Slav: Ist 6.8-7.4. See Sept I 19-22.
A storm blew up (98.7): C, Slav add 'at sea'; Ke's additional material (219.9-20) is probably not from Malalas but Malalas' source Diktys; see Noack, 1891/3, 421-5.
On seeing the deer, the priest and seer said (98.17): 'on seeing it, the priest and seer' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 223.
9. **Bo 99.1-100.1**; C 201.17-202.15, PsS 41v-42r, Ke 220.22-221.13; Slav: Ist 7.5-22. See Sept II 13.

not give ground until they had the upper hand. They landed on the Trojan sea-coast and moored their ships with ropes. As evening fell the Trojans returned to the city and secured the gates. In the middle of the night a man named Kyknos, a member of Priam's family who lived nearby, heard that the Hellenes had arrived at Troy; he came out from the city of Nea Andros with a large military force and attacked them. A battle took place in the night; Kyknos was killed by Achilles, and those with him fell before dawn.

Then the Danaoi decided to capture the cities near Ilion and Troy since they supported Priam. They made a pact, that they should bring everything that they had captured before the emperors, the leaders and the army. They put Achilles and Aias Telamonios and Diomedes in charge of this. Diomedes set off immediately and captured Nea Andros, the city of the leader Kyknos, and plundered its territory. He also captured his two sons, Kobes and Kokarkos, and his daughter, named Glauke, who was eleven years old and beautiful, and all his possessions with the booty from his (100) territory; and he brought them before the whole army.

10. Achilles left immediately with the Argives and the Myrmidons, that is, with his own army, and attacked the city of Lesbos and its territory, which was ruled by Phorbas, a relative of Priam's who was deeply hostile to the Hellenes. Capturing the district and the city, Achilles killed Phorbas and seized all his empire's possessions, and carried off his daughter Diomeda. The girl was fair-skinned, round-faced, grey-eyed, well-grown, with fairish hair and a slightly upturned nose; she was 22 years old and a virgin. He came back, bringing all the plunder from Lesbos to the army of the Hellenes.

Then, setting off again, he reached the Black Sea and ravaged the land in his search for plunder. He captured the city of Lyrnesos, where he killed the emperor Eetion, who held it, and took prisoner his wife Astynome, the daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo; she was also called Chryseis. He captured, as well, the treasure belonging to Eetion and the surrounding districts and took it to the ships. Astynome Chryseis was short, slender, fair-skinned, with fair hair, a good

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with ropes (99.6): C adds 'there' and continues 'The Danaoi decided first to fight against the cities near Ilion and Troy, since they were in alliance with Priam. And so Aias Telamonios and Achilles were given orders by the emperors and when they had sacked many cities in Phrygia they brought a very great quantity of loot before the army. After many fierce battles had taken place between Greeks and barbarians, the city of Ilion was sacked, as is related in Diktys' first book' (see Patzig, 1892, 133).

Nea Andros (99.10, 20; see Bury, 1897, 223) Slav: 'Neandros' PsS, Ke, Sept.

the leader Kyknos (99.20) Slav: C, Ke add 'mentioned above'.

Kobes (99.21): 'Kobis' Ke, Sept; see Noack, 1891/3, 408.

10. Bo 100.1-21; C 202.16-29, PsS 42r, Ke 221.13-21; Slav: Ist 7.22-8.9. See Sept II 16.

Phorbas (100.6): cf Slav which adds 'in judgement'.

fair-skinned (100.8): Slav adds 'plump' and omits 'with an upturned nose'.

with fair hair (100.18): Slav adds 'with good eyes' and omits 'slender'.

nose and small breasts; she was 19 years old. He also killed the army which Eetion had summoned, soldiers known as Cilicians who had joined him in his alliance with the Trojans.

11. Setting off from there, he attacked the sons of Brises, a cousin of Priam's, in the city known as Legopolis. He plundered the entire district and stayed **(101)** to besiege the city; he killed many men, captured the city and took prisoner the daughter of Brises, Hippodameia, who was also called Briseis and was the wife of Menetes, emperor of Legopolis. He slew her brothers, Andros and Thyas. Menetes, Hippodameia Briseis' husband, was not in Legopolis but had gone off to summon a force for the Phrygian alliance from Lykia and Lykaonia. The emperor Menetes arrived with the force of Lykians and Lykaonians immediately after the capture of his land, the city and his wife, Hippodameia Briseis, by Achilles. He did not yield, but despite his weariness from the journey he immediately attacked with the men accompanying him and fought bitterly with Achilles, until he was struck with a spear by a certain Eurytion who, with Achilles, was one of the exarchs of the army which belonged to him. All those with Menetes perished.

Hippodameia Briseis was tall, fair-skinned, with beautiful breasts, a good figure, eyebrows that met, a good nose, large eyes with painted eyelids, and curly hair which was combed back; she was fond of laughing, and she was 21 years old. When Achilles saw her he desired her; and, falling in love with her, he took and concealed her in his own pavilion, not bringing her before the whole Hellenic army, although he brought the money, Astynome Chryseis and everything else before the leaders, the army **(102)** and the emperors. When everyone realized that Achilles had concealed Brises' daughter, the wife of Menetes - and the jewels which she wore - they were displeased and furious with him, because he had broken his oath through the love he had for her. Everyone reproached him because he had concealed her. They summoned a *conventus* and forbad Achilles to attack and capture cities and plunder land, and they appointed others in his place - Teukros, the brother of Aias Telamonios, and Idomeneus. These captured Cyprus, Isauria and Lykia, and plundered and destroyed them.

12. Aias Telamonios set out and besieged the Thracians of the

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a good nose (100.18): Slav adds 'with good posture'.
11. Bo 100.21-102.11; C 202.29-203.24, PsS 42r-v, Ke 221.21-222.7; Slav: Ist 8.10-9.10. See Sept II 17, 19.
Hippodameia (101.2): 'named Hippodameia' C.
Menetes (101.3, 5, 8, 16 etc): 'Mynetes' C, Slav (once 'Mykenos').
tall (101.17): 'beautiful' C.
a good nose (101.17): C adds 'with beautiful cheeks'.
eyelids (101.18): Slav adds 'with a ruddy complexion and fair hair'.
which was combed back (101.19): cf 'with a mark on her nose' Slav.
laughing (101.19): Slav adds 'cheerful'.
Lykia (102.10): 'Cilicia' C, Slav.
destroyed them (102.11): PsS, Ke add details probably drawn from Diktys and not Malalas; see Noack, 1891/3, 446.
12. Bo 102.11-103.10; C 203.24-204.12, PsS 42v, Ke 222.13-223.4; Slav: Ist 9.10-10.4. See Sept II 18, 20.

Chersonese and their emperor Polymestor. Polymestor, in fear of Aias' might, gave him much gold and enough corn to supply the Achaian army for a year. He handed over, too, Priam's youngest son, named Polydoros, who had been entrusted to him by his father Priam, together with a large sum of money. For Priam loved Polydoros, since he was his youngest child, and handsome; so he left him for safe-keeping in another country, so that, as he was still a child, he should not be upset by the sound of war. Polymestor made a written agreement with Aias not to assist Priam. Aias set out from that district and **(103)** attacked the emperor Teuthras, fought with him and killed him with his sword. When he had sacked his city and seized all his possessions, he took his daughter Tekmessa, his wealth and everything else by night to the Hellenes. In stature Tekmessa had a good figure; she was dark-skinned, with good eyes, a delicate nose, black hair, and delicate features; she was a virgin and was 17 years old. The Danaoi stood Polydoros, Priam's son, in front of the city wall to indicate to Priam that he should exchange Helen for Polydoros, his son, and make peace, "Since we will kill him". The sons of Priam refused to send Helen back; then the Danaoi, enraged, immediately seized Polydoros in front of the city walls and slew him, while the Trojans watched from above.

13. The leading men among the Greeks who campaigned against the city of Ilion had the following appearances:

Agamemnon was large, fair-skinned, with a good nose, a bushy beard, black hair and large eyes; he was well-educated, magnanimous and noble.

14. Menelaos was short, with a good chest, powerful, with ruddy skin, a good nose, good features, a bushy beard, fairish hair and wine-coloured eyes; he was a bold fighting man.

15. Achilles had a good chest, fair skin, a large massive body, curly hair, a thin beard, fair, thick hair, with a long nose, and

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might (102.13; corr Chil) C: 'pull' Ba.
money (102.17): cf C which adds, meaninglessly, 'while he (Polydoros) was bringing fresh supplies to Cilicia'.
handsome (102.19): 'very handsome' C, Slav.
delicate features (103.6): Slav adds 'impulsive'.
"Since we will kill him" (103.10): 'If he did not want this, he would kill him' C.
The sons of Priam...above (103.10) C, Slav, cf PsS, Ke, JN: 'They refused' Ba.
13-21. Slav: Ist 10.5-27 (the base text for the translation since Ba is in lacuna; Slav gives each portrait a number, ignored here since there is no support in any of the Greek texts); IP 80.21-83.5, Tz I 662-709, Tz Ph *passim*, Tz Ah *passim*; Da 12-13. See Introduction.
13. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 653-5, cf Da.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 73-4; Patzig, 1911, 235; Chernysheva, 1983, 222-228.
14. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 656-7, cf Da.
wine-coloured eyes: cf 'full eyes' Slav here and regularly elsewhere.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 80-1; Patzig, 1911, 235-6.
15. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 469-74, cf Da.
curly hair: IP, Tz I, Tz Ph, cf Da, add 'long legs'.
thick hair: IP, Da, cf Tz I, Tz Ph, add 'a good face'.
long nose: IP, cf Tz I, Tz Ph, adds 'swift of foot and'.

wine-coloured eyes; he was quick, skilled in jumping, well-built and magnanimous; he was pleasure-loving, charming and a fierce fighting man.

16. Patroklos was stout, powerful, of medium height, with a good face, good eyes, fairish hair, fair to ruddy skin and a good beard; he was noble and a strong fighting man.

17. Aias Telamonios was large, well-built, very strong, magnanimous, with large eyes, curly hair, a good beard, dark skin, a good nose, good eyebrows and black pupils; he was forthright and a very powerful fighting man.

18. Odysseus was of medium height with fair skin, straight, greying hair, a good beard, grey eyes, a long nose, a calm face, fair hair and a large belly; he was wise and an eloquent talker.

19. Diomedes was four-square in stature, powerful, with a good face, fair hair, a slightly upturned nose, a fair beard, wine-coloured eyes and a short neck; he was chaste and a proud fighting man.

20. Nestor was large in stature, with large eyes, a large nose, a long face, thick hair, a thick beard and a rather ruddy complexion and fair hair; he was wise and a good counsellor.

21. Protesilaos was fair-skinned and of good appearance, with good eyes, and handsome; he had straight, fairish hair and the beginnings of a beard; he was tall and well-knit and a daring fighting man.

22. Palamedes was fair-skinned, tall, thin, with a long face,

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wine-coloured eyes; he was quick: cf 'wine-coloured; he had quick eyes' IP, 'with quick eyes' Tz I, Tz Ph.
skilled in jumping IP: cf 'given to leaping and darting' Slav. IP, Tz I, Tz Ph add 'with a beautiful voice'.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 71-2; Patzig, 1911, 236.
16. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 475-6, cf Da.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 68-71; Patzig, 1911, 236.
17. Slav, Tz I, Tz Ph 492-5, cf Da.
magnanimous Slav, an unlikely attribute in this position.
forthright: cf Da.
Tz I and Tz Ph, without indication of position in this list, add 'with a fierce look'. See IP 84.23-85.4 for the omission of this portrait in IP's exemplar, and Patzig, 1911, 234.
18. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 672-3, cf Da.
a calm face: cf Da. See Patzig, 1911, 237; this list of attributes, taken from Slav, has unusually little correlation with IP and Tz, which also disagree among themselves.
19. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 668-9, cf Da.
fair hair: IP and Tz Ph add, perhaps at this point, 'elegant'.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 51 and Patzig, 1911, 237-8.
20. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 658-9, cf Da.
white hair Tz I, Tz Ph, cf IP: cf 'thick hair' Slav.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 64 and Patzig, 1911, 238.
21. Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ah 223-5, cf Da.
well-knit and a daring fighting man IP: cf 'well-knit and daring' Tz I, Tz Ah, a difficult compound followed by 'a fighting man' Slav.
See Patzig, 1911, 238-9.
22-40. Bo 103.11-107.3; IP 83.6-87.18, Tz I 710-739, 788-807, Tz Ah

straight hair, small, wine-coloured eyes, and a loud voice or a bragging tone; he was wise, well-educated, magnanimous and full of good counsel. It was he who first devised the game of *tavla* from the movement of the seven planets that bring men joys and griefs by the hazard of fate; he made the *tavla* board the terrestrial world, the twelve *kasoi* the number of signs of the zodiac, the dice box and the seven dice in it the seven stars, and the tower the height of heaven, from which good and evil are distributed to all.

23. Meriones was short, broad, fair-skinned, with a good beard, large eyes with black pupils, curly hair, a broad face with a crooked nose; he was very quick, magnanimous and a fighting man.

24. Idomeneus was of medium height, dark-skinned, with good eyes, well-knit, **(104)** powerful, with a good nose, a bushy beard, a good head and curly hair; he was a reckless fighting man.

25. Philoktetes was of good height, well-knit, dark-skinned, with eyebrows that met, valiant, with good eyes, a good nose, with black thick hair; he was wise, an accurate archer, and magnanimous.

26. Lokrian Aias was tall, strong, with honey-coloured skin, a squint, a good nose, curly black hair, a bushy beard, a long face; he was a bold fighting man, magnanimous and a womaniser.

27. Pyrrhos Neoptolemos was well-grown, with a good chest, slender, fair-skinned, with a good nose, red curly hair and large greyish eyes, fair eyebrows, the beginnings of a fair beard, a round face; he was impulsive, bold, quick-moving, and a fierce fighting man. He was Achilles' son by Deidameia, Lykomedes' daughter; after the death of his father he had been sent by Thetis and Peleus, his grandfather, at the Achaians' request, to avenge his father's death, since Achilles had been killed by a trick. He took up arms and set out against Ilion with 22

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passim, Tz Ph *passim,* Da 12-13; Slav: Ist 10.27-13.8.

22. Bo 103.11-16; Slav, IP, Tz I (useless because of the author's self-identification with the hero), Tz Ah 398-9, cf Da; see also Ke 220.8, Su IV 494.10-14, JA 24.2.

and a loud voice or a bragging tone IP, cf Slav, which is difficult to interpret (Ba still in lacuna).

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 44-50; Patzig, 1911, 239.

23. Bo 103.17-19; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 662-3, cf Da.

curly hair (103.18): 'curly, thick hair' Slav, IP.

he was very quick, magnanimous and a fighting man (103.19): 'he was a very quick ('strange' IP, correct from Ba) fighting man and magnanimous' IP.

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 67-9.

24. Bo 103.20-104.2; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 660-1, cf Da.

bushy beard (104.1): Slav adds 'well-spoken'.

curly hair (104.1): 'curly, short hair' Slav, Tz I, Tz Ph.

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 50-4.

25. Bo 104.3-5; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 580-2, cf Da.

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 50-4.

26. Bo 104.6-8; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 664-5, cf Da.

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 81.

27. Bo 104.9-105.3; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 527-30, cf Da.

See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 46, 81.

ships and his own army of Myrmidons, 1650 in number, supplied by Peleus. Setting sail, he reached Troy and found Hippodameia Briseis in his father Achilles' encampment, guarding all Achilles' possessions. He greeted her and treated her **(105)** with great respect and asked her to guard his possessions too in his father's tent. But Briseis was stricken by an illness a short time later, and died.

28. Kalchas was short, fair-skinned, with thick, completely grey hair, both head and beard; he was a seer and an excellent soothsayer.

29. The leading men of Troy were the following:

In stature Priam was of good height, large, handsome, with a ruddy skin, greyish eyes, a long nose, eyebrows that met, good eyes, grey hair; he was sedate.

30. Hektor was dark-skinned, tall, extremely sturdy, of great strength, with a good nose, curly hair, a good beard, a squint, and a stutter; he was noble, a tremendous fighting man and deep-voiced.

31. Deiphobos was of medium height, with a good chest, good eyes, a slightly upturned nose, dark skin, a broad face, valiant, with a good beard.

32. Helenos was tall, well-knit, fair-skinned, powerful, with fair hair, wine-coloured eyes, a long nose, the beginnings of a beard and a slightly hunched back; he was a wise fighting man.

33. Troilos was large, with a good nose, straight hair, honey-coloured skin, good eyes, black hair, a bushy beard; he was a powerful fighting man and fleet of foot.

34. Paris Alexander was well-grown, strong, fair-skinned, with a good nose, good eyes with black pupils, dark hair, the beginnings of a beard, **(106)** a long face, beetling eye-brows and a large mouth; he was charming, eloquent, athletic, an accurate archer, timorous, and

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28. Bo 105.4-5; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 666-7.
fair-skinned (105.4): IP, Tz I, Tz Ph add 'thin'.
both head and beard (105.4): cf 'including his beard' Ba and variants in other witnesses which do not seem to have understood this phrase, which later became a cliché in emperor descriptions; see 256.4 and 7 other examples.
29. Bo 105.7-9; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 363-5, cf Da.
grey hair (105.8): 'thick, grey hair' IP, Tz Ph; cf Slav which adds 'thick-bearded'.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 80-1.
30. Bo 105.10-12; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz H 267-9, cf Da.
curly hair (105.11):'short, dark, curly hair' Tz I, cf Slav, IP, Tz H.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 65-6.
31. Bo 105.13-14; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 376-7, cf Da.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 26.
32. Bo 105.15-17; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 373-5, cf Da.
long nose (105.16): Slav and IP add 'delicate features'.
33. Bo 105.18-19; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 382-3, cf Da.
large (105.18): Slav, IP, Tz Ph add 'handsome'.
See Patzig, 1904, 178-9; Schissel von Fl, 1908, 63-5.
34. Bo 105.20-106.2; Slav, IP (Tz I, Tz Ah 125-7 irrelevant), cf Da.
dark hair (105.21): 'dark, curly hair' Slav, IP.
beetling eyebrows (106.1): Slav adds 'a loud voice'.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 77-8.

pleasure-loving.

35. Aineias was short, fat, with a good chest, powerful, with a ruddy complexion, a broad face, a good nose, fair skin, receding hair, a good beard and grey eyes; he was discreet, wise and pious.

36. Antenor was tall, slender, with fair skin, fair hair, small eyes and a hooked nose; he was crafty, timorous, cautious, an eloquent historian.

37. Hekabe had honey-coloured skin and good eyes; she was well-grown, with a good nose; she was beautiful, generous, well-spoken and peaceable.

38. Andromache was of medium height, slender, with a good figure, a good nose, good breasts, good eyes, good eyebrows, curly fairish hair combed back, a long face, a good neck; she had dimples in her cheeks and was charming and quick.

39. Kassandra was short, round-faced, fair-skinned, with a masculine build, a good nose, good eyes with black pupils, curly fairish hair, a good neck, heavy breasts, small feet; she was peaceable, noble, priestly, an accurate seer who foretold everything, ascetic, a virgin.

40. Polyxene was tall, refined, very fair-skinned, with large eyes, black hair combed back, a good nose, good cheeks, a small upturned nose, red lips, small feet; she was a virgin, charming, very beautiful. **(107)** She was 18 years old when she was slain, as the

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35. Bo 106.3-5; Slav, IP, Tz I, Tz Ph 378-9, cf Da.
grey eyes (106.5): cf Bo, which introduces another hero-portrait, Glaukos; see Fürst, 1902, 428-9.
discreet (106.5) Slav, IP: cf 'powerful' Ba (for the second time).
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 78-9.
36. Bo 106.6-7; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 380-1, cf Da.
slender (106.6): Slav, IP add 'powerful'.
small eyes (106.6): 'small, grey eyes' Slav, IP, Tz Ph.
hooked nose (106.7): Slav (cf IP) adds 'with delicate features'.
an eloquent historian (106.7): cf 'very learned, eloquent' Bo, IP (see Bury, 1897, 223; Patzig, 1904, 180).
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 60-1; Patzig, 1911, 234.
37. Bo 106.8-9; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 366-7, cf Da.
38. Bo 106.10-13; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 368-9, cf Da.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 78-9.
39. Bo 106.14-18; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 370-2, cf Da.
fair-skinned (106.14): 'very fair-skinned' Slav, IP, cf Tz Ph.
foretold everything (106.17): Slav adds 'pious'.
virgin (106.18): 'pure virgin' Slav, IP.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 66-7, who suggests credibly that 'with flashing eyes' ought to be included somewhere on the list on the evidence of Tz Ph and Da.
40. Bo 106.19-107.3; Slav, IP, Tz Ph 505-7, cf Da.
combed back (106.20): 'curly and luxuriant' Slav, cf IP.
good nose (106.20): Slav, IP add 'delicate features'.
a small upturned nose, red lips (106.20): 'small, red lips' Slav, IP; Slav adds 'elegant'.
charming (106.21): Slav adds 'a young girl with a young body'.
See Schissel von Fl, 1908, 74-7, who suggests that the list should include 'with good eyes' IP, Tz Ph, Da and 'with a long neck' Tz Ph, Da.

most learned Diktys of Crete says, who recorded truthfully what has been mentioned above and everything else that happened later to the Hellenes who attacked Ilion.

41. Diktys accompanied Idomeneus, the leader of the Danaoi, who had joined the war with the other Achaians. For Diktys happened to be Idomeneus' scribe and observed the course of the war accurately and wrote it down, being present then at that time with the Hellenes. He described those who had been summoned by the emperors Agamemnon and Menelaos, and those who had taken up arms and joined the expedition against Ilion, each with his own army and ships. Agamemnon, son of Atreus, emperor of the Mykenaians, set off before the rest with 100 ships, and 30 more to supply the camp; then Menelaos and Leistos and Arkesilaos and Prothoenor and Klonios with 50 ships; Elephenor from Euboia with 60 ships; Menelaos, son of Pleisthenes, the emperor of Sparta, with 60 ships; Diomedes from Argos with 80 ships; Askalaphos and Ialmenos with 30 ships; Schedios and Epistrophos with 40 ships; Meges from Doliche in Hellas with 40 ships; Aias Telamonios from Salamis with 40 ships; Nestor with 90 ships; Thoas with 40 ships; Agenor and Teuthides with 60 ships; Prothoos and Magnetor with 40 ships; Eumenos with 11 ships; Nereus from Mykenai with 3 ships; **(108)** Chalias from Trikka with 40 ships; Leonteus and Polypetes with 40 ships; Amphigeneias from Ilion with 43 ships; Menestheus from Athens with 50 ships; Idomeneus and Meriones from Crete with 80 ships; Odysseus from Kephalonian Ithake with 12 ships; Tlepolemos with 9 ships; Lokrian Aias with 9 ships; Achilles from Argos in Hellas, accompanied by Patroklos, with 50 ships; Protesilaos and Podarkes with 40 ships; Palamedes with 12 ships; Philoktetes from Methone with 7 ships; Nereus from Peraiboi with 22 ships; Sorthes, Philippos and

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41. Bo 107.3-108.10; C 200.24-201,16, PsS 42v, Ke 223.4-6; Slav: Ist 13.8-28. See Sept I 17, Da 14.
those who had taken up arms (107.9-10): 'the generals and those who had taken up arms' Slav.
Menelaos (107.13) Slav: 'Penelaos' C; see Bentley, 735 and *Iliad* 2.494-5.
Meges (107.18) see *Iliad* 2.627: cf 'Metes' C, 'Mentes' Slav.
Aias Telamonios from Salamis with (107.19) : C adds '12 ships. Triptolemos from Lichon (read 'Tlepolemos from Lindos', cf Ba at 108.4) with 9 ships. Antimachos and Thalpis and Dores with'; see Patzig, 1892, 145.
Teuthides (107.21): cf 'Teutades' C, 'T<e>udes' Slav.
Magnetor (107.21; Bury, 1897, 223) C: 'Magnitor' Bo.
Eumenos (107.22): 'Eumelos' Slav; see Bentley, 736 and *Iliad* 2.714; C adds 'from Libya', cf Slav at 108.5 on 'Tlepolemos'.
Chalias (108.1): 'Kalchas' C, Slav.
from Trikka with (108.1): C, Slav add '30 ships. Eurypolos from Asterion with'; see Patzig, 1892, 146.
Ilion (108.2): 'Ilion and Dorias' Slav, cf 'Andorides' C; see Bentley, 736 and *Iliad* 2.594.
Tlepolemos with 9 ships (108.5): C omits at this point (see under 'Aias Telamonios' above); Slav adds 'from Libya with 70 ships'.
Methone (108.8; corr) C: 'Mothone' Ba, cf 'Mathone' Slav.
with 7 ships.....Peraiboi with (108.8; Bury, 1897 223): om Bo; see

Antiphos with 78 ships. The Hellenes' ships totalled 1250.

42. Following their instructions they sailed first to the land of Aulis, and from there they attacked the land of the Phrygians. They plundered their empire, as has been mentioned above, and captured the emperor Priam. They killed him and the empress Hekabe, and took their children captive. When they had looted the entire empire, they returned to their own countries.

So the empire of Ephesos, which included all Asia, and of Phrygian Troy lasted for 819 years in all.

43. So, after the capture of Troy, all the Achaians divided the plunder and the money, since they wished to set off for their own homelands. When they had made their ships ready, some sailed away, but a number remained, since a quarrel had broken out between Aias Telamonios, Odysseus and Diomedes. For **(109)** Aias Telamonios asked to take the image, that is, the Palladion, the small wooden statue of Pallas which, they say, had been enchanted to bring victory and kept the city in which it was preserved safe from capture. A certain Asios, a philosopher and wonder-worker, gave this Palladion to the emperor Tros when he was about to build the city. In gratitude and in his memory the emperor Tros gave the name Asia to all the land subject to him, which previously was known as Epitropos. Odysseus and Diomedes stole this image on the advice of Antenor, exarch of the Trojans. His wife, named Theano, was a priestess of Pallas, in whose temple this image was stored. Odysseus and Diomedes entered Troy by night, and slept in the temple of Pallas when the Festival of Offerings was being held by the Phrygians and the Hellenes. The Danaoi did this, since the following oracle had been given to them, "You cannot capture Troy unless you remove the Palladion". Aias Telamonios wanted to take it to his own country, saying, "This is owed to me, for I have laboured on behalf of the Achaians. It is enough for me to mention that Hektor begged mercy of me in my duel with him; and again, I made an attack on the gate of Ilion, pursuing the Trojans on my own and saving the ships belonging to all you Hellenes and, although I struck many Trojan heroes, I myself was not wounded. This too, **(110)** I think, is a sufficient title to glory, that I brought Achilles' body to the tents from the temple of Apollo Thymbrios".

Patzig, 1892, 146.
78 ships (108.9): '20 ships' C, Slav.
42. Bo 108.10-17; C 204.12-17, JN 47; Slav: Ist 13.28-14.4, Soph 58.
819 years (108.17) Slav: cf '40 years' C, followed by a list of Trojan kings which is probably an insertion; see Patzig, 1892, 134.
43. Bo 108.18-110.2; C 204.25-205.16, 207.30-208.2, JA 24.7, PsS 44v, Ke 229.5-19, Su IV 4.17-32; Slav: Ist 14.115.18.
Pallas (109.2) C: cf 'Athene' Slav.
Epitropos (109.7): 'Epiropontos' C, Slav, cf 'Epirus' Su, 'Epirropos' PsS, Ke.
the Phrygians and the Hellenes (109.13): C adds 'were not fighting but were stealing the image', cf Slav; see Noack, 1891/3, 412.
Aias Telamonios (109.16): C adds 'Then'.
and although...not wounded (109.21-22): cf 'and I saved many leaders of the Hellenes from death' Slav.

44. Odysseus opposed him, saying, "I am going to take this to my city. For you have not laboured more for the Hellenes than I have. At the start, after the abduction of Helen by Paris, I set off for Ilion with Palamedes and the emperor Menelaos. Likewise I summoned the emperors and heroes from all quarters. Equally I brought about the death of Paris. For, as you know, when a clash between Trojans and Hellenes had taken place and many had fallen and while the chief men of Troy and you, the leaders of the Hellenes, were standing firm and pressing hard against each other in order to decide the war, I encouraged the hero Philoktetes to challenge Paris to a duel with the bow; and immediately Philoktetes came out in the midst of the emperors and challenged Paris to a duel in archery. When Paris heard him, he too rushed out in front of him with his bow, and his brother Deiphobos also. I came up and measured out for them the distance between where they had to stand. When they cast lots, it fell to Paris to shoot first. Paris shot, but missed. I shouted encouragement to Philoktetes; he shot in turn and wounded Paris' left hand. He promptly let off a second arrow and pierced his right eye. **(111)** As Paris yelled and turned in flight, Philoktetes loosed another arrow and transfixed his feet at the ankles. Paris fell; everyone fled, snatching up Paris' body. On entering the city, he summoned the three sons he had by Helen - Bounimos, Korythaios and Idaios. After he had seen these young children, he lay without breathing and gave up his spirit about midnight. When his former wife, Oinoe, saw him, she committed suicide with a noose. Helen was taken to wife by Deiphobos, Priam's other son, who was mutilated by the emperor Menelaos, as you all know. I also counselled that Polyxene should go to Achilles' tomb to be slain by the hero Pyrrhos". So Odysseus cried out and said, "What do I deserve, when I procured Paris' destruction to avenge Menelaos and Achilles and all the Hellenes?"

45. Agamemnon and many of the army acclaimed him. Odysseus spoke again, "I shall not pass over in silence the rest of the hazards, which I endured with Diomedes when we wished to make off with the sacred image - how we spent time in Ilion with the barbarians and came out to the camp at night and reported to you emperors everything that had happened to them, recounting what I tell you now. For while the Trojans were performing a sacrifice **(112)** at the time of the Offerings, the following sign happened to take place in the city at the altar of Apollo. They were starting the fire on the altar for the sacrifice, but they would not catch light. While fire was applied repeatedly but would not light, everything on the altar fell to the ground. When other signs occurred, the Trojans understood and said that this was not a

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44. Bo 110.3-111.14; C 205.16-206.14, PsS 44r-v, Ke 228.16-229.4; Slav: Ist 15.18-16.4.
without breathing (111.6): 'without speaking' C, Ke.
counselled that Polyxene should go (111.10): 'gave advice and took Polyxene' C, Slav.
45. Bo 111.15-113.14; C 206.15-207.24, PsS 44v-45r, Ke 229.20-231.6; Slav: Ist 16.5-17.12. See Sept V 7-8.
when (111.17; corr Dind) C, Slav: 'that' Ba.
They were starting the fire on the altar (112.2):'they were setting fire to the logs (cf 'they' Ba) which were on the altar' C, Slav, cf PsS, Ke.
understood (112.6): 'saw' C, Slav.

good omen for them. The Trojan exarchs and Priam and the army compelled Antenor to come to you emperors and by means of his embassy to persuade you, the Danaoi, to accept a ransom and abandon the war. All this we ascertained and, when we came out, we reported it to you. Antenor arrived on his embassy and made this speech, on behalf of Priam and the others, 'You who are emperors of the Hellenes, do the deeds of friends rather than of enemies. We have suffered all that those who have sinned deserved to suffer. Ilion has paid the penalty for the wrongs which Alexander Paris did to Menelaos - the tombs of those who have perished in the battles bear witness to this. We who survive offer you a ransom on behalf of our gods, our homeland, our children. But since you are Hellenes, save those who were once haughty but are now suppliants, by deciding a sum of money'. You all listened to Antenor and sent me and, with me, Diomedes to Priam to decide the amount of money. We went to **(113)** Priam in Troy, and after many discussions we decided that 2,000 talents of gold and, with it, an equal sum of silver should be given to you. We returned to you with news of what had been agreed and we brought the sum that had been determined. I made you all swear oaths with sacrifices not to sail from Ilion before we had made the wooden horse with its fitted planks and decorated it with every adornment; we were to pretend to sail straight for Tenedos, after burning our camp, while the barbarians, thinking we had departed, remained off their guard, feasting; and so, returning by night from Tenedos and entering, we were to put the city to the torch, kill Priam and return Helen to the kingdom of Pleisthenes. When my counsel prevailed, the gods granted you victory over the barbarians. So you, emperors and heroes, be the judges of my labours".

46. Agamemnon and Diomedes and their army supported Odysseus, while Neoptolemos Pyrrhos and his army favoured Aias Telamonios, since he was of his family. Many other points were discussed between them until evening, and eventually it was decided that Diomedes should take the Palladion in custody until the next day dawned, and should guard it; meanwhile each of them was to rest, so that on the next day a decree should be made over which of them should be given the Palladion. Aias, **(114)** who was raging against Odysseus, Agamemnon and Diomedes, withdrew to his own pavilion. During the night Aias was stabbed to death and his corpse was found in the morning. His army and that of Pyrrhos rioted against Odysseus, wishing to kill him.

You all listened to Antenor (112.21; 'you' corr Chil: 'we' Ba): 'You were all persuaded by Antenor's words' C, Slav, cf PsS, Ke.
2,000 talents (113.2; corr Dind) C, Slav, PsS, Ke: '2 talents' Ba.
while the barbarians (113.8): 'so that the barbarians' C, Ke, Slav.
from Tenedos (113.9): C adds 'we were to fall on them'. PsS, Ke here have other material, once again probably from Diktys; see Noack, 1891/3, 427-8.
46. Bo 113.15-114.5; C 207.25-30, 208.3-7, PsS 45r, Ke 232.3-11, Su IV 4.33-5.2; Slav: Ist 17.13-22.
the Palladion (113.20): 'the image, the Palladion' C, cf 'the image' Slav, and elsewhere.
was raging against (114.1; corr) C: 'had become an opponent of' Ba.
that of Pyrrhos (114.4): 'Pyrrhos' C, Slav.

47. Odysseus took his ships and fled, making for the Pontic Sea. After staying in that region for a while he returned from there wishing to make the voyage to the city of Ithake, to his own country, with his ships and his army. As he put into a country known as Maronis, he met with opposition from its inhabitants. He fought and defeated them, gaining possession of much money. So, supposing that he would completely defeat the inhabitants of whatever country he put into, and carry off the wealth of each country he encountered, he made war on the inhabitants of the land known as that of the Lotophagoi when he reached there. But the men of that land defeated him and nearly destroyed all his men.

48. So he fled from there and after a very long and stormy voyage reached the island known as Sikila, but now known as Sicily. This island was very large, and was divided among three large, strong brothers who shared the same opinions; I mean Kyklops, Antiphantes and Polyphemos, the sons born to Sikanos, emperor of that island. These three brothers were harsh men who never received strangers but instead killed them. **(115)** Odysseus put in with his ships and his army to the part which belonged to Antiphantes and joined battle with him and his army who were known as Laistrygones. They killed quite a few from Odysseus' army.

He took his ships and sailed in flight from there to another part of the island, which belonged to Kyklops, where there are the mountains called Kyklopaian. On learning this, Kyklops attacked him with his forces. He was large in body and hideous. Falling upon Odysseus unexpectedly as he was putting into the land which belonged to him, Kyklops cut down many of his men. He captured Odysseus and some of his army. Then Kyklops took one of the men captured with him, named Mikkalion, a valiant man who had excelled at Troy and was a leader in Odysseus' army. Seizing him by the hair of his head, he disembowelled him with the sword he was carrying, in the sight of Odysseus and all his companions, because he had fought against him. He shut the rest up, intending to kill them all one by one. Odysseus fell at his feet, and persuaded him with huge bribes and gifts to free him and his remaining men. After Kyklops was with difficulty persuaded by the gift of money, he promised he would free Odysseus at nightfall. However, he intended that night to go out and kill Odysseus and his men, and carry off all the treasure he had on board, and his ships. **(116)** So towards evening

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47. Bo 114.5-16; C 208.6-15; Slav: Ist 17.22-18.2.
Pontic Sea (114.6): C adds 'by night'.
for a while (114.7; corr): 'for a considerable time' C, Slav.
make the voyage (114.7; corr) C: om Ba.
Maronis (114.10): 'Maroneias' C, Slav.
completely (114.12; corr Dind): Ba inserts an unneccessary 'that'.
48. Bo 114.16-116.6; C 208.15-209.12, cf PsS 45r-v, Ke 232.17-21; Slav: Ist 18.2-19.3. See Sept VI 5.
Antiphantes (114.21) C: 'Antiphates' Slav, cf C at Bo 115.2.
emperor of that island (114.22): 'after whom the present Sicily was first named Sikania' C.
He shut the rest up (115.17): C adds 'in prison'.
kill them (115.17): 'cut them down' C, cf Slav.
gifts (115.19): 'Trojan gifts' C, cf Slav.

he freed him and his men. As soon as Odysseus was set free, he immediately sailed away from Kyklops' land since he feared the man's savagery. When Kyklops attacked that night and did not find the ships, in his fury he ordered boulders to be hurled into the sea, in case Odysseus had moored within his territory.

49. As it was the dead of night and darkness covered the land and sea, they put into other parts of the island which belonged to Polyphemos, brother of Kyklops and Antiphantes - for they were unfamiliar with the area. As soon as Polyphemos learnt that men had sailed in by night and put into land belonging to him, he collected his forces and set off against Odysseus, to join battle with him. They fought all night, and many of Odysseus' men fell. At daybreak Odysseus offered gifts to Polyphemos too and fell at his feet, saying that he had come from the Trojan regions and had been forced off his path after suffering much through storms; he listed the different disasters that had befallen him at sea. Polyphemos was sympathetic and pitied him; he welcomed him and his men until conditions were favourable for sailing. Polyphemos' daughter, named Elpe, was amorously inclined towards a handsome man in Odysseus' company, named Leion. When a favourable wind blew, they abducted her and left the island of Sicily. **(117)** The most learned Sisyphos of Kos has stated this.

The learned Euripides wrote a play about Kyklops, saying that he had three eyes; he was referring to the three brothers who were well-disposed to each other and kept an eye on each other's territory in the island, fighting as allies and avenging each other. He also said that Odysseus was able to flee when he made Kyklops drunk with wine, because he had made Kyklops drunk with a lot of money and gifts so that he would not devour his companions; and that Odysseus took a fire-brand and blinded his one eye, because he abducted Elpe, his brother Polyphemos' only daughter, a virgin, who was burning with the flame of erotic ardour, that is, he burnt Polyphemos, one of Kyklops' eyes, by carrying off his daughter. The most learned Pheidalios of Corinth wrote this interpretation, saying that the learned Euripides transformed everything poetically, not being in agreement with the most

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in case (116.5): 'suspecting that' C, cf Slav.
49. Bo 116.6–117.16; C 209.12–210.14; Slav: Ist 19.3–20.5.
Trojan regions (116.15): 'Trojan troubles' C, Slav.
was sympathetic and pitied him (116.18): 'sympathised with his excessive sufferings' C, Slav.
Leion (116.22): 'Laion' C, Slav.
abducted her (116.23): C adds 'without Odysseus' knowledge'; see Noack, 1891/3, 412, who tentatively proposes 'without Polyphemos' knowledge'.
island of Sicily (116.23): C adds 'Polyphemos sent many of his servants after them who, when they overtook them, were violently put to death'; see Noack, 1891/3, 412.
wrote a play (117.2): 'wrote a story poetically' Slav, C.
his companions (117.8) Slav: cf 'the things he had with him' C; Slav adds 'that is, not to slaughter them', cf C.
Elpe (117.10): cf 'Elpon' C.
Pheidalios (117.14) Slav, cf C: written as 'Pheidias' Ba.
learned (117.14): 'most learned' C, Slav.

learned Homer in his account of Odysseus' wanderings.

50. Odysseus came from Sicily to the Aiolian Islands and was welcomed by Aiolos, emperor of the islands. He was then carried on to Kirke and her sister Kalypso, daughters of Atlas, emperor of the islands. Atlas when on the point of death divided the two islands between his daughters, who became empresses of the two islands. Kirke was the priestess of Helios; in infancy she had been handed over by her father to be brought up in the temple on the island known as Aiaia. **(118)** When she had grown up she became a magician with mystic knowledge; she was very beautiful. Her sister Kalypso, who was jealous of her, hated her very much and said, "Why does she deny her father Atlas and say she is the daughter of Titan Helios?" Kirke was afraid of her, in case she might grow angry and attack and ill-treat her, since Kalypso had a large number of valiant men on her island. So, as Kirke could not summon anyone to aid and protect her, she prepared a drug from certain plants. When she received passing strangers, it is said that, by a dose of the potion, she administered to the strangers who drank it a powerful drug causing lasting subjection and forgetfulness of their own lands. She made them have intercourse with her; they all desired her excessively and remained on the island, oblivious of their own country. She collected many men in this way.

When Kirke learnt that Odysseus' ships had reached her island, she ordered her servants to receive Odysseus and his army with honour, for she wanted to keep him and those with him as warriors in alliance with her. As soon as Odysseus put into her island, he saw many men there from different countries. Recognizing some from the Achaian army when they approached him, he questioned them, saying, "What is your reason for living on this island?" They said to him, "We are from **(119)** the Achaian army and we were driven to this island by the force of the ocean waves. We drank a magic potion offered us by queen Kirke, and fell terribly in love with her, and now this is our home", and they said other things as well. On hearing this, Odysseus collected all his men and told them not to partake of any of the things offered them by Kirke, either food or drink, because they had some kind of enchantment, but they were to eat the provisions presented to him by the emperor Aiolos and the food and drink that they had stored in the ships previously. So when Kirke offered Odysseus and his soldiers and sailors food and drink to sustain them, they took nothing at all from her. On discovering this, Kirke supposed that Odysseus had certain mystic powers and had foreknowledge of her plans; she sent for him to meet her in the temple. He met her, accompanied by his armed band and his Achaian recklessness, bringing her gifts from Troy. When she saw him and his companions, she asked him to remain on the island until the winter season had

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50. Bo 117.17-121.2; C 210.15-212.21, PsS 45v, Ke 232.21-23; Slav: Ist 20.6-22.10.
He was then carried...Atlas when (117.18; corr) C, Slav: om Ba; see Noack, 1891/3, 412-3; Griffin, 1907, 48-9.
magician (118.1): 'seer' C.
she administered (118.10; corr) C: om Ba.
they all desired (118.18; corr) C, Slav: om Ba.
in alliance with her (118.18): 'to aid her island' Slav, cf C.
she (119.17): 'Kirke' C, Slav.

passed, and swore in the temple that she would do nothing to harm him or any of those with him. Odysseus was persuaded and spent a short time with her, living with her in marriage at her wish. The most learned Sisyphos of Kos and Diktys of Crete have written about Kirke.

The most learned Homer **(120)** related poetically that through a magic potion she transformed the men who had been ensnared by her, making some into the shape of lions, giving others dogs' heads, making others into pigs and others into bears with pigs' heads. The learned Pheidalios of Corinth, mentioned above, wrote out this poetic composition and interpreted it as follows: he said that to turn men into animal forms in no way corresponded with Kirke's desire for a large army, but the poet was referring to the habits of men in love, and Kirke made them grind their teeth and rage and go mad with desire, like beasts, on her orders. For it is a natural habit of men in love to cling to the woman whom they love and die on her behalf. This is the way of men in love: they become like wild beasts in their desire and are incapable of rational thought; their appearance is changed and they come to resemble beasts in body, appearance and manners; they attack their rivals, for it is natural for rivals to regard one another as wild beasts do, and to fight with one another to the death. Men react differently to the forms taken by this kind of desire. Some are like dogs in their approach to sex and have intercourse frequently; others are like lions ... pursue only their impulse and desire exclusively ...others are like bears **(121)** and copulate in a foul way. Pheidalios gave the clearer and more truthful interpretation in his account.

51. On departing from Kirke's island, Odysseus, driven by contrary winds, went on to the next island, where Kalypso, Kirke's sister, received him. She honoured him with many attentions and lived with him in marriage. From there he continued on to where there was a great lake, known as Nekyopompos, close to the sea. Its inhabitants were seers, who told him all that had happened to him and what would happen. When he left there a great storm took place and he was cast up from the sea on to the rocks known as the Serenidai, which produce

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living with her in marriage (119.21): C adds 'She discovered that she had conceived a male child, for there was nothing she could not find out by her drugs, and told him. Odysseus gave her a spear with a tip made from a sting-ray's barb, as an acknowledgement of his acceptance and guarantee of the paternity of the child she was bearing. Many years later Odysseus in his old age was wounded by this son and spear in Ithake, and died', cf PsS, Ke; see Noack, 1891/3, 413-4; Griffin, 1907, 50.

for a large army (120.7; corr) C: 'a large army' Ba (reading πολυοχλίας C for πολυοχλίαν Ba).

men in love (120.8; corr Chil) C, Slav: 'men raised up' Ba.

desire exclusively... (120.20): In this lacuna one would expect to find a reference to pigs (cf Bo 120.3).

51. Bo 121.3-122.2: C 212.22-213.12 and 213.13-216.5, PsS 45v, Ke 233.1-10 and 233.10-22, Su IV 792.6-11, Tz *Hist* I 343-8, Tz Schol Lyk 653; Slav: Ist 22.11-23.2. See Sept VI 15.

great storm (121.10): C adds 'and contrary winds'.

Serenidai (121.11): 'Sirens' C, Ke, Slav.

a distinctive sound from the crashing waves. When he escaped from these, he came to the place known as Charybdis, which is a wild and precipitous region. There he lost all his remaining ships and his army, while he himself was left floating alone in the sea, on a plank from his ship, expecting a violent death. But some Phoenician sailors, who were sailing by, saw him swimming in the water and took pity on him. They rescued him and took him to the island of Crete, to Idomeneus, exarch of the Greeks. When Idomeneus saw Odysseus naked and in need, he felt sympathy for him and gave him very many gifts, as he had been a fellow-general; he also provided two ships and some men to protect him and (122) he sent him away to Ithake. The learned Diktys has written

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distinctive (121.13): 'sweet' C, Slav.

from the crashing waves (121.12): C adds 'The younger Plutarch writes that the Siren women were prostitutes who lived on what are known as the Rocky Islands and lured passing strangers with seductive pleasures and music from songs and lyres, and led them astray'; see Noack, 1891/3, 414 and note 18; Patzig, 1901, 388.

When he escaped...Charybdis, which is (121.13): 'He crossed from there to the place called Charybdis and reached' C.

as he had been a fellow-general (121.22; corr) C, Slav: 'with an army and a general' Ba; see Noack, 1891/3, 414.

he also provided...away to Ithake (122.2): C, cf PsS, Ke, adds the following narrative, 'Odysseus went on from Crete and reached Alkinoos in Phaiakia, where he was granted a brilliant reception. Odysseus' people thought he was dead because he had been so long away from home. So he sent spies to Ithake, who discovered Penelope's suitors, thirty of them, on Odysseus' estates. When people from the city talked to the spies and enquired about Odysseus, they said that he had died long ago. When the suitors heard this, they were freed from fear and continued feasting. But Penelope did not believe the news. The messengers made their way back to Phaiakia and reported the whole situation involving the suitors. On hearing this, Odysseus sailed for Ithake with Alkinoos. When the people of Ithake saw the ships and enquired who they were and where they had come from, Telemachos was told, "We have come to console you for Odysseus' death". Telemachos was Odysseus' son, and he wanted to find out the true reason for the ships' arrival. He approached one of the men with Odysseus and learnt from him in secret that this man was his father. While the suitors were feasting in the house, Odysseus and his men came armed, and fell on them unexpectedly. Since they were overcome by drunkenness, they were all killed. An uproar broke out in the city and a herald went round announcing Odysseus' arrival. Telemachos married Alkinoos' daughter, named Nausikaa. After this the families and friends of the suitors heard what had happened and were full of anger. They began a campaign against Odysseus and Telemachos in Ithake. Odysseus, Telemachos and their men took up arms and met them outside the city. A fierce battle took place in which those who fought on behalf of the suitors fell, Telemachos distinguishing himself in battle.

Time went by and Odysseus had a dream foretelling his death. When he woke up he summoned all the experts in explaining dreams to interpret them; amongst them were Kleitophon from Ithake and Polyphemos from Argos. He told them the dream and said, "I thought that a beautiful,

about these things, having heard them from Odysseus.

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amazing god-like creature was lying beside me on the same couch. It could not keep the shape of a full-grown man. I looked at it with pleasure but was puzzled by it. The bed from which it was bred was not clear to me, either by my intimacy or knowledge. When I saw it, I wished to embrace it in my arms. But it, (protesting) in a human voice, said that there was a legal bond of kinship between the two of us and that it was fated that I should perish at its hand. While I was perturbed over this, suddenly a barb from the sea appeared without my noticing, under his command, and came at me. I became helpless with great astonishment, and after a while I died. This is what I saw. Make your interpretation without fear, for I know that the dream is ill-omened".

The interpreters considered the story in seclusion, and pronounced that Telemachos should be got out of the way. When Odysseus withdrew, they said that Odysseus would die from a blow from his own son. He immediately rushed after Telemachos, wishing to kill him. But when he saw his son in tears and begging for pity, he returned to his paternal senses and decided to spare his son, but ordered him to be kept under guard. Then he removed him to the most distant village of Kephallenia, saving him from the expectation of death. A few days later Odysseus dreamed the same dream again but, aware of the interpretation, lived thereafter in better spirits. But he had another son, named Telegonos, of whose existence he was unaware and whom he had by Kirke. She, realizing that her son had in perfection all his father's attributes, when he reached maturity gave him the gift she had received from Odysseus - the spear tipped with a sting-ray's barb - to be a symbol and token of his assured paternity.

Telegonos took the spear and came to Ithake by night, looking for his father. He learnt that he was in the country and went there and used force on the guards to let him see his father. They did not know who he was and resisted him the more. When Telegonos called on the gods as witnesses that Odysseus was his father and he was being prevented from seeing him, they resisted even more, supposing that it was Telemachos who had come at night to kill his father; for no one knew that Odysseus had another son. A disturbance broke out and they informed Odysseus, "Telemachos, wearing strange clothing, has come by night and used force on us". When Odysseus learned of this, boiling with rage, he came out with his spear and immediately threw it at him. He missed him but transfixed a nearby apple tree. Telegonos, not knowing that it was his father who had hurled the spear, also threw his spear and, enjoying a good fortune which was desperately unfortunate, wounded Odysseus in the side. Odysseus, realizing Telegonos' courage, learned from him that he was his son by Kirke. When Telegonos showed him the sting-ray barb he had given to Kirke, he believed that he was Telegonos' father and flung himself on the ground uttering wild lamentations. Odysseus was angry with the interpreters of dreams when he learned that Telemachos was not involved. They asked where Telegonos came from and who his parents were, because he had killed such a man whom nobody in Ilion had wounded and who had achieved many wonderful feats during his life. Odysseus was conveyed half-dead to Ithake and

52. Diomedes, taking the Palladion, likewise set off from Troy for his own country.

Agamemnon crossed the Rhodian sea with Kassandra, whom he desired, wishing to reach the city of the Mykenaians.

Then Pyrrhos saw that they had all sailed away, and so cremated Aias Telamonios. He put his ashes in an urn and buried him with great honour near the tomb of Achilles, Aias' cousin and Pyrrhos' father, in the place known as Sigris.

53. Teukros, the brother of Aias Telamonios, arrived soon after, coming from Salamis, a city in Cyprus, to help his brother. He found Pyrrhos and learnt from him what had happened. On hearing of the honour paid to Aias' corpse, he praised and commended Pyrrhos, saying, "You have done nothing surprising, for you are the son of that Achilles who had a god-like mind. For the remains of good men are not carried away by time and virtue shines forth even in death". Pyrrhos invited Teukros to share in food and drink with him. At the banquet (123) Pyrrhos asked Teukros, since he was of the same family, to tell him from the beginning everything that had happened to his father, saying that he was ignorant of the precise details. Teukros began to speak as follows.

54. "The whole of time will not wipe out Achilles' victory over Hektor. He learnt that Hektor wished to meet the empress Penthesileia by night; so he secretly prepared his army, and set himself and them in ambush. As Hektor was crossing the river he killed him, together with all those who followed him, leaving only one alive. This man's hands he cut off, and then sent him to Priam to announce Hektor's death. So Achilles, while none of the Hellenes knew what had happened, brought Hektor's corpse before dawn into the battleground. Your father tied it

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departed this life after a while. He left his rule to Telemachos and Ptoliporthos, his grandson. Telemachos divided the empire. He himself controlled all Ithake and gave the more distant regions to Telegonos. He installed Ptoliporthos as ruler of the lands in between. He wanted to kill the interpreters of dreams, but when Telegonos dissuaded him from this judgement he ordered them to live in Sparta. They went there and recounted the whole narrative to Diktys. This is the end of the Odysseus story'; see Patzig, 1892, 147-9; Noack, 1891/3, 414-7.

52. **Bo 122.3-11**; C 216.6-15, PsS 45v, Ke 233.23-234.1, Su I 467.35-468.2; Slav: Ist 23.2-8.

Diomedes...country (122.3-4) Slav: 'Diomedes took the Palladion and returned home. But the Argives opposed him and especially his wife, who planned to fight against him since she had committed adultery. He fled to the land of Calabria, where he built a city on the sea-shore, which they called Argyrippe and which is now known as Beneventum' C; PsS, Ke, Su have a similar story but probably drawn from Diktys through Johannes Antiochenus; see Patzig, 1892, 138-9 and 1893, 423; Noack, 1891/3, 492.

put (122.9) C, Slav: 'took' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 223.

53. **Bo 122.12-123.3**; C 216.16-25; Slav: Ist 23.9-19. See Eur *Herakl* 539-40, *And* 774-6.

not carried (122.19; corr Dind) C, Slav, cf Eur *And* 774: 'carried' Ba.

54. **Bo 123.4-124.22**; C 216.25-217.23, PsS 42v, Ke 223.20-224.19; Slav: Ist 23.19-24.24. See Sept III 15-17, 20-23.

he killed (123.8): 'Achilles suddenly leaped up and killed' C.

to the chariot and, with Automedon driving the horses with him, did not cease from lashing Hektor's body. When Priam heard of Hektor's fate, he wailed, and all the Trojans with him. Such a cry went up from the Trojan people that even the birds of the sky were alarmed. The Hellenes likewise cried out, but in joy. The gates of Ilion were shut. Your father celebrated a festival of games for the emperors and the whole army, bestowing many prizes.

"On the following day, Priam appeared before the Hellenes, wearing mourning garments and bringing with him his daughter Polyxene, a virgin, and Andromache, Hektor's wife, and Astyanax and Laodamas, Hektor's young sons. **(124)** He also brought with him many ornaments, and gold and silver and robes. Silence fell upon the leaders of the Hellenes as Priam drew near. All were amazed at his boldness and went to meet him, wishing to learn the reason for his arrival. When he saw them, Priam flung himself to the ground, putting dust on his head and begging them to become co-suppliants to Achilles for Hektor's body. Nestor and Idomeneus pitied him and agreed to become co-suppliants with him to Achilles for Hektor's body. They made entreaties to your father on Priam's behalf. He ordered him to enter his tent. Priam entered and fell prostrate at his feet as a suppliant; Andromache and her children did likewise, while Polyxene embraced your father's feet on behalf of her brother Hektor, promising to be his slave and remain with him, if he would hand over the corpse. The emperors, who pitied his old age, made pleas on Priam's behalf. Your father Achilles said to them, 'Priam should have controlled his children from the beginning and not joined in their misdeeds. But love of other men's money took hold of him. For he did not desire Helen as his wife, but he had a passion for the wealth of Atreus and Pelops. Pay the penalty then for your shameful acts. Let the Hellenes and barbarians learn moderation from what has happened to you'.

55. "They persuaded him to accept a ransom and **(125)** hand over the corpse. Remembering the joyous side of life, he changed his mood and raised up Priam and Polyxene and Andromache and told Priam to wash himself and partake of bread and wine with him, for otherwise he would not hand the corpse over to him. Priam, torn between fear and hope for the future, humbly approached Achilles your father, supported by Polyxene, and shared in food and drink. After much had been said, they stood up. The ransom was laid out on the ground. When Achilles saw the size of the gifts, he accepted the gold and silver and part of the clothing; the rest he bestowed upon Polyxene, and handed over the corpse. Priam begged Achilles to let him leave Polyxene with him, but he told him to take her back to Ilion, putting off matters concerning her to another occasion.

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of the sky (123.17): 'of the air' C, Slav.
your father's feet (124.14): C adds 'and, pouring forth tears, she begged'.
55. Bo 124.23-125.17; C 217.23-218.6, PsS 42v-43r, Ke 224.19-225.4; Slav: Ist 24.24-25.11. See Sept III 24-27.
changed his mood and (125.1) C, cf Slav: om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 223.
for the future (125.5): C, Slav add 'washed himself and'.
and shared (125.7): 'and both shared' C.

"Priam mounted his chariot, taking Hektor's body, and returned with his companions to the city. When they had cremated Hektor's body, they buried him outside the wall of Ilion, mourning for him bitterly.

56. "In the meantime Penthesileia arrived from the Chersonese opposite, bringing a large force of Amazons and valiant men. On learning that Hektor had been killed, she made haste to return. But when Paris learnt of this, he persuaded her to remain, by giving her a large sum of gold. So Penthesileia rested with her army and after a few days (126) armed herself and marched with her forces onto the plain. Her army was divided into two sections; the archers held the right wing, the hoplite foot soldiers, who were more numerous than the cavalry, were in the centre. Penthesileia was with the standard in the middle of the cavalry. Then the Danaoi drew themselves up and stood in opposition; Menelaos, myself Teukros, Meriones and Odysseus against the archers; Diomedes, Agamemnon, Tlepolemos, Ialmenos, Askalaphos against the hoplites; your father Achilles, the two Aiases, Idomeneus, Philoktetes and the remaining leaders with their armies against the cavalry. I, Teukros, killed a whole multitude so that I was praised for being the bravest; the two Aiases destroyed the hoplites, charging into the midst of them. Your father Achilles, who was with them, kept a close watch on Penthesileia, seeking to kill her; she was fighting fiercely. Coming near her horse, he struck her with his spear and knocked her from the horse. Then as she lay, fallen but still alive, he dragged her away by the hair. When the rest of her army saw that she had fallen, they turned in flight. Since the Trojans had shut the gates to fugitives, we Hellenes pursued (127) the survivors and killed them by the wall, excepting only the Amazon women whom, once captured, the entire army distributed amongst themselves. As Penthesileia was still breathing, we reached a decision that she should be thrown alive into the river or handed over for the dogs to devour. Achilles requested us to bury her once she had died, but the army on hearing this clamoured that she should be thrown into the river. Diomedes immediately took her by the feet and hurled her into the river Skamandros. She died immediately.

57. "A few days later there arrived a man named Tithon, who had been summoned by Priam; he brought Indian cavalry and infantry, and with them some very war-like Phoenicians and their emperor Polydamas. It was such a large contingent that neither Ilion nor the entire battleground could hold them. Many Indians and their emperors came in a fleet. All the emperors and the entire army were administered and commanded by the powerful Memnon, emperor of the Indians. Memnon also had much treasure with him in his ships. After they had refreshed themselves, they marched out onto the battleground, wielding strange swords and slings and square shields. The allies of Ilion and Priam's sons joined them, while Memnon came out onto the plain riding in a chariot. We Hellenes armed ourselves and advanced with great misgivings, for both we, (128) the leaders, and our army were astonished

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56. Bo 125.18-127.8; C 218.7-219.4, PsS 43r, Ke 225.4-19; Slav: Ist 25.12-26.8. See Sept III 15, IV 2-3.
to bury (127.5): C adds 'by the wall', cf Slav.
57. Bo 127.9-130.5; C 219.5-220.9, PsS 43v, Ke 225.19-227.10; Slav: Ist 26.9-28.8. See Sept IV 4.

at what we saw. The Trojans, together with Memnon and the rest of the force, attacked us with a battle cry. We stood our ground before their onslaught and many were wounded. But when huge numbers of our men had fallen, we, the leaders of the Hellenes, withdrew since we could not withstand the might of their army. The barbarians could have burnt our ships, had not night fallen. Night came on and the Hellenes assembled with their armies; we gathered up the bodies and burnt them. That night we discussed which of the emperors could oppose and attack Memnon while the others were occupied with fighting the main force. Lots were cast among all our leaders and by some chance the lot fell on Aias Telamonios, my brother.

"Before sunrise we Hellenes all armed ourselves and came out; the Trojans did likewise, as did Memnon, emperor of the Indians, and all their forces. When the battle had begun and many men had fallen, my brother Aias ordered the emperors of the Hellenes to hold off the rest of the Indians and the Trojans. Then he attacked Memnon, emperor of the Indians, while the hero Achilles, your father, supported Aias from the rear, keeping himself concealed. Memnon noticed Aias attacking him, **(129)** immediately dismounted from his chariot and came near him. They tested each other with their spears. Aias was the first to move aside his opponent's shield, turning it with his spear as he attacked violently. Those who were near Memnon rushed at Aias when he had Memnon at a disadvantage; your father Achilles saw this and, thrusting his spear at Memnon's neck where the tendon was exposed, killed him unexpectedly. As he fell, a sudden cry arose and the barbarians fled. We Hellenes saw this and were filled with courage, and we slew all the Ethiopians. Polydamas attacked Aias Telamonios but Aias rushed at him and, striking him in the groin with his spear, killed him. After his death and that of many others, the Ethiopians fled and were killed, trampled to death by the cavalry. The battlefield was filled with corpses. As evening drew near, the Trojans asked for a truce, to see to the dead. We Hellenes agreed, and both sides lit pyres and cremated the dead. The Trojans shut the gates and continued mourning for their leaders and for Memnon.

"After a few days had passed, your father Achilles together with us, the Achaians, challenged the Trojans. The brothers, Paris and Deiphobos, came out, leading the barbarians. Together with them and the army were Lykaon and Troilos, also sons of Priam. Once more Achilles, your father, attacked, together with all of us Hellenes, and pursued the barbarians. **(130)** In their flight many fell into the river Skamandros and perished, though some were taken alive. Achilles slew Priam's sons, Troilos and Lykaon, while we Achaians slew the rest. There was great grief in Ilion for Troilos, since he was still young, and was valiant and handsome.

58. "After a few days the festival of the Offerings was held, and

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when he had Memnon at a disadvantage (129.5): 'while Memnon and the Indians near him were concentrating on Aias' C, cf Slav, PsS, Ke.
Aias rushed at him (129.10): Slav adds 'bearing a shield'.
As evening drew near (129.14): cf 'The next morning' Slav.
also sons of Priam (129.23): C adds 'thinking to fall on them unawares'.
58. Bo 130.6-132.4; C 220.10-221.14, PsS 44r, Ke 227.10-228.16; Slav: Ist 28.9-29.18. See Sept IV 11-12.

there was a truce in the war while the sacrifices were made. Both Danaoi and Trojans made sacrifices to Apollo Thymbrios in the grove which was a short distance from the city. When Polyxene came out with Hekabe to the temple, Achilles saw her and admired her. Priam, noticing Achilles, sent a man named Idaios to him while he was walking alone in the grove of Apollo, with a proposal about Polyxene. On hearing the message about her, Achilles was enflamed with passion. We Hellenes, seeing Idaios talking privately with Achilles, were thrown into great confusion, thinking that your father Achilles was betraying us. So we sent a message to him through my brother Aias, Diomedes and Odysseus, to tell him not to trust himself to the barbarians on his own. They went and waited for him outside the grove, so that they could give him the message. Your father Achilles made an agreement with Idaios to take Polyxene in marriage. After a while Paris (131) and his brother Deiphobos met with Achilles secretly, encouraging him over his marriage with Polyxene. Achilles received them on his own unsuspectingly, with no thought of harm since he was in Apollo's grove. Paris stood by the altar, as though confirming with an oath what had been agreed between himself and Achilles. While Deiphobos embraced Achilles, Paris came up by his side and, as Deiphobos kissed him, he plunged the sword he was carrying into him. Deiphobos held Achilles while Paris gave him a second blow; then he collapsed and fell. Paris and Deiphobos left unsuspected by another way out of the grove. When they were a little way off, they began to run swiftly, and reached the city. Odysseus noticed them and said to Aias and Diomedes, 'Those men have been up to no good; we must go to Achilles'. On entering the grove, they saw your father Achilles lying on the ground by the altar, covered with blood but still breathing. So my brother Aias said to him, 'Did there really exist a man who could kill you, who are the strongest of all? Your rashness has destroyed you'. Achilles said, 'Paris and Deiphobos have done me to death by trickery using Polyxene'. Then he expired. When he had died, my brother Aias lifted his body onto his shoulders and they carried him to the tents. When the Trojans saw us, they came out (132) to seize the body and maltreat it. We Hellenes, seeing what had happened, were in total despair; we cremated Achilles' body and, putting his ashes in an urn, buried them in silence".

59. Pyrrhos heard this and groaned bitterly. Teukros noticed this and commended him, saying, "Who can list your virtues? On your father's side you are of the blood of Peleus, emperor of the city of Phthia and the land of Thessaly; on your mother's side you are of the blood of Lykomedes, emperor of the Skyrioi. You have destroyed all

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Achilles (130.11): C, Slav add 'in the grove'.
was enflamed with passion (130.14): C adds 'was excited and aflame with passion', cf 'went for her sake' Slav.
as though (131.5): 'as' C, Ke.
Achilles said (131.20): 'He replied with difficulty in a weak voice' C, cf Ke.
in silence (132.4): C adds 'in a place known as Sigris'; see Griffin, 1907, 79, note 1.
59. Bo 132.5-133.2; C 221.15-24; Slav: Ist 29.18-30.6. See Sept Prologue and V 17.

Ilion and Troy to avenge your father". Standing up, Teukros embraced Pyrrhos and asked him if he might take with him the sons of Aias, his brother, that is, Aiantides, his child by Glauke, Aias' first wife, and Eurysakes, his child by Tekmessa, and Tekmessa herself. Pyrrhos granted them to him. Teukros took them and immediately set sail for Salamis.

Pyrrhos likewise set sail with his own fleet. The entire Achaian army and the heroes returned to their own lands. Sisyphos of Kos, who was present at the war with Teukros, has written about this. The poet Homer found his book and wrote the *Iliad*, while Vergil wrote the rest of the story. These events are also recorded in the writings of Diktys; **(133)** this work was found many years after the time of Homer and Vergil in a box during the reign of the emperor Claudius Nero.

60. Klytaimnestra, Agamemnon's wife, who had previously heard that her husband was in love with Kassandra, finding an opportunity, committed adultery with Aigisthos, the senator, son of Thyestes. On learning of Agamemnon's impending arrival in Mykenai, she plotted with Aigisthos how he might kill Agamemnon on his return by a trick. When Agamemnon reached the city of the Mykenaians and was welcomed by the city and the senate and Aigisthos, he entered his palace and was murdered. His wife immediately made Aigisthos emperor and married him legally. She had a daughter by him, whom she called Erigone and who after the death of her father and mother hanged herself out of fear of Orestes. The senate, the city and the army hated Aigisthos. Orestes, Agamemnon's son, heard of his father's arrival in the city of the Mykenaians and returned from Schoineus, to whom Agamemnon, on the point of departing to the war, had entrusted him to be brought up and educated by him. His sister took him aside and told him secretly that Aigisthos planned to destroy him. In the meantime, while Orestes was planning what he ought to do, **(134)** Strophios arrived in Mykenai. He belonged to Agamemnon's family and had with him his son Pylades, who had been brought up with Orestes and was a fellow-student. When Strophios learnt what had happened to Agamemnon, he planned with Orestes to make war on Aigisthos. He took Orestes and went to the oracle of Apollo to

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the sons of Aias (132.11-12): 'both the sons of Aias' Slav.
their own lands (132.19): C adds 'leaving Agenor to rule Phrygia'.
the writings of Diktys (132.22): 'the Rhapsodiai of Diktys' C, cf Slav.
after the time of Homer and Vergil (133.1): 'after the death of Homer' C.
in a box during the reign of the emperor Claudius Nero (133.2): 'in a tin box during the reigns of Claudius and Nero, the Roman emperors' C, cf Sept.
60. Bo 133.3-134.9; De insid 1 (151.1-21), C 222.16-223.2; Slav: Ist 30.7-31.1. See Sept VI 2-3.
His wife (133.12): De insid, Slav add 'Klytaimnestra'.
Erigone (133.14) De insid, Slav: 'Enigone' Bo; *see* Bury, 1897, 223.
His sister (133.21): cf Slav which adds 'Lektora' (= 'Elektra').
in Mykenai (134.1): C, Slav add 'from Crete'.
Pylades who...fellow-student (134.2) De insid, Slav, cf C: 'Pylades, the fellow-student' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 223-4.
he planned with Orestes (134.3) De insid: 'he advised Orestes' Bo, cf C; see Bury, 1897, 224.

find out about Orestes. He received a response, that Orestes should kill his mother and Aigisthos. Then Orestes asked to know whether he would survive after he had killed them, and was told that he would possess his ancestral lands and all the Peloponnese.

61. Orestes begged Strophios to return to his native land, leaving him his son, Pylades. Strophios agreed and did so. Then Orestes and Pylades came to the city of the Mykenaians, obeying the oracle. Orestes secretly visited Elektra, his sister, and begged her to persuade his mother, Klytaimnestra, to receive him. Elektra did persuade her mother and she received Orestes. Then Klytaimnestra, as she had been asked, pleaded with Aigisthos. When he had been received by Aigisthos, Orestes was patient in his fury, wishing to avenge his father's blood, saying to everyone, "The empire is mine". Finding his opportunity, he murdered his mother and the emperor Aigisthos, his step-father. Then he went from fury to madness when he was beside himself with rage; **(135)** sometimes he was rational and lived at ease, at other times he raved. In order to oblige the citizens and senators, since they loved Orestes and wanted him to reign over them, the priests purified and cleansed Orestes and freed him from the guilty madness for this murder of his mother. They took Orestes to the temple of Athene in which the Areopagos sat, and there Menestheus presided over the trial between Orestes and Oiax, speaking for Tyndareos, father of Klytaimnestra. Menestheus pronounced his judgement that Orestes had justly avenged his father's murder; he said this especially with other women in mind, so that no other woman should commit such a dreadful deed. Diktys has written about this in his sixth book.

62. After the judgement the priests took Orestes from the trial before the Areopagos and brought him to Delphi, to stay in the temple of Apollo so that he could rid himself of his madness and begin to reign. Orestes entered the temple in his right mind, together with Pylades, and making a sacrifice, he asked the Pythia for release from his disease of insanity. A response was given him in verse by the Pythia, which runs as follows in the common language, **(136)** "Orestes, in no other way may you be free from the madness of your troublesome disease except by crossing the waves of the Pontic Sea and reaching the land of Scythia and the country of Aulis. You will be a captive in the temple of Artemis but will be saved from the altar. Fleeing from there, from the land of barbarians, and travelling further, you will come to the land

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61. Bo 134.10-135.12: De insid 1 (151.22-152.10), C 223.2-12, cf JA 25; Slav: Ist 31.1-19. See Sept VI 3-4.

Menestheus presided (135.7) Slav, cf Sept: om Ba, De insid; it is possible that the slightly awkward τοῦ μαίνεσθαι 'guilty madness', at Bo 135.5 represents τοῦ Μενεσθέ(ως)omitted at this point and misplaced (suggested by A.W. James).

Tyndareos (135.8): 'the emperor Tyndareus' De insid, Slav.

62. Bo 135.13-136.18: De insid 1 (152.11-31), C 223.13-224.2, PsS 46r, Ke 234.20-235.12, cf JA 25; Slav: Ist 31.20-32.12. See Eur *Iph Taur* 69-73, 103-5.

Aulis (136.3; corr Dind) De insid, PsS, Ke, C, Slav: 'Lysais' Ba.

from the land...further (136.4; corr Dind) PsS, Ke, cf Ba, De insid: cf 'fleeing thence from the East, crossing the land of the barbarians' C, Slav.

of Syria which shakes and you will find opposite the valley and mountain of Silpios a mountain with the name Melantios, where there is a great temple of Hestia. There put aside your raving madness. Go quickly". She spoke what was to be.

Orestes received this oracle and noted it down. He immediately set sail with Pylades and came to the land of Aulis in Scythia. After they had disembarked from the ship, Orestes noticed a temple, situated about two miles from the sea, with human bones scattered about. Orestes said to Pylades, "Do you think that this is the goddess's shrine where we have landed with the ships? I see the bones of dead strangers". Pylades looked, and said to Orestes, "Let us flee, if we are to be saved". Orestes said, "We shall not flee; we are not accustomed to running away, nor shall we invalidate the oracle".

63. Herdsmen saw them and ran to **(137)** Iphigeneia, saying to her, "Daughter of Agamemnon and Klytaimnestra, two young men have come past the Dark Rock". She said to them, "What sort of men are they? From what land? What are the strangers' names?" For Iphigeneia used to ask all those who were captured and brought to sacrifice what country they came from; and then she slew them. She wanted to learn about her father Agamemnon and his family, and about what had happened in the war against the Phrygians. The herdsmen said to her, "One of them said to the other, 'Pylades'; we do not know the name of his companion for he did not mention it". She said to them, "What does a herdsman have to do with the sea?" They replied, "We came to wash our cattle in the salt water". She sent Scythians and captured them. They were brought as prisoners to be sacrificed, as the most learned Euripides has written poetically in a play, of which this is a small part.

64. When they were tied up, she ordered one to be kept aside and the other to be brought for sacrifice. The Scythians put Orestes on one side and brought Pylades to the altar of Artemis for sacrifice. Iphigeneia asked him from what country he was. He replied, "I, unhappy that I am, come from the land of Hellas and the city of Mykenai". On hearing the country and the city, where her father had reigned, she wept. Thinking that they had been instructed by the herdsmen, she said to him, **(138)** "If you are from Mykenai, you know who is emperor there". He replied, "It was once Agamemnon". She asked him another question, "If you were correct about Agamemnon, who is his wife and which are the children he had by her?" He replied, "By Klytaimnestra he had Orestes and Elektra and Iphigeneia, who - they say - was offered as a sacrifice

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Go quickly". She spoke what was to be (136.7-8): 'Go quickly. I have spoken what is to be"' C, PsS, Ke.
this oracle (136.18): 'the god's oracle' De insid, C, Slav.
63. Bo 136.19-137.13; De insid 1 (152.32-153.9), C 224.2-15, PsS 46r, Ke 235.12-16; Slav: Ist 32.13-24. See Eur *Iph Taur* 238-55.
past the Dark Rock (137.2) De insid, C (an inadequate phrase resulting from a misunderstanding of Eur *Iph Taur* 241; see Bentley, 710): cf 'over the sea' Slav.
does a herdsman (137.10): 'do herdsmen' De insid, C, Slav, Eur *Iph Taur* 254.
64. Bo 137.14-139.4; De insid 1 (153.9-154.4), C 224.15-225.13, PsS 46r-v, Ke 235.16-236.20; Slav: Ist 32.24-34.2. Eur *Iph Taur* 495, 510, 771, 774, 790-1.

to Artemis, but the goddess saved her and it is not known where she is. He also had other daughters, Chrysothemis and Laodike". On hearing this, Iphigeneia ordered that he should be released from his bonds. She wrote on a diptych and gave it to him, saying, "See, the goddess grants you life through me. Swear by her that you will give this diptych to Orestes and bring me a letter from him". He swore to her, "I will put this into his hands and bring him to you". Taking the diptych, he went out in front of the temple where Orestes was being held under guard, and asked the Scythians if he could speak with him. He presented him with the diptych, saying, "Come to your sister". The Scythians stood there astonished at what was happening. They brought him, with Pylades, to Iphigeneia. Pylades said to her, "Look, this is Orestes", but she did not recognize him. Thinking it was not he, she said, "My brother has a birth-mark on his shoulder, the mark of Pelops' family". Looking at his right shoulder-blade, **(139)** she saw that he had Pelops' sign. She flung her arms around Orestes and ordered his ships, and the sailors on board, to be brought to land. So they beached the ships and remained for the winter.

65. At the beginning of summer, Orestes secretly took Iphigeneia and the solid gold statue of Artemis and, with Pylades, fled in the ships which they had. They crossed over to the land of the Adiabenoi. From there they travelled to the East, to the Saracen *limes,* and reached Trikomia in the land of Palestine. Noticing Iphigeneia's priestly robes, the inhabitants of Trikomia received her with honour. They stayed there, for Orestes was overcome there with his madness. The Trikomitans built a great temple to Artemis and begged Iphigeneia to sacrifice a virgin girl to Artemis and give the girl's name to the village. They brought the girl, named Nyssa, before her and they made a sacrifice to Artemis. They made a bronze statue of the girl slaughtered by her, a *tyche.* Iphigeneia called the city that had formerly been a village the city of Nyssa, after the slaughtered girl, and she also made an altar for her, on which was inscribed the following, "Goddess Poa Nyssa, accept those who flee from Scythia". The inscription remains until now.

(140) Once Orestes had recovered his right mind, Iphigeneia saw in a dream a deer which said to her, "Flee from this land". Setting out in the morning with Orestes and Pylades, she fled to the coast of Palestine and, sailing from there, they came to Syria in accordance with the oracle.

66. The emperor of Scythia, named Thoas, heard that Iphigeneia had taken the solid gold statue of Artemis and had fled. He sent many Scythians to pursue her, telling them, "You are not to return to Scythia unless you bring me the solid gold statue of Artemis with you". They pursued the fugitives and looked for them everywhere and reached the

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and Laodike (138.7) De insid, C, PsS, Ke: 'Laodike and Iphianassa' Slav (cf, eg, *Iliad* IX 145, 287).
remained (139.4): De insid, C add 'there'.
65. Bo 139.5-140.5; De insid 1 (154.5-17), C 225.14-33, PsS 46v, Ke 236.20-237.9; Slav: Ist 34.3-20.
Poa (139.21): Dind credibly suggests πότνια, πότνα 'lady'.
66. Bo 140.6-18; De insid 1 (154.18-21), C 225.33-226.10, Ke 237.17-21; Slav: Ist 34.20-29.

land of Palestine and the city of Nyssa, previously known as Trikomia. They learnt that Iphigeneia and Orestes had gone to the coast and had immediately sailed away. Then, since they were pleased with the location both of the city of Nyssa and of the temple of Artemis and they were afraid of their emperor, they stayed and made their homes there, renaming the city Scythopolis after themselves.

67. Orestes reached Syria with his companions and, on disembarking from the boat, asked where was Mount Melantios and the temple of Hestia. When he had found the temple, he entered it. **(141)** He made a sacrifice and spent the night there in sleep. Then he was freed from his most grievous sickness and left the temple. He went down into the waters of the two rivers known as Melantia by the Syrians, since they flow down from Mount Melantios, and bathed himself.

Then Orestes crossed the river Typhon, now known as Orontes, and came to Mount Silpios to pay respects to the Ionitai. When the Argive Ionitai who inhabit Syria heard that Orestes had been freed from his sickness, they went out to him, since he was originally from their homeland and was of imperial blood. They met him and recognized those who were with him from the temple of Hestia and asked them, "Who is this?" They replied, "This is Orestes and we are bringing him to you". The Ionitai immediately embraced him and said, "Orestes, where did you lay aside your madness?" Orestes, still afraid of the disease's strength, did not turn round and show them the temple or the mountain where he was released from the disease, but he raised his right hand above his head and pointed to the mountain and the temple with his finger, saying to them, "It was on that mountain, in the temple of the goddess Hestia, that I laid aside my grievous madness". Immediately the Ionitai made a bronze statue of Orestes in the posture in which he had pointed out the mountain to them. It stands on a column, to the memory and glory of the region and of the temple of Hestia, and this bronze statue stands to the present day. By this the Ionitai showed to those who came after where **(142)** Orestes put aside his raging madness, and they changed the name of Mount Melantios to Amanos.

Orestes paid his respects to the Ionitai and went down to the coast at what was formerly known as Palaiopolis, but is now known as Seleukeia. He found ships there and sailed away with Iphigeneia and Pylades to Hellas. There he gave his sister Elektra in marriage to Pylades, and held the land of the Mykenaians until his death.

When the Syrians noticed the posture of the statue of Orestes and learnt the explanation from the Ionitai, they were furious and called him the runaway. The reason was that, in spite of the great benefit that had befallen him in their country and the great threat that he had escaped, he had not turned to look and praise and thank the divinities; nor had he shown the Ionitai the temple of Hestia but had run away from reason and, instead of giving thanks, he had turned away and had merely pointed out with his finger the temple and the mountain where he was

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67. Bo 140.19-142.20; De insid 1 (154.22-155.16), C 226.11-31, PsS 46v, Ke 237.9-17; Slav: Ist 35.1-36.11.
most grievous sickness (141.2): De insid, Slav add 'and leaving his madness there'.
on a column, to the memory (141.23): 'on a large stone column to the eternal memory' De insid, Slav, cf C.

freed from his pitiless madness and saved. This statue of Orestes, which is a little way outside the city, is called "The Runaway" by the Antiochenes till the present. The learned Domninos has written about this.

68. In the period after the capture of Troy a man named Themis was the first to win the admiration of the Hellenes, for he invented tragic songs and was the first to write plays. After this, **(143)** Minos and, after Minos, Auleas wrote tragic choruses for plays. Then, in the time after this, Euripides found and took from them many plots for the plays he wrote.

69. Then David, the son of Jesse, reigned over Israel for 40 years and two months. He reconstructed the city formerly known as Salem and later as Jeboun, renaming it Jerusalem.

Thus from Adam to David there were 47 years.

After David, Solomon, son of David, reigned for 40 years. He built the temple in Jerusalem, placing the bronze Cherubim and Seraphim in it. He was the first to begin building temples for the Jews, for they had had none previously. He also built a city on the *Iimes* which he called Palmyra ("Past Fate"), because in the past the village had been fatal for Goliath whom his father had slain there.

Thus from Adam to Solomon there were 47 years.

After the reign of Solomon, there reigned others, amongst whom was Ahab, emperor of the Jews. During his reign lived the prophet Elijah the Tishbite, who was taken up into heaven.

Other emperors reigned until the time of Hezekiah; at this time there flourished the learned Homer, the poet, who wrote about the war between Trojans and Danaoi.

(144) Thus from Adam to Hezekiah, emperor of the Jews, there were 5266 years. A prophet of the Jews, Isaiah, lived then in the time of Hezekiah.

70. It came about in the 14th year of the reign of Hezekiah, emperor of the Jews, that Sennacherib, emperor of the Assyrians, came up against the strong cities of Judaea and captured them. The emperor of the Assyrians sent Rabshakeh from Lachish against the emperor Hezekiah at Jerusalem with a large force. He halted by the aqueduct of the upper cistern in the Street of the Fuller's Field. Eliakim, the steward, the son of Hilkiah, and Somnas, the scribe, and Joah, the recorder, the son of Asaph, came to him. Rabshakeh said to them, "Say to Hezekiah: Thus says the emperor of the Assyrians. In whom have you placed your trust? Surely the battle does not take place in councils and words

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68. Bo 142.21-143.3; C 226.32-227.5, 'Scholiastes vetus in Aeschylum' (see Bentley, 713); Slav: Ist 36.11-16, Soph 58.
Themis (142.22): cf 'Theomis' C, Scholiast, Slav, 'Thespis' Bentley, 714; on the names in the first two sentences of this para., see Cantarella, 1970/1, and 1972/3.
invented (142.22): 'was the first to invent' C, Scholiast.
plays he wrote (143.2): Slav adds 'as the most learned Theophilos has written', cf C which omits 'most learned'.
69. Bo 143.4-144.3; JN 48, cf C 229.11-12; Slav: Ist 36.16-17, Soph 58, Tikh (Ist xv-xviii, 52.1-9).
70. Bo 144.4-146.4; cf CP 215.10-12. See *Isaiah* 36.1-21, *Kings* IV (= II) 18.13-36.

from men's lips? Now in whom have you placed your trust? In that staff of broken reed - in Egypt? It will pierce the hand of anyone who leans on it. Such is Pharaoh, emperor of Egypt, and all who put their trust in him. But if you say, 'We have put our trust in the Lord our God', now join yourselves with my lord, the emperor of the Assyrians. He will give you 2000 horses if you can give him riders for them. How will you be able to look even one toparch in the face? Those who put their trust in Egypt for horse and rider are slaves. And now is it without your lord **(145)** that we have come up into this land to attack it?" Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, and Somnas, the scribe, and Joah said to him, "Speak to your servants in Syrian, and for what purpose do you speak for the ears of the men on the wall?" And Rabshakeh said to them, "Surely my lord did not send me to your lord or to you to speak these words; did he not send me to the men sitting on the wall so that they should not eat dung and drink urine together with you?" Rabshakeh stood and shouted in a loud voice in the language of the Jews and said, "Hear the words of the great emperor of the Assyrians. Thus says the emperor: Do not let Hezekiah deceive you by saying that God will save you, and that this city will not be delivered into my hand. He is not able to save you. And do not let Hezekiah say to you that God will save you, and the city will not be delivered into the hands of the emperor of the Assyrians. Pay no heed to Hezekiah. Thus says the emperor of the Assyrians: Take counsel that you may be blessed; come over to me and each of you eat of his vine and his figs and drink water from your cistern until I come to take you to a land like your land, a land of corn and wine and bread and vines. Let not then Hezekiah deceive you saying, 'God will deliver you'. Has any one of the gods of the nations delivered his land from the hand of the emperor of the Assyrians? Where is the god of Aitham and Arpad? **(146)** Where is the god of Seppharothim? Could Samaria be delivered from my hand? Which of the gods of all the nations delivered his land from my hand, that he says, 'The Lord God of Israel will deliver you from my hand?'"

71. They were silent and no one replied to him because the emperor had commanded that no one should reply to him. Eliachim, the steward, the son of Hilkiah, and Somnas, the scribe, and Joah, the recorder, the son of Asaph, went in to Hezekiah with their garments torn and reported Rabshakeh's words to him. It came about when the emperor Hezekiah heard this, he tore his robes and dressed himself in sack-cloth and went up into the temple of the Lord. He sent Eliakim, the steward,

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Now in whom...trust (144.14) cf *Isaiah;* om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 224.
they should not eat (145.8): 'they should eat' *Isaiah,* cf *Kings.*
deceive you...into my hand (145.11): Ba is inadequately reported in the apparatus of Bo; see Bury, 1897, 224. Cf 'deceive you with words, he is not able to save you. And let not Hezekiah say to you that God will save you' *Isaiah,* and Dind in Bo.
I come to take you (145.17; corr Chil) *Isaiah, Kings:* 'I wish to take you' Ba.
Aitham (145.21): 'Aimath' *Kings,* cf 'Aimar' Bo 147.17, 'Emath' *Isaiah.*
Seppharothim (146.1): 'Seppharouaim' *Kings,* cf 'Seppharim' Bo 147.17, 'Eppharonaim' *Isaiah.*
71. Bo 146.5-147.17; cf CP 215.16-216.1. See *Isaiah* 36.22-37.13, *Kings* IV (= II) 18.37-19.13.

and Somnas, the scribe, and the elders of the priests, dressed in sack-cloth, to Isaiah, the prophet, the son of Amos, and said to him, "Thus says Hezekiah: Today is a day of affliction, of bonds and reproach and rage because travail has come to the woman who gives birth and she has no strength to bring forth. Let the Lord your God heed the words of Rabshakeh which the emperor of the Assyrians sent to revile the Living God, to revile Him with words which the Lord your God has heard; pray to the Lord your God concerning those that are left". The servants of the emperor came to Isaiah and Isaiah said to them, "Speak to your master in this way: **(147)** Thus says the Lord, Do not be afraid because of the words you have heard, with which the ambassadors of the emperor of the Assyrians have reviled me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him and he will hear a report and return to his own land, and the sword shall fall on his land". Rabshakeh returned and found the emperor of the Assyrians besieging the emperor Lomnas. The emperor of the Assyrians heard that Thara, emperor of the Ethiopians, had set out to lay siege to him. On hearing this, he sent Rabshakeh with a large force to meet him. He himself remained and sent messengers to Hezekiah, saying, "Say this to Hezekiah, emperor of Judaea: Let not your God in whom you have put your trust deceive you when he says, Jerusalem will not be given into the hands of the emperor of the Assyrians. Have you not heard what the emperors of the Assyrians have done over all the earth, and the gods of the nations have not delivered them? Did not my fathers destroy Gozan and Haran and Rapheis, which were in the land of Thaiman? Where are the emperors of Aimar and Arpad and of the city of Seppharim?"

72. Hezekiah took the document from the messengers and he read it before the Lord, and Hezekiah prayed to the Lord, saying, "O God of Israel, who sits above the Cherubim, since you alone, God, are ruler of the inhabited world, you who made **(148)** the heaven and the earth, give heed, o Lord, look down, o Lord, and see the words which Sennacherib has sent reviling the Living God. For it is true that the emperors of the Assyrians have laid waste all the inhabited world and its countries and have cast their idols into the fire, for they were not gods but the works of men's hands, wood and stone; and they have destroyed them. Now, o Lord our God, save us from their hand, so that every empire on

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and said (146.14) Bo in app.: 'they said' Bo in text, *Isaiah, Kings.*
bonds (146.15, δεσμοῦ): 'distress', ὀνειδισμοῦ *Isaiah.*
and a sword shall fall on his land (147.4, μάχαιρα): 'he shall fall by the sword (μαχαίρᾳ)' *Isaiah.*
the emperor Lomnas (147.6; 'emperor' om Dind, unnecessarily) cf 'Lomna' *Kings, Chronicles* II 21.10: cf 'Lobnas' *Isaiah.*
Thara (147.7): 'Tharka' *Isaiah,* cf 'Tharaka' *Kings,* 'Tharthas' CP.
over all the earth (147.14): *Isaiah,* CP add 'that they destroyed it', cf *Kings.*
Thaiman (147.16): cf 'Theemath' *Isaiah.*
Aimar (147.17): 'Aimath' *Kings,* Bo (corr Dind), cf 'Emath' *Isaiah,* 'Aitham' Bo 145.21.
Seppharim (147.17): 'Seppharouain' *Kings,* cf 'Seppharothim' Bo 146.1 'Eppharouaim' *Isaiah.*
72. Bo **147.18-149.5**; cf CP 216.1-10. See *Isaiah* 37.14-21, 33-38, *Kings* IV (=II) 19.14-20, 32-37.

the earth may know that you alone are God".

Isaiah, son of Amos, was sent to Hezekiah and said to him, "Thus says the Lord God of Israel: I have heard the prayer you have made to me concerning Sennacherib, emperor of the Assyrians. Thus says the Lord about the emperor of the Assyrians: He shall not enter into this city, nor shall he cast a weapon at it, nor shall he set up a shield against it, nor shall he surround it with a fence, but by the way that he came by the same shall he return, says the Lord. I will defend this city to save it for my own sake and the sake of David, my servant".

And the angel of the Lord went out by night and slew 185,000 in the camp of the Assyrians. When they rose up in the morning they found all these bodies dead. The emperor of the Assyrians turned away and departed and dwelt in Nineveh. And while he was worshipping his ancestral god Sarach in his house, Adramelech and **(149)** Sarsar, his sons, struck him with swords; they themselves escaped in safety to Armenia. Nachordan, his other son, reigned over the Assyrians.

After the reign of Hezekiah, Manasses reigned over the Jews for 55 years.

73. Thus from Adam to Manasses there were in all 5321 years.

During those years the Rhodians, because they had never been subjected to anyone by war but were autonomous and had control of the sea, as an act of thanksgiving set up on their island a very large bronze statue of Helios which they called the Kolossos, since it was a tremendous sight. From then on they called themselves Kolossians.

After Manasses, Eliakim and Ioakim, his brothers, reigned over Judaea for 44 years.

Thus from Adam there were in all 5365 years.

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he was worshipping his ancestral God Sarach in his house (148.22; corr Chil; 'Nasarach' *Isaiah,* 'Arsach' CP) *Isaiah,* CP: 'he was worshipping in the house of Sarach his ancestral gods' Ba, cf 'he was worshipping in the house of Neserach his god' *Kings.*

Sarsar (148.1): 'Sarasar' *Isaiah,* CP.

73. Bo 149.6-14.

After Manasses...his brothers (149.12-13): Dind suggests a lacuna and textual changes to correct this wild inaccuracy.

BOOK 6 The Time of the Empire of the Assyrians and of Askanios, son of Aineias

1. **(150)** During the reign of the emperor Joakim, Nebuchadnezzar, emperor of the Assyrians, took up arms and attacked the Jews. He captured Jerusalem and all the land of Judaea, as the prophets had foretold to Israel. He led Joakim, emperor of the Jews, away captive and all the imperial vessels, and took everyone prisoner. Neither Jerusalem, the city of Judaea, nor Samaria continued to reign over the Jews. Then the empire of the Jews was surrendered into the hands of the Assyrians, and they ruled over them. In the fifth year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar all the captive Jews arrived in Babylon, as Eusebios Pamphilou has chronicled.

2. **(151)** At that time the Lydians seized by force the empires, that is, toparchies, from other neighbouring nations. First Ardeus reigned over the Lydians for 36 years. He subjugated the neighbouring races and empires, and lived arrogantly.

3. After the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, emperor of the Assyrians, Belshazzar, his son, began to reign. He used to be served from the priestly vessels of the Jews, and used to mix wine in them for his concubines and all those who dined with him, making a mock of the vessels. While he was reclining in his folly and dining, he saw suddenly on the opposite wall of the palace the finger of a man's hand, writing "Mane, Thekel, Phares". When it had written this, the finger disappeared. Belshazzar read the writing and summoned all the sorcerers, *magoi*, astrologers and interpreters of dreams of his land and asked them, "What is this vision of the finger? What is the interpetation of what it wrote?" No one was able to interpret for him. When he heard that his father had held in great honour Daniel, one of the Hebrew captives, who interpreted his dreams for him, he sent for Daniel and said to him, "Since the grace of God is with you, interpret for me what I have seen with my eyes, and explain to me the vision of the letters". Daniel listened and **(152)** saw the vision of the letters. He said to him, "Be patient with me, emperor, and do not be enraged and I will interpret the meaning of the writing for you". Belshazzar swore to do him no harm because of his interpretation. Daniel said to him, "The God of heaven and earth is angry with you and has brought your reign to an end". When he heard this, Belshazzar let him go, to see if he spoke the truth. A few days later Dareios the Mede, who was 60 years old, rebelled; he attacked and killed him and captured his kingdom.

4. After the reign of Dareios, other emperors reigned over the

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1. Bo 150.1-12.
2. Bo 151.1-5.
3. Bo 151.6-152.8; Slav: Ist 4.1-5.4. See *Daniel* 5.
what I have seen (151.22): 'the wonder that I have seen' Slav.
4. Bo 152.9-153.3; Slav: Ist 5.4-16, Soph 60.

Assyrians down to Astyages. Then Astyages reigned over the Persians and began a campaign against the Lydians and attacked them with a large force.

In that year the sun went into eclipse for many hours of the day, an event which Thales the philosopher had predicted.

At that time Peisistratos was a popular leader who was at war...

...the Lydians were not defeated in the war, but Astyages departed of his own accord. When the Pisaians heard this, they celebrated a second festival, the Pythian games, giving thanks to Helios and committing themselves to the Lydians and to the might of his power.

Then, in the period after this, the Pisaians instituted a **(153)** third festival, the Isthmian games in honour of Pluto. The Pisaians also instituted a fourth festival and celebrated the Nemean games in honour of Dionysos.

5. After the reign of Ardeus, eight other emperors reigned over the Lydians until Kroisos the Proud. Kroisos reigned for 15 years. Thus the empire of the Lydians lasted in all for 232 years.

6. In the time of his reign Kroisos subjugated all the provinces, or empires, both those nearby and those at a distance, taking tribute from those who submitted but their persons and their empires from those who resisted. He was greatly feared, since he was fortunate and victorious; and so he became conceited.

At that time Solon practised philosophy.

7. After the reign of Astyages, emperor of the Persians, Kyros the Persian became emperor. He fell in love with Bardane, the wife of his predecessor Dareios, and married her. In the 14th year of Kyros' reign Kroisos, emperor of the Lydians, was informed by his senators of the previous warlike incursion into Lydia made by Astyages, emperor of the Persians, and was angry. He sent a message to Kyros, the emperor of the Persians, that he should yield to him his empire and withdraw, or he could expect a warlike incursion from his own most fortunate Majesty. When Kyros, emperor of the Persians, received **(154)** the ambassadors who had been sent and read what Kroisos had written, he said to the ambassadors, "How has Kroisos, whom so much land separates from me and my empires, been injured by me? Or why, after the passing of so many years, does he avenge injury done to his land?" In his distress Kyros wished to flee to the land of India. When his wife saw him in

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Thales the philosopher (152.13): cf 'the learned Thales' Slav.
at war... (152.15): for the lacuna, see Dind.
5. Bo 153.4-7; Ke 239.12-15, GM 20.19-20; Slav: Ist 5.16-19, Soph 60.
eight other emperors (153.4) Ke, Slav: 'eight emperors' Bo (not in Bury).
Kroisos the Proud (153.5): Ke adds 'and Kyros, emperor of the Assyrians'; cf Slav which adds 'the great, golden emperor', cf 'Kroisos the golden' at 153.6 and elsewhere.
6. Bo 153.8-13; JN 51.2-3, cf Ke 239.15-16, GM 18.12-13, Sk 15.10-11; Slav: Ist 5.20-24.
7. Bo 153.14-154.18; Ke 239.17-240.6, GM 18.13-19.8, Sk 15.15-25, Su III 196.30-197.6, JN 51.1, 4-7, Slav: Ist 5.25-6.23, Soph 61. See *Daniel* 4, Hdt I 47.
India (154.5): Ke adds 'fearing the good fortune of Kroisos', cf 'fearing the fortunate empire of Kroisos' Slav.

despair, she enquired and learnt from him of the problem. She said to him, "In the time of Dareios, my first husband, there was a Hebrew, a prophet, endowed with wisdom from God, whose name was Daniel, one of the sons of Israel in captivity, whom the emperor Dareios held in great honour. He did nothing in war without him. He consulted him whenever he began a war, and so defeated his opponents. After Dareios' death Daniel, now rich and old, withdrew into private life in the region of Marabitis". When Kyros heard this, he sent his nobles to him, to escort him with honour. The ambassadors who had been sent from Kroisos to Kyros returned to the land of the Lydians, bearing the reply given to them by Kyros for their emperor.

8. Kroisos, emperor of the Lydians, chose certain faithful men from his followers. He gave them some gifts that were modest and others that were imperial. He sent them to the oracle at Delphi, saying, "Change your garments and wear Egyptian clothing. When you come to the oracle, (155) give the modest gifts to the priest, saying to him, 'We are Egyptians and we have come to consult the Pythia, but because of the long journey we have forgotten what it was we came to ask or request. But make prayers and ask the goddess why we have come'. If she tells you why you have come, present the imperial gifts too and tell the priest to find out if I shall conquer Kyros, the emperor of the Persians". They took the gifts and went to the temple at Delphi where they presented the modest gifts, saying that they were Egyptians and "We have forgotten why we have come". The priest was astounded when he heard this, but he accepted the modest gifts and went in and prayed. He received this reply from the Pythia, "I know the number of the grains of sand and the measurements of the sea; I can hear one who does not speak and I can understand one who is dumb. But the emperor Kroisos and his Lydians seek to mock me". The priest came out and said to them, "You are not Egyptians but Lydians, and you have not forgotten but you said this to mock our divine power". He gave them the oracle, writing it on diptychs so that Kroisos should know of the miracle. The messengers were astounded and gave the priest the other imperial gifts, telling him, "The emperor Kroisos has sent us since he is making war on Kyros, the emperor of the Persians. Find out whether he will defeat him". The priest went in again and prayed and received this response, "When Kroisos crosses the river Halys he will destroy (156) a great empire". He wrote this oracle too on diptychs and gave it to them to take to the emperor Kroisos, and sent them away.

9. The prophet Daniel came into the presence of Kyros, emperor of the Persians, who said to him, "Tell me if I shall conquer Kroisos, emperor of the Lydians". Daniel hesitated to speak and the emperor, becoming angry with him, threw him into a den of lions. When Kyros

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despair (154.6): 'such despair' Ke, cf Slav.
8. Bo 154.19-156.3; Ke 240.6-241.7, GM 19.11-18, Su III 197.12-18, cf Sk 15.25-27, Slav: Ist 6.23-7.22.
why we have come" (155.9): 'what we were to ask; but ask the Pythia why we have come' Slav.
to mock (155.13): Slav adds 'and to test'.
9. Bo 156.4-157.7; Ke 241.8-242.7, GM 19.18-20.6, JN 51.7-12, cf Sk 15.27-16.7, MK II.13; Slav: Ist 8.1-21, Soph 62. See *Isaiah* 45.1-4,13.

learnt that he had not been harmed by the beasts, he took him out and fell down before him, saying, "I have wronged you, but pray to your god and tell me if I can withstand that grasping and arrogant Kroisos, since he has subjugated the whole earth and yet is not satisfied". Daniel prayed and said to him, "You will conquer Kroisos and take him prisoner. For the God who made all visible things has said concerning you through the prophet Isaiah, 'Thus says the Lord God to Kyros, my anointed, whose right hand I have held so that peoples may submit before him: I shall break the might of emperors, I shall open gates before him and cities will not be closed. I shall go before him and make level mountains, and I shall break down gates of bronze and will shatter iron bolts. I shall give you dark treasures, I shall reveal to you treasures hidden and unseen, so that you may know that I am the Lord God. I raise him up with justice, all his paths are straight. **(157)** He will build my city and he will return my captive people, not for a ransom and not for gifts', said the Lord God of Sabaoth".

When the emperor Kyros heard this, he fell at Daniel's feet saying, "As the Lord your God lives, I will release Israel from my land so that they may worship their god in Jerusalem". He took up arms and began war against Kroisos.

10. When the emperor Kroisos heard the oracle's response, he set out against Kyros with a great force. He crossed the Halys, a river in Cappadocia, and clashed with Kyros during a great storm. He was defeated and wished to flee, both himself and his army, but since the river was in flood because of the storm, he was unable to flee or to get across. He was taken prisoner, and his army of 400,000 men was destroyed. The survivors of these Kyros took prisoner, together with Kroisos, whom he set on high bound to a wooden tripod, and paraded him in triumph before his army. He took him and led him off to Persia. These things are recounted by the most learned Thallos and Kastor and Polybios in their works, and after them by Herodotos, the historian. The learned Theophilos has also chronicled these matters.

11. As soon as Kyros, the emperor of the Persians, returned to his empire **(158)** he immediately set all the sons of Israel free from captivity, to return to Jerusalem with Zorobabel. But two and a half tribes, men, women and children, 50,000 in number, remained in Persian territory of their own choice, in fear of the neighbouring peoples. The other nine and a half returned, as the chronicler Timotheos has

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God who made...has said (156.14; corr Chil) Ke, *Isaiah:* 'God said, "I made..." 'Ba; see Bury, 1897, 224.
10. Bo 157.8-21; Ke 242.7-16, GM 20.6-17, JN 51.13-15, cf Sk 16.7-12; Slav: Ist 8.21-9.7, Soph 62.
the emperor Kroisos (157.8): 'Kroisos, emperor of Lydia' Slav.
He was taken prisoner and his army of 400,000 men was destroyed (157.13) Ke, GM, JN, Slav: 'he was taken prisoner, he and his army of 40,000 men' Bo, but the second 'he' is not in Ba (Bury, 1897, 224) and 'was destroyed' has been added by a second hand in the margin of Ba.
Thallos (157.18; corr Bentley): 'Thales' Ba, cf 'Thalas' Slav.
11. Bo 157.22-158.6; Ke 242.16-23, GM 20.18-19, Su III 197.18-19, JN 51.16, cf Sk 16.12-16; Slav: Ist 9.7-15, Soph 62.
But two and a half tribes...nine and a half returned (158.2-4): 'But not all the Jews wanted to leave with Zorobabel - only two and a half

written. Kyros set them free at the request of Daniel.

12. After the destruction of the empire of the Lydians, the Samians had control over the sea and reigned over those regions. When some years later Kyros, the emperor of the Persians, heard this, he began a campaign against them. He attacked and fought them in a sea battle but was defeated and fled. Returning to his own country he was murdered. The most learned Pythagoras the Samian has written about the war between Kyros and the Samians. It was he who said that Kyros died in the war. All this has been chronicled by the learned Africanus.

13. After the reign of Kyros, his son Dareios, also known as Kambyses, and many others reigned over the Assyrians.

During the time of the reign of Dareios, the son of Kyros, Anaximander practised philosophy among the Hellenes. He said that the earth was the centre of the whole universe, and that the sun was no smaller than the earth, and that air was the beginning of all things; from it all things came into being and into it all things dissolved. He declared that man's soul and all spirits were made of air, introducing false and erroneous reasoning. (159) He also wrote about equinoxes and solstices. Pythagoras the Samian, mentioned above, wrote on arithmetic. He conjectured that there were some incorporeal first causes and introduced this belief to the Hellenes. The learned Timotheos has recorded this in his writings.

14. In the reign of Dareios, son of Kyros, the Ethiopians, who had a grudge against him, started a war against him. When the Jews who lived in the land of the Medes - and there were many of them - realized this, they departed and captured Jerusalem. Dareios, the son of Kyros, heard this and sent his general, named Holofernes, against them to Jerusalem with a great force. He besieged Jerusalem and then a fearful event took place. Judith was a Hebrew woman who plotted against the Persian exarch Holofernes, pretending, it is said, that she wished to betray the Jewish people. She came to Holofernes in secret and when he saw her beauty, he was consumed with desire for her. She said to him, "Do not allow any one here near me, for my sake, because they will attack me, wishing to seduce me". He was persuaded and spent the time

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tribes left, about 50,000 people (Slav adds 'men, women and children'). Nine and a half tribes remained in Persian territory of their own choice, fearing the nations around the land and Judaea (cf 'Lydia' Slav) Ke, Slav (Ist 9.10-14 combined with Soph, both slightly defective but giving this sense rather than that of Ba); see Dubarle, 1959, 543, note 2.

12. Bo 158.7-15; Ke 242.24-243.6; Slav: Ist 9.15-22.

of the Persians (158.9): Slav adds 'having defeated Kroisos'.

learned (158.14): 'most learned' Slav (but the superlative and positive seem used at random and this distinction will not be noted again).

13. Bo 158.16-159.5; Ke 243.7-12, 273.22-274.5, cf GM 20.21-22; Slav: Ist 9.23-10.7, Soph 63.

many others (158.17): 'the others' Ke, Slav.

air was the beginning (158.21): 'aither was the beginning' Ke.

14. Bo 159.6-160.9; Ke 243.12-244.11, GM 276.3-4; Slav: Ist 10.7-11.3, Soph 63.

against them (159.11): 'against the Jews' Ke, Slav.

near me (159.18): 'near you' Ke, Slav.

alone with her. She bided her time with him for three days, then, while she was in bed with him at night, she got up and cut off his head. At midnight she left and entered Jerusalem through the postern gate, carrying his head, and **(160)** gave orders for it to be hung up, for Holofernes had set up his pavilion near the wall for her sake. So the Jews took the head from her and before dawn set it on a spear above the wall, displaying it to his army. At daybreak the Persians saw Holofernes' head impaled on the spear and, suspecting that this had been done by some spirit, they fled. The war came to an end and the Jews were victorious over the Persians. This is recorded in the Hebrew scriptures. The learned Eirenaios has written about this.

15. After the reign of Dareios, Artaxerxes reigned over the Assyrians. Nehemiah the priest, of the seed of David, who had right of access to Artaxerxes, made him an urgent request, for Artaxerxes loved Nehemiah and had put him in charge of the eunuchs. Nehemiah received a large sum of money and persuaded Artaxerxes that he should be set free to go and rebuild Jerusalem, which had been destroyed. This was the first capture of Jerusalem and destruction of the Temple. When Nehemiah had been set free, he went to Jerusalem and rebuilt it and the city wall; he made its streets broad and constructed a better city, for it had been desolate for 70 years. This was the second reconstruction of the Temple. The Temple was completed in 40 years. Artaxerxes, at the request of some members of his senate, set free the remaining Jews. Whoever wished then to return to Jerusalem, returned **(161)** with Esdra the prophet and leader. Artaxerxes also gave the sacred vessels and the priestly books that could be found. Esdra had a record written from his own memory of the books that had not been found.

16. At that time emperors reigned over the land of Macedonia. First Kranaos reigned for 28 years. Then another 23 emperors reigned until Philip.

The philosophers and poets Sophokles, Herakleitos, Euripides, Herodotos, Sokrates and the great Pythagoras were then teachers of Hellenic learning.

Herakles had been born at the time mentioned above at Latos in the Thebaid. He was of the family of Herakles, the son of Alkmene and Picus Zeus. He was brought up in the land of Spain and, when he proved a brave man, went then from Spain to Italy to escape from the emperor

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alone with her (159.20): Slav adds 'and everyone kept away'.
while she was in bed with him (159.21): 'while he was in bed' Ke, Slav; see Dubarle, 1959, 544.
postern gate (159.22): Ke, Slav add 'by which she used to come to him'.
15. Bo 160.10-161.4; Ke 244.12-245.2; Slav: Ist 11.3-18.
over the Assyrians (160.10): Slav adds 'for 20 years'.
Nehemiah the priest (160.11): 'Nehemiah the Jew' Ke, Slav.
Artaxerxes (160.12,21): 'the emperor Artaxerxes' Slav.
and persuaded (160.14; corr Dind) Ke: 'and made' Ba.
16. Bo 161.5-20; Ke 245.3-15; Slav: Ist 11.19-12.4, Soph 65.
Kranaos (161.6): probably 'Karanos' Chil.
23 emperors reigned until Philip (161.6-7): '26 emperors until Philip, the father of Alexander' Ke.
Herakleitos (161.8; corr Dind): Ke, Slav: 'Herakleides' Ba.
Pythagoras (161.9): perhaps 'Protagoras', see Bourier, 1900, 13-14.

Eurystheus. He reigned for 38 years. He married Auge, daughter of the emperor Aleos. He reigned by right of descent from Picus Zeus, and so the Italians and the emperors, or kings, who were descended from him and reigned in the furthest regions of the West, set up gold and porphyry statues in his honour. These statues stand till the present.

17. **(162)** Thus from Adam to this time there were 5,362 years.

After Artaxerxes, many others reigned over the Assyrians until Dareios the Younger.

18. Telephos, Herakles' son by Auge, reigned over Italy. After him his son, whom he called Latinus, reigned likewise. Latinus reigned in that country for 18 years and named the people known as Skitinoi, Latins after himself.

19. Then Aineias the Phrygian, the son of Anchises, in his flight from the sack of Ilion, that is, the Trojan War, came to Libya to Dido the Phoenician, known also as Elissa. After staying there for a while, he abandoned her without warning and fled since he was afraid of Iarbas, emperor of Africa, as Vergil, the learned Roman poet, has written. But the most learned Roman Servius has stated in his writings that it was many years after the death of Aineias ... Dido came from a small city known as Chartima, in Phoenice Maritima on the border between Tyre and Sidon. Dido was very rich; she had a husband, named Sychaios, who was also very rich. Dido's brother, named Pygmalion, killed Sychaios while he was out hunting, **(163)** for he was jealous of his great wealth and authority throughout that land. The two of them were on horseback, hunting wild boar and carrying spears. Pygmalion came up from behind and struck Sychaios, who was a valiant man, in the back with his spear, and killed him. Pygmalion took his body and threw it over a cliff; he then returned, and told Sychaios' household and his wife that he had fallen over a cliff whilst hunting a wild boar. Pygmalion intended to kill his sister also and take all the money. But Dido's husband Sychaios appeared to her in a dream and said, "Flee, in case Pygmalion kills you", and he showed her where his wound was. Then Dido chose her moment and slipped away from her brother Pygmalion and, taking all

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17. Bo 162.1-3; Slav: Ist 12.4-6, Soph 65.
5362 years (162.1): '5307 years' Slav; see Gelzer, 1885a, 135, who despairs over this date.
many others (162.2): 'others' Slav.
18. Bo 162.4-8; Ke 245.15-18, Su III 237.7-9, cf GM 41.5-7; Slav: Ist 12.8-12, Soph 65.
Latinus (162.7): Slav adds 'the son of Telephos'.
Skitinoi (162.7): 'Skitiaioi' Slav, cf 'Ktitaioi' Ke, Bo (corr Dind), 'Kitiaioi' GM, 'Kitioi' Su.
19. Bo 162.9-163.18; Ke 245.19-246.16, JN 55.1-4; Slav: Ist 12.13-13.16, Soph 66.
death of Aineias...Dido (162.15-16): 'death of Aineias that Dido, also known as Elissa, came to Libya; she never saw Aineias at all. Dido' Slav.
"Flee, in case Pygmalion kills you" (163.11): 'Your brother has killed me' Ke, Slav.
where his wound was (163.12): Ke, Slav add 'Flee, in case he kills you too'.

her money and putting it on board some ships, she sailed in flight away from Phoenice with her attendants, and came to Libya, a country in Africa. There she built a very great city which she called Carthage. She reigned there and there she died, having lived chastely.

20. Aineias received an oracle and sailed away from Libya, with the intention of reaching Italy. But an opposing wind blew and he was cast up with his ships near Sicily in Calabria at a city known as Argyrippe, which had been founded by Diomedes, the son of Tydeus. Diomedes was Aitolian by race **(164)**, since he traced his descent from Oineus, emperor of Aitolia. Oineus married a woman named Eriboia, and by her had Tydeus. Eriboia died and he took another wife, named Althaia, by whom he had Meleager and a daughter named Deianeira. A young man, named Acheloos, son of Poseidonios, one of Tydeus' senators was betrothed to Deianeira. But before the marriage he seduced Deianeira in secret and then said to her father Oineus, "I will only take your daughter if you hand over to me the administration of your empire". Oineus did not consent, and so Acheloos, together with his father, took up arms against Oineus and fought with him. Oineus was compelled to summon a valiant general from the land of Phthia, Herakles, known as Polyphemos, making an agreement to give him his daughter Deianeira. Herakles came with his well-equipped army and joined battle with Poseidonios and his son Acheloos. In the conflict Polyphemos killed Poseidonios, Acheloos' father, with his sword. This is why the poets say that Herakles broke off the horn of Acheloos, that is, his father's power. When Acheloos saw that his father had fallen, he fled on horseback; and this is why he is called a Hippokentauros. While Polyphemos Herakles was pursuing him, Acheloos turned **(165)** and shot him through the breast. Immediately Herakles shot Acheloos in return as he crossed the river named Phorbas. On being hit Acheloos was swept from his horse into the river's current and perished, and from that time until now the river has been called Acheloos by the inhabitants of Aitolia, as the learned Kephalion has stated. Polyphemos Herakles died a few days later from the wound in his breast.

21. Meleager, the son of Oineus and brother of Tydeus and Deianeira, performed a great deed in the land of Kalydonia when he killed a tremendous boar. Atalante, the daughter of Schoineus, was with him and her arrow struck the boar first, for the beast had been ravaging that whole country. After the beast had been killed Meleager bestowed its skin upon Atalante, for he had been seized with desire for her. On his return to his father Oineus, Meleager was asked by him for

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money (163.14): Slav adds 'and silver and metalwork and all her valuables'.
Carthage (163.17): Slav adds which is Neapolis in the African language', cf Ke, JN.
20. Bo 163.19-165.7; Ke 246.17-247.17; Slav: Ist 13.16-14.8, Soph 66. See Müller, FHG III 631 (Kephalion, fr. 8).
A young man (164.5): 'When she was still a virgin, a young man' Slav.
then said to her father Oineus (164.8): 'then said to the emperor Oineus' Ke, Slav.
21. Bo 165.8-166.5; Ke 247.18-248.9; Slav: Ist 14.9-15.9.
her arrow struck the boar first (165.11) Ke: cf 'she struck the wondrous boar with a club' Slav.

the spoils from the beast. When Oineus learnt that he had bestowed the skin upon Atalante, he was furious with his son. Oineus had an olive shoot which had been kept by Althaia, his wife and Meleager's mother; for when she was pregnant she had felt a craving to eat the olive shoot and had done so. Having swallowed the olive leaves, she immediately gave birth, bearing them at the same time as Meleager. An oracle on the subject was given to his father, Oineus, that Meleager should live only as long as **(166)** the leaves that had been born with him were preserved. In his anger against his son, Oineus threw these leaves on the fire. They were burnt and Meleager died straightaway, as the learned Euripides has stated in his play about Meleager.

22. After the reign of Oineus, his other son, Tydeus, the father of Diomedes, reigned over Aitolia. After the death of his father Tydeus, Diomedes reigned over the land of the Argives, having married a woman from Argos named Aigialeia. Out of arrogance he subjugated his own country of Aitolia by defeating its people. He put an end to its sovereignty and made it subject to the empire of the Argives, that is, subject to his own rule. He set off immediately with the Achaians for the Trojan War. When after the victory at Troy he returned to his own empire, he was not received by the city or his senate, but they resisted him with armed force. Diomedes learnt that his wife Aigialeia was plotting his death, for she had committed adultery with one of his senators, who also opposed Diomedes fiercely. He likewise heard that she had committed adultery with Oiax, son of Nauplios. These men opposed Diomedes with great strength because of their desire for Aigialeia, as the learned Didymos has stated. So, when Diomedes realized that the leaders and the entire land of the Argives were opposed to him, **(167)** and since he was not even able to return to Aitolia, his birthplace, as he had put an end to its sovereignty, he abandoned his empire and left, sailing to the land of Calabria. There he built a city on the coast which he named Argyrippe, as has been mentioned above, which has now changed its name to Beneventum. He received Aineias, who had been cast ashore, and entertained him in the city, treating him with great honour and hospitality. Aineias spent the winter with him.

23. Aineias said to Diomedes, "I know that you have carried off the sacred Palladion which used to be kept in Troy, so that it could be inscribed, 'The Palladion has been given to Aineias'." Diomedes said to him, "From the time when Odysseus and I took it away, troubles did

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22. Bo 166.6–167.8; Ke 248.10–249.2, 234.12–16, Su I 467.35–468.2; Slav: Ist 15.9–16.3, Soph 67.
reigned over Aitolia (166.6–7): 'reigned over the land of Aitolia' Ke, Slav.
one of his senators (166.18): 'Kometes, one of her senators' Ke, Slav.
Nauplios (166.20): Slav adds 'his senator'.
Aitolia, his birthplace (167.2) Ke, Slav: 'Aitolia, his empire' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 224.
the land of Calabria (167.4) Ke: 'the land of the Calabrians' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 224.
23. Bo 167.9–22; PsS 46v, Ke 237.22–238.9; Slav: Ist 16.3–12, Soph 67.
so that it could be inscribed...Aineias" (167.10–11): probably corrupt, perhaps masking a lacuna; cf Slav, which replaces the whole of the first

not leave me or my army. And so I was compelled to consult the Pythia about it, and the response was that I should return it to the Trojans". Aineias said, "Give it to me". Immediately Diomedes performed a sacrifice and handed the Palladion over to Aineias. Aineias took it and, when summer came, he set out for Italy, to Latinus. He joined Latinus, together with the force of armed Phrygian troops which he had with him and they made war on the Rustuli. During this war Latinus, the son of Telephos, was slain and the Rustuli had the upper hand.

24. **(168)** Aineias went on to Evander and his son Pallas, both most warlike men. They lived in Italy, residing in a village known as Valentia and governing one province. Pallas built in this village a very large house, like no other in the region, which was called the Pallantion; from that time on imperial residences were known as "palaces" *(pallantion)*, after Pallas. Aineias asked them if he might have a force of soldiers from them. Pallas and his father Evander gave him 400 valiant fighting men. Then Aineias went on further to other toparchs and received a large military force, since the whole country was hostile to the Rustuli and Turnus, their emperor. Aineias joined battle with them, and the Rustuli were defeated in the battle by Aineias after Turnus was slain. Following the victory, Aineias took over the empire and Albania, Latinus' daughter. Aineias built a great city there which he named Albania and deposited the Palladion, which he had received from Diomedes, in the city of Albania. Aineias reigned for 19 years after Latinus.

25. After Aineias, Askanios Julius, Aineias' son by Kreousa of Troy, his first wife, reigned there for 25 years. He built the city of Lavinia **(169)** and established his empire among the Lavinesii, transferring the Palladion from the city of Albania to the city of Lavinia that he had built.

26. At that time Eliakim, the son of Joshua, was high priest in Jerusalem, after the return from Babylon of the two and a half tribes who came back to Jerusalem.

27. At that time lived Hippasios, the Pythagorean philosopher; he was the first to construct the heavenly sphere with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and he died at sea in a shipwreck. There also lived then

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sentence ("I know...Aineias") with 'That image which you took in Troy: do you have it?'

24. Bo 168.1-20; PsS 46v-47r, Ke 238.9-13, 238.23-239.3, GM 21.3-6, JN 53.1-3, cf Sk 19.19-27; Slav: Ist 16.12-26, Soph 67.

Pallas (168.2,4) PsS: 'Palas' Ke, GM, Sk, Slav.

Pallantion (168.6; corr, cf 171.7): see Bury, 1897, 220 for the fluctuation in Ba between -ιν and -ιον.

(pallantion) (168.6): 'Palation' PsS, Ke, GM, cf Slav.

Albania (168.16, 17, 19): cf 'Lavinia' Slav.

25. Bo 168.21-169.3; PsS 47r, Ke 238.14-18, JN 52, 54, cf Sk 19.28-31; Slav: Ist 16.27-17.3.

Julius (168.21) PsS, Slav: cf 'Iulus' Ke.

25 years (168.23; the number '2' is in an erasure; Bury 1897, 224): '35 years' Ke, Slav.

Lavinia (169.1, 3; corr Dind) PsS, Ke, Slav: 'Albania' Ba.

26. Bo 169.4-6; Slav: Ist 17.3-4, Soph 67.

27. Bo 169.7-17; Slav: Ist 17.4-12, Soph 67.

Isokrates, Perikles and Thoukydides, who wrote about the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians. At the time of Thoukydides but after the philosophers mentioned above, lived Pheidias the sculptor, and Stesichoros and Bakchylides who were poets and invented dancing. Some time later those mentioned above were educators of the Hellenes. After this appeared Demosthenes, and Aristophanes the comic poet.

28. After the reign of Dareios the Younger, Artaxerxes, known as Mnemon, reigned over the Persians for 39 years.

29. Albas, the son of Askanios, reigned over the Albanoi for 36 years and built the city of Silva; from then on the emperors were called Silvii. **(170)** The emperor Albas transferred the Palladion to the city of Silva. Then the descendants of Aineias, known as the Aineiades, reigned for 331 years.

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28. Bo 169.18-19; Slav: Ist 12.6-7, Soph 67.
29. Bo 169.20-170.3; PsS 47r, Ke 238.19-23; Slav: Ist 17.12-17, Soph 67.
36 years (169.20-21): cf '35 years' Ke, '39 years' Slav.
Silva (169.21, 170.1) Ke, cf Slav: cf 'Silpis' Ba (169.21), 'Silvis' PsS, Ba (170.1); note that at 171.11 Ba, CP, Su, Slav all have a form suggesting a nominative 'Silva'.
Silva (170.1): Slav adds 'which he had built himself'.

BOOK 7 Concerning the Building of Rome

1. **(171)** Then Romus, the builder of Rome, and his brother Remus began to reign; and so they changed their name to Romans. They discovered the arms of Herakles, the descendant of Picus Zeus, and placed them in the shrine of Picus Zeus in the Forum Boarium in the city they had built called Rome, which had formerly been known as the village of Valentia. They have shut the arms up there to the present. The brothers restored the building known as the Pallantion, Pallas' imperial residence, and they built a great temple to Zeus which they called the Capitol in the Roman language, that is, the head of the city. They brought the wooden image of the Palladion from the city of Silva and placed it in Rome. In the course of their reign the brothers became hostile to one another and Remus was slain by Romus, and Romus reigned alone.

2. **(172)** From the time when he killed his brother, the whole city of Rome suffered earthquakes and civil wars broke out during his reign. Romus went to the oracle and asked, "Why is this happening now that I am reigning alone?" The response was given to him by the Pythia, "Unless your brother sits with you on the imperial throne, your city of Rome will not stand, and neither the people nor the war will be at rest". Having made from his brother's picture a likeness of his face, that is, his features, a gold bust, he placed the statue on the throne where he used to sit. He continued thus for the remainder of his reign, with the solid gold likeness of his brother Remus seated beside him. The earthquakes in the city ceased and the rioting among the people died down. Whenever he issued an order as a decree, he would speak as if it came from himself and his brother, saying, "We have ordered, and we have decreed". The emperors' custom of saying, "We have ordered and we have decreed", has continued from that time till the present. From then on he sent out to the cities subject to the Romans solid gold busts of

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1. Bo 171.1-13; CP 204.4-14, PsS 70r, Ke 257.19-21, GM 21.8-14, Su III 29.1-2 IV 7.2, JN 56.1-4; Slav: Ist 18.1-12, Soph 68, KVI (Pol.Pal.) 119
Then Romus...Romans (171.1-2): 'Then two brothers reigned ('in the western regions' KVI) Romus and Remus. Romus, the elder brother of Remus, built a city and called it Rome, and so they became known as Romans' Slav.
Pallantion (171.7) CP, Su, cf JN: 'Palation' (ie 'palace') GM, PsS, Ke, cf Slav.
2. Bo 172.1-19; CP 204.14-205.11, PsS 70r, Ke 258.1-11, GM 22.8-22, JN 56.5-9; Slav: Ist 18.12-19.12, Soph 68, KVI 8, 120.
suffered earthquakes (172.1): CP and Slav add 'and the people rioted', cf PsS, Ke, GM.
his reign (172.2): 'his sole reign' CP, Slav.

himself and his brother, to be placed near the magistrates.

3. After the emperor Romus had completed the walls and adorned the city, he built a temple to Ares. In that month he held a great festival of sacrifice to Ares, calling that month, which had formerly been known as Primus, March *(Martios)*, which means **(173)** "of Ares". All the Romans celebrate this festival annually to the present day, calling the day of the festival "On the Field of Mars" *(Campus Martius)*.

4. He started work again immediately and built the hippodrome in Rome, wishing to divert the mass of the people of Rome because they were rioting and attacking him because of his brother. He was the first to hold chariot-races in the land of Rome at a festival of the Sun, it is said, and in honour of the four elements subordinate to it, that is, earth, sea, fire and air; for he reasoned that the Persian emperors had good fortune in their wars because they honoured these four elements. Oinomaos, emperor of the Pisaian land, held a contest in the European regions on 25th Dystros-March in honour of the Titan Sun, since he was raised, it is said, above the contest of earth and sea, that is, of Demeter and Poseidon, the elements that are subordinate to the Sun. A lot used to be cast between the emperor Oinomaos and the opponent, whatever country he came from, who arrived to compete with him. When the lot summoned Oinomaos to compete on behalf of Poseidon, he wore a blue costume, that is, the colour of water, and his opponent wore the green costume, that is, the colour of the earth. If, however, the lot fell to Oinomaos to wear the costume of Demeter, he wore the green costume **(174)** and his opponent wore the costume of Poseidon, that is, the blue, the colour of water. The loser was put to death. A huge crowd from every district and city used to come and watch the annual imperial contest. Those citizens who lived in the coastal cities, the islands and the coastal villages, and the sailors, used to pray that the contestant wearing the blue costume, that is, the costume of Poseidon, should win, taking it as an omen that, if the contestant competing on behalf of Poseidon should be defeated, then there would be

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gold bust...magistrates (172.18-19): 'busts to be put near the magistrates, and similarly he ordered the minting of gold coins with his own likeness on one side and his brother's likeness on the other' Slav.
3. Bo 172.20-173.3; CP 205.11-17, PsS 70r, Ke 257.22-24, GM 21.15-19, JN 56.20-23, cf Sk 22.1-12; Slav: Ist 19.13-18, KVI 120.
of sacrifice (172.22): 'sacrificing' CP, cf 'and sacrifice' Slav.
annually (173.1) Ba, CP, GM, Slav: 'customarily' Bo.
Mars (173.3) Μάρτις (perhaps reflecting a Latin genitive?) Ba first hand, CP, GM: 'March' Ba second hand.
4. Bo 173.3-175.15; CP 205.18-208.10, C 193.9-18, 191.32-192.14, PsS 70r, Ke 258.11-19, GM 21.20-22.4, JA 29, 31, cf Sk 22.13-28; Slav: Ist 19.18-21.16, KVI 120, 122.
the hippodrome (173.4): 'a circus which he called the hippodrome' CP, cf PsS Ke, Slav.
they honoured these four elements (173.11): CP adds 'The four elements were not honoured in Rome, not even in one festival', cf Slav.
the elements (173.15): cf 'and the elements' CP.
and the coastal villages, and the sailors (174.5): 'and the sailors from the coastal villages' CP, cf Slav.

a shortage of all kinds of fish, shipwrecks at sea and troubles from strong winds. Citizens from the interior and local peasants and all those working in farming used to pray that the contestant wearing the green costume would win, taking it as an omen that, if the contestant competing on behalf of Demeter, that is, on behalf of the earth, should be defeated, there would be a shortage of corn, a lack of wine, oil and other crops. Oinomaos overcame many opponents for many years, for he had Apsyrtos to teach him the art of chariot-racing; but Oinomaos was defeated by Pelops the Lydian and was put to death. This chariot-race was first devised by a man named Enyalios, son of Poseidon. Poseidon had married Libye, daughter of Io and Picus Zeus; he held the southern region and called the country in which he reigned Libya, after his wife. Enyalios invented the horse-race with two-horse chariots, **(175)** as the learned Kallimachos has written in his *Aitesia.*

Then, after him, Erichthonios held the same contest with four-horse chariots, for which he became famous, as is described in Charax's histories. Charax also wrote the following, that the structure of the hippodrome was modelled on the regulation of the world, that is, of the heaven, the earth and the sea. He related the twelve doors to the twelve houses of the zodiacal cycle, which regulates the land, the sea and the fleeting course of man's life. The race-track represents the whole earth; the spina is the sea surrounded by the land; the curve by the starting gates is the East; the curve by the turning point is the West; the seven lanes represent the course and astronomical motion of the seven stars of the Great Bear.

5. The emperor Romus was the first to devise the contest in Rome, likewise in honour of the Sun and the four elements subject to it. He celebrated it in the region of the West, that is, Italy, with four-horse chariots corresponding to the earth, sea, fire and air. Romus gave names to these four elements: that of the Green faction to the earth, because of its greenness; the Blue faction to the sea, that is, water, because of its blueness; the Red faction to fire, **(176)** because of its redness; the White faction to air, because of its whiteness. That is how the four factions were devised in Rome.

He gave this name to the Green faction because its Greek name

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for many years (174.15) CP:'and for many years' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 224.
to teach him (174.16): 'to teach him cruelly' CP, Slav.
Poseidon had married...held (174.19-20; cf 30.5): cf 'Enyalios had married...held' CP, C, Bo (not in Bury, 1897).
Aitesia (175.2) CP: 'Aitia' Chil, probably correctly.
Erichthonios held (175.3): 'Erichthonios held the race and others held it in different places. Oinomaos was the first to hold' CP, Slav, cf C.
Charax's (175.5): 'the most learned Charax's' CP, cf Slav.
modelled (175.6): 'devised' CP, cf 'arranged' C.
the sea (175.7): cf Slav which adds 'and air'.
He related (175.8): 'they related' CP, C, cf 'they relate' Slav.
lanes (175.13; corr Chil): 'swords' Ba, CP, C.
astronomical motion (175.14): cf 'starry motion' CP, 'astronomical position' C.
5. Bo 175.16-177.3; CP 208.11-209.16, C 192.19-193.2, PsS 70r, Ke 258.19-259.3, JA 31; Slav: Ist 21.17-22.14, KVI 121, 123.
names (175.21): 'the following names' CP, Ke.

(prasinon) is the Latin word for enduring, for to endure in Latin is *praisenteuein,* and the green earth endures for ever with its woods; he gave this name to the Blue faction *(Veneton)* because there is a great province subject to Rome, a region known as Venetia, whose metropolis is Aquileia, which is the source of sea-blue, that is, the Venetian dye for clothes. He attached the White faction, that is, air, to the Green faction, that is, earth, because, he said, air rains on and serves the earth, and belongs with it. He attached and joined the Red faction, that is, fire, to the Blue faction, that is, water, because water quenches fire, which is subject to it.

Then the inhabitants of Rome were divided into the factions and no longer agreed among themselves, because thereafter they desired their own side's victory and supported their own faction, as if it were a religion. There was a great division in Rome, and the factions were very hostile towards each other in Rome from the time when Romus devised the spectacle of chariot-racing for them. When Romus saw members of any of the factions supporting the populace or senators who were disaffected and opposed him because of the death of his brother, or for any other reason whatsoever, **(177)** he would decide to support the other faction, and so he secured their favour and their opposition to the aim of his enemies. From that time the emperors of Rome after him followed the same principle.

6. In the reign of Romus his army became large by the recruitment of foreigners, and there was a great number of wild men in Rome but there were not enough women for the number of men. The army of young men desired the pleasures of life and they began to set upon the women in the market-place; rioting and civil war broke out. Romus was in despair, not knowing what to do, for none of the women could bear to live with the soldiers, since they were wild and barbarian. He promulgated a law that the soldiers were to take in marriage virgins whom he called Brutides (daughters of Brutus). No one however chose to give his daughter to them, saying that they had no hope of survival from day to day because of the wars, but the fathers all married their daughters to men from the city. In despair Romus went to the oracle. An oracle was given to him that he should hold chariot-races to be watched by women, so that the army might find themselves wives. Gathering the body of the army in the palace, Romus held chariot-races, ordering that only women should watch the racing. As an unusual spectacle was going to be put on, crowds of women came to the city **(178)** of Rome from all the surrounding countryside and the distant towns and villages. Women, both married and young virgins, filled the hippodrome. The daughters of the people known as Sabines, beautiful women, came too, from a district near Rome. Romus gave secret orders that no married woman who was a Roman citizen was to watch and he also forbad his army to dare touch a married woman: they were to seize virgins and women

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He gave this name to the Green faction...endure (176.2-5): 'He called the Green *(Prasinon)* faction 'Praisenton', which is a Latin word meaning enduring; to endure' CP, cf C.
thereafter they (176.15): 'they each' CP.
desired (176.14; corr Dind) CP: 'saw' Ba.
6. Bo 177.4-178.16; CP 209.16-211.7, JN 56.11-16; Slav: Ist 22.14-23.10.

without husbands only. Romus then entered the hippodrome and began to watch. While the races were being held, the army was turned loose from the palace; they rushed into the hippodrome where they seized from the benches the virgin women and the women without husbands and found wives for themselves. This Romus caused to happen once only, as the most learned Vergil has stated. Pliny the Roman historian has also given the same account, and Livy likewise. Other historians have written that the first chariot-race Romus held for them was with mules.

7. They relate that the brothers, Romus and Remus, were suckled by Lykaina, since the emperor Amulius, their grandfather, ordered them to be abandoned in the forest as they were born out of wedlock. Their mother Ilia, who was a priestess of Ares, had been seduced, and committed adultery with a soldier, and so they say in the form of a myth that Ares had made her pregnant. **(179)** She gave birth to twins and that was why their grandfather cast them out in the forest. A country-woman found them while she was grazing sheep. She took pity on them, for they were beautiful children, and picked them up and nursed them with her own milk. In that country to this day they call the country-women who graze sheep, *lykainai* (she-wolves), because they spend their whole life among wolves.

Because of this Romus devised what is known as the Brumalia, declaring, it is said, that the emperor of the time must entertain his entire senate and officials and all who serve in the palace, since they are persons of consequence, during the winter when there is a respite from fighting. He began by inviting and entertaining first those whose names began with alpha, and so on, right to the last letter; he ordered his senate to entertain in the same way. They too entertained the whole army, and those they wanted. The *pandoura*-players from each military unit went in the evening to the houses of those who had invited them to dine the next day and played, so that the unit should know that they would be entertained by that person the following day. This custom of the Brumalia has persisted in the Roman state to the present day.

Romus did this as he wished to blot out his shame, because the

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without husbands only. Romus (178.8; corr Dind): 'without husbands. Only Romus' Ba.
While the races were being held (178.8-9) CP: cf 'When all were assembled' Slav.
virgin women (178.10): 'virgin maidens' CP.
Vergil (178.13): CP and Slav add 'the poet'.
Pliny (178.13) Slav: cf 'Apollonios' CP.
Livy (178.14): cf 'Silvius' CP.
7. Bo 178.17-180.13; CP 211.12-213.4, GM 22.23-23.19, PsS 69r, 70r Ke 257.4-10, 259.3-4, Su I 497.12-24, JN 56.18; Slav: Ist 23.10-24.13, Soph 69, KVI 7.
emperor of the time (179.9): Slav adds 'must hold an annual feast in his name and'.
the last letter (179.13): 'omega' CP, GM, Su, JN.
They entertained...they wanted (179.15): 'they entertained of the whole mob those whom each one wanted' CP.
who had invited them (179.17): 'who were inviting those whom they wanted' CP.

Romans, who were hostile to him and hated and reviled him, used to say that they ought not be ruled by one who had been degraded, since the two brothers had been fed by strangers **(180)** until they had become full grown and began to reign; they meant by this that they had been brought up by Faustus, the farmer, and his wife Lykaina, eating the food of strangers, as has been mentioned above. For it was a disgrace among the Romans and all ancient peoples for anyone ever to be fed by strangers. This is why at the banquets known as *philika* (friendly gatherings) each participant brings his own food and drink with him to the banquet and everything is then served in common; in their eating they preserve to the present day the ancient custom of not being called "Eaters of other men's food". Romus devised this custom with the intention of mitigating his own shame, naming the meal Brumalium in the Roman language, as the most learned Licinius, the Roman chronicler, has related.

8. After the brothers Romus and Remus there reigned six other emperors in Rome down to Tarquinius Superbus, the unjust. He was the seventh emperor of Rome after the building of the city. The empire was taken away from him.

During the time of his reign lived the Cumaian Sybil, a seer.

9. . Tarquinius had a son named Arruns, who was the cause of his expulsion from the empire, for Tarquinius' son Arruns had forced himself on Lucretia, who was of a senatorial family, and raped her; she, being chaste, killed herself. A great civil war **(181)** broke out in Rome and lasted for years, and many people were killed. The learned Servius, the Roman writer, has written of this.

Tarquinius was expelled from the empire in the following way. When war had been started against Rome by the tribe known as the Ardeni, the emperor Tarquinius took a force and went to make war on the land of the Ardeni. His enemies, the senators Brutus, who was Lucretia's uncle, and Collatinus, her husband, found an opportunity to plot against him. They were joined by the remaining senators and all the citizens, in an attempt to expel him from the empire. They persuaded the troops known as the Celeriani, who guarded the palace and the city of Rome and were very fierce in battle, to join them in not receiving the emperor Tarquinius in future when he returned to Rome. When Tarquinius learnt what had been contrived against him by the senate, the army and the people, he too sent and corrupted Brutus' son, who was a friend and young contemporary of his son Arruns. The young man was persuaded to agree that, when Tarquinius attacked Rome, he would betray the city and kill his father Brutus. Vindicius, Brutus' slave, who attended his son, learnt of this and reported secretly to his master Brutus about the

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Faustus (180.2): 'Faustulus' CP, Slav.
Brumalium (180.12): 'Brumalia ('Brumalium' GM, Su), that is, to be fed by others' CP, Slav, GM, Su.
8. Bo 180.14-19; Slav: Ist 24.13-18, Soph 70, KVI 124.
9. Bo 180.20-183.11; Slav: Ist 24.18-26.12.
Lucretia's uncle (181.7); Slav adds 'who had killed herself'.
Collatinus (181.7, 182.9) Slav: 'Collantinus' Ba.
he too (181.16; see Bury, 1897, 224): 'he' Bo.
reported secretly (181.21; see Bury, 1897, 224): 'sent a secret message' Bo.

plot that was going to be carried out against him by his son. As soon as Brutus heard this, **(182)** he arrested his son and, examining him in front of everyone in the forum at Rome, compelled him to reveal what he and Tarquinius had planned. He confessed to his father that he had made a treacherous agreement with Tarquinius; Brutus immediately put his son to death. Then the entire Roman senate gathered and deposed Tarquinius from the throne, putting his dethronement in writing. Then first of all they designated by a vote two consuls to administer the Roman state. They chose Brutus the Great and Collatinus, Lucretia's husband, who were appointed as leaders after special scrutiny. They decided too that from henceforth there should be no emperor in Rome and wrote to the army which was with Tarquinius, telling them to desert him, which they did immediately.

As soon as Brutus was appointed consul, he immediately brought his slave Vindicius before the senate and people to express his thanks, for he had kept faith with his master. He celebrated a solemn festival in honour of Justice and, seated on the high tribunal, he raised Vindicius to a high position in front of him. He stretched out his right hand and struck him three times on the cheek with the palm of his hand and cried out, "You have shaken off your fate as a slave, Vindicius, and you have cast off its yoke: put on now the breast-plate of Roman freedom for the rest of your life". He took a golden ring from his own hand and put it on Vindicius' right hand, giving him the rank of *comes* and a share of his own **(183)** wealth. He called this day the Festival of Consilia, which means the Day of Giving. He ordered those who were appointed by him as consular governors of the provinces to celebrate on that day each year a sacred vigil and festival of Justice in memory of the victory over Tarquinius and of Vindicius' well-deserved freedom, so as to encourage other servants everywhere to be well-disposed towards their masters and be worthy of similar freedom and honour. Provincial governors of consular rank to the present day celebrate these Consilia with due solemnity. The learned Livy and many others have written about this.

10. Many years later the Gauls rebelled and started a war against the Romans. When the Roman senate learnt of this, it appointed a powerful general, named Manlius Capitolinus, against them. He took up arms, collected a very war-like army and set out for Gaul. He joined battle and completely defeated them. On his return he celebrated his victory with a triumph in Rome, and he entered the city and behaved arrogantly towards the senate, the army and the people. Because of this the senate and everybody else were displeased. He also provoked the envy of an enemy in the senate, a powerful man, named Februarius, who was of Gallic descent, and a plot was made against him. **(184)** When Manlius Capitolinus entered a *conventus* and the body of the senators was seated, the senator Februarius stood up and said to Manlius, "Why do you

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by his son (181.23): Slav adds 'and by the whole city'.
with his master (182.16): Slav adds 'more than his (Brutus') son'.
Consilia (183.1, 8): 'Consualia' Dind, cf 'Consulia' Slav.
10. Bo 183.12-184.15; GM 23.25-24.3, PsS 71r, Ke 263.6-14; Slav: Ist 26.13-27.5.
for Gaul (183.16; Bury, 1897, 225): 'against the Gauls' Bo.
He also provoked (183.20: Bury, 1897, 225): 'He provoked' Bo.

give yourself such airs now that the Roman army has defeated the Gauls, as if you had overcome them in single combat? The *tyche* of the Romans always defeats her enemies. It has not escaped our attention that this has led you to such arrogance that you wish to usurp power over the Romans. This you shall not do". When the senate, the army and the people heard this, they attacked Manlius Capitolinus. The people, rising up at the instigation of the senate, cried out that Manlius Capitolinus should be expelled from the city of Rome. So, in fear of the army and the people, he went off to his own estates, near the district known as Apulia, and there lived quietly. After he had fled, the Roman people attacked his house and pillaged all his belongings.

11. The Gauls had appointed a powerful warrior, named Brennus, to be their king, and they immediately began a campaign against Rome when they heard that Manlius had been expelled from the city. King Brennus set out and made a sudden attack on Rome, and captured it during a stormy night, on 15th Sextilis, having first sent men secretly to kill the gate-keepers and open the gate to him. With the gate-keepers dead, there was panic in the city. The senators realized that the city had been captured and they all fled and some of the leading men of the city went onto (185) the Capitol with their wives and children, to the temple of Zeus, taking their possessions with them. When king Brennus took the city of Rome, he slaughtered many of the citizens and some of the soldiers, and also took prisoners. He continued to besiege the Capitol since the senators, and their possessions, were on it. The senators found an opportunity and wrote to Manlius Capitolinus, begging him to collect up the troops stationed in the various Roman cities and territories, so that he could come to avenge Rome and help them. When Manlius Capitolinus received the letter from the senate and learnt that Rome had been captured and the Capitol was under siege by Brennus, king of the Gauls, he was shocked. He immediately collected up a body of soldiers from all areas and set off. He came upon king Brennus suddenly and unexpectedly in Rome. Leading his army through the streets of the city by night, he surrounded king Brennus and all his men, since they were strangers to the city, and killed them. Having got the better of them, he captured king Brennus and immediately beheaded him and stuck his head on a pole. Then, cutting down his soldiers and his *comites*, he freed all the Romans whom Brennus had taken prisoner and took back all the goods that had been plundered by the Gauls. The Roman senate left the Capitol after Manlius Capitolinus' victory, then immediately voted, together with the army and the surviving people, that he should administer Roman affairs on his own.

12. (186) When Manlius Capitolinus recovered control of Rome, he immediately showed his displeasure at the city's capture, and the shame of the Roman defeat. He cut short the days in the month known as Sextilis, on the grounds that it was of ill-omen to the city of Rome, and he removed its name so that it should no longer be called Sextilis.

Apulia (184.13): cf 'Etolia' Slav.
11. Bo 184.16-185.24; GM 24.4-9, PsS 71r-v, Ke 263.14-22; Slav: Ist 27.6-28.3.
15th (184.20): cf '20th' GM.
12. Bo 186.1-187.13; GM 24.10-20, PsS 71v, Ke 263.22-264.7; Slav: Ist 28.4-30.

He arrested his enemy, the senator named Februarius who had plotted against him and had caused him to be expelled from the city of Rome. He confiscated all Februarius' possessions and immediately, in his sight, distributed them to the army which had come with him to avenge the city of Rome. Manlius proclaimed to the senate and the army, "This man, as you know, is a Gaul by descent, and he plotted against me to avenge them. He also leads a dissolute life, for he is a homosexual and should not live in Rome, but he ought to be thrown out in disgrace and his name stripped from him while he is alive, and he should be given as a sacrifice to the gods of the underworld". The senate and the army agreed with this. Immediately he took his rank away from him and stripped him naked, wrapped him in a straw sack and tied a strong rope round him. He transferred the senator's name by written decree to the month Sextilis, thus naming the month February after him, since this ill-omened and dishonoured month was worthy of the name. He ordered the *vernaculi*, that is, the attendants, to beat him with cudgels **(187)** and to chant, *"Exi, Februarie"*, which in Greek is, "Go out, Peritios". So the senator was expelled from the city of Rome and died, a sacrifice to the gods of the underworld. Manlius instructed the priests to make a sacrifice in the month of February, giving instructions that the costume of straw sacking and the rest should be used annually in every Roman city and that the month of February-Peritios should be beaten outside the city and driven away. This was to signify the victory over Brennus and the Gauls and the punishment of Manlius' enemy, and this takes place up to the present day in every Roman city. I found this account in the city of Thessalonike, and when I had read it I found the title of the book was the *Account* of Brunichius, the Roman chronicler.

13. After the consuls had administered the state for many years, Octavian Augustus was the first to reign again as emperor. He found fault with Manlius Capitolinus, who had made the ill-omened month of February a middle month. Augustus immediately made a change, by sacred command, and placed the name of the month of February after all the other months, and in its place gave his own name, Augustus, to the month that was sixth after *Primus* (the first), and he named the month before August after his uncle, Julius Caesar.

14. **(188)** After Tarquinius had been expelled from the empire, the two consuls mentioned above - Brutus the Great and Collatinus, Lucretia's husband - administered the city. Many other consuls followed, for 464 years, until Julius Caesar.

15. In the time after Joakim, mentioned above, there lived Jaddus who was high priest of the Jews, and Plato, the philosopher and

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to avenge the city of Rome (186.10-11): Slav adds 'and the senators'.
cudgels (186.24): Ba qualifies this word with the adjective βαλίσσηνος which we do not understand.
Exi Februarie (187.1; corr): 'Exithi, Februari' Ba.
13. Bo 187.14-22.
14. Bo 188.1-4; Slav: Ist 29.1-4, Soph 71, KVI 124.
Collatinus (188.3; corr Chil): 'Callatinus' Ba.
the city (188.2): Slav adds 'of Rome'.
15. Bo 188.5-16; Slav: Ist 29.4-13, Soph 71. Cf Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum I* (PG 76, col 553 b).
highpriest (188.6; see Bury, 1897, 225): 'priest' Bo.

educator of the Hellenes. Plato, while writing to Timaios concerning god, said that the divine exists under three names, but is one power and divinity. He said that the first cause is the Good, which has compassion on all things; the second cause is Mind, which created all things; and the third cause is the life-giving Soul, which animated all things. He agreed that the three powers form one divinity. Cyril, the most holy bishop of Alexandria, set this out in his writings against the emperor Julian the Apostate, saying that the Holy Trinity in its divine unity had been foretold by all men even though they were ignorant of the future.

16. In the time of Plato there also lived other philosophers and educators of the Hellenes - Xenophon, Aischines and Aristotle. They introduced to mankind the error of the transmigration of souls: they claimed that the soul of Kalliste, daughter of Lykaon, **(189)** migrated to a bear; that of Hippomene, daughter of Megareus, to a lion; that of Io, daughter of Inachos, to a heifer; that of Atalante, daughter of Schoineus, to a peacock; that of Philomela, daughter of Pandion, to a swallow; that of Prokne, her sister, to a nightingale; that of Niobe, daughter of Tantalos, to a stone. These writers and those who came after them recounted other such myths.

17. After the Artaxerxes, emperor of the Persians, mentioned above, had died, his son Ochos reigned. He made war on the Egyptians and captured the entire land of Egypt, and destroyed it. Nektanabo was then reigning over the Egyptians; he had used divination with a dish and learnt that Ochos, emperor of the Persians, was destined to capture Egypt. So he shaved the hair from his head and changed his imperial garments, and fled by way of Pelousion and lived out his life in Pella, a city in Macedonia.

At that time occurred the notorious events concerning Olympias and Nektanebo, that she was seduced by him by some trick and conceived Alexander, who, they say, was conceived by Zeus Ammon.

Thus the first empire **(190)** of the Egyptians and Thebans lasted for 1493 years. The learned chronicler Eirenaios has related this.

18. At that time the high priest of the Jews was Judas. The Hebrew office of high priest lasted for 1202 years.

At that time the entire island of Rhodes was shaken at night by the wrath of God, an earthquake, in the month of October. The statue of the Kolossos fell and lay on the ground.

The high priests of the Jews, together with the whole people, then paid tribute to the Assyrians. Then the Assyrians and Ochos, their

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Plato (188.7): 'the very learned Plato' Slav.
first (188.9; corr Dind) Slav: om Ba.
16. Bo 188.17-189.7; Slav: Ist 29.13-22, Soph 71.
Niobe (189.5; corr Dind): 'Iobe' Ba, Slav.
Tantalos (189.6; corr Dind): 'Talantos' Ba.
17. Bo 189.8-190.2; CP 319.11-18, GM 24.21-25.8, PsS 71v, Ke 264.10-16; Slav: Ist 29.23-30.8, Soph 72.
Ochos (189.9, 12 and 190.9, 191.1; corr Chil) Slav, cf CP: 'Choos' Ba, GM.
18. Bo 190.3-11; PsS 71v, Ke 264.19-20, JN 58.1; Slav: Ist 30.8-14, Soph 72.
Judas (190.3) JN, cf Slav: 'Jaddus' Bo (corr Chil).

emperor, became conceited; they usurped power over the whole earth and the empire was given into the hands of the Assyrians, the Persians, the Medes and the Parthians.

19. Philip reigned over Macedonia for 20 years. When he had conquered and subjugated Thessaly, he built a city in Macedonia which he called Thessalonike, it having previously been known as the town of Thermai. Dionysios states that it was called Thessalonike later after an empress in Philip's family. The empire, or toparchy, of Macedonia lasted for 602 years, until the reign of Philip, as the most learned Eusebios Pamphilou has chronicled.

After Philip, Alexander, **(191)** the son of Philip, ruled Macedonia.

After Ochos, Dareios the Mede, the son of Assalam, reigned over the Babylonians and had power over all men. During his reign, the Romans became dominant and expanded the boundaries of their territory; since they appointed powerful consuls, they kept seizing more lands.

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19. Bo 190.12-191.5; GM 25.10-16, PsS 71v, Ke 264.21, Su II 708.27-8, JN 58.1-2; Slav: Ist 30.14-24, Soph 72.
Assalam (191.2): cf 'Arsames' GM.

BOOK 8 The Time of the Macedonians

1. **(192)** In the fourth year of the reign of Dareios the Mede, son of Assalam, God raised up Alexander, toparch or emperor of Macedonia, the son of Philip, against the Assyrians, Persians, Parthians and Medes. Alexander built Alexandria the Great, which was previously known as the town of Rakoustis, and named it Alexandria after himself, sacrificing a virgin girl whom he called Macedonia. He built a temple to Serapis Helios and a public bath, which is called The Horse, and other temples. The emperor Alexander, having won the support of united and valiant generals in his anger at the Assyrians' folly, was the first to engage Dareios, emperor of the Persians, in battle.

Arriving at Byzoupolis in Europe, he built a place there which he **(193)** called the Strategion, for it was there that he practised his generalship with his army and his allies. He crossed over from there with his army to a trading-station in Bithynia known as Diskoi. Wishing to win over his army, he issued them there with a great deal of gold and he changed the name of this trading-station to Chrysopolis, which it is called to the present day.

He set out from there and arrived at Troy. After offering a sacrifice at Achilles' tomb, since he was descended from his family (for Olympias, Alexander of Macedon's mother, was descended from Molossos, the son of Pyrrhos and Andromache), he prayed for his spirit to fight on his side in the war. Alexander immediately set out from there like a leopard and captured all lands with his generals. He defeated Dareios, emperor of the Persians, the son of Assalam, and captured him, all his empire, all the land of the Assyrians, Medes, Parthians, Babylonians and Persians and all the empires on earth, as the most learned Bottios has written. Alexander freed the cities and territories and all the land of the Romans, Hellenes and Egyptians from subjection and slavery to Assyrians, Persians, Parthians and Medes; he restored to the Romans all that they had lost.

2. Thus from Adam to Alexander of Macedon's **(194)** victory there were 5557 years. Addous was then high priest of the Jews.

3. The Persian region and its empires were overthrown at that time; the Macedonians and Alexander, together with his allies, established dominion over the land of the Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians and Parthians. After defeating and killing Dareios, they succeeded to

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1. **Bo 192.1-193.22**; GM 25.16-18, 20-26.4, 33.7-9, PsS 72r, Ke 271.1-2, JN 59.1-2; Slav: Soph 73.
2. **Bo 193.23-194.2.**
victory (194.1): Chil 547 shows that the number must refer to the year of Alexander's birth.
3. **Bo 194.3-195.11**; JA 41, GM 33.10-26, PsS 72r, Ke 267.1-6, Su I 103.3-7, JN 59.3-8.

his empires. Alexander made laws for their territory and reigned over them. The Persians erected a bronze equestrian statue of him in Babylon which stands to the present day. Alexander captured Roxane, the daughter of Dareios, emperor of the Persians; she was a virgin, and he married her. Alexander also captured all the regions of India and their empires, taking prisoner Poros, emperor of the Indians; he also captured all the other empires of barbarian peoples, except the empire of the widow Kandake, who reigned over the Indians of the interior. She caught Alexander in the following way. Alexander was in the habit of going in soldier's clothes with ambassadors whom he sent to opposing emperors, to see what the emperor in question was like. The empress Kandake learnt of this and made a thorough investigation to discover what he looked like and what identifying marks he had. She was told that he was short, **(195)** with large prominent teeth and one grey eye and one black. She took private note of this. When he came to her with the ambassadors he sent, she recognized him by the identifying marks. She arrested him and said, "Emperor Alexander, you have captured the whole world but one woman has captured you". Alexander said to her, "Because of the excellence and the quickness of your mind, I shall preserve from harm you, your land and your sons, and I shall take you to wife". On hearing this, Kandake surrendered herself. Alexander took her with him immediately and went to Ethiopia and other countries.

4. When Alexander was on the point of death, he ordained that all the champions and allies with him should reign over the territory where he had left them and should control the lands there. Alexander lived for 36 years and, having subjugated the world, reigned for 17 years. The war lasted 9 years and he subjugated 22 barbarian nations and 13 Hellenic tribes, and he and those with him built many cities.

Thus from Adam to the death of Alexander there were 5593 years, as Theophilos the chronicler has written.

5. After the death of Alexander of Macedon, the lands which Alexander had subjugated with his allies were divided into four toparchies or empires. **(196)** Alexander's Macedonian comrades reigned over these in the following way, just as he had ordained. Macedonia and all Europe were to be controlled and ruled by his elder brother Philip. Philip reigned and after Philip, Kassandros reigned and after Kassandros, Kassandros' sons reigned and after them, Demetrios reigned; after Demetrios, Pyrrhos of Epirus reigned and after Pyrrhos of Epirus, Meleagros reigned and six other emperors reigned until the reign of Perseus of Epirus. Their empire lasted for 157 years after the death of Alexander.

6. Alexander ordained that all Egypt and Libya should be controlled and ruled by Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, the astronomer. He reigned over the Egyptians for 42 years in the time of the Macedonians' dominion. The second emperor was his son Ptolemy.

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4. Bo 195.12-20; JN 59.9.
5. Bo 195.21-196.11; JN 59.10; Slav: Ist 2.1-2.
Kassandros' sons (196.6; corr Chil): 'Alexander's sons' Ba.
6. Bo 196.12-16; Ke 284.14, JN 59.10; Slav: Ist 2.2-5, Soph 76.
42 years (196.15): Gelzer, 1885a, 273 proposes '40 years' by a dittography with 'second'.

7. During the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, the Jewish scriptures were translated into Greek by the 72 teachers in 72 days (for they had been written in Hebrew), since Ptolemy wanted to read the meaning of the Jewish scriptures in the Greek language.

8. After his reign Ptolemy III Philadelphos reigned for 37 years and after him, Ptolemy IV **(197)** Euergetes reigned for 25 years; and after him, Ptolemy V Philopator reigned for 17 years and after him, Ptolemy VI Epiphanes reigned; and after him, Ptolemy VII Philometor reigned for 11 years. Another five emperor Ptolemies reigned for 92 years. The twelfth Ptolemy, named Dionysios, reigned for 29 years: he had a daughter named Cleopatra and a son named Ptolemy.

9. Then the 13th ruler in the Ptolemaic line was Cleopatra, daughter of Dionysios, and she reigned for 22 years. The 13 Macedonian Ptolemies reigned over the whole land of Egypt, from Ptolemy, son of Lagos, to Cleopatra, daughter of Dionysios, for 300 years, until the 15th year of the reign of Augustus Caesar, also known as Octavian Augustus Imperator; he defeated Antony and Cleopatra in the offshore sea-battle at the promontory of Leukate and killed them and subjugated all Egypt, as Eusebios Pamphilou and Pausanias, the chroniclers, have written.

10. He, (Alexander) ordained that Antigonos, known as Poliorketes, should control and reign over Asia Minor as far as Cilicia and the river Drakon, now called the Orontes, which divides the land of Cilicia from Syria and which is known as Typhon and Ophites.

11. He ordained that Seleukos Nikator should control and reign over Syria, Babylonia and Palestine. **(198)** He also reigned over Asia Minor after killing Antigonos, for he joined battle with him since he built near the lake and the river Drakon a city which he called Antigonia. After defeating him Seleukos took all Asia Minor, and all Antigonos' possessions. Seleukos also ordered that Nikomedes and Nikanor, his relatives, sons of his sister Didymea, should have charge of the satrapy of all Asia Minor. During the war Seleukos Nikator married a girl from Parthia, named Apama. He carried her off after

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7. Bo 196.17-21; JN 60, cf CP 326.3-327.1; Slav: Ist 2.5-9, Soph 76.
8. Bo 196.22-197.7; cf Ke 289.18, 290.12, 291.1-3; Slav: Ist 2.9-17, Soph 76.
Epiphanes reigned (197.3): Slav adds 'for 25 years'.
92 years (197.5): cf '190 years' Slav. Ke in this passage is following a fuller tradition with more accurate numbering of regnal years.
Dionysios (197.6 and 197.9,11) Slav, Ke: 'Dionysos' Bo (corr Dind).
9. Bo 197.7-17; Ke 284.21-23; Slav: Ist 2.17-3.7, Soph 76.
22 years (197.9): cf '29 years' Slav.
13 Macedonian Ptolemies (197.9): cf '20 Macedonian Ptolemies' Slav.
Leukate (197.15): Slav adds 'in Epirus'.
Eusebios (197.16): 'the very learned Eusebios' Slav.
the chroniclers (197.17; corr Chil): 'and the chroniclers' Ba.
10. Bo 197.18-22; JN 61.1; Slav: Ist 3.7-10.
11. Bo 197.23-198.22; JN 61.2-3, cf Ke 284.23-285.1; Slav: Ist 3.11-4.1, Soph 76.
Nikator (198.1; corr Chil, cf 198.9,23): 'Nikanor' Ba, Ke, JN.
sons of his sister Didymea (198.8-9): Slav adds 'nephews of Antiochos Soter, son ('sons' ms) of Seleukos' (probably corrupt).

killing her father Pithamenes, who was a great Parthian general. By Apama Seleukos had two daughters, Apama and Laodike. After his wife Apama the Parthian died, he saw and fell in love with another woman, named Stratonike, a very beautiful girl, daughter of Demetrios son of Antigonos, known as Poliorketes, who had been killed by him. Seleukos found her in Rhosos hiding with her father Demetrios. Kilix, son of Agenor, had built the city of Rhosos. Seleukos had a daughter by Stratonike named Phila. Then Seleukos reigned over Syria, all Asia Minor, Babylon and Palestine for 43 years.

12. Immediately after his victory over Antigonos Poliorketes, **(199)** Seleukos Nikator wanted to build a number of cities and first began to build on the coast of Syria. Going down to the sea he saw on the mountain a small city which was called Palaiopolis, which Syros, the son of Agenor, had built. On 23rd Xanthikos he went to Mount Kasios to sacrifice to Zeus Kasios. After completing the sacrifice and cutting up the meat, he asked in prayer where he should build a city. Suddenly an eagle seized some of the sacrifice and carried it off to the old city. Seleukos and the augurs with him followed close behind and found the meat thrown down by the sea, below the old city at the trading-station known as Pieria. After marking out the walls he immediately laid its foundations, calling the city Seleukeia after himself. To give thanks he went up to Iopolis, where three days later he celebrated a festival in honour of Zeus Keraunios, in the temple built by Perseus, the son of Picus and Danae, which is on Mount Silpios, where Iopolis is situated. He made the sacrifice on 1st Artemisios.

13. He came to the city of Antigonia built by Antigonos Poliorketes which was surrounded by another river, the Arkeuthas, also known as Iaphtha, coming out of the lake, and was in a secure position. He made a sacrifice there in honour of Zeus at the altars built by Antigonos, and cut up the meat. He prayed with the priest Amphion to learn by the giving of a sign whether he ought to settle in the city of Antigonia, though **(200)** changing its name, or whether he ought not to settle in it but build another city in another place. Suddenly a great eagle came down from the sky and picked up some meat from the burnt offering on the altar-fire and went off to Mount Silpios. He pursued it with his men, and found the sacred meat and the eagle standing on it. When the priest, the augurs and Seleukos saw the wonder, they said, "It is here that we must settle; we must not settle in Antigonia nor should it become a city, since the gods do not want this". Then he discussed with them where to place the city to make it secure. Since he was afraid of the streams from Mount Silpios and the torrents that came down from it, it was there on the floor of the valley, opposite the mountain

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Pithamenes (198.11; mistranslated as 'betrothed' Slav): cf 'Spithamenes' Dind (correctly 'Spitamenes').
12. Bo 198.23–199.16; Slav: Ist 4.1–16.
which was called Palaiopolis (199.3) Slav: om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
Xanthikos (199.4): 'Xanthikos-April' Slav.
old city (199.8, 10): cf 'Palaiopolis' Slav.
13. Bo 199.16–201.3; JN 61.4-5; Slav: Ist 4.16–17, Soph 76.
Arkeuthas (199.18): 'Archeuthas' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
by the giving of a sign whether (199.22): 'through a sign given to him and' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.

near the great river Drakon, renamed the Orontes, on the site of the village known as Bottia, opposite Iopolis, that they marked out the foundations for the wall. Through the agency of Amphion, the chief priest and wonder worker, he sacrificed a virgin girl named Aimathe, between the city and the river, on 22nd Artemisios-May, at the first hour of the day, at sunrise. He called the city Antioch after his son, who was known as Antiochos Soter. He immediately built a temple which he called that of Zeus Bottios, and raised up the walls also to be really tremendous with the help of the architect Xenarios. **(201)** He set up a bronze statue of a human figure, the girl who had been sacrificed as the *tyche* of the city, above the river, and he immediately made a sacrifice to this *tyche*.

14. He went off and razed the whole city of Antigonia to the ground. He brought the materials from there down the river and made a statue of the *tyche* Antigonia, a bronze figure holding Amaltheia's horn in front of her. He constructed a four-columned shrine and put the *tyche* in a high position, placing a lofty altar in front of it. After the death of Seleukos, Demetrios, the son of Antigonos Poliorketes, carried this statue of the *tyche* off to Rhosos, the city in Cilicia. The city of Rhosos was built by Kilix, son of Agenor.

15. After destroying Antigonia, Seleukos made the Athenians who used to live in Antigonia migrate to the city that he had built, Antioch the Great. Antigonos had left them there in Antigonia with his son Demetrios and some others, some Macedonians - a total of 5300 men. Seleukos made a tremendous bronze statue of Athene in Antioch the Great for the Athenians, since they worshipped her. He also brought down from the acropolis the Cretans whom Kasos, the son of Inachos, had left to live up there. They had migrated to Antioch with the Cypriots, since the emperor Kasos married Amyke, **(202)** also known as Kitia, daughter of Sasalaminos, emperor of Cyprus. Cypriots came with her and made their homes on the acropolis. Amyke died and was buried 100 stades from the city; because of her the district was called Amyke. Seleukos won over the Argive Ionitai as well and brought them down from Iopolis to live in Antioch. He made them city officials, since they were a priestly and well-born group.

16. Seleukos set up a stone statue of an eagle just outside the city. He ordered that the months in Syria should be named in the Macedonian fashion, since he found that giants had lived in the land; for two miles from the city of Antioch is a place with human bodies turned to stone because of God's anger, which are called giants to the

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Xenarios (200.21): 'Xenaios' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
above the river (201.2): 'sitting above the river' Förster, 1897, 145, cf 276.7 below and Downey, 1961, 73, note 88.
14. Bo 201.3-11; Slav: Ist 4.17-19.
15. Bo 201.12-202.6; Slav: Ist 4.20-5.1.
Antigonia (201.12): 'the city of Antigonia' Slav.
worshipped (201.18): cf 'did not worship' Slav.
Inachos (201.20): 'the emperor Inachos' Slav.
Sasalaminos (201.22): 'Salaminos' Slav, cf Chil.
Iopolis (202.5): 'the city of Iopolis' Slav.
16. Bo 202.6-15; Slav: Ist 5.1-8, Soph 77.
turned to stone (202.11): cf 'turned to marble' Slav.

present day; equally, a giant known as Pagras, who lived in the land, was burnt by a thunderbolt. So it is plain that the people of Antioch in Syria live in the land of the giants.

17. Seleukos set up just outside the city on the other side of the river another statue, of a horse's head, and next to it a gilded helmet, inscribing on them, "On this Seleukos fled from Antigonos, and was saved; he returned from there and conquered and killed him". Seleukos also set up inside the gate known as Romanesian a marble statue of Amphion, who had made the bird-sacrifice with him.

18. Seleukos Nikator also built another coastal city in Syria named Laodikeia, **(203)** after his daughter, which was formerly a village named Mazabda. He made the customary sacrifice to Zeus and when he asked where he should build the city, an eagle came again and seized some of the sacrifice. In his pursuit of the eagle he met a great wild-boar, emerging from a reed-bed, and killed it with the spear he was holding. After killing the boar, he marked out the walls with its blood by dragging the carcass, and ignored the eagle. And so he built the city over the boar's blood and sacrificed an innocent girl, named Agave, setting up a bronze statue of her as the city's *tyche*.

19. Seleukos Nikator built another great city in Syria, named after his daughter Apama, after finding a village formerly known as Pharnake. Seleukos fortified it and named it a city, calling it Apameia, and made a sacrifice. He changed its name to Pella because the *tyche* of the city of Apameia had this name, for Seleukos was from Pella, the city in Macedonia. He made a sacrifice, of a bull and a goat. Once again the eagle came and picked up the heads of the bull and goat. He marked out the circuit of the walls with the blood. Seleukos also built various other cities in other provinces and in Persian territory, as many as 75 in number, as the learned Pausanias the chronicler has written. Seleukos named **(204)** these cities after himself and his children, as he saw fit. The learned Pausanias stated that Seleukos named Antioch the Great after his father, since his father was also called Antiochos. But no one building a city calls it after a dead man, for that is nonsense: he calls it after a person who is alive and well. He named this city after his son Antiochos, as mentioned above. The most learned Pausanias has written much else poetically.

20. Seleukos planted the cypresses in the city that once was Herakleis, but is now known as Daphne, near the temple of Apollo; these followed the cypresses planted by Herakles, the wonder worker, who built Daphne and called it the city of Herakleis after himself. The city had been built outside the grove by the temple of Athene. The temple of Apollo was called the Daphnaion and was in the middle of the grove. Herakles was the first to expound the art of wrestling.

Then Seleukos died at the Hellesport, at the age of 72, and he was buried at Seleukeia in Syria.

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17. Bo 202.15-21.
and conquered (202.19): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225 and Downey, 1961, 77, note 107.
18. Bo 202.21-203.10; JN 61.6; Slav: Ist 5.7-9, Soph 77.
19. Bo 203.10-204.8; JN 61.7, 62; Slav: Ist 5.9-20, Soph 77.
20. Bo 204.9-18; Slav: Ist 5.21-26, Soph 77.
expound (204.16): 'devise' Slav.

21. After the reign of Seleukos, his son Antiochos, called Soter, reigned for 20 years. This Antiochos fell in love with his stepmother Stratonike, the daughter of Demetrios, and **(205)** he married her. He had by her two sons, Seleukos who died in infancy, and Antiochos called Theoeides. Antiochos, the son of Seleukos, died and after him Antiochos Theoeides reigned for 15 years. After him his son by Bernike, Seleukos Kallinikos, reigned for 24 years and Alexander Nikator for 36 years, Seleukos Philopator for 10 years, and Antiochos Epiphanes for 12 years.

22. During his reign, when there was a plague and many people in the city perished, Leios, a wonder worker, ordered that a rock from the mountain above the city be carved with an enormous mask, crowned and looking towards the city and the valley. He wrote an inscription on it and stopped the deaths from the plague. To the present day the Antiochenes call this mask Charonion.

The emperor Antiochos, known as Epiphanes, first built in Antioch the Great outside the city the building known as the *bouleuterion,* so that all his senators might assemble there with the city officials and all the landowners of the city and discuss what should be done about the matters that arose and then refer their recommendations to him. He also built some other constructions outside the city and called this area the city of Epiphania after himself; but he did not build a wall for it, and the settlement was left open on the mountain.

23. Antiochos Epiphanes grew angry with Ptolemy, **(206)** emperor of Egypt, since he demanded taxes from the Jews who were from the country under Antiochos' rule. The Jews came from Palestine to Antioch and asked Antiochos to write to Ptolemy, toparch and emperor of Egypt, not to demand tax from them when they imported grain for them to eat, since there was then a severe famine in Palestine; for the Jews used to import grain from the land of Egypt. After receiving Antiochos' letter, Ptolemy ordered that more demands should be made of them. Then Antiochos Epiphanes began a campaign against Ptolemy because he did not obey his letter. When a battle took place between them, a large number of Antiochos' men fell and he went off in flight to the *limes.* On learning of this the Jews of Jerusalem, thinking that Antiochos was dead, lit bonfires in Ptolemy's honour, commending themselves to him. But Antiochos Epiphanes gathered an army, fell upon Ptolemy and killed him, cutting his army to pieces. Learning how the Jews of Jerusalem had acted against him out of pleasure at his defeat, he marched against Jerusalem. He besieged it, attacked and captured it and massacred everyone. He brought Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, and the Maccabees to Antioch, where he tortured and killed them. He abolished the office of highpriest in Judaea and made the temple of the Jews, that

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21. Bo 204.19-205.7; cf JA 54-5; Slav: Ist 5.27-6.6, Soph 78.
36 years (205.6): '4 years, and Antiochos Grypes 36 years' Slav; see Downey, 1938, 112, note 1.
Epiphanes (205.7): 'called Epiphanestatos' Slav.
22. Bo 205.8-22; Slav: Ist 6.6-15.
23. Bo 205.23-207.5; cf Ke 339.15-16, Su I 464.7-11, JN 63; Slav: Ist 6.15-7.6, Soph 78.
Antiochos Epiphanes (205.23): cf 'the emperor Antiochos' Slav.
fell upon Ptolemy (206.16): Slav adds 'suddenly'.

of Solomon, (207) into a temple of Olympian Zeus and Athene, polluting the building with pig flesh. He prohibited the Jews from their ancestral worship and forced them to follow Hellenic customs for three years.

Antiochos died and his son Antiochos Glaukos, known as Hierax, reigned for two years.

24. After him Demetrianos, son of Seleukos, reigned for eight years. A man named Judas, a Jew by race, came to Antioch the Great and begged and entreated the emperor Demetrianos, and the emperor turned over to him the temple and the Maccabees' remains. He buried them in Antioch the Great in the place known as the Kerateon; for there was a Jewish synagogue there. Antiochos had executed them just outside the city of Antioch, on the Ever-Weeping Mountain, opposite Zeus Kasios. After purifying the temple and rebuilding Jerusalem, Judas celebrated the Paschal festival in honour of God. This was the second capture of Jerusalem, as Eusebios Pamphilou has written in his chronicle.

25. After Demetrianos, Antiochos, grandson of Grypos and son of Laodike, daughter of Ariarathes, emperor of the Cappadocians, reigned for nine years.

At that time Antioch the Great suffered from the wrath of God, in the eighth year of his reign, in the time of the Macedonians, 152 years after the original laying of the foundation of the wall by (208) Seleukos Nikator, at the tenth hour of the day, on 21st Peritios-February. It was completely rebuilt, as Domninos the chronicler has written. It was 122 years after the completion of the walls and the whole city that it suffered; it was rebuilt better.

26. After Antiochos, grandson of Grypos, Antiochos Euergetes reigned. The Parthians rebelled against him and he began a mighty campaign against them. After many Parthians had been killed, they began a treaty of friendship. He married his son Antiochos, known as Kyzikenos, to the daughter, named Brittane, of Arsakes the Parthian who had rebelled against him. The war ended.

After Antiochos Euergetes, there reigned nine other emperors from his family up to the reign of Antiochos, the son of Dionikes the Leper, father of Cleopatra and Antiochis.

27. In the time of the reign of the emperors before Antiochos, son of Dionikes, mentioned above, the emperor, or toparch, Pyrrhos of Epirus rebelled against the Romans, after receiving a prophecy that he would be killed by a woman. Curius, the Roman consul, joined battle with him and defeated him. In his flight Pyrrhos came near a city that

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24. Bo 207.6-16; Slav: Ist 7.6-14, Soph 80.
a Jew by race (207.8): 'a Jew by religion' Slav; see Bickerman, 1951, 64, note 6.
He buried (207.10): 'They buried' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
Eusebios (207.15): 'the very learned Eusebios' Slav.
25. Bo 207.17-208.4; Slav: Ist 7.14-21, Soph 80.
Domninos (208.2; corr) Slav: 'Domnos' Ba.
written (208.2): Slav adds 'and Pausanias also'.
26. Bo 208.5-208.14; Slav: Ist 7.21-29, Soph 81.
Dionikes (208.13): 'Dionysos' Slav.
27. Bo 208.15-21; Slav: Ist 7.30-8.5.
Dionikes (208.15): 'Dionysos' Slav.

had buildings outside the wall and a woman threw a tile down onto his head and killed him.

28. After this Magnus Paulus the Macedonian became consul. He killed in battle **(209)** the emperor of Macedonia, named Perses. He captured the land of Macedonia and made it subject to the Romans. Sallust mentions this in his Catilinarian history, in recording Caesar's speech.

After this Perseus of Epirus, the sea warrior and toparch of Thessaly, reigned in his own land. Eutropius the Roman writer named this Perseus in his account, in the translation. Palaiphatos mentions him too. Lucius Paulus, the Roman consul, killed Perseus in battle.

29. At this time a man named Hannibal, king of the Africans, rebelled for 20 years against Rome, which had no emperor but was administered by the consuls. He destroyed the greater part of all Italy after conquering it in wars and he slew the Paulus mentioned above. Then the senate of Rome appointed a consul who was powerful in all respects, but particularly in war, the man known as Scipio the Great. While Hannibal delayed in Italy, Scipio took a large army and went off to Hannibal's land in Africa and destroyed it. He burnt Carthage, the city of which Hannibal was king, enslaved it and captured all his people together with his senate, and returned to Rome.

On learning of this, Hannibal went off to Bithynia to **(210)** Antiochos, the son of Nikomedes, emperor of Asia, and called upon him to become his ally. The Macedonians had had solemn treaties of friendship with the Romans from the time of Alexander of Macedon since the Romans had supplied him with an army against Dareios. Antiochos, emperor of Asia, was persuaded by Hannibal and joined with him. He went with him against the Romans, trusting in his army, and set out from Bithynia. On hearing of this the senators of Rome appointed a powerful consul, the second Scipio, brother of the first Scipio. They sent him against these two, Antiochos, the emperor of Asia, and Hannibal, the king of Africa. He met them and engaged them in a great battle. After many had been slaughtered Hannibal fled, seeing Scipio's power and that he had the upper hand. He committed suicide by drinking a fatal potion, and died. On seeing that Hannibal had fled, Antiochos turned in flight. Scipio pursued him as far as the mountain in Isauria known as Tauros. After going up there, Antiochos sent ambassadors to him, pleading with him that he had no quarrel with the Romans but had been fighting on behalf of another.

Scipio received him and made him subject to the Romans by a decree of the senate of Rome, on condition that each year he should pay the Romans four talents of gold and silver and **(211)** certain other payments for the rest of his life. Scipio gave a banquet and invited

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killed (208.21): 'wounded' Slav.
28. Bo 208.22-209.9; cf JA 57; Slav: Ist 8.5-13. See Sallust, *Cat* 51.5.
the Roman consul (209.8): 'another Roman consul' Slav.
Perseus (209.8): Slav adds 'the sea-warrior'.
29. Bo 209.10-211.3; Slav: Ist 8.13-9.13, Soph 82.
trusting in (210.6): cf 'sailing with' Slav.
had fled (210.15): 'was fleeing' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
and silver (210.22): 'and the same amount of silver' Slav.

him and granted him first place, honouring him as an emperor. Scipio returned to Rome in glory, as the most learned Florus noted from Livy's writings.

30. In the 15th year of the Antiochos the Leper, son of Dionikes, mentioned above, emperor of Syria, a man called Tigranes, emperor of the Armenians, came and fought a great battle with Antiochos. After defeating Antiochos, Tigranes, emperor of the Armenians, captured Antioch the Great and his empire, taking away from him all that he possessed. The emperor Antiochos fled from Tigranes to Persian territory. Pompeius Magnus came out from Rome because of Caesar and attacked the Cilicians, who had rebelled against him; and when he had defeated them, he made war also on Tigranes, emperor of the Armenians. After defeating him, he captured Armenia, Cilicia and Syria, putting an end to these toparchies too. He laid claim to the Antiochenes and, entering the city of Antioch, he made it subject to the Romans, giving generously to them and rebuilding the *bouleuterion,* for it had fallen down. He honoured the Antiochenes since they were Athenians by descent.

31. Byblos, a powerful general, discovered a village on the coast of Phoenice, and made it into a city by fortifying it, (212) and called it Byblos after himself. He asked the Antiochenes as a favour for the statue of Athene that had been made by Seleukos and was tremendous, and for the statue of Zeus Keraunios that had been made by Seleukos and was tremendous too; he took them away and sent them to Rome for the Capitol, since they were a magnificent sight and since they had become subject to the Romans. The statues remain to the present day. The inscription is, "The people of Antioch the Great honoured the Romans by presenting statues in gratitude".

32. The emperor Antiochos, son of Dionikes, on hearing of the downfall of Tigranes, emperor of the Armenians, and of Pompeius Magnus' victory over him, came to Pompeius and fell down before him, asking him to restore his empire to him. Pompeius was won over and restored to him the empire of Syria, Cilicia and everything that Antiochos had held formerly. On 19th Daisios Pompeius set out from Antioch against Egypt. Antiochos the Macedonian, the son of Dionikes, began to reign again.

33. At that time lived Cicero and Sallust, the most learned Roman poets.

34. When the emperor Antiochos, the son of Dionikes, was on the point of death, he left to the Romans all that was subject to him, together with his estate. After the death of the emperor Antiochos,

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Livy's (211.3): 'the most learned Livy's' Slav.
30. Bo 211.4-19; Slav: Ist 9.14-27, Soph 83.
fallen down (211.18): Slav adds 'They asked this of him, and'.
31. Bo 211.20-212.8; Slav: Ist 9.27-10.6.
a powerful general (211.20): 'and his powerful general' Slav.
the statues (212.7): 'statues' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225 and Downey, 1961, 151, note 4.
32. Bo 212.9-17; Slav: Ist 10.6-10, Soph 83, Meshchersky 283.
reign again (212.17): Slav adds 'in Antioch'.
33. Bo 212.18-19; Slav: Ist 10.10-11, Soph 83.
34. Bo 212.20-213.4; Slav: Ist 10.11-17, Soph 83.
Antiochos (212.22): Slav adds 'Dionysos'.

Antioch the Great became subject to the Romans, as well as all the land of Syria, (213) Cilicia and whatever the Macedonians had held.

Thus the Macedonians ruled Antioch the Great, that is Syria, Cilicia and other lands, for 263 years from Seleukos Nikator until the empire was given to the Romans.

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became subject (212.22): Slav adds 'again'.

BOOK 9 The Time of the Consuls of Rome

1. **(214)** The Roman state was administered formerly by consuls, for 464 years until Julius Caesar the dictator. He was not born normally but, after his mother had died in the ninth month, they cut her open and delivered the baby. So he was called Caesar, for in the Roman language Caesar means "dissection".

2. After growing up and proving his courage, he was appointed triumvir with Pompeius Magnus and Crassus. The Roman state was administered by these three. After the murder of Crassus when he had been captured by the Persians in battle in Persian territory, Caesar the dictator remained fighting with his army in the western regions. When he was dismissed from the consulship, that is, the triumvirate, after a kind of scrutiny by the senate of Rome **(215)** and his father-in-law Pompeius Magnus, Julius Caesar was displeased and rebelled against the Romans. Winning over the Romans' enemies, he began a campaign against the senate of Rome and Pompeius Magnus. He reached Rome, captured it and killed all the senators. Pompeius set out against him but saw that he was unable to fight him, so he abandoned the western regions and went off to the East, intending to secure this region. Julius Caesar the dictator became absolute master of Rome and all the western regions, and began a campaign against Pompeius Magnus. When he caught up with Pompeius, he killed him in the land of Egypt, as the most learned Lucan has written about him.

This Caesar was the first to win sole control over the Romans amid great fear, and he laid claim to all authority. For after Seleukos Nikator the Macedonians were feeble and neglected the land of Babylonia, permitting the Persians to set up an emperor for themselves. Likewise they allowed the Jews to accept the tetrarchic empires from the senate of Rome.

At that time lived Livy, the learned Roman historian, who wrote much

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1. Bo 214.1-4: CP 353.15-354.3, LG 275.5-7 (53.21-54.3), GM 293.1-6, Ke 289.11-16, Sk 24.12-14, JN 64.1-2; Slav: Soph 84.
464 (214.2): cf '465' Slav, '364' Ke, GM, '393' CP.
delivered the baby (214.4;corr, cf Dind) CP: 'delivered him as a baby' Ba.
for (214.5;corr Dind) CP: om Ba.
2. Bo 214.4-215.20: CP 354.3-16; Slav: Ist 11.1-12.3. See Lucan, 8.456.
a kind of scrutiny by the senate (214.12): 'scrutiny by the whole body of the senate' CP, cf Slav.
captured it (215.5): cf 'captured them' Slav.
fight him (215.6): Slav adds 'or resist him'.
written about him (215.12): Slav adds 'and later Eusebios Pamphilou wrote of the same events in his work'.

about the Romans.

3. After this, Julius Caesar the dictator, that is, monarch, controlled everything arrogantly and as a usurper for 18 years. He devised the intercalary day and (216) laid down laws for the Romans and he named months for them. He appointed those whom he wanted each year as consuls.

4. At that time Vergil, the learned Roman poet, wrote the story of Aineias and of Dido, who was originally from Phoenice, the wooden horse and the capture of Troy.

5. News was sent immediately of the arrival of Julius Caesar, the dictator, that is, monarch, the rebel who captured Rome, murdered the senate and became monarch. The edict reached the city of Antioch on 12th Artemisios-May, of the following indiction. The city's freedom (from when it had become subject to Rome), sent by the Caesar Julius, was proclaimed in Antioch on 20th Artemisios. The edict was proclaimed, and went as follows, "In Antioch, the sacred, inviolate, autonomous metropolis ruling and presiding over the East, Julius Gaius Caesar, and so on". Julius Caesar, the dictator, entered Antioch on 23rd Artemisios. He built a basilica, which he named the Kaisarion, opposite the temple of Ares which was renamed the Macellum, and set up there a bronze statue of the *tyche* of Rome. Equally he built, up on the place known as the acropolis, on the mountain of Antioch the Great, a public bath for the inhabitants of the acropolis, (217) bringing the water from what are known as the waters of the road to Laodikeia through the aqueduct built by him. He also built up there a *monomacheion* and a theatre. He restored the Pantheon since it was on the point of collapsing, and re-erected the altar.

6. Going off to Alexandria the Great, Caesar built buildings there in the name of the son whom he had by Cleopatra, whom he loved as she was a beautiful woman. He found that she had been exiled to the Thebaid by her brother Ptolemy, who was displeased with her. Caesar seduced her and made her pregnant; she bore a son whom she called Kaisarion. Julius, the Caesar, built the Kaisarion in Alexandria the Great, and so named it after his son. After expelling Cleopatra's brother, Ptolemy, from the empire of Egypt, he gave her the empire of Egypt and executed the two eunuchs who had induced Ptolemy to banish her into the Thebaid. The son of Cleopatra and Caesar died in childhood.

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3. **Bo 215.21-216.2**: CP 354.17-18, GM 293.9-15, PsS 75r, Ke 303.21-22, JN 64.4-5; Slav: Ist 12.2-3, Soph 84.
18 years (215.22) Slav, GM: '4 years and 7 months from the 4th day before the Ides of May of the 1st indiction' CP, Sk, but unlikely to reflect Malalas.
4. **Bo 216.3-6**; PsS 75r, Ke 303.22-23; Slav: Ist 12.4-6, Soph 85.
Dido (216.4): cf 'Elisa' Slav.
5. **Bo 216.7-217.4**; CP 354.19-355.4; Slav: Ist 12.6-23.
entered Antioch (216.18): 'entered Antioch the Great' CP, Slav.
the Pantheon (217.3): Slav adds 'in Antioch'.
6. **Bo 217.5-17**; JN 64.6-8; Slav: Ist 12.23-13.1, Soph 85, KVI (Pol Pal) 126-128.
eunuchs (217.14): cf 'sons' Slav.

7. After arriving in Rome, Caesar was murdered by the second Brutus and other senators who collaborated with him, during the consulship of Isauricus and, for the second time, of Antony. Antioch the Great therefore calculates its first year from Caesar Gaius Julius, in his honour.

8. **(218)** After Caesar Gaius Julius, the senate of Rome chose Augustus Octavian, a relative of Caesar's, and Antony, Augustus' brother-in-law through his sister, and Lepidus. The three became triumvirs and administered the Roman state themselves, appointing consuls each year.

9. In the 15th year of the triumvirate of Augustus Octavian, the Egyptians and Cleopatra rebelled. She built in Alexandria the Great the Pharos, the lighthouse on the island known as Proteus' island, which is two miles away opposite Alexandria; she heaped up earth and stones in the sea for all that distance, for men and beasts to walk upon the sea as far as this island and the Pharos. Cleopatra achieved this tremendous work with the aid of Dexiphanes of Knidos, an engineer, who turned the sea into land. When news of the rebellion of the Egyptians and their empress Cleopatra reached the Romans, Antony took up arms, and set out from Rome against Cleopatra and the Egyptians and also against Persian territory, since they were disturbing the East.

10. Antony invaded Egypt with a large force of troops. On arriving at Alexandria the Great, he surrounded and besieged it, **(219)** sending a message to Cleopatra to give up the city, for he had known her formerly, when he had come to Egypt with the Caesar Julius. Cleopatra sent a seductive message back to him, saying that she desired him; Antony

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7. Bo 217.18-22; CP 359.13-15, 355.4-6, De insid 2 (155.17-18); Slav: Ist 13.1-6, Soph 85.
in Rome (217.18) CP: De insid adds 'from Antioch'.
Caesar (217.18): 'Gaius Julius Caesar' CP, cf Slav.
Isauricus (217.20; corr Chil): 'Chrysauricus' Ba.
Antioch...honour (217.21-22): cf CP 'So this is reckoned as year 1 of Antioch the Great in honour of the edict of her freedom, and the 1st year of the 15-year cycle of indictions is calculated from the 1st year of Gaius Julius Caesar'.
8. Bo 218.1-6; CP 359.16-360.2, De insid 3 (155.19-20); Slav: Ist 13.7-11, Soph 86.
After (218.1): 'After the death of' CP, Slav.
Lepidus (218.4; corr Dind): 'Lepidius' Ba, 'Leonidas' Slav.
the Roman state (218.5): CP adds 'until their death', cf Slav.
9. Bo 218.7-19; CP 363.13-364.4, De insid 3 (155.20-21), PsS 75v, Ke 304.9-15, JN 67.4-6; Slav: Ist 13.11-22, Soph 86, KVI 129.
Proteus' (218.10) CP: om Ba, cf 'Keus' Slav.
two miles (218.11): 'four miles' CP, Slav, Ke, JN; see von S 4, 130, note 15.
they were disturbing the East (218.19): 'they ('they too' De insid) were disturbing the East ('the entire East' Slav) with warfare' Slav, De insid.
10. Bo 218.19-220.20; De insid 3 (155.22-156.29); Slav: Ist 13.22-14.29, Soph 86, KVI 129.

was deceived and, overcome by passion, fell in love with her and was subjugated by her. Cleopatra was short but very beautiful, and had mystic knowledge. She admitted Antony and his army into the city, and married him. Then Antony, after marrying her, joined in her rebellion against the Romans. After slighting and repudiating his wife, Augustus Octavian's sister, and recruiting another large army, he won over the Persians, making them many promises; he also built many fast ships and Liburnian warships and sailed from Alexandria. He set out against the Romans with Cleopatra, for he wanted to capture Rome itself and intended to reach Rome by way of the land known as Epirus.

When news of this rebellion of Antony and Cleopatra reached Rome, Octavian immediately took up arms against them, both for the good of Rome and because of the insult to his sister, since Antony had slighted her. Augustus took a powerful general, selecting from the senate a man named Marcus Agrippa, and he married his sister Octavia to him. He set out from Rome with the general Agrippa and his military forces. When he arrived in the land of Epirus at the promontory known as Leukate, he engaged **(220)** Antony and Cleopatra in a great sea-battle, as the learned Vergil has written in his *Making of the Shield* in his eighth book. The troops of both armies covered the land and the sea. Many of Antony and Cleopatra's men were killed in the battle so that the sea-water was mixed with blood, and looked like nothing but waves of blood. After his victory, Augustus Octavian killed Antony but he captured Cleopatra and put her in chains, and celebrated a triumph. He ordered that she was to be kept under guard to be taken to Rome as a prisoner and be led in a triumph. But Cleopatra committed suicide and died after being bitten by an asp, for she used to carry asps and other snakes in her ships for battle. While she was being guarded by soldiers, she died after being secretly bitten by an asp, in order not to be taken alive to Rome. After her death her body was embalmed and brought to Rome, as a favour to Augustus Octavian's sister, as the learned chronicler Theophilos has recorded. Those who have written the local history of Alexandria the Great said that Cleopatra was captured in Egypt, as well as other details that are inconsistent with the Roman writers.

11. After this great victory Augustus Octavian with Agrippa, his general and brother-in-law, set out from the village **(221)** in Epirus and

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and Liburnian warships (219.12) De insid: cf 'cavalry' Slav, om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
Rome (219.14): 'the city of Rome' De insid.
both for the good of Rome and (219.18) De insid, Slav: om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
Many...so that (220.5): 'Such a great number...that' De insid, Slav.
of Antony and Cleopatra's men (220.5): cf 'on both sides' De insid.
waves of blood (220.6; corr) De insid, Slav: 'waves' Ba.
other snakes (220.11): De insid adds 'in mosaic boxes', cf Slav.
to Augustus Octavian's sister (220.16): 'to Augustus' sister Octavia' Slav, cf 'to Augustus Octavian and his sister' De insid.
was captured (220.19; see von S 148, note 43) De insid, Slav: 'was left' Ba (λειφθεῖσαν for ληφθεῖσαν).
11. Bo 220.21-221.6; De insid 3 (156.30-35); Slav: Ist 14.29-15.4.

went to subjugate the land of Egypt, and to celebrate a triumph for his victory. On his way back with his army, he subjugated the other lands and abolished their toparchies. He was 18 years old when he became triumvir. The Egyptian war lasted many years.

12. After going through the whole of Europe, Augustus Octavian crossed from Byzantion to Chalkedon, a city in Asia. He immediately made governor of Bithynia a man named Lausus, his own choice from among his followers, deposing the man in charge of the country, Dienaros, who had previously been appointed by his uncle Caesar. For Bithynia already had a governor because, before his day, Pompeius Magnus had captured Bithynia after the death of Nikomedes its toparch, who was of Macedonian descent. When he died he left it to the Romans.

13. Augustus Octavian subjugated Galatia, after defeating its tetrarch Deiotaros. He fortified a village known as Arsine and made it into a city, which he called Ankyra because it is in the middle of two seas, the Pontic and the Levantine sea. After sacrificing a virgin girl, named Gregoria, as a purification rite, he created the province of Galatia, leaving Gallic soldiers there to guard the countryside **(222)** and the city, and he named both the province and the river Gallos after them. Likewise he captured Lydia and Pamphylia, the provinces governed by Deiotaros, and made them subject to the Romans, and sent his general, named Quirinius, with a large force. He made Phrygia Pacatiana, which was part of Deiotaros' tetrarchy, subject to the Romans, and sent his general Pacatianus with a force. He captured Lykaonia as well, whose toparch was Lykaon, son of Kapys, who had fallen humbly before Augustus. After winning him over, as he was a valiant man Augustus took him to Egypt. Syria and Cilicia had formerly become subject to the Romans in the time of Julius Caesar.

14. On reaching Syria, Augustus entered Antioch the Great to celebrate a triumph with his brother-in-law Agrippa for his victory over Antony and Cleopatra. Agrippa was delighted with the situation of the city of Antioch and built there a public bath outside the city near the mountain, finding a spring there. He called this the Agrippianon after himself; it is now known as the Ampelion bath. He also built a group of dwellings and a bath, calling this the neighbourhood of Agrippitai.

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went to subjugate (221.1; corr von S) De insid, Slav: 'after subjugating' Ba.
to celebrate (221.2) Slav: cf 'celebrated' De insid, 'after celebrating' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225.
12. Bo 221.7-16; Slav: Ist 15.5-12.
Dienaros (221.11): probably Cn Domitius Ahenobarbus, Antony's governor of Bithynia 40-34 BC.
previously (221.11): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 225 and von S 7.
13. Bo 221.17-222.12; GM 294.11-12; Slav: Ist 15.12-28, Soph 87.
Deiotaros (222.3; corr Chil) Slav: 'Dieniotaros' Ba.
Quirinius (222.4;corr von S): 'Kurio' Ba.
Kapys (222.9; corr von S 7) Slav: 'Kapnos' (gen.) Ba.
After winning him over, as he was a valiant man (222.9-10): cf 'After granting him his former toparchy' Slav.
14. Bo 222.13-22; Slav: Ist 15.29-16.4.
Antony (222.14): Slav adds 'the rebel'.
Ampelion (222.19): 'Ampelinon' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226 and von S 487.

Agrippa also built and added another tier above the first in the theatre of Antioch because of the large population.

15. Setting out from there, Augustus came to Laodikeia, (223) a city in Syria. He built a very large theatre in the city, and set up there a marble statue of himself. He also built in the city the great *tetrapylon,* which used to be small. He decorated it with columns, rebuilt it in marble and added mosaics, and then held a triumph at it for his victory. He also set up on this *tetrapylon* a bronze statue with four horses.

16. He subjugated Phoenice too, and sent Lucullus and Pontius as generals with an army. When they had defeated its toparch Tigranes, he made it into a province. He made subject to himself, that is, to the Romans, the area known as Arabia, which was controlled by Arabas, king of the Saracen barbarians. He fortified a village which he called Bostra, after Bostros, the general sent by him. And he conquered the remaining toparchies except Cappadocia, whose toparch was Archelaos, and the tetrarchy of Herod, tetrarch of the land of Judaea, since they both brought him large gifts.

17. Herod, emperor of Judaea, made the paved highway outside the city of Antioch the Great in his honour, for it used to be rough; he paved it with white slabs. Both toparchs named their *metropoleis* after Caesar, to honour him. Herod, emperor (224) and toparch, renamed as Caesarea in Palestine the city formerly known as Straton's Tower. Archelaos, emperor and toparch, renamed as Caesarea in Cappadocia the city formerly known as Mazaka. For Caesar was the uncle of Augustus, who permitted them to reign over the tetrarchy for their lifetime.

18. He set out from Palestine and captured Egypt. After subjugating it, he entered Alexandria the Great, celebrated a triumph there for his victory and made Egypt subject to the Romans. He first appointed to govern the Egyptians in Alexandria the Great a governor from among his followers, a man named Cornelius Gallus. He gave him the rank of *augustalios,* a symbol of his own name.

19. Augustus crossed from Egypt and returned to Rome, elated and reckless, since he had subjugated the world. He rebelled against the senate and ruled on his own authority and was arrogant. He killed Brutus, who had murdered his uncle Caesar. He sent and had Brutus beheaded while he was defending Thessaly with an army, during the

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15. Bo 222.23-223.6; Slav: Ist 16.4-11.
16. Bo 223.7-16; GM 294.13-14, JN 65.1; Slav: Ist 16.11-19, Soph 87.
Phoenice (223.7): 'the Phoenician land' Slav.
And he conquered (223.13; corr von S 8, cf Slav): om Ba.
except Cappadocia, whose toparch was Archelaos (223.13-14; corr Chil): 'of Cappadocia, whose toparch was Archelaos, except' Ba; see Bury, 1897, 226.
17. Bo 223.17-224.6; JN 65.1-2, 66.1-2; Slav: Ist 16.19-26.
Both toparchs named (223.20):cf 'He ordered both toparchs to name' Slav.
their lifetime (224.6): cf 'his lifetime' Slav.
18. Bo 224.7-13; Slav: Ist 16.26-31.
19. Bo 224.14-21; Slav: Ist 16.31-17.6, Soph 87, KVI 130.
Augustus crossed (224.14): Slav adds 'the sea'.
He sent...with an army (224.18-19): cf 'Having allocated Brutus to guard Pharsalia, he sent an army and' Slav.

consulship of Calvinus and Pollio, as Lucan the learned Roman poet has written.

20. At that time lived Sosibios, an Antiochene senator, who had returned with Augustus to Rome. He died, leaving his income to his native city, so that every quinquennium for 30 days in the month of Hyperberetaios (225) there could be held contests of theatrical and dramatic performances of all kinds and athletics and also chariot racing.

21. Augustus' brother-in-law Agrippa arrived in Antioch on his second visit. He cleared the old hippodrome of rubble which had accumulated as a result of the previous earthquakes. He watched the various spectacles and went away from there in admiration. Quintus Marcianus, king of the Romans, had formerly done building work on this old hippodrome and the old palace at his own expense, when he came to Antioch in Syria to visit Philip Barypous, the Macedonian who was reigning over Antioch, in order to agree on the contribution that he was to pay the Romans.

22. The most sacred Augustus became the first sole emperor of the Romans, and also *orgiophantes*. He styled himself thus: Augustus Caesar Octavian, triumphator, the August, mighty imperator, that is, supreme ruler. Augustus reigned for 56 years in all. In appearance he was short, slender, with straight hair, good eyes and a good nose.

23. In his reign he built the temple of Zeus in Rome and reconstructed the Capitol, making both tremendous buildings.

24. (226) In the 39th year and 10th month of his reign, he promulgated a decree and proclaimed that there should be a census of all the land which was subject to him - and of that which the Romans had held formerly - during the consulship of Agrippa, for the second time, and of Donatus; and all the land subject to the Romans was assessed by Eumenes and Attalus, Roman senators. For the emperor inspired great fear, since he was very irascible.

Calvinus (224.20;corr): 'Calvisianus' Ba.
20. Bo 224.22-225.2; CP 364.5-10; Slav: Ist 17.6-12, Soph 88.
He died (224.23): cf Slav which adds 'in Rome'.
leaving his income...city (224.24): cf 'instructing the city to commemorate him' Slav.
Hyperberetaios (224.25): 'Peritios' CP; Slav is ambiguous between these two forms, slightly favouring 'Hyperberetaios'.
21. Bo 225.3-11; Slav: Ist 17.12-19.
from there (225.7): 'from Syria' Slav.
Quintus Marcianus, king of the Romans (225.8-9): Downey, 1937, passim establishes that this is a garbled form of 'Quintus Marcius Rex'.
when he came (225.9): Slav adds 'from Rome'.
22. Bo 225.12-17; CP 364.11-14; Slav: Ist 17.20-25, Soph 88, KVI 131, 133.
mighty (225.14) CP: 'mighty, Felix' Slav; see von S 172.
56 (225.16): cf '52' Slav.
with straight hair (225.17): 'with straight, black hair and a thin face' Slav.
23. Bo 225.18-20; Slav: Ist 17.25-27.
24. Bo 226.1-6; JN 67.12; Slav: Ist 17.27-18.2, KVI 136.

25. After the 41st year and the sixth month of his reign had passed, on Sunday 25th Dystros, at the second hour of the day, the archangel Gabriel brought the good news to the Holy Virgin and Mother of God Mary, in the city of Nazareth, in the consulship of Cyrenius and Longinus, when Vitellius, who had recently been appointed by Augustus, was governor of Syria.

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25. Bo 226.7-13; LM 426.21-26; Slav: Ist 18.2-7.
41st year (226.7) LM: cf '40th year' Slav.
Cyrenius and Longinus (226.11; von S 10) cf 'Cyrinius' LM: 'Kouinios' Ba, cf Slav (perhaps 'Quirinius' *Luke* 2.2?). Perhaps 'Kouinios and Longinus' conceal the suffect consuls for AD 2, T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus and P.Cornelius Lentulus Scipio.
Vitellius (226.12;corr Chil) LM: 'Utillius' Ba.

BOOK 10 The Time of the Reign of Augustus

1. (227) In the 42nd year and the fourth month of the reign of Augustus our Lord God Jesus Christ was born, eight days before the Kalends of January, on 25th December, at the seventh hour of the day, in a city of Judaea named Bethlehem, which is near Jerusalem, in the year 42 according to the calendar of Antioch the Great, while Quirinius the ex-consul was governor of Syria, Octavian and Silvanus were consuls, and emperor Herod was toparch, or emperor, of Judaea.

2. Thus from Adam to Phalek, the son of Heber, the total is 2533 years, and from Phalek until the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus Caesar (228) 2967 years, so that the total from Adam the first-created until the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and the 42nd year of the reign of Augustus Caesar is 5500 years.

Then our Lord God passed 33 years on earth among men, as is recorded in the scriptures, so that from Adam until the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and his crucifixion there were 5533 years. For Phalek, according to the prophetic words of Moses, is said to be at the mid-point in time before the future coming of Christ. For just as he created man on the sixth day, as Moses stated, he recorded this too in his writings, "One day for the Lord is as a thousand years". It was on the sixth day, as scripture said, that God created man and man fell into sin, so it is plain that it was on the sixth millennium day that our Lord Jesus Christ appeared on earth, and saved man through the Cross and resurrection. This has been written by Clement, Theophilos and Timotheos, the learned chroniclers, who agree among themselves. The chronicler Eusebios Pamphilou, most dear to God, who became bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, also says (229) that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all, appeared in the sixth millennium, corresponding to the

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1. **Bo 227.1-9**; LM 426.20-21, 35-427.2, Hes 1-2, Ke 304.17-18; Slav: Ist 3.1-8, Soph 89.
December (227.3): 'Apellaios-December' LM, Slav.
Quirinius (227.6; corr): 'Kyrinios' Ba, cf LM.
emperor Herod (227.9): 'Herod the Great' LM, Slav.
2. **Bo 227.10-229.12**; LM 427.3-36, Hes 3-end; Slav: Ist 3.8-4.14, Soph 89.
2533 (227.11): '3000' LM, Hes, cf Bo 34.13 and Gelzer, 1885, 130-2.
5500 (228.4): '5967' LM, Slav, cf Hes.
Adam (228.7): Slav adds 'the first-created'.
Crucifixion (228.8): LM, Slav add 'and Assumption'.
5533 (228.8): 'fully 6000' LM, Hes, Slav.
he recorded (228.11;corr) cf LM: 'having recorded' Ba.
it is plain that (228.15): LM, cf Hes, adds 'as it was on the sixth day that man, created in paradise, fell into sin, so'; see Mommsen, 1897, 487.

number of the six days of Adam's creation. But he said that it was before the completion of the year 6000 that our Lord God Jesus Christ appeared on earth to redeem the human race. He was born and made man, he said, in the year 5500. Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered and rose again and ascended into heaven in the year 5533. All agree that the Lord appeared in the year 6000. So, in spite of variations up and down, they said that he appeared in the sixth year, in accordance with the words of prophecy; and even if those who have made statements about the number of years do not agree, he appeared at the end of time, as the sacred scripture shows.

3. During the reign of the revered Augustus Caesar a city in Palestine named Salamine suffered from the wrath of God. Augustus restored the city and called it Diospolis.

4. Herod, the toparch or emperor of Judaea, in that year was informed that spies, *magoi* from Persia, had entered the land of Judaea. He ordered that they should be arrested. The *magoi* had come from Persia because of the star which had appeared, proclaiming in the East the Incarnation of Christ the Saviour; they had learnt of the star because they had mystic knowledge and they were bringing gifts (230) to Christ as a great and victorious emperor. They came to the East and asked, "Where is he who is born emperor of the Jews?" Rumours about them spread among the Jews. When the *magoi* were recognized, they were arrested and brought before the emperor Herod. He asked them, "Why have you become spies against the land of Judaea?" The *magoi* told him about the wonder of the star and that a great emperor had been born in the world and, "We have come bearing gifts for him as a great emperor, and to offer to him as God, the gifts which we bring with us. For we have seen his star in the East and have come to worship him". When Herod heard these things he was astounded, wondering, "What kind of power does the emperor who has been born have in relation to Augustus Caesar?" The
AD2 *magoi* had come to Jerusalem in the consulship of Vinicius and Varus. Herod discovered from them the exact time when the star had appeared and said to the *magoi*, "If you find him, come and tell me, so that I too may go and worship him". The *magoi* went away, guided by the star which they had seen in the East, and found Jesus and his mother in the city of Bethlehem. Falling to the ground, they worshipped the Saviour Christ. For they said among themselves, "This star, which we honour as a god, is

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5500 (229.6) Hes: '5502' LM, '502nd year' (ie of the sixth millennium) Slav.
5533 (229.7): perhaps '5335', cf '5305' Slav, '5534' LM.
All (229.8): 'all the accurate writers' Hes; this reads like an attempt to make sense of this sentence, an attempt with which one can sympathize.
sixth year (229.9): 'the year 6000' LM, Slav, Hes.
and even if (229.10; corr von S) LM, Hes, 'and' Ba.
3. Bo 229.13-16; GM 294.10,14; Slav: Ist 4.15-18.
revered (229.13): Slav adds 'Octavian'.
4. Bo 229.17-231.11; LM 427.37-428.27; Slav: Ist 4.18-6.10.
to the East (230.1): 'from the East' LM, cf 'to Jerusalem' Slav.
Vinicius (230.14; corr): 'Vindicius' Ba, LM.
Varus (230.14; corr): 'Valerius' Ba, 'Varius' LM, cf Slav.

showing us the God greater than itself". They offered to him as god the gifts which they were carrying and, (231) having been warned by a divine sign, they departed to Persian territory by another route, that by the *limes*, taking no notice of the emperor Herod. The emperor Herod was furious at being fooled by the *magoi*. He enquired carefully from the high priests of the Jews and learnt where Christ was born. He sent his soldiers and slaughtered all the infants in the city of Bethlehem in Judaea, as the sacred scripture says. Herod was immediately overcome by an incurable disease and died from being eaten by maggots. Archelaos, his son, became emperor or toparch of the Jewish people for nine years, in the consulship of Lamia and Servilius, as the most learned AD3 Clement the chronicler has stated.

5. Augustus Caesar Octavian in the 55th year of his reign, in the month October-Hyperberetaios, visited the oracle. He offered a hecatomb in sacrifice and asked, "Who will reign over the Roman state after me?" No answer was given him by the Pythia. Then he made another sacrifice, and asked the Pythia why no answer had been given him but the oracle had remained silent. The Pythia made him the following reply, "A Hebrew child ruling as god over the blessed ones bids me abandon this abode and return to Hades. (232) So now depart from our leaders". Augustus Caesar left the oracle and came to the Capitol where he placed a great, tall altar, on which he inscribed in Roman letters, "This is the altar of the first-born god". This altar stands on the Capitol to the present day, as the learned Timotheos has written.

6. Caesar Octavian was stricken by an illness and died in Rome as an old man aged 75; he was childless and had lived chastely, free from sins of the flesh. He was a high priest with mystic knowledge, and emperor.

7. After the reign of Augustus Caesar, Tiberius Caesar reigned

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they were carrying (230.23): LM, Slav add 'gold, frankincense and myrrh'.
sign (231.1): cf Slav which adds 'they did not return to Herod'.
toparch (231.9): 'toparch in the tetrarchy' LM, cf 'tetrarch' Slav.
Servilius (231.10; corr): 'Serellianus' Ba, 'Servilianus' LM, Slav.
5. Bo 231.12-232.6; LM 428.44-429.6 (for extra material, probably irrelevant to Malalas, see Weber, 1927, 31-6), LG 276.35-277.5 (57.1-7), Su I 411.2-8, PsS 75v, Ke 320.17-22, Sk 25.11-20, Nik Kall I 17; Slav: Ist 6.10-7.5, Soph 91.
55th (231.12): cf '56th' LM.
oracle (231.14) Sk: cf 'Delphi' LG, Ke.
A Hebrew child (231.20): von S 15 proposes to omit 'child' and read 'A Hebrew god'; this is unlikely, in view of the parallel text examined by Erbse, 1941, 179.
ruling as god over the blessed ones (231.20) LM, LG, Ke, Sk: cf 'ruling the blessed gods' Slav, Su.
Hades (231.21) Slav: cf 'road' LG, Ke, Sk, 'song' Su.
our leaders (232.1): 'our homes' LG, PsS, Ke, Sk, Slav, cf 'our altars' Su.
placed (232.3): 'built' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
first-born god (232.4) Su, Sk: 'son of God' LM, 'ancestor of god' Slav.
6. Bo 232.7-9; Slav: Ist 7.5-7, Soph 91.
7. Bo 232.10-15; LM 435.15; Slav: Ist 7.8-14, Soph 92.

AD14 for 22 years, beginning from the consulship of Sextus and Sextus. He was of medium height, old, thin, with good eyes, dark skin, short curly hair and a slightly upturned nose; he was an avid builder. He campaigned against the Persians but fought no battles and at their request made a peace treaty.

8. On his return to Rome, he came to Antioch the Great and built outside the city near the mountain known as Silpios two great and very handsome roofed colonnades, with a total length of four miles. He built vaulted *tetrapyla* at the cross-streets, adorning them with mosaic work and marble, and ornamented the street with bronze figures and statues. He surrounded the colonnades with a wall, enclosing the mountain within it, **(233)** and he joined the new wall to the old city wall built by Seleukos. He enclosed the acropolis and Iopolis too with his wall. The council and people of Antioch set up a bronze statue in honour of Tiberius Caesar and placed it on a great Theban column in the street in the centre of the colonnades he had built. This place was called the navel *(omphalos)* of the city, and had a relief of an eye *(ophthalmos)* carved in stone. This statue stands to the present day.

9. Tiberius Caesar learnt that the emperor Seleukos had avoided the mountain and built the city on the plain, in fear of the floods of water coming down from the mountain in winter and forming lakes. So he added to his statue a stone box, in which he put a talisman made by Ablakkon, a wonder-worker and priest, to prevent the waters from the winter torrents of the river Parmenios and the streams coming off the mountain from harming that part of the city or from destroying the two great colonnades he had built. The citizens of Antioch say that this stone box is their city's ransom-price, because Tiberius redeemed that part of the city through the protection that the wall he built gave them against attack and capture by the barbarian Saracens and Persians. **(234)** For there had formerly existed no wall for the part of the city by the mountain that had been built by the illustrious emperor Antiochos Epiphanes. This emperor also built the *bouleuterion* and other temples. Equally the emperor Antiochos, known as Philadelphos, also built many buildings outside the city. It was he who built two temples, to Apollo and Artemis, in the grove at Daphne, and he set up two golden images in them and granted privileges to those who took refuge there so that nobody could be driven out of these temples. They built these buildings during the existence of the Macedonian empire.

10. Tiberius Caesar built a great temple to Capitoline Zeus in the city of Antioch. Likewise he built a public bath near the Olympias

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22 years (232.11): '22 and a half years' LM, Slav.
and Sextus (232.11; corr): 'and Secticianus' Ba.
upturned nose (232.13): Slav adds 'generous'.
the Persians (232.14): Slav adds 'and the Medes'.
8. Bo 232.16-233.9.
ophthalmos (233.8): cf *'omphalos'* proposed by Müller, 1839, 57, note 10 and Festugière, 1979, 236, but Downey, 1961, 183, note 91 successfully defends the reading of Ba.
9. Bo 233.10-234.9; Slav: Ist 7.14-15.
This emperor (234.2; reading ὅστις with Chil, von S 16 and Festugière, 1979, 236): 'that (ὅτι) Ba.
10. Bo 234.10-236.2; GM 311.16-17, JN 69.2; Slav: Ist 7.15-8.6.

spring that had been built by Alexander the Macedonian and named after his mother. For when Alexander came there and drank the water he said, "I have drunk my mother's milk". The spring lies near the mountain and Tiberius enclosed it within the wall. The emperor Tiberius built as well a temple to Dionysos near the mountain and set up outside the shrine two great statues of Amphion and Zethos, in their honour; they were the Dioskouroi born to Antiope.

Tiberius renamed the city's river, previously known as Drakon, to be Orentes in the Roman language, which means Eastern. He also built **(235)** the theatre, adding another tier on the side by the mountain and sacrificing a virgin girl, named Antigone, but he did not finish the theatre completely.

He set a stone statue of the wolf suckling Romus and Remus above the eastern gate which he built, showing that the wall that had been added to Antiochos' city was of Roman construction. He also built a temple to Pan behind the theatre. Domninos, the learned chronicler, has stated this.

Tiberius built by the lake in the land of Judaea a city which he called Tiberias. Having discovered hot springs in the area, he built a public bath for the city which was without furnaces but which served the needs of the city from the hot springs.

He made Cappadocia subject to the Romans after the death of Archelaos, its toparch.

In the time of Tiberius, there was a fire at night in the city of Antioch in Syria, in the 72nd year of its autonomy. Before being noticed, it burnt the greater part of the market-place, the *bouleuterion* and the temple of the Muses built by Antiochos Philopator with the money left in the will of Maron of Antioch, who had gone to live in Athens and then given orders that the temple of the Muses **(236)** and a library were to be built from his property. AD23/4

Tiberius also built in Thrace another city which he called Tiberias.

11. In the 15th year of his reign, in the consulship of Silanus and Nerva, St John the Forerunner (the Baptist) began to preach a baptism of repentance and to baptise, in accordance with the words of prophecy. All the land of Judaea came out to him. Then our Lord Jesus Christ began his work of salvation when he was baptised by John the Forerunner, being then about 30 years old and working miracles. He was baptised in the Jordan, a river in Palestine, on 6th Audynaios-January, at the tenth hour of the night, in the consulship of Fufius and Rubellius. From then on John the Baptist became well-known to everyone and the emperor Herod, the son of Philip, the AD28 AD29

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great statues (234.18): cf 'bronze statues' Slav.
Orentes (234.21): 'Orontes' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 220-1, 226 and Downey, 1961, 184, note 93.
11. Bo 236.3-18; LM 429.10-23, JD 1369c-1372a; Slav: Ist 8.6-9.3, Soph 92.
reign (236.3; corr Chil) LM, Slav: 'consulship' Ba.
Silanus (236.3; corr): 'Alvanus' Ba, 'Silvanus' LM, Slav.
and to baptise (236.5): 'to baptise' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
Fufius (236.11; corr): 'Rufus' Ba, LM.
Rubellius (236.11; corr): 'Rubellio' Ba, LM.

toparch or emperor of the land of Trachonitis, beheaded him in the city of Sebaste eight days before the Kalends of June, in the consulship
AD17 of Flaccus and Rufus, because of Herodias his wife, since John said to him, "It is not right for you to have your brother's wife", as is recorded in the sacred scriptures.

12. **(237)** King Herod II, the son of Philip, grieving for John, came from the city of Sebaste to the city of Paneas in Judaea. A very wealthy woman, named Veronica, who lived in the city of Paneas, approached him, wishing to erect a statue to Jesus since she had been healed by him. As she did not dare to do this without imperial permission, she addressed a petition to the emperor Herod, asking to erect a statue to our Saviour Christ in that city. The petition ran as follows: To the august toparch Herod, lawgiver to Jews and Hellenes, emperor of the land of Trachonitis, a humble petition from Veronica, a dignitary of the city of Paneas. Justice and benevolence and all the other virtues crown your highness's sacred head. Thus, since I know this, I have come with every confidence that I shall certainly obtain my requests. My words as they progress will reveal to you what foundation there is for this present preamble. From my childhood I have been smitten with the affliction of an internal haemorrhage; I spent all my livelihood and wealth on doctors but found no cure. **(238)** When I heard of the cures which Christ performs with his miracles, who raises the dead, restores the blind to sight, drives demons out of men and heals with a word all those wasting away from disease, I too ran to him as to God. I noticed the crowd surrounding him and I was afraid to tell him of my incurable disease in case he should recoil from the pollution of my affliction and be angry with me and the violence of the disease should strike me even more. I reasoned to myself that, if I were able to touch the hem of his garment, I would certainly be healed. I crept secretly into the crowd around him and I won my cure by touching his hem. The flow of blood was stopped and immediately I was healed. He, however, as though he knew in advance my heart's purpose, cried out, "Who has touched me? For power has gone out of me". I went white with terror and lamented, thinking that the disease would return to me with greater force, and I fell before him covering the ground with tears. I told him of my boldness. Out of his goodness he took pity on me and confirmed my cure, saying, "Be of good courage, my daughter - your faith has saved you. **(239)** Go your way in peace". So, your highness, grant

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or emperor of the land (236.14): cf 'in the empire of the land' JD.
Flaccus and Rufus (236.16; corr): 'Flacco and Rufinus' Ba.
his wife (236.16): 'the wife of his brother Philip' LM, Slav (Slav omits 'son of Philip' at 236.13-14).
12. Bo 237.1-239.17: JD 1372a-1373a; Slav: Ist 9.4-11.13. See *Matthew* 9.20-22, *Mark* 5.25-34, *Luke* 8.43-48.
II, the son of Philip (237.2): cf 'the son of Philip' JD, 'second after Philip' Slav.
Veronica (237.4,11, 239.8): cf 'Vernike' JD, cf Slav.
statue (237.7): 'bronze statue' Slav, cf 'gold statue' JD.
ran (237.8) JD, Slav: 'runs' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
I have come (237.13): cf 'I write to you' JD.
certainly obtain my requests (237.14): cf 'obtain all my requests' JD.
restores the blind to sight (238.2): 'restoring them to the light of

your suppliant this urgent petition.

When the emperor Herod heard the contents of this petition, he was amazed by the miracle and, fearing the mystery of the cure, said, "This cure, woman, which was worked on you, is worthy of a greater statue. Go then and erect whatever kind of statue you wish to him, honouring by the offering him who healed you". Immediately Veronica, who had formerly suffered from a haemorrhage, set up in the middle of her city of Paneas a bronze statue of beaten bronze, mixing it with a small quantity of gold and silver, to our Lord God Jesus Christ. This statue remains in the city of Paneas to the present day, having been moved many years ago from the place where it stood in the middle of the city to a holy chapel. I found this document in the city of Paneas in the house of a man called Bassus, a Jew who had become Christian. Included in it were lives of all the emperors who had formerly reigned over the land of Judaea.

13. The emperor Herod, the son of Philip, became plethoric and was critically ill for eight months. He was murdered in his bed-chamber **(240)** at the end of those eight months, with his wife's complicity, as the most learned Clement has written.

14. In the 18th year and seventh month of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, our God, having reached the age of about 33, was betrayed by Judas Iscariot, his disciple, on 23rd Dystros-March, the moon being in its 13th day. It was Thursday and at the fifth hour of the night. He was brought before Caiaphas the high priest and from there was handed over to the governor Pontius Pilate. Immediately Pilate's wife Procla sent a message to him, "Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much today in a dream because of him". When the Jews learned this, they began rioting and chanting, "Away with him, away with him, crucify him". Our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified eight days before the Kalends of April, on 24th March, the moon being in its 14th day. It was at the sixth hour of the day, the day being Friday. The sun was darkened and there was darkness over the

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day' JD, Slav.

worthy of a greater statue (239.5-6) JD: cf 'greater than a petition for a statue' Slav.

many years ago (239.12) Slav: cf 'not many years ago' JD; see Weber, 1929, 39.

I found this document (239.14) Slav: cf 'This document was found' JD.

13. Bo 239.18-240.2; De insid 4 (156.36-157.3), JA 80; Slav: Ist 11.13-15.

Herod (239.18): 'Herod II' De insid.

critically ill (239.19): De insid, Slav add 'with a disease'.

14. Bo 240.3-242.7; LM 429.24-430.13 (gives many attractive dates, most of which seem irrelevant for the reconstruction of the original Malalas; only a few of the most relevant are cited here; see von S 20-21), CP 411.19-22 (AD32), 413.4-8 (AD32), De insid 5 (157.4); Slav: Ist 12.1-14.4, Soph 92. See *Matthew* 27.19, 45, 51-2, 54, 28.1, *Mark* 15.33,39, *Luke* 23.44-5, 47, *John* 14.15, Acts I 10-11, Eusebios I 148 ff.

Pilate (240.9): LM, Slav add 'in the morning'.

eight days...on 24th March (240.14-15) Slav, a false date: cf 'eight...25th March' LM, 'nine days...24th March' von S 20.

March (240.15) LM: 'Dystros-March' Slav.

world. The most learned Phlegon of Athens has written in his work about this darkness as follows, "In the 18th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar there was a very great eclipse of the sun, greater than any that had been known before. Night prevailed at the sixth hour of the day so that even the stars appeared". **(241)** The Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, gave up his spirit on that Friday, at about the ninth hour. Immediately there was a great earthquake over all the world. Graves were opened up, rocks were split and the dead rose up, as is all recorded truly in the sacred scriptures, so that the Jews said, "In truth he whom we crucified was the Son of God".

Jesus Christ was buried at the tenth hour of that Friday, in the
AD33 consulship of Sulpicius and Sulla, in the 79th year according to the calendar of Antioch the Great, while Cassius, who had been appointed by
AD31 Tiberius Caesar, was governor of Syria.

Jesus, our Lord God, rose on 25th Dystros-March, at the tenth hour
AD30 of the night, as Sunday 26th March was dawning, the moon being in its 16th day. He appeared to the apostles and to many other saints and lived with them on earth for 40 days after his resurrection. Our Lord God Jesus Christ was taken up into the heavens on Thursday 4th Artemisios-May, at the second hour of the day, while the holy apostles and a great crowd of others saw how he was taken up into the clouds and the holy angels said, "Men of Galilee, why do you gaze into the heavens? This is Jesus". **(242)** The Holy Spirit, the Giver of Life, descended on his holy apostles on Sunday 14th Artemisios-May, at the third hour of the day, while Pontius Pilate was governor of Judaea. He had been appointed to govern that people by Tiberius Caesar, who had put an end to the empire of the Jews and had assigned for them the governor whom he had chosen. Annas and Caiaphas were then high priests of the Jewish people.

15. Four years after the resurrection and ascension of our Saviour Jesus Christ, during the reign of Tiberius Caesar - after St Paul had left Antioch the Great where he had first proclaimed the word with Barnabas in the street near the Pantheon, known as Singon, and had gone to Cilicia - Peter came from Jerusalem to Antioch and began to teach the Word. Having installed himself there as bishop, he was persuaded by the Christians who had converted from Judaism not to accept or cherish the faithful who had been gentiles. He thus ignored them and left the city. After this St Paul returned to Antioch the Great and learnt what St Peter had done; he removed the scandal everywhere and accepted and cherished all equally, exhorting all to the faith, as the

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over the world (240.17) LM: Slav adds 'from the sixth hour to the ninth', cf CP.
of Athens (240.18): Slav adds 'a Hellene'.
Sulla (241.9; corr): 'Sola' Ba,'Solatus' LM, Slav.
tenth hour (241.14) LM: cf 'sixth hour' Slav.
third hour (242.3; corr von S) LM, Slav (var.EL): '13th hour' Ba, 'first hour' Slav (main tradition).
15. Bo 242.8-22; Slav: Ist 14.4-15.
Singon (242.12): 'the Jaw-bone' Slav (ie Σιαγών); see Downey, 1961, 275, note 13.
Having installed himself there as bishop (242.15): cf 'He was consecrated bishop and installed himself' Slav.

most learned Clement and Tatianos the chroniclers have written.

16. **(243)** The emperor Tiberius died a natural death in his palace at the age of 78.

17. After the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Helios Gaius, also known as Caligula, reigned. Before he began to reign he had inspired great fear among all the barbarian peoples, and it was for this reason the senate proclaimed him emperor. He began to reign during the consulship of Gallus and Nonianus, and his reign lasted for four years and seven AD35 months. He was of good height, well-knit, with delicate features, a good colour, with the beginnings of a beard, straight hair, small eyes; he was very quick, irascible and magnanimous.

18. In the first year of his reign Antioch the Great suffered from the wrath of God, at dawn on 23rd Dystros-March, its second calamity since the time of the Macedonians, in the year 85 according to AD37 the calendar of the Antiochenes. Part of Daphne also suffered. The emperor Gaius provided large sums of money for the city and its surviving inhabitants. He built there a public bath near the mountain of Gaius Caesar, sending Salianus the prefect from Rome to Antioch to build the public bath. Salianus also constructed a great aqueduct from Daphne, cutting through the mountain and bringing the water to the bath he had built. He also built temples.

19. Gaius Caesar also sent two other senators from Rome, very wealthy men whose names **(244)** were Pontous and Varius, to protect the city and to rebuild it from the benefactions made by the emperor, and equally to make donations to the city from their private income and to live there. They built very many dwellings out of their private incomes. In addition to the dwellings the senators built other buildings in the city of Antiochos from their private funds: the great public bath known as the Varium down by the wall near the river, where they built their own dwellings close to the public bath; a very handsome Trinymphon which they decorated with statues for the weddings of all the maidens of the city. They restored many buildings in the city of the Antiochenes with the aid of the imperial benefactions. The senators remained living in the city. Gaius Caesar bestowed ranks upon the remaining landowners.

20. From the first year of Gaius Caesar the Green faction assumed from him licence to do as they chose and rioted in Rome and every city for three years until the end of his reign, for he favoured them. In

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16. Bo 243.1-2; CP 431.11-12 (AD36); Slav: Ist 14.15-16.
palace (243.1) Slav: cf CP which adds 'at Rome, childless and without a wife'.
78 (243.2): '70' CP, Slav; Slav adds 'having grown old'.
17. Bo 243.3-10; LM 435.20; Slav: Ist 15.1-6, Soph 93.
Nonianus (243.7): written 'Nonnianus' Ba.
18. Bo 243.10-21; Slav: Ist 15.6-8.
a public bath near the mountain of Gaius Caesar (243.17): we suspect that 'a public bath of Gaius Caesar near the mountain' is intended; see, eg, Downey, 1938, 7.
Salianus (243.18): perhaps 'Salvianus'; see Downey, 1961, 190, note 125.
19. Bo 243.22-244.14.
20. Bo 244.15-245.21; Slav: Ist 15.9-16.15.
three years (244.17): Slav adds 'and a half'.

the third year of his reign, in Antioch of Syria, the supporters of the Blue faction in that city chanted in the theatre against the Greens there, "Time raises up and casts down: the Greens are lechers", while the consular governor, Petronius, was watching the races. There followed a great faction riot and disaster fell on the city. For the Hellenes of Antioch fought with the Jews there in a faction brawl, killed many Jews **(245)** and burnt their synagogues. When the priest of the Jews in Palestine, named Phineas, heard of this, he collected a large number of Jews and Galileans who were citizens. With about 30,000 of these he came suddenly to the city of Antiochos from the city of Tiberias and killed many there, for he made a single unexpected attack with armed men. Then Phineas broke off the attack and returned to Tiberias. When the emperor Gaius learnt of these events he was angry with Pontous and Varius, the senators in the city of Antioch; he sent and confiscated their property, seizing all their wealth, and he requisitioned the houses in Antioch that belonged to them. These houses were called "the Imperial Houses" in Antioch in Syria from that time. The senators themselves were led away in chains, since they neither put an end to the riot in the city, nor did they resist the priest Phineas when he was ravaging the city. Gaius sent to the city of Tiberias in Palestine, captured Phineas the priest of the Jews and beheaded him as a rebel; he also put many Jews and Galileans to death. He put the head of the priest Phineas on a pole outside the city of Antioch, on the other side of the river Orentes. He sent money and reconstructed the areas of the city that had been burnt.

21. In that year the emperor Gaius, at the age of 39, was murdered in **(246)** the palace by his own *spatharii,* the eunuch *cubicularii,* with the complicity of the senate.

22. After the reign of Gaius Caesar, Claudius Caesar Germanicus
AD39 began to reign, during the consulship of Caesianus and Solon. Claudius Caesar reigned for 14 years and nine months. He was short, sturdy, with grey eyes, greying hair, fair skin, a long face; he was of a most calm disposition. He built a city which he called Claudioupolis after himself. He also built Bretannia, a city near the Ocean. The

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and casts down (244.20): 'time casts down' Slav and P. Maas in von S 271, note 28.
lechers (244.21; reading μάχλοι with von S; see Downey, 1961, 193, note 132): μάχοι Ba (see Bury 1897,226), 'warlike' (= μάχιμοι ?) Slav, μάσχοι (?) Bo.
Petronius (244.21; corr): 'Pronoios' Ba; see Downey, 1961, 191, note 127.
30,000 (245.3): '230,000' Slav.
Gaius learnt (245.8): 'Gaius Caesar learnt' Slav.
21. Bo 245.22-246.2; CP 432.19-21 (AD40), De insid 6 (157.5-7); Slav: Ist 16.15-18.
at the age of 39 (246.2) CP, De insid: cf Slav which adds 'and had ruled 3 years and 8 months'.
murdered (245.22): De insid adds 'following a conspiracy'.
in the palace (246.1): CP, De insid add 'in Rome', Slav adds 'as he was washing in the morning'.
22. Bo 246.3-11; LM 435.21; Slav: Ist 17.1-6, Soph 93.
Caesianus (246.4; corr): 'Casius' Ba.

emperor Claudius put a limit to the rioting by the Greens.

23. During his reign Ephesos, Smyrna and many other cities of Asia suffered from the wrath of God; Claudius gave generously to them for reconstruction. The city of Antioch the Great was also shaken by an earthquake at that time and the temple of Artemis, Ares and Herakles was torn apart and several houses fell down. The emperor Claudius relieved the guilds, or associations, in the city of the Antiochenes in Syria of the public service of the hearth-tax which they performed, to reconstruct the city's roofed colonnades which had been built by Tiberius Caesar.

24. At the beginning of the reign of Claudius Caesar, ten years after the ascension of our Lord God Jesus Christ, Euodios became patriarch in the great city of the Antiochenes in Syria; he was the first after the apostle St Peter to be consecrated bishop there **(247)**. Christians acquired this name during his time in office, for bishop Euodios gave this name to them in his preaching; formerly Christians had been called Nazarenes and Galileans.

25. In the eighth year of the reign of Claudius Caesar the Jews began a fierce persecution of the apostles and their disciples, and planned a rebellion against the Romans. Therefore a tribune, named Festus, was sent against them first and from that time destruction came upon them. The emperor Claudius also appointed a governor over them, named Felix, who harrassed them.

26. Eighteen years after the ascension into heaven of our Lord God Jesus Christ, at the Jews' festival of Pentecost, the priests heard on that day a human voice speaking from the inner temple that is known as the Holy of Holies, "We are departing from here". The priests heard these words spoken three times as they made the sacrifices and the fact became known to the whole people. And from that time destruction began for the Jews, as Josephos the Hebrew philosopher has written. Josephos also said this, that from the time when the Jews crucified **(248)** Jesus, who was a good and just man - if indeed, he said, one could call such a person man and not god because of the signs that he performed - sorrow did not cease in the land of Judaea. Josephos stated these matters for the Jews in his Jewish writings.

27. During the reign of Claudius the Antiochene landowners and citizens sent a report, petitioning the emperor that they might be

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23. Bo 246.11-19; Slav: Ist 17.6-10.
public service of the hearth-tax (246.18): 'shopkeepers' public service' von S 197, note 33; see Downey, 1961, 196, note 145.
24. Bo 246.20-247.5; Slav: Ist 17.10-14, Soph 95.
Euodios (247.1) Ba first hand, Slav: 'Euodos' Ba second hand, Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
Euodios (247.2; corr von S 25): 'Euodos' Ba.
bishop Euodios...preaching (247.4): cf 'they named themselves thus' Slav.
25. Bo 247.6-12; Slav: Ist 17.14-18.
26. Bo 247.13-248.4; Ke 343.1-3; Slav: Ist 17.19-18.7. See Josephos, BJ VI 5.3, AJ XVIII 3.3.
because of the signs that he performed (248.2) cf Slav: om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
27. Bo 248.5-249.22; Slav: Ist 18.7-10.

permitted by his sacred command to purchase the Olympic festival from the Pisaians in the land of Hellas out of the annual income accruing from the money bequeathed by Sosibios, a senator and fellow-citizen of theirs. The emperor Claudius permitted them to purchase the Olympic
AD43/4 festival, in the year 92 according to the calendar of the Syrian Antiochenes. The Antiochenes did this because they were displeased with the city's officials about the income mentioned above which Sosibios had bequeathed to their city. The learned chronicler Pausanias has stated of Sosibios that on his death, Sosibios bequeathed to the great city of the Antiochenes in his will an annual income, 15 talents of gold. This has been already mentioned above under the times of Augustus Octavian. The income was bequeathed so that a varied programme of spectacles should be celebrated for his fellow-citizens every quinquennium, with a contest in dramatic, theatrical and tragic performances, athletics, chariot-racing and gladiatorial contests; this was to last for 30 days in the month of Hyperberetaios-October.

(249) At first the officials celebrated the festival; later they deferred the games and pocketed the income. Then compelled by the sacred command, the officials of Antioch, together with the landowners, purchased the Olympic festival from the Pisaians. The councillors asked everyone in the city, since they were prepared to do so, to allow them for the time being to celebrate the Olympic festival for them. With the consent of the land-owners, the whole people and the priests they were allowed to do so. The officials celebrated once more according to the former custom the contests for drama and athletics, theatrical and tragic performances, and chariot-racing. And so this was done every quinquennium for 30 days from the time of the new moon in the month of Hyperberetaios, when the quinquennial cycle came round. Again the officials found an excuse, when various wars started in the East, or indeed the city of Antioch itself was occupied by the enemy, or equally when the wrath of God had occurred and sundry earthquakes and fires, and they put off celebrating the varied programme of spectacular contests every quinquennium; instead they celebrated six other different cycles for the above-mentioned festival, at intervals of 15 or even 20 years, as they saw fit, after the city of the Antiochenes was freed from misfortune and once more at peace.

28. **(250)** In the 13th year of the reign of Claudius Caesar, the entire island of Crete suffered from the wrath of God.

At this time there was found in a tin casket in the tomb of Diktys, the truthful account of the Trojan War that he had written in full. It lay by the head of Diktys' remains. Thinking that the casket was treasure, they offered it to the emperor Claudius. When the casket was opened and its nature known, he ordered that the books should be transcribed and placed in the public library. Claudius died, having given generously to Crete for rebuilding.

Then compelled (249.3): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
28. Bo 250.1-12; Su II 99.23-26, Tz *Ex* 21; Slav: Ist 18.10-19.4, Soph 95. See Sept, Epistula.
At this time (250.2): Tz adds 'Some buildings surrounding the tomb of Diktys collapsed, and that too was shattered', cf Sept, but probably not in Malalas.

Claudius died a natural death in his palace at the age of 65, having been ill for two days.

29. After the reign of Claudius Caesar, Nero his son began to reign during the consulship of Silanus and Antoninus. He reigned for AD53
13 years and two months. He was tall, slender, handsome, with a good nose, a florid complexion, large eyes, straight completely grey hair and a bushy beard; he was well-disciplined.

30. As soon as he began to reign, he made a thorough investigation of Jesus. Being unaware that he had been crucified, he asked that he should be brought to Rome since he was a great philosopher and wonder-worker. For Nero had heard reports of this sort about him before he began to reign; so, wishing to question him, he asked for him to be brought. For the emperor Nero followed the belief **(251)** of those called Epicureans, that is, of those who believe that everything happens by accident and that nothing is affected by providence. When the emperor Nero learnt that the Jews, moved only by envy, had crucified him a long time before, though no fault was found in him, he was angry and gave orders that Annas and Caiaphas should be brought to Rome by Maximus. He also had Pilate brought to Rome by Maximus for Pilate had continued to live in Palestine after the end of his term of office. Annas and Caiaphas gave many malicious reports about Pilate, including this, "We handed him over to the laws". Annas and Caiaphas distributed money widely and succeeded in obtaining their release.

31. In the time of the reign of Nero, St Paul went to Athens, the city in Hellas, and found there a philosopher, named Dionysios the Aeropagite, the famous Athenian, full of philosophical teachings. He stated that the sun is formed from an effusion of light from god, and made other statements about the creation. St Paul saw him and spoke to him, and Dionysios asked St Paul, "What god do you proclaim, you babbler?" But when Dionysios had listened to St Paul as he was teaching him, he fell down before him and asked to be baptised and become a Christian. So St Paul baptised him and made him Christian. **(252)** Seeing the fervour of Dionysios' faith, St Paul made him bishop in that land. Dionysios, the ex-philosopher, wrote books opposing the Hellenes. St Paul returned to Jerusalem.

32. During the reign of Nero there came to Rome a man named Simon, an Egyptian *magos,* creating displays by sorcery and calling himself Christ. The apostle St Peter heard about him and came to Rome. On his journey to Rome and while he was passing through Antioch the

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65 (250.12): '65 and a half years' Slav.
29. Bo 250.13-17; LM 435.22; Slav: Ist 19.5-8, Soph 95, Abr.
Silanus (250.14; corr): 'Silvanus' Ba.
30. Bo 250.17-251.11; cf JA 90, Su III 455.19-29; Slav: Ist 19.8-19, Abr.
brought to Rome (251.5): 'bound and brought to Rome' Slav, cf JA, Su.
Maximus (251.7; corr Chil): 'Aximus' Ba.
Pilate (251.7): Slav adds 'bound', cf JA, Su.
release (251.11): Slav adds 'and Pilate remained in prison', cf JA, Su.
31. Bo 251.12-252.4; Slav: Ist 19.19-20.8, Abr. See *Acts* 17.18.
32. Bo 252.5-253.23; GM 364.14-365.13, Ke 362.12-363.8; Slav: Ist 20.9-22.4, Abr.

Great, it happened that Euodios, the bishop and patriarch of Antioch, died. Ignatios took the office of bishop of Antioch the Great and the apostle St Peter consecrated and enthroned him. It happened that at that time there also died in Alexandria the Great the apostle Mark, who was bishop and patriarch there. Anianos his disciple took over the bishopric from him, as the learned Theophilos the chronicler has written.

When St Peter the apostle reached Rome and learnt where Simon the *magos* lived, he went to visit him where he was staying. He found there a great sheep-dog tied up with chains in the doorway where Simon the *magos* was staying. Simon had tied him there because of Peter and those wishing to visit him, so that no chance visitor could come in to see him without Simon giving an order to the dog and the dog allowing past those whom Simon wanted. This had formerly caused amazement in anyone who wanted to visit (253) Simon. Peter saw how huge and terrifying this dog was and learnt from those standing outside the door that, unless Simon gave the dog orders, the dog would not allow anyone to enter, but would attack and kill anyone who came near him. So Peter took the dog's chain, set him free and said to him, "Go to Simon and tell him in a human voice, 'Peter, the servant of the most High God, wishes to come in'". The dog immediately went in at a run and, while Simon was giving instructions about some magic hocus-pocus, the dog appeared amongst them and said to Simon in a human voice, "Peter, the servant of the most High God, wishes to come in to see you". Those who heard the dog speaking with a human voice were astonished, saying, "Who is Peter, or what is the power of the man of whom the dog spoke, that he has made the dog talk in a human way and bring him the message?" Simon said to the men standing round and marvelling at Peter, "Do not let this astonish you; see, I too will tell the dog to take him back a reply in the same human voice". Simon said to the dog, "I bid you go and tell Peter in a human voice that Simon says, 'Come in'." Peter came in to Simon and, working miracles himself, had a contest with Simon the Egyptian. He defeated Simon the *magos* by working cures. Many believed in Peter and were baptised.

33. (254) There was a great uproar and scandal in Rome because of Simon and Peter, since they were working miracles in competition with each other. The prefect Agrippa heard the uproar and reported it to the emperor Nero, saying, "There are some men in this imperial city working miracles in competition with each other. One calls himself Christ; the other says, 'He is not Christ, but a *magos*, for I am a disciple of Christ'". The emperor Nero ordered that Simon and Peter be brought before him and Pilate be brought from prison. When they were brought before the emperor, Nero asked Simon, "Are you he whom men call Christ?"

Euodios (252.10): 'Euodos' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
and enthroned (252.12): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
could come in to see him (252.23): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
This had formerly caused amazement in (252.25): cf 'This was the first miracle for' GM, Ke.
what is the power of the man (253.13): 'what is the power of Peter' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
33. Bo 254.1-255.11; GM 365.14-366.11, Su III 456.1-13, Ke 363.8-364.2; Slav: Ist 22.4-23.6, Abr.

He replied, "Yes". Then Nero asked Peter, "Is he really Christ?" Peter replied, "He is not; I am his disciple and in my presence he ascended into heaven". Summoning Pilate Nero asked him about Simon, "Is he the man whom you handed over to be crucified?" Looking at him closely Pilate said, "He is not, for this man has long hair and is very fat". Nero then asked Pilate about Peter, "Do you recognize this man as a disciple of his?" He replied, "Yes; for they brought him before me as a disciple of his and I asked him, and he denied that he was his disciple, so I let him go". So, on the grounds that Simon was an imposter in calling himself Christ, which he was not, and that Peter too, **(255)** when examined by Pilate, had denied Christ, Nero gave orders and both were thrown out of the palace. They remained in Rome working miracles, in competition with each other. Simon the *magos* had a great bull brought in; he spoke a word in its ear and immediately the bull fell down dead and Simon was applauded. Peter immediately prayed, and, in the presence of all, made the bull come back to life and the bull was restored to its master. All praised Peter, saying that to make the dead live was the greater miracle. They worked many other signs in competition with each other, which are written in the Acts of the Holy Apostles.

34. The apostle Peter by his prayer killed Simon the *magos* who had decided on an ascension; for Simon said to Peter, "You said that Christ your god ascended into heaven; see, I too can ascend". Peter saw that he was borne up in the air by his magic in the middle of the city of Rome. Peter prayed, and Simon the *magos* was hurled out of the air to the ground in the street and perished. His remains have lain there where they fell to the present and have a stone balustrade around them. From that time on the place has been known as the Simonium.

35. When the emperor Nero heard that Simon had been killed by Peter, he was angry and ordered Peter to be arrested **(266)** and put to death. As soon as St Peter was imprisoned, he handed over the vestments of the bishopric of Rome to a disciple of his named Linos, for he was following him when he was arrested. St Peter was an old man, in stature of average height, with receding short hair, both hair and beard completely grey, fair but rather sallow skin, wine-coloured eyes, a good beard, a long nose, eyebrows that met, upright in posture; he was sensible, swift to anger, changeable, timorous; he spoke through the Holy Spirit and was a miracle-worker. The man known as Linos succeeded Peter, the bishop or patriarch of Rome, as the learned Eusebios Pamphilou has chronicled.

St Peter the apostle was martyred, being crucified upside down, for the apostle had bound the prefect by an oath to this effect, saying, "Let me not be crucified as my Lord was". St Peter was put to death during the consulship of Apronianus and Capito. AD59

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they brought (254.20): 'The Jews brought' Slav.
They worked...Apostles (255.9-11): GM, Ke include extra material here and in para 34 which is unlikely to have derived from Malalas.
34. Bo 255.11-20; GM 373.7-12, Ke 369.22-370.5; Slav: Ist 23.6-12.
You said (255.13; corr von S 31) cf GM: 'he said' Ba.
35. Bo 255.21-256.15; GM 376.8-12, Ke 371.13-18; Slav: Ist 23.12-24.1; Soph 96.
Linos (256.2): 'Lenos' Ba second hand; see Bury, 1897, 226.

36. The emperor Nero was likewise angry with Pilate and ordered him to be beheaded, saying, "Why did he hand the Lord Christ over to the Jews, for he was an innocent man and worked miracles. If his disciple could work such wonderful feats, how powerful must he have been?"

37. During his reign, St Paul also arrived immediately after in Rome; he was sent from the land of Judaea to stand trial. **(257)** He too was martyred, by having his head cut off, three days before the
AD60 Kalends of July, during the consulship of Nero and Lentulus. The emperor Nero ordered that the bodies of the holy apostles should not be handed over for burial, but should remain unburied. While he was still alive Paul was short in stature, bald, with both hair and beard greying, a good nose, greyish eyes, eyebrows that met, white skin, a florid face, a good beard, and a cheerful appearance; he was sensible, moral, well-spoken and agreeable; he was inspired by the Holy Spirit and worked cures.

38. The emperor Nero sent an expedition against Judaea and Jerusalem and treated all the inhabitants badly, killing many in a pitched battle, since they had behaved rebelliously and had shouted out insults against Nero, because he had beheaded Pilate to avenge Christ. Pilate had come before Nero for no other reason than that they had put pressure on their governor when they had crucified Christ. So Nero was angry with them because they were rebels. Annas and Caiaphas were slain then by soldiers in the battle.

39. During his reign Nero seized another area, in Pontus; he sent Polemo as his general there, and he made it a province under the name of Pontus Polemoniacus.

Nero strongly favoured the Blue faction.

40. During the time of his reign the most learned Lucan was great and renowned among the Romans.

AD68 During the consulship **(258)** of Italicus and Tolpillianus, also known as Trochelus, the emperor Nero disappeared from view and died. Hellenic priests had plotted against him by giving him poison, for his successor who took over the administration of the empire from the priests was of the Epicurean belief; his successor came in to see him, as if he were ill, and stabbed him, in the palace. So Nero died at the age of 69.

41. After the reign of Nero, Galba Augustus reigned for seven

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36. Bo 256.16-20; Slav: Ist 24.1-4.
the Lord Christ (256.18): 'the one called Christ' Slav.
37. Bo 256.21-257.9; GM 377.11-12; Slav: Ist 24.4-11, Soph 96.
St Paul (256.22): Slav adds 'the apostle'.
38. Bo 257.10-17; Slav: Ist 24.11-17.
against Judaea (257.10): 'through all Judaea' Slav.
39. Bo 257.18-21; Slav: Ist 24.17-20.
40. Bo 257.22-258.7; CP 459.15-16 (AD68), De insid 7 (157.8-13).
Italicus (258.1; corr) CP: 'Itoricus' Ba.
Tolpillianus...Trochelus (258.1): correctly 'P. Galerius Trachalus', cf 'Trachalus' CP, 'Tourpillianus' De insid.
41. Bo 258.8-15; LM 435.23, CP 459.18-19 (AD68), 460.7-10 (AD69), Sk 29.9-11; Slav: Ist 25.1-6, Soph 97.

months. He was tall, valiant, white-skinned, with a slight squint, a hooked nose and greying hair; he was deranged. During the reign of Galba, the bodies of the holy apostles were handed over for burial, at the emperor's command; for he was bidden in a dream to give the bodies of the holy apostles for burial. Galba died a natural death suddenly, after a blood-letting, at the age of 49.

42. After the reign of Galba, Lucius Otho reigned for three months. He was short, broad, valiant, with straight hair, small eyes, a slightly upturned nose, and had a stutter. In his reign, there died St James the apostle, the bishop and patriarch of Jerusalem, whom St Peter had enthroned in his place when he went to (259) Rome. Symeon, known also as Simon, took over the office of bishop of Jerusalem and became patriarch. Otho died after an illness, at the age of 53.

43. After the reign of Otho, Vitellius Augustus reigned for nine years and eight months. He was of average height, with a good chest, grey eyes, a ruddy complexion, a bushy beard, good eyes, and was timorous. In his reign, Nikomedeia, a great city, the metropolis of Bithynia, suffered from the wrath of God. The emperor gave generously to the survivors and the city for reconstruction, for it had suffered formerly from the wrath of God and was in ruins; he restored it.

During the reign of Vitellius Caesar the Jews rebelled and killed Cyrenius, their governor, by stoning. In the 35th year after the ascension of our God and Saviour, the emperor Vitellius began a campaign against them, sending his general Vespasian and his son Titus. They attacked the land of Judaea and made war on it and Jerusalem. During the war the emperor Vitellius was stricken with illness and died in Rome, at the age of 48.

44. After him the most sacred Vespasian was proclaimed emperor. The army crowned him during the consulship of Rufus and Capito. He AD67
was short, bald, with a large belly, greying hair, a ruddy complexion, and wine-coloured eyes, a broad face, and was irascible. (260) Leaving his son Titus to fight against the land of Judaea, he went to Rome and reigned there for nine years and ten months. During his reign, during the consulship of Decius and Rusticius, there was a great AD251
persecution of the Christians.

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seven months (258.9) CP, Sk: cf 'one year and seven months' LM, 'nine months and 13 days' Slav.
holy apostles (258.11-12): Slav adds 'Peter and Paul'.
49 (258.15): cf '59' Slav, '73' Sk.
42. Bo 258.16-259.3; LM 435.24, CP 460.11-15 (AD69), Sk 29.13-15; Slav: Ist 25.6-11.
43. Bo 259.4-19; LM 435.25, CP 460.16-17, 461.1-2 (AD69), Sk 29.16; Slav: Ist 25.11-16, Soph 99.
nine years and eight months (259.5) LM: cf 'eight months and a half' Slav, 'eight months' Sk; see von S 220-1.
Cyrenius (259.13; corr Dind) CP: 'Kyrenaios' Ba.
44. Bo 259.20-260.4; LM 435.26; Slav: Soph 99, Meshchersky 282.
Capito (259.22; corr): 'Capitianus' Ba.
During his reign...Christians (260.3-4): The consuls referred to are those of the year 251 and the persecution is that of Decius; see von S 225-6.

45. In the 38th year after the ascension of the Saviour Christ, during the reign of his father Vespasian and during the consulship of
AD78 Commodus and Rufus, Titus captured Judaea and Jerusalem. He ravaged Jerusalem and all Palestine, and destroyed the temple of the Jews on its festival day, when he captured the city; 1,100,000 souls perished, cut to pieces by the sword. A further 150,000 youths, both boys and unmarried girls, he sold into slavery, as the most learned Josephos has written. Josephos was a Hebrew and was present at the war. Titus devastated all the provinces of Judaea. The learned Eusebios Pamphilou has written thus, "The Jews crucified Christ during their festival and during that same festival, when the Saviour abandoned them, they all perished". Jerusalem was destroyed three times including this, as the most learned Eusebios has written.

Titus celebrated a triumph for his victory and went off to Rome. Out of the spoils from Judaea Vespasian built in Antioch **(261)** the Great, outside the city gate, what are known as the Cherubim, for he fixed there the bronze Cherubim, which Titus his son had found fixed to the temple, of Solomon. When he destroyed the temple, he removed them from there and brought them to Antioch with the Seraphim, celebrating a triumph for the victory over the Jews that had taken place during his reign. He set on an upper level a bronze statue in honour of Selene (the moon) with four bulls facing Jerusalem, for he had captured the city at night by moonlight. He also built the theatre of Daphne, inscribing on it, "Ex praeda Iudaea" (From the spoils of Judaea). The site of the theatre had formerly been a Jewish synagogue but he destroyed their synagogue to insult them and made it a theatre, setting up there a marble statue of himself, which stands to the present day.

46. Vespasian also built in Caesarea in Palestine out of the spoils from Judaea a very large odeon, the size of a large theatre; its site too had formerly been that of a Jewish synagogue.

He created the province of Second Macedonia, dividing it off from First Macedonia.

During his reign, on 20th June-Daisios, late in the evening, Corinth, the metropolis of Hellas, suffered from the wrath of God. He gave generously to the survivors and the city. He also built many buildings in the provinces of Pannonia and Commagene. **(262)** He divided Europe from Thrace, building the city of Herakleia, formerly known as Perinthos; he made it into a metropolis and gave it a governor. He also built near the theatre in Antioch the Great a temple which he called the temple of the Winds. He was stricken by illness and became paralysed,

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45. Bo 260.4-261.12; CP 461.11-463.2 (AD70) (see Duliere, 1961, 206-7); Slav: Ist 25.17-26.6, Soph 100, Meshchersky 282.
38th (260.4) Slav: '39th' CP.
Jerusalem was destroyed three times including this (260.18-19) cf Slav: unsatisfactory Greek, not much improved by the proposal of Schurzfleisch, reported in Bo, *ad loc.*
Antioch the Great (261.1): CP adds 'in Syria', cf Slav.
He set on an upper level a bronze statue (261.6; corr Chil) CP, Slav: om Ba.
moonlight (261.8): CP adds 'and for this reason he erected the statue'.
Ex praeda Iudaea (261.9): 'EX PRAEDA IVDAEAE' CP (in Latin capitals).
46. Bo 261.13-262.6; CP 465.2-3 (AD79), Sk 29.30-30.2.

and died at the age of 71.

47. After the reign of Vespasian, his son Titus reigned for two years. He was tall, slender, with a good colour, straight, short and thin hair, and small eyes; he was stricken by an incurable disease and died at the age of 42.

48. After the reign of Titus, the most sacred Domitian reigned for 15 years and two months. He was tall, slender, fair-skinned, with short fair hair, grey eyes, a slightly hunched back; he was a consummate philosopher. During his reign there was a persecution of Christians. He had St John the Theologian brought to Rome and examined him. Being amazed at the apostle's wisdom, he released him secretly, to go to Ephesos, saying to him, "Go and live in peace in the place you came from". But he was reproached for this and so banished John to Patmos. He punished many other Christians, with the result that a number of them fled to Pontus, as Bottios the learned chronicler has written about them.

49. The emperor Domitian loved the dancer **(263)** known as Paris from the Green faction in Rome; he was reproached for this by the senate at Rome and by the Roman poet Juvenal, for favouring the Green faction. The emperor banished the poet Juvenal to Pentapolis in Libya, but enriched the dancer and sent him to Antioch the Great to live there, outside the city. So the dancer Paris went there and lived outside the city, where he built a suburban mansion for himself, and a bath known as Paradise, which is there to the present day, as is the house. He died there and is buried in a tomb behind the house in its gardens.

50. Domitian built in Antioch the Great a public bath known as that of Medeia, because he put a marvellous statue of Medeia in it, and so the citizens used to call the public bath by this name and not the Domitianum. This public bath had been built by the mountain, near the *monomacheion* and the temple of Aphrodite. The emperor also built there a temple of Asklepios.

51. There lived and flourished in the time of the reign of Domitian the most learned Apollonios of Tyana who travelled round making talismans everywhere in the cities and their territories. He went from Rome and came to Byzantion. On entering Byzoupolis, which is now felicitously known as Constantinople, **(264)** he made many talismans there too at the request of the Byzantines, one for the storks, one for the river Lykos which runs through the middle of the city, one for the tortoise, one for horses, as well as other miraculous things. Then Apollonios left Byzantion and made talismans in other cities. He came

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71 (262.6): cf '70' CP, Sk.
47. Bo 262.7-10; LM 435.27, CP 465.11-12 (AD81); Slav: Soph 100.
the reign of Vespasian (262.7): 'his reign' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
two years (262.8) LM: 'two years and two months' Slav.
48. Bo 262.11-21; LM 435.30-32, CP 468.7-8 (AD94), Sk 30.11-14, JN 71.1-5; Slav: Soph 100.
49. Bo 262.22-263.10; De virt 5 (160.10-17), Su II 640.27-641.6.
Paradise (263.9): Francke's suggestion (1820, 37-40; see Downey, 1961, 208, note 35) 'Parideion' is attractive.
50. Bo 263.11-17.
51. Bo 263.18-266.11; CP 467.9-15 (AD93), GM 444.14-16, 445.6-10, Ke 431.14-432.5, Sk 30.15; Slav: Soph 100.

to Syria from Tyana and entered Antioch the Great. The Antiochene landowners asked him to make talismans there to satisfy their needs. He made one talisman against the north wind, putting this talisman at the east gate. Likewise he made a talisman in the city against scorpions, so that they should not dare to approach the region. He placed this talisman in the middle of the city, making a bronze scorpion and burying it and setting a small column over it - and the scorpions vanished from the entire neighbourhood of Antioch. He made many other things there. The citizens asked him to make a talisman against mosquitoes, so that the city of Antioch should not have them any more. He did so, by telling them to celebrate in Antioch of Syria on the 7th Daisios-June the chariot-races known as Graste's, during the month of Daisios. But he set up the talisman at the new moon of the month Daisios, and told them that on the seventh day of the same month, the day of the chariot-races of Graste, they were all to carry on canes small busts of solid lead **(265)** with the features of Ares and a shield of red leather hanging down on one side, and on the other a red dagger equally hanging, both tied on with a linen thread. He told them to chant as they paraded, saying, "No mosquitoes in the city!" and after the end of the chariot-races everyone was to put the talisman in his own house. And there was not a single mosquito to be seen in Antioch the Great.

While Apollonios of Tyana went around Antioch and examined its situation with the landowners of the city, he saw a porphyry column standing in the middle of the city with nothing on it, but the column itself had been scorched by being struck by lightning. On enquiring what it was, he learnt from them, "After the city's calamity in the time of Gaius Caesar, Debborios, a philosopher and wonder-worker, made this talisman so that the city should not fall, even if shaken by an earthquake; he set up the column with a marble bust on top of it and wrote on its breast, 'Unshakeable, immovable'. When the bust on top of the column was burnt by a fire ball caused by lightning, it fell, and we fear that our city will suffer again. But listen to our plea and make us a talisman yourself, so that our city should not be shaken and suffer again". **(266)** Apollonios groaned and was reluctant to make another talisman against earthquakes. When they saw him groaning, they persisted in their pleas to him. He took a diptych and wrote, "Unhappy Antioch, you will suffer other disasters; once more there will come for you a time when misery will be piled on misery in earthquakes; twice again you will be burnt on the shores of the Orentes - if you do not suffer yet again". He gave the diptych to the Antiochene landowners. Setting out from the city of Antiochos he came to Seleukeia in Syria, and then sailed to Egypt. Apollonios lived for

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and wrote (266.3): What he wrote is corrupt in several places; we have made some improvements and guessed at the rest.
you will suffer other disasters (266.4: reading δυσπαθεῖς for δὶς πάθοις, a corruption caused by the existence of both the introduced words later in the passage; Ba reads ἄλλα for ἀλλά Bo, Bury, 1897, 226): 'may you suffer twice; but' Bo.
for you (266.4): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 226.
misery will be piled on misery (266.5; ἐπὶ πήμασι suggests the phrase πήματα ἐπὶ πήμασι (κεῖται), cf LSJ sv πῆμα): the present text is hard to translate.

34 years and eight months, as the most learned chronicler Domninos has written.

52. The most sacred emperor Domitian built a city in Isauria which he named Domitianoupolis. Domitian grew angry and executed the famous Asclepion who had said to him, "You will die by violence". A short time later a plot was made by the senate against Domitian and when he (267) entered the temple of Zeus to make a sacrifice, he disappeared and died at the age of 45. Everyone said that he had been taken up from earth into the sky as a philosopher, but he had been killed, murdered in the temple of Zeus by the senate, because he had been arrogant and had insulted them. The senators had the purple cloak which he wore suspended from a chain belonging to one of the hanging lamps in the temple. All those who entered the temple were deceived, thinking that he had been taken up into the sky. It became known later that he had been murdered and there was a great uproar, for he had been murdered in the temple.

53. After the reign of Domitian, Nerva Augustus reigned for one year and one month. He was of average height, old, with good eyes, a long nose, a good body, dark skin, greying curly hair, a bushy beard; he was a good man.

During his reign Diokaisareia, a city in Cilicia, suffered its third calamity from the wrath of God, as did Nikoupolis and its territory. The emperor immediately sent there a Roman senator named Zarbos, to rebuild it, providing him with eight *centenaria*. When the senator Zarbos reached Cilicia and saw the destruction, he applied great energy and reconstructed the city, making many improvements to it. And so the city was named after him as an indication of the citizens' gratitude to him. The senator had called the city Nerva, after the emperor Nerva, (268) but it happened that the emperor died before the city had been completed, so they renamed it Anazarbos, ordering the notaries to call it by this name; for the city was originally named Skynta. It suffered its first calamity in the time of the Roman consuls, and was reconstructed and renamed the city of Kiskos. It suffered again its second calamity in the time of Julius Caesar, and was restored and renamed Diokaisareia. When it suffered in the time of Nerva, as mentioned above, it was renamed Anazarbos. Zarbos sacrificed a country girl named Kepara and made a bronze statue of her, as the *tyche* of the city. Zarbos informed the emperor of the citizens' plight and the emperor, being munificent, gave generously to the survivors.

54. Nerva recalled the apostle St John and he returned to Ephesos from Patmos.

During his reign Manes appeared, preaching, teaching and

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52. Bo 266.12-267.9; CP 468.12-469.3 (AD96), De insid 8 (157.14-26), Sk 30.16, JN 71.6-10; Slav: Soph 100.
Asklepion (266.14) De insid: cf 'Asklepios' CP. JN has a number of extra details which von S 254-5, note 86, is inclined to ascribe to the original Malalas.
53. Bo 267.10-268.12; LM 435.33, Su I 167.31-168.3; Slav: Soph 100.
Skynta (268.4): cf 'Kyinda' Su.
54. Bo 268.12-20; CP 469.7-15 (AD97), De virt 6 (160.18-19), Sk 30. 18-21, JN 71.12; Slav: Soph 100.
from Patmos (268.14): cf 'from the island' Slav.

attracting a mob.

Also, during his reign, gladiators and gladiatorial spectacles wer forbidden. *Kynegia* were devised in their place.

The emperor, after falling ill and wasting away, died at the age o 71.

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and attracting (268.16): 'attracting' Bo; Bury, 1897, 226.
71 (268.20) Sk: cf '70' Slav.

BOOK 11 The Time of the Emperor Trajan and the Third Calamity at Antioch

1. **(269)** After the reign of Nerva, the most sacred Trajan reigned for 19 years and six months. He was tall, withered in body, dark skinned, with delicate features, short grey hair and deep set eyes.

2. Until the second year of his reign St John the apostle and theologian was seen teaching in Ephesos as bishop and patriarch. Then he withdrew himself from view and was no longer seen by anyone and no one knows to the present day what happened to him, as the most learned Africanus and Eirenaios have written.

During the reign of Trajan, there was a great persecution of the Christians and many were punished with death.

3. In that year **(270)** Meerdotes, emperor of the Persians who was of Parthian descent and the brother of Osdroes, emperor of the Armenians, began a campaign and came with a large force to make war on the Roman state. Accompanied by his son Sanatroukios, he captured cities and plundered many districts. While he was plundering the district of Euphratesia, he was thrown off his horse as he was riding. He was badly injured and died a natural death. When on the point of death, he made his son Sanatroukios "Arsakes", that is, emperor, in his place; for in Persian "Torkim" is the translation for emperor. Sanatroukios, emperor of the Persians, continued to ravage Roman territory. When Osdroes, emperor of the Armenians and Meerdotes' brother, heard of his brother's death, he also immediately sent his son Parthemaspates out from Armenia with a large army to help his cousin Sanatroukios, emperor of the Persians, against the Romans. When the most sacred emperor Trajan heard this, he immediately began a campaign in the 12th year of his reign and set out from Rome against them in the month October-Hyperberetaios. When they first arrived, he set out with a large force of soldiers and senators and sailed for the East. Among the senators was Hadrian, his relative by marriage through his sister. He reached Seleukeia in Syria in the month Apellaios-December in a fast boat from the base known as Bytillion, which was a natural harbour near Seleukeia **(271)** in Syria. The Persians had captured Antioch the Great and occupied it, not indeed by force of arms but through an amicable agreement and treaty by which they controlled and guarded it for the Persian emperor Sanatroukios. For the Antiochene dignitaries had of

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1. **Bo 269.1-4**; LM 435.34; Slav: Soph 101.
2. **Bo 269.5-11**; CP 470.16-19 (AD104).
3. **Bo 269.11-271.18.**

Meerdotes (270.1; corr Dind): om Ba.
"Torkim" is the translation for emperor (270.9): unconvincing attempts to avoid this illogicality are listed by von S 267, note 20.
12th (270.16): von S 278-9 proposes '17th', perhaps correctly.
Apellaios (270.22; corr Chil): 'Aprillaios' Ba.

their own accord set terms for peace and submission through an embassy to the Persian emperor. The emperor of the Persians agreed and sent two *barzamanatai,* whose names were Fortunus and Gargaris, with a large Persian force of 3,000 men. As soon as the emperor Trajan reached the city of the Seleukeians in Syria by fast boat, he wrote in secret to the Antiochene dignitaries and to all the citizens, announcing his arrival and saying, "We know that your city contains a large number of its own men apart from the *numeri* of soldiers stationed there. The Persian enemies who are in your city are few in comparison with your number. So let each man kill the Persians he has in his own house, taking heart from our arrival, for we have come to avenge the Roman cause".

4. On hearing this the Antiochenes made an attack at night on the Persians in their city. They kept themselves awake and killed them all. Seizing Fortunus and Gargaris, the two Persian generals known as *barzamanatai,* they killed them too and they dragged their corpses throughout the entire city chanting this slogan about them, **(272)** "Look! Fortunus and Gargaris are being dragged along in honour of the victory of the lord Trajan. Come on! Come on! Gargaris, Fortunus!" Those Persians who were able to escape while these men were being dragged about by the mob slipped out and fled. That night they started a fire and burnt a small section of the city by the district known as Skepine. When he heard this, the emperor Trajan praised the bravery of the citizens of Antioch. The expedition's fleet having arrived from Seleukeia, they went up to holy Daphne to pray and to sacrifice at the temple of Apollo. And from Daphne he sent orders to the Antiochenes that the corpses of the Persians who had been killed were to be removed from the city; they were to be piled up some distance from the city and burnt. The whole city was to be purified, and there were to be pyres made of laurel trees in each quarter and at each gateway of the city, and much frankincense was to be thrown into the fire of laurel leaves and they were to beat drums through the whole city to chase out the evil spirits of the slaughtered Persians; and this was done. The emperor Trajan arrived from Daphne and entered Antioch in Syria through what is known as the Golden Gate, that is, the Daphnetic Gate; he wore a crown of olive twigs on his head. This happened on Thursday 7th Audynaios - January, at the fourth hour of the day. **(273)** He ordered the drums to be beaten every night for a period of 30 days, and he also ordered that this should be done each year at the same time as a memorial of the destruction of the Persians. Domninos the chronicler has written this.

5. While the emperor Trajan was spending time in Antioch in Syria making plans in connection with the war, Tiberianus, the governor of the people of First Palestine sent him the following message, "To the victorious Imperator, Caesar, the most sacred Trajan. I have grown weary punishing and killing the Galileans who belong to the belief of those known as Christians, in accordance with your decrees. And they will not stop incriminating themselves in order to be put to death. So

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barzamanatai (271.7; corr von S 43, cf 271.22; see Bury, 1897, 227): 'barzamaratai' Ba.

4. Bo 271.19-273.4.

Seizing Fortunus and Gargaris (271.23): von S 44 proposed to delete the two names.

5. Bo 273.5-19.

I have worked very hard, advising them and threatening them not to be so bold in betraying themselves to me as adherents of the belief mentioned above. But they will not give up being persecuted. Be pleased therefore to issue as a decree to me whatever solution presents itself to Your Triumphant Majesty". Trajan ordered him to stop killing the Christians. Likewise he gave this order to governors everywhere, not in the future to kill those known as Christians. And there came about a small respite for the Christians.

6. Trajan left Antioch the Great and started war against the Persians. He conquered them completely in this way. Hearing that there was a quarrel between Sanatroukios, emperor of the Persians, and his cousin Parthemaspates, (274) the emperor Trajan sent a message to Parthemaspates and offered him a bribe, promising to give him the empire of the Persians if he would become his ally. Parthemaspates accepted the bribe and came over to Trajan at night. Taking him and his troops on to his own side, the most sacred Trajan set out against Sanatroukios, emperor of the Persians. Many Persians fell and he captured Sanatroukios, emperor of the Persians, as he fled, and put him to death. Trajan made the man named Parthemaspates, the son of Osdroes, emperor of the Persians in his place, in accordance with the agreements, and those Persians who survived prostrated themselves before him. Trajan wrote to the senate at Rome, "This country is so immeasurably vast and separated from Rome by such an incalculable distance that we cannot administer it, but let us grant them an emperor subject to the Roman power". The senate wrote back to him from Rome to do whatever he wished and considered to be in the interests of the Roman empire. Parthemaspates reigned over the Persians. The most learned Arrian the chronicler composed an account of the war and of the most sacred Trajan's victory over the Persians; he investigated this and wrote it all down accurately.

7. The emperor also made Amida a metropolis, and designated Mesopotamia a province, dividing it off from Osrhoene and giving it a governor and the status of a metropolis. He also (275) created another province by the Danube river, which he called Dacia Ripensis.

8. During the reign of the most sacred Trajan, Antioch the Great near Daphne suffered its third calamity, on Sunday 13th Apellaios-December, just after cock-crow in the year 164 according to AD115 the calendar of the Antiochenes, two years after the arrival of the most sacred emperor Trajan in the East. The surviving Antiochenes who remained then built a temple in Daphne on which they inscribed, "Those who were saved erected this to Zeus the Saviour".

On the same night that Antioch the Great suffered, the island city of Rhodes, which was part of the Hexapolis, suffered its second calamity from the wrath of God.

9. The most pious Trajan erected buildings in Antioch the Great, beginning first with the building known as the Middle Gate near the temple of Ares where the Parmenios torrent flows down, very close to

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6. Bo 273.20-274.19.
7. Bo 274.20-275.2.
8. Bo 275.3-13; JN 72.12-13.
Apellaios (275.5; corr Chil): 'Aprilleos' Ba.
9. Bo 275.13-276.10.

what is now called the Macellum; he had carved above it a statue of a she-wolf suckling Romus and Remus, so that it should be recognized that the building was Roman. He sacrificed there a beautiful virgin girl from Antioch, named Kalliope, as an atonement and for the purification of the city, holding a bridal procession for her. He also restored immediately the two great colonnades, and he built many other things in (276) the city of Antiochos, including a public bath and an aqueduct, having diverted the water pouring out from the springs of Daphne into what are known as the Agriai. He named both the baths and the aqueduct after himself. He completed the theatre of Antioch, which was unfinished, and he placed in it a gilded bronze statue of the girl whom he had sacrificed. The statue stood above four columns in the middle of the nymphaion in the proscenium; she was seated above the river Orontes and was being crowned by the emperors Seleukos and Antiochos in the guise of the city's *tyche*. The emperor Trajan was living in the city when the wrath of God struck.

10. St Ignatios, the bishop of the city of Antioch, was martyred then during Trajan's visit, for he incurred the emperor's anger through abusing him.

At that time Trajan also arrested five persons, Christian women of Antioch, and interrogated them, saying, "What is your hope, that you give yourselves up to death like this?" In reply they said, "When we are killed by you we shall rise again in the body, as we are, to eternal life". He ordered them to be burned and he mixed the ashes from their bones with bronze, and from this metal he made hot-water vessels in the public bath that he had constructed. When the bath came into use, anyone who went to bathe in the bath became dizzy and fell down and had to be carried out. When the emperor Trajan learned this he replaced those bronze vessels and made others of (277) pure bronze, saying, "It was not right of me to mix in the ashes from their bodies and to pollute the hot water". He said this since the Christians had become strident in boasting against the Hellenes. He melted down the original bronze vessels and made five bronze statues of the women, saying, "Look, it is I who have resurrected them as they said, and not their god". These statues are standing at that public bath to the present. He also made a fiery furnace and ordered any Christian who wished to throw himself into it deliberately. Many threw themselves in and became martyrs. It was at this time that St Drosine and many other virgins were martyred.

11. He built in Daphne a temple to Artemis in the middle of the grove.

The emperor also created two provinces in the western regions on the other side of the river Danube. These he called First and Second Dacia.

12. Then he was immediately stricken with illness and died at the age of 66.

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10. Bo 276.10-277.10: JN 72.3-11.
not right (277.1): 'right' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
St Drosine (277.10): cf JN which adds 'his (ie Trajan's) daughter Drusis and Junia the daughter of the patrician Filasanrun underwent martyrdom'.
11. Bo 277.11-14.
12. Bo 277.15; Slav: Soph 102.

13. After the reign of Trajan, Aelius Hadrian began to reign during the consulship of Apronianus and Niger. He reigned for 22 years and five months. He was of medium height, sturdy, white-skinned, with greying hair, handsome, with a bushy beard, and grey eyes; he was peaceable, eloquent and priestly. AD117

14. He also built in Antioch the Great a **(278)** public bath and aqueduct named after himself. He also built the "Theatre" of the Springs of Daphne, and he diverted the waters flowing out into the ravines known as the Agriai. He constructed piers and made them solid at great expense, in order to withstand the force of the water and to convey it through the aqueduct made by him to the city of Antiochos as a plentiful supply for the city. He also built the temple of the Springs from which the streams flow out at Daphne, and he erected in the temple of the Nymphs a large seated statue of Zeus holding the celestial sphere, in honour of the Naiads; this was a thank-offering for having completed such a tremendous task. He made the water that bubbled from the spring known as Saramanna flow out through a channel and pour into the channel of the spring in the "Little Theatre"...the water coming out of the temple in five different streams, which he called *pentamodion, tetramodion, trimodion, dimodion* and *modion.* Hadrian celebrated a festival of the Springs on 23rd Daisios-June, and the sacrifices were to take place likewise. He channelled the ruined spring in the Agriai, known as that of Pallas, and made an aqueduct for the use of the inhabitants of holy Daphne.

15. Before he began to reign, the emperor Hadrian was with the emperor Trajan, because he was his relative by marriage, when the great city of Antiochos suffered from the wrath of God. He was then a senator. There were many senators from Rome **(279)** in the city of Antioch, who, ordered by him, built many dwellings and baths in Antioch.

16. During the reign of the most sacred Hadrian, Kyzikos, which is the great metropolis of the province of Hellespont, suffered an earthquake from the wrath of God on the night of 10th November. He gave generously to the city and restored it. He bestowed money and ranks on

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13. Bo 277.16-20; LM 435.35, cf Sk 31.3-4; Slav: Soph 102.
14. Bo 277.20-278.19.
celestial sphere (278.9): reading πόλος (Maass, 1902, 40, note 100 and Downey, 1961, 222, note 102) for πῶλος, 'young eagle' (?) Ba.
and pour into the channel...and *modion* (278.12-15): This passage is capable of translation as it stands in Bo, 'and he made the water coming out of the temple in five different streams (which he called *pentamodion, tetramodion, trimodion, dimodion* and *modion)* pour into the same channel of the spring in the "Little Theatre".' We have rejected this, both for linguistic reasons (ἐξιέναι καὶ ἐκχεῖσθαι seem naturally to go together, and the postponement of 'the water coming out of the temple' to well after the infinitive of which it would be subject is against Malalas' usual practice) and because it describes a complex regulatory mechanism at a subsidiary point in the system. We postulate a lacuna after "Little Theatre".
15. Bo 278.20-279.2.
ordered by them (279.1): 'ordered by him' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
16. Bo 279.2-11.

the surviving citizens. Hadrian built a very large temple in Kyzikos, one of the wonders, and he placed there on the roof of the temple a marble statue, a very large bust of himself, on which he inscribed "Of the sacred Hadrian", which remains to the present day.

17. Hadrian, angered with the Jews, ordered Hellenes to settle in Jerusalem and changed that city's name to Aelia.

18. In his reign Hadrian also restored the Kolossos of Rhodes which had fallen as a result of an earthquake, the wrath of God, when the island city of Rhodes suffered in former times. It lay on the ground for 312 years, but no part of it was lost. To re-erect it and put it in its place he spent three *centenaria* on machinery, ropes and workmen, according to his inscription recording the time and the expense involved.

19. During the reign of Hadrian, a man named Markion disseminated the loathsome Manichean belief, saying that the creation of the world had come about through some evil being. He subverted **(280)** many Hellenes, Jews and Christians and won them over to his teaching, as the most learned Clement has recorded.

20. Hadrian built a city in Thrace which he called Hadrianoupolis. He also built another city which he called Therai Hadrianou (Hunts of Hadrian). He built a city in Egypt which he called Antinoe.

Hadrian became swollen with dropsy and died in Baiae at the age of 65.

21. After the reign of Hadrian, Aelius Antoninus Pius the pious reigned for 23 years. He was well grown, with a good figure, fair skin, with both hair and beard grey, a good nose, a broad face, wine-coloured eyes, and ruddy complexion; he was always smiling and was very magnanimous.

22. He built in Helioupolis in Phoenice Libanensis a large temple to Zeus, and this too was one of the wonders. He also built the forum in Laodikeia in Syria, a great wonder, and the Antoninian public baths.

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17. Bo 279.12-13; CP 474.16 (AD119), GM 450.18-451.4, LG 284.5-11 (68.18-69.3), Ke 437.20-438.2; Slav: Soph 102.
Hadrian...Aelia (279.12-13): GM (cf LG, Ke) has a fuller version which may possibly derive from the original Malalas, 'When the Jews rioted and resolved to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem, he became very angry with them. A battle took place between them and he killed 48,000 of them in a single day. He destroyed the ancient remains of the city and the temple and built a new Jerusalem, which he named Aelia after himself. He set up an image of himself in the temple and gave orders that Hellenes should settle in the city'.
18. Bo 279.14-20; CP 464.13-14 (AD74), 476.6-7 (AD130).
312 (279.17): von S 49 and 302 proposes '342'.
put it (279.17): 'put' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
19. Bo 279.21-280.2; Slav: Soph 102.
20. Bo 280.3-7; Ke 437.17-19, Sk 31.14, JN 73.2; Slav: Soph 102.
Baiae (280.6; corr Chil): 'Batai' Ba.
21. Bo 280.8-12; LM 435.36; Slav: Soph 102.
23 years (280.9): cf '13 years' Slav.
22. Bo 280.12-15.
Antoninian (280.15; corr Dind): 'Antonian' Ba.

23. He began a campaign against the Egyptians who had rebelled and killed the *augustalios,* Deinarchos. After his revenge and victory he went to Alexandria the Great and built the gates of the Sun and the Moon and the race-course.

24. When he came to Antioch the Great he carried out the paving of the street of the great colonnades, that had been built by Tiberius, **(281)** and of the whole city; he used millstone, generously contributing stone from the Thebaid out of his own resources, and the remaining expenses too from his own pocket. He recorded this generosity on a stone tablet and placed it at the Gate known as the Gate of the Cherubim, for it was there he had begun. This monument is there to the present day, as a record of his great munificence.

25. He also built baths at Caesarea in Palestine and at Nikomedeia in Bithynia and at Ephesos in Asia. These public baths he named after himself.

26. When he returned to Rome he built a large aqueduct there. He burnt the treasury documents by which the senate had made a written agreement in the time of Caesar Julius Gaius, and at his orders, that: It was not allowed for a senator to will his property to his family, unless he bequeathed a half share of his fortune to the emperor of the time. The most pious Antoninus said through his sacred decree that each person should enjoy his property and dispose of it as he wished.

27. While he was in Lorium Antoninus became ill for a few days and died, at the age of 77.

28. After the reign of Antoninus, his son Marcus Antoninus, the philosopher, reigned for 18 years and nine months. He was short, thin, fair-skinned, with greying short hair, good eyes, a good beard, delicate features and a long nose.

29. **(282)** The emperor Marcus promulgated the most just law that, in cases of intestacy, a father should inherit from his children, and that a fourth part of the father's estate should be given to a rejected child.

30. During his reign he subjugated the German people. Equally during the time of his reign the works of the great Julian the Chaldean were much admired.

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23. Bo 280.16-19; JN 74.6.
Deinarchos (280.17): Meyer, 1897, 221 conjectures ἔπαρχος or ὕπαρχος , 'the governor'; but see von S 50, 307-9.
24. Bo 280.20-281.6; JN 74.7-8.
25. Bo 281.7-9; JN 74.8.
26. Bo 281.10-17; Sk 31.18-21, JN 74.2-4.
27. Bo 281.18-19; Sk 31.22, JN 74.9.
Lorium (281.18; corr Chil): 'Dorium' Ba.
77 (281.15) JN: cf '72' Sk.
28. Bo 281.20-23; LM 435.37, Sk 31.23; Slav: Soph 104.
29. Bo 281.23-282.4; CP 489.6-8 (AD176), Sk 32.6-9.
a father should inherit from his children (282.2): hardly less likely is the translation 'children should inherit from their father'; see von S 321-2, and Meinhart, 1966, 115-7.
rejected child (282.2): cf 'ungrateful child' CP.
30. Bo 282.5-11.

The emperor Marcus built, or reconstructed, in Antioch the Great the public bath known as the Centenarium. For it had collapsed in the time of Trajan, during the wrath of God. He also built the Mouseion and its Nymphaion known as the Okeanon.

31. The emperor Marcus Antoninus favoured the Green faction. He went to the district of Pannonia, fell ill and died.

32. After the reign of Marcus Antoninus, his son Antoninus Verus reigned for eight years. He was of a good height, fat, with a crooked nose, good eyes, dark skin, short curly hair, and a beard; he was a great womanizer.

33. He made war on one of the tribes of Huns and, having defeated them, subjugated many other tribes without a fight, for he was also generous. He was murdered whilst on a *processus,* at the age of 39.

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31. Bo 282.12-13; Slav: Soph 104.
32. Bo 282.14-17; LM 435.38, GM 451.21; Slav: Soph 104.
eight (282.15) GM: cf '18' Slav, 'one' LM.
33. Bo 282.17-20; De insid 9 (157.27-8), GM 451.22; Slav: Soph 104.
whilst on a *processus* (282.19; corr von S), De insid, GM: 'in Prokonesos' Ba.

BOOK 12 The Time of the Emperor Commodus and the Staging of the Olympics

1. **(283)** After the reign of Antoninus Verus, Commodus Augustus reigned for 22 years and eight months. He was of medium height, fair-skinned, with greyish eyes, a broad face, an upturned nose, a good chest, with fair curly hair and the beginnings of a beard; he was an avid builder and a religious man.

2. He built in Antioch the Great a public bath which he called the Commodium. He also reconstructed the temple of Athene opposite it, and in between these he constructed what is known as the Xystos, having built seats and the colonnades. And at the lower end of the Xystos he built a temple to Olympian Zeus.

3. **(284)** During his reign the landowners and citizens of Antioch sent a message and petitioned the emperor Commodus that by his sacred command he make over to the public treasury the revenues which Sosibios, as mentioned above, had bequeathed to the city of the Antiochenes in order that a varied programme of spectacles and different contests might be celebrated in the city, and that the city's officials should not appropriate the funds but that the public treasury itself might make provision to celebrate the Olympic festival and certain other spectacles in the city of the Antiochenes for the enjoyment of the city. And immediately the emperor Commodus by his sacred command made over the revenues to the public treasury and decreed that the Olympic festival be celebrated. He set aside from the public treasury specific funds to be provided to cover the expenses of those rendering assistance in the holy and universal festival of the Olympics, and he made a law that the festival be celebrated properly every fourth year during the festival of the Offerings, or Traditional Sacrifices, that is, in the months of Panemos-July and in Loos-August, for 45 days as a festival of Olympian Zeus. Equally he set aside another specific quantity of gold from the revenues to celebrate properly the chariot-races on the day of the Sun, that is, on the Lord's day. Likewise for celebrating the nocturnal dramatic festival, held every three years and known as the Orgies, that is, the Mysteries **(285)** of Dionysos and Aphrodite, that is, what is known as the Maioumas because it is celebrated in the month of May-Artemisios, he set aside a specific quantity of gold for torches, lights, and other expenses for the thirty-day festival of all-night revels. The most learned Roman poet Vergil mentioned this nocturnal festival in his fourth book, stating in the Roman language

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1. **Bo 283.1-4**; LM 435.39; Slav: Soph 105.
Verus (283.1): cf 'Severus' Slav.
with fair curly hair (283.3): om Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
2. **Bo 283.4-9.**
3. **Bo 284.1-285.11.**

trieterica Baccho
orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron

which means in the Greek language, "Every third year when Dionysos calls aloud in the night the festival of the Orgies on the mountain of Kithairon".

4. The emperor set aside a specific sum to pay for the *kynegia* which were to be celebrated in every period of four years as follows; they were to be held for 42 months till the cessation of slaughter and were then to be suspended for the remaining six months for the collection of the wild beasts for the festival in honour of Ares and Artemis.

5. Immediately after that the first Syriarch was nominated; he was Artabanes, an official appointed by the landowners and the whole people.

6. He set aside the remaining funds to pay for mimes, **(286)** dancers and the other entertainments which are provided in public festivals. And from that time the necessary funds to enable the city of the Antiochenes to put on the spectacles mentioned above were provided in full from the public treasury in a proper manner. And the Antiochenes set up a bronze statue to the emperor Commodus in the centre of their city.

So during his reign the Olympic festival was celebrated for the first time by the Syrian Antiochenes, in accordance with his sacred
AD211/2 command mentioned above in the year 260 according to the era of the Syrian Antiochenes; it was held in the Xystos which he had built. The Antiochenes had bought the Olympic festival from the Pisaians of Hellas for 90 periods of the Olympic contests, that is, for 360 years, by an unwritten agreement.

7. An alytarch too was created in Antioch by the same sacred command, the first appointment being Afranius, the ex-prefect and a citizen of Antioch. He wore the costume of the alytarch and was honoured during his period in office and received obeisance as if he were Zeus himself. He did not enter a house or lie down on a bed during this period, but slept in the open courtyard on the ground on top of stones with clean bedding, and a rush mat. He wore a robe as white as snow and interwoven with gold, a crown of rubies, pearls and other precious stones. He held an ebony sceptre and wore white sandals on his **(287)** feet. During these days he would sleep in the open courtyard of the basilica known as the Kaisarion, which had been built by Caesar Julius the dictator. The statue of Caesar which was outside the Conch of the basilica stood there. The Kaisarion was opposite the temple of

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trieterica ... Cithaeron (285.8-9; corr Chil from *Aeneid* IV 302-3): 'trieterika baketeicho horgian hoktournous kous boskan klamore kithairon' Ba; see Bury, 1897, 227.
Dionysos calls (285.10: corr von S 53): 'Dionys' Ba.
4. Bo 285.12-16.
42 (285.14; corr Chil): '32' Ba.
5. Bo 285.17-19.
Artabanes (285.17; corr von S 53; cf 289.14, 290.2): 'Artabanios' Ba.
6. Bo 285.20-286.11.
7. Bo 286.12-287.7.
Afranius (286.13; corr von S 54; cf 417.7): 'Aphronios' Ba.

Ares at what is known as the Macellum, because that is the only place where pig-meat is butchered, near the temple of Ares.

8. The secretary was appointed for the first time by the council and the people; he was named Pompeianus Quaestor and was from a senatorial Roman family. He too wore a white robe and a solid gold crown in the form of laurel leaves. They honoured and made obeisance to him, they say, like some Apollo.

9. The council and people also appointed as *amphithales* a man named Cassius Illustris, who wore equally a white robe of pure silk and a crown woven from laurel leaves with a gold bust of Zeus in the middle. They honoured and made obeisance to this *amphithales* as Hermes, according to the learned Domninos, the chronicler, who has written about all these arrangements.

10. Young people of noble birth from every city and country district would come to the sacred contest of the Olympic festival to compete under a vow, and they matched themselves against each other. They conducted themselves chastely and with great moderation, and received no gain from any source. For they were rich and had their own slaves as attendants, **(288)** each according to his wealth. Many of them were girls. They used to bring much gold from their native city. But they competed because of their oath and their vow and in order to win glory in their own city. So they came in a competitive spirit and with a formidable reputation. Some wrestled, some ran, some played the trumpet, some took part in the *pankration,* others fought in boxing matches wearing box-wood finger-guards, others drove chariots with young horses, while others sang songs from tragedy. There were also virgin girls who practised philosophy and who were present under a vow of chastity, competing, wrestling in leggings, running, declaiming and reciting various Hellenic hymns. These women fought against women and the competition was fierce whether in the wrestling, the races or the recitation. Anyone among them, as they say, whether a woman or a young man, who was crowned as victor amid the acclamations of the holy populace would remain chaste till the end of his life, for immediately after the contest he would be ordained and become a priest. Equally the philosopher virgins who were crowned would become priestesses after the contest. Then they would all depart from there. Those who were owners of landed property did not pay taxes, but the victor's property remained exempt from tax from the moment of his victory but only for his **(289)** lifetime. If he also owned workshops, the workshops that the competitor possessed remained immune from obligations for his lifetime only. So many came to compete that their numbers were unparalleled, but however many happened to arrive under a vow, whether young men or virgin girls, they were all allowed to take part in the spectacle. Sometimes a great number came, and at other times they did not, depending on the seasons and the sea winds.

11. During the reign of Commodus, Nikomedeia, the metropolis of Bithynia, suffered from the wrath of God. This was her third calamity and it extended to Moudoupolis and the river Sangaris and surrounding

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8. Bo 287.8-12.
9. Bo 287.13-18.
10. Bo 287.19-289.7; Slav: Soph 105.
11. Bo 289.8-12.

districts, on 3rd May-Artemisios at daybreak. The emperor gave generously to the city and restored it.

12. In the time of Commodus, a landowner and office-holder of Antioch the Great named Artabanes, the alytarch, after completing the crowning at the Olympic festival at Daphne made a benefaction by distributing to the people in holy Daphne many small reed tokens for perpetual bread distributions. He called the loaves "politikoi" (civil) because he bestowed them on his own city *(polis)*, and he set aside from his own estates a revenue sufficient to meet the cost of the bread. **(290)** The Antiochenes erected a marble statue to him at Daphne and wrote on it, "An eternal memorial to Artabanes".

13. The emperor Commodus went to the house of Faustinus, a relative of his, and died from a sudden haemorrhage.

14. After the reign of Commodus, Pertinax Lucius Augustus reigned for two months and 18 days. He was tall, with a good chest, a hook nose, straight hair and large eyes; he was old with completely grey hair. He died, murdered by the soldiers, as he was going out of the palace to the Campus Martius, at the age of 70.

15. After the reign of Pertinax, Didius Julianus Silvius reigned for seven months. He was tall, with greying curly hair, eyebrows that met, a slight squint, delicate features and honey-coloured skin.

16. He built in Antioch the Great what is known as the Plethrion, because they had held the wrestling at the Olympic festival in the theatre. After receiving a letter of petition from the landowners of the city of Antioch, he provided them with funds to build the Plethrion. They built it near the Kaisarion, having bought the house of Asabinos, a city official who was of the Jewish religion, near the Xystos and the bath of Commodus.

17. Julianus Didius was murdered by a *cubicularius* at the spring inside the palace **(291)** at Rome while he was observing his fish, as a result of a plot by his successor. He was 60 years old.

18. After the reign of Didius Julianus, the most sacred Severus

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12. Bo 289.13-290.2; CP 490.8-16 (AD181).
alytarch (289.14): von S 56 corrects to 'Syriarch' (cf 285.17), probably unnecessarily; cf Downey, 1937a, 153-4.
An eternal memorial to Artabanes (290.2; corr) CP: 'an eternal memorial Artabanes' Ba.
13. Bo 290.3-5; CP 492.14-16 (AD192), Sk 32.22-3; Slav: Soph 105.
Faustinus (290.3): cf 'Festianus' Sk, 'Vestianus' CP.
haemorrhage (290.4): Sk, Slav add 'at the age of 41'.
14. Bo 290.6-10; LM 435.40, CP 493.3-4 (AD192), De insid 10 (157.29-30), GM 452.8-10; Slav: Soph 105.
two months and 18 days (290.7): cf 'two months and eight days' Slav, 'one year, two months and 18 days' LM, 'two months' GM.
15. Bo 290.11-13; LM 435.41, CP 493.5-6 (AD192); Slav: Soph 105.
16. Bo 290.14-20.
17. Bo 290.20-291.2; CP 493.8-10 (AD193), De insid 11 (157.31-33), GM 452.11-13, Sk 32.27-29; Slav: Soph 105.
his successor (291.1): 'his successors' De insid, cf 'his companions' CP.
18. Bo 291.3-9; LM 435.42, CP 493.7 (AD192), 12-13 (AD193); Slav: Soph 105.

Septimius began to reign. He was elected by the Roman senate during the consulship of Falco and Clarus. He reigned for 17 years and nine months. He was of medium height, slender, with a good chest, a long nose, good eyes, dark skin, completely grey curly hair, a large beard and crippled feet. He was magnanimous and prone to anger. AD193

19. During his reign the senator Albinus rebelled. The army, which had been sent by the previous emperor Didius to fight against the Gepids, proclaimed Albinus emperor, overruling the senate. Severus pursued him into Thrace, captured him and put him to death.

20. When Severus came to Byzantion and found that the situation of the city was good, he restored Byzoupolis and built a public Bath known as the Zeuxippon because a bronze statue of Helios (the sun) stood there in the middle of the Tetrastoon. On its base was inscribed the mystic name of the sun, "To the horse-yoking *(Zeuxippos)* god", for that is what the Thracians called the sun. So the people of the city of Byzas used to call the public bath Zeuxippon after the original **(292)** name of the place, and they no longer used the name Severium which the emperor had given it after himself. The emperor Severus added the public bath, which he built, to the Tetrastoon, in the middle of which stood the statue of Helios. In turn he built a shrine or temple to Helios on the Acropolis of the city of Byzoupolis, near to the other two temples there that had been built formerly, one by Byzas to Artemis with her deer, the other by Phidalia to Aphrodite. Severus moved the statue of Helios from the Tetrastoon and placed it above the temple, and he also built a very large *kynegion* opposite the temple of Artemis and a theatre opposite the temple of Aphrodite. The most sacred Severus set up the hippodrome in Byzantion; after purchasing buildings and removing trees which were in the garden there, he constructed the hippodrome for the Byzantines, but he was not able to complete this. Severus also reconstructed what is known as the Strategion, which had been built formerly by Alexander of Macedon when he campaigned against Dareios. He had named the place Strategion because it was after practising his generalship there that he set off across the Bosphoros against the Persians.

Falco (291.5; corr): 'Flacco' Ba, 'Flaccus' CP.
19. Bo 291.10-14.
20. Bo 291.15-292.19; CP 494.12-495.16 (AD197), Su IV 334.30-335.3, MK II 88.
When Severus came (291.15): before this CP 493.18-494.12 adds a passage on the foundation of Byzantion which von S 58 thinks is perhaps from Malalas; there are close resemblances of style and syntax, but the passage integrates better into the Ba text at 320.19-321.15 than here.
to Byzantion (291.15): 'in this year of his reign to Byzantion from Rome many years later' CP.
was inscribed (291.19; reading ἐγράφη with von S 58): 'he inscribed' Ba.
added the public bath...to the Tetrastoon (292.3; corr, cf 'added to the public bath...the Tetrastoon' von S): 'added the public bath...the Tetrastoon' Ba.
temple to Helios (292.5): cf 'temple to Apollo' CP.
purchasing buildings (292.13): CP adds 'and a garden from some orphan brothers; by destroying buildings', cf Su.

21. During the reign of Severus, another senator, named Niger, rebelled after setting out against the Persians. When a peace treaty had been made with the Persians the army (293) heard that some members of the Roman senate had named Niger as emperor and so they proclaimed him emperor. And he seized all the East as far as Egypt; however, the Syrian Laodikeians did not accept him but resisted him. So he besieged and captured Laodikeia and destroyed it and slaughtered the entire population.

Severus began a campaign against him, pursuing him till he caught up with him in the Thebaid in Egypt where he captured him in battle and put him to death. After the victory he turned back from the Thebaid and was angry with the Alexandrians because they had accepted the rebel Niger and inscribed on their gates, "The city of the Lord Niger". So the people of the great city of Alexandria went out to greet the emperor Severus and chanted the following, "We know we said 'The city of the Lord Niger', but you were Niger's Lord". He accepted their ready defence, overlooked their mistake, offered them forgiveness and received them back into favour. He built a public bath for them which he called the Severium, and he also built a temple of Rhea. As he was on the point of leaving, he arrested a man named Thermos, one of the highest ranking dignitaries of Alexandria the Great, who was very popular with the citizens. Thermos had built a public bath in the city at his own expense and called it Therma after himself. Severus confiscated Thermos' property because he had been a friend of Niger. On leaving Alexandria he went to Laodikeia in Syria (294) and praised the surviving Laodikeians. He gave generously to them and offered the city the status of a metropolis for the duration of his reign only. He gave orders that they should have the name Septimians after himself, and he offered senatorial rank to the surviving dignitaries of the city of Laodikeia, because they had not accepted the rebel Niger but had fought against him. He offered them large sums to purchase corn as well as large yearly sums for civil expenditure, decreeing that they should have the funds to rebuild their city because, when Niger had captured it, he had burned and destroyed it and had slaughtered all those who had resisted and fought against him. So Severus built for the Laodikeians a hippodrome, a *kynegion*, and a public bath down by the harbour, because he found a spring there. He also built there what is known as the Hexastoon.

22. When he came to Antioch the Great, he gave generously to them too, for they had given him an omen of victory in their acclamations when he set out for Egypt against Niger. He built a large public bath for the Antiochenes by the mountain, which he called the Severianum after himself. He ordered the city officials there to build another public bath for the city from the surplus of the money which had accumulated in the funds for heating baths that had collapsed. So the city officials bought up the whole of the residence of Livia, an Antiochene citizen, including her bath and her garden, and built (295) a

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21. Bo 292.20–294.14; De insid 12 (158.1-32), Su IV 335.5-10.
you were Niger's Lord (293.14): 'you are Niger's Lord' De insid, Su.
large yearly sums...the funds to rebuild (294.8): 'large sums...yearly funds to rebuild' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
22. Bo 294.15–295.5; CP 497.14-15 (AD212); Slav: Soph 105.

public bath there in the level area of the city. When they finished the bath they named it, because of mutual jealousy, the Livianium after the woman who had sold the site. Severus set off for another war and died in barbarian territory in the West, at the age of 65.

23. After the reign of Severus, Antoninus Getas reigned for one year. He was short with a broad face, an upturned nose, slightly bald with greying hair, a large belly, a large mouth, white skin and small eyes. The army killed him, and he died at the age of 51.

24. After the reign of Antoninus Getas, Antoninus Caracallus, son of Severus, reigned for six years and 22 days. He was of a good height, strong, with a good colour, a crooked nose, a bushy beard, and greying curly hair. He was loved by all the people of Rome and favoured the Green faction.

25. ...he was murdered in the palace as he was setting out for the temple, at the age of 47.

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23. Bo 295.6-10; LM 435.43, De insid 13 (158.33-4); Slav: Soph 107.
24. Bo 295.11-15; LM 436.1; Slav: Soph 107.
He was loved...Green faction (295.14-15): this startlingly inaccurate sentence (cf von S 353-4) invites transposition to the end of the following lacuna, except that there it would refer to Aemilianus, who never reached Rome and so seems an even less appropriate subject here than Caracalla.
Green faction (295.15): Ba continues 'He was murdered in the palace as he was setting out for the temple, at the age of 47'; De insid 23 gives almost identical details about Aemilianus (see below). Von S accepts the sentence for both Caracalla and Aemilianus and provides complex explanations (von S, 365-6); we prefer to restrict the sentence to Aemilianus and to mark the lacuna one sentence earlier than does von S.
25. Bo 295.15-16.
...he was murdered...age of 47 (295.15-16): 'Aemilianus, emperor of the Romans, was murdered...age of 47' De insid 23 (160.1-2).
At this point there is a lacuna in Ba covering about 40 years and emperors from Caracalla to Aemilianus. The beginnings and many of the ends of imperial reigns may be reconstructed from LM 436.3-17 and De insid 14-23 (159.1-160.2). Other material may be found in De virt 7 (160.20-26), and by sifting through the accounts in other texts which use Malalas, where they are extant for this passage, ie CP, GM, Ke, LG and Sk. The main technique is to search for passages which appear in more than one text in this list, and cannot be traced to other sources (see Patzig, 1896, 30-53); but a good case may often be made out for other material simply on the basis of similarity of content and style with Ba. We have been rather more adventurous in including questionable material than von S, 61-4 and 354-66.

i Caracalla

'Antoninus Caracallus marched out against the Persians and recovered Osrhoene, fought a battle and was murdered between Edessa and Carrhae, at the age of 60' CP 498.7-9, cf Sk 33.18-19; Sk 30.19-20 continues 'with the complicity of the prefect and his imperial successor'.

ii Macrinus

'Macrinus Gallus ruled for 1 year and 7 months' LM 436.3, cf '...1 year' CP 498.10, '...1 year and 8 months' Sk 33.22.
'Macrinus too was murdered in Archelais at the age of 52' De insid 14

(159.1-2), cf CP 498.12, Sk 33.27.
Other material in Sk is probably derived from Zosimos; see Patzig, 1896, 33.

iii Heliogabalus

'Antoninus II ruled for 4 years and 2 months' LM 436.4, cf '...4 years' CP 498.13.

'He was eloquent, an excellent man, fierce in battle, gentle, wise, swift, conciliating all and justifiably loved by all. He cancelled the debts owed to the treasury. The emperor of the day used to borrow money, and these debts would be paid by the senators who did not take the field with the emperor. They acted as surety and guaranteed that all the money spent in wars was secured on their property. If any of them could not pay, their debts were passed on to their heirs and relatives. The *advocati fisci* would in time make over their possessions to the treasury. At that time, the possessions of prominent people in every city and country area under Roman rule were kept under examination, and if anyone was found to have property beyond that appropriate to his rank, the surplus would be made over to the *fiscus*. There existed constitutions from Julius Caesar and subsequent emperors on this clause. Antoninus freed everyone from this clause, promulgating a law that expenses incurred in wars should not be administered by liability placed on the senate. He took the documents relevant to these issues to the Forum of Hadrian and burnt them, over a period of 30 days' Sk 33.31-34.19.

'Antoninus Heliogabalus ('Augustus' CP) was murdered in Rome by his relative, at the age of 36' De insid 15 (159.3-4), CP 499.9-10, cf Sk 34.31.

Patzig, 1896, 41 and von S 355 recommend a search for passages from Malalas in Sk's pages on Heliogabalus and Severus Alexander, which seem independent of other sources of Sk. The financial passage chosen here follows a personal description reminiscent of Malalas' style, and parallels the reform ascribed to Antoninus Pius at 281.11-17, using several characteristic features of Malalas' vocabulary and style. The narrative of Heliogabalus' adoption of Alexander is less like the style of Malalas, and implies a different death from that of De insid 15 above. Two Eusebian entries in CP 499.2-7 resemble Malalas in subject but not vocabulary.

iv Severus Alexander

'Alexander son of Mamaea reigned for 8 years and 4 months' LM 436.5, cf '...for 13 years' CP 499.11.

'He made an expedition with his mother against the Persians, and in Antioch appointed Maximinus as general. The latter fought a battle against the Persians but was defeated, and the emperor grew angry with him. When the emperor learned from Rome that a war was being started by the German people, he made peace with the Persians and marched against the Germans. Maximinus immediately rebelled behind him, was proclaimed emperor by the army, and set out for Italy. Alexander learned of this, fought a battle with him but was defeated' Sk 35.8-15. Sk continues with the following passage, which is less likely to be from Malalas, 'She happened to be a Christian, according to Eusebius, for she had summoned Origen to Antioch and had been instructed in the Christian mystery' Sk 35.16-18.

'The Augustus Alexander was murdered by the army, when he was in the tent in Mainz, at the age of 30. They strangled his mother Mamaea, who was with him, with a rope inside the tent' CP 500.11-14.
Sk begins with an encomium on Alexander's (and Mamaea's) good government: but the style of Malalas only becomes evident in the passage translated here. The CP narrative of his death (omitted by De insid) is strongly marked by Malalas' style.

v Maximinus

'Maximinus (cf 'Maximus' LM) Augustus ruled for 3 years (LM adds 'and 10 months'), having been proclaimed by the army' CP 500.15-16 (cf LM 436.6).
'The senate of Rome came to dislike Maximinus, the persecutor of Christians, and they made threats against the soldiers who had made him emperor (cf Sk 35.23). So when a riot occurred among the populace because of a food shortage, the inhabitants of the city of Rome attacked the emperor Maximinus in the palace. His son Pulcherianus made a sortie against them, fully armed and with a contingent of troops, but was killed by the city mob. The troops who were with him were terrified of the huge mass of the citizens of Rome, so they abandoned him and fled, leaving him to be seized on his own. Maximinus left the palace and went off to Aquileia, angry with the inhabitants of the city and with the army for their betrayal of his son. The soldiers seized an opportunity and attacked him. He was killed there at the age of 75 (cf CP 501.2-3)' De insid 16 (159.5-17).
This version of events is idiosyncratic, and it is hard to combine others with it - especially Sk 35.19-36.11 (on which, see Patzig, 1896, 39).

vi Balbinus

'Balbinus reigned for 3 months and was murdered' CP 501.3-4, cf Sk 36.10-11 and '...for 1 year and 3 months' LM 436.7 (von S 361 deletes '1 year and').
'A plot was made against Albinus ('Galbinus' Sk) in the palace and he was murdered by his own relative at the age of 60' De insid 17 (159.19-20), cf Sk 36.13.

vii. Pupienus (Pompeianus)

'Pulpius reigned for 3 months' LM 436.8, 'Puplius reigned for 100 days' CP 501.5, 'Pompianos, 2 months and he too was murdered. Pouplios Galbinus 3 months, and he was murdered' Sk 36.12-13. 'Pompeianus too set out to war and was murdered in Parthia at the age of 52' De insid 18 (159.20-21).
Confusion of names has caused duplication in Sk, and perhaps in Malalas; see Patzig, 1896, 41. The De insid passage links 'Pompeianus' to Gordian III, whose death was caused on a Parthian campaign, though he was much younger than 52.

viii Gordian I

'The aged emperor Gordian arrived from Libya. He reigned for 22 days only' Sk 36.14-16, cf LM 436.9 and 'Gordian Senior reigned for 6 years' CP 501.6 (cf Gordian III).
'The Augustus Gordian formed the *numerus* of those called *candidati*, enrolling them selectively as being full-grown, strong and of imposing appearance, from the regiment known as the *scholarii*. He called the *schola* of the *numerus* Seniores after himself. These are the troops of

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the sixth *schola'* CP 501.13-18.
'Falling sick as a result of the slowness of the voyage, he died at the age of 79' Sk 36.15-16, cf 'He fell sick and died at the age of 79' CP 502.3-4.
It is puzzling that the episode of the *candidati*, with its strong reminiscences of Malalas' style, is preserved only in CP which is in error about the length of the reign. Gordian I included the word Senior as part of his titulature.

ix Gordian II

'Gordian II reigned for 20 years ('20 days' von S 62)' LM 436.10. Whether one follows text or emendation (which is based on Herodian, our best source), this figure is to be rejected because it differs from the rest of the Malalas tradition, where Gordian I is followed by an emperor called either Gordian II or Philip Junior or just Junior, who reigned for 6 years and died as a result of a fall from his horse and a fractured thigh, in spite of returning alive to Rome. Gordian II was the only emperor of this period to have Junior as part of his titulature.
'Gordian, his (Gordian I's) son, 6 years' Sk 36.16-17.
'Philip Junior reigned with his son Philip for 6 years' CP 502.5-6.
'The emperor Philip with his son Philip established a *numerus* of those called *candidati*, enrolling them selectively as youths, from the *scholarii*. They called the *schola* of the regiment established by them Iuniores after Philip the father. These are the troops of the seventh *schola'* CP 502.14-19.
'Philip Junior took part in many wars and was successful. When fighting with the Gepids his horse stumbled and he fell and broke his thigh. He returned to Rome and died of the fracture at the age of 45' CP 503.2-5; 'In the war against the Persians, he (Gordian II) fell from his horse and suffered a fractured thigh. He returned to Rome and died as a result, at the age of 50' Sk 36.17-19, cf GM 461.14-16, Ke 451.11-13, who give the sequence of these Gordians as Jounor-Gordian-Ounior, and make the second, Gordian, die of the fractured thigh. Other details are provided by Patzig, 1896, 41-2.

x Gordian III

'Gordian III reigned for 6 years' LM 436.11, Sk 36.20, cf CP 502. 5-6 (under Gordian II above).
'He was calm and eloquent' Sk 36.20-21.
'The army rose up against him...and killed him at the age of 28' Sk 36.29-31, cf a possible but distorted parallel in De insid 18 (see Pupienus, above).

xi Marcus

'Marcus reigned for 6 years' LM 436.12.
'The senate in Rome appointed Marcus, a philosopher, who died suddenly in the palace, at the age of 43' Sk 36.31-37.2. See also GM 465.2, Ke 451.16.

xii Hostilianus Severus

'Hostilianus Severus ruled the empire. He fell ill and died after being bled, at the age of 46' Sk 37.2-4.
'After Marcus Hostilianus reigned for 2 years. After being bled he had a haemorrhage in his sleep, lost consciousness and died' GM 465.4-6, Ke 451.17-19.

Both Marcus and Hostilianus, though shadowy figures historically, are very likely to have been included by Malalas; see Patzig, 1896, 43.

xiii Philip the Arab

'Philip reigned for 6 and a half years' LM 436.13, Sk 37.5.

'Decius opposed him with his army. Philip marched out against him with a mighty army and fought a battle, but was defeated and soon after fled to Rome' Sk 37.5-8.

'During the reign of Philip the emperor of the Romans a civil war broke out in Rome between soldiers because of the seduction of the Brutides (cf Bo 177.13), and there were many deaths. Philip came out of the palace with his sons to stop them, and was attacked by the troops on one side and murdered together with his children. He died at the age of 63' De insid 19 (159.22-28), cf Sk 37.8-10, 16-17.

xiv Valerian

'Valerian ruled for 2 and a half years' LM 436.14, cf 'After Philip, Valerian ruled for 1 year and was murdered by his own people' GM 465.12-13, Ke 452.4.

These three references appear to confirm that Malalas included here a doublet of the later Valerian (cf 295.17).

xv Gallus

'The very small Gallus reigned for 5 months' LM 436.15.

'Gallus was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers and immediately after his arrival in Rome he was murdered, at the age of 60' De insid 20 (159.29-30). GM 466.17-18 seems to combine Gallus and Marius (see below). Ke 452.13-453.5 places Gallus here before Decius, and has incorporated GM's confusion with Marius; but he has also included from another source details of the historical Trebonianus Gallus who was Decius' successor.

xvi Marius

'Immediately (after the death of Philip the Arab) the senate made emperor a man named Marius called the frugal, and he lasted...months (gap in ms)' Sk 37.10-11.

'Marius the emperor was butchered by his wife as he slept. He had not been proclaimed emperor by the senate, because the army had made him emperor by overruling the senate' De insid 21 (159.31-3).

It is unclear why these two references, our only evidence for Malalas on Marius, should directly contradict each other on the means of his elevation.

xvii Decius

'Decius reigned for 1 year and 8 months' LM 436.16.

'Decius, emperor of the Romans, was a Christ-hater. In his time a great persecution of the Christians took place ('in the consulship of Decius and Rusticius' Bo 260.3-4) and he proclaimed his godless edict that people who found those called Christians anywhere and seized them and put them to death and robbed them of all their possessions should go without punishment. Many Christians were murdered indiscriminately (reading ὡς ἔτυχε for ὧν...) by mobs in the various cities and their belongings looted' De virt 7 (160.20-26), cf JN 75.1-2. For the first part of the second sentence compare the misplaced sentence at Bo 260.3-4, inserted by Malalas or his textual tradition under Vespasian.

'The emperor Decius brought tremendous lions and lionesses from Africa, and set them loose on the *limes* of the East, from Arabia and Palestine

26. After the reign of Antoninus Caracallus, Valerian reigned for six years. He was short, slender, with straight grey hair, a slightly upturned nose, a bushy beard, black pupils and large eyes; he was timorous and mean.

During his reign one of the officials of Antioch the Great, named Mariades, was expelled from the council through co-operation between the whole council and the people, because of deficiencies in his administration of chariot-racing: he had not bought horses for whichever faction it was he led but (296) had embezzled the public funds that were set aside for the hippodrome. So he went to Persia and told the Persian emperor Sapor that he would betray to him Antioch the Great, his own city. Sapor, emperor of the Persians, came through the *limes* of Chalkis with a large military force and captured the whole of Syria and plundered it. He captured the city of Antioch the Great in the evening and plundered it, and then destroyed and burnt it in the
AD265/6 year 314 according to the era of Antioch the Great. He beheaded the official, since he was a traitor to his own country. He captured all the regions of the East as far as the city of Emesa in Phoenice Libanensis, and destroyed, burnt, and plundered it and killed everyone. The priest of Aphrodite, called Sampsigeramos, came out with a force of countrymen armed with slings and went to meet him. The Persian emperor, Sapor, noticing his priestly costume, ordered his army not to shoot at them nor to attack or fight them, and he received the priest as an ambassador. For the priest had sent him a message in advance asking him to receive him as an ambassador for his country. While the emperor Sapor was conversing with the priest, seated on a high platform, one of the countrymen hurled a stone from his sling at him and hit the emperor Sapor on the forehead; he died immediately on the spot. A disturbance broke out and (297) his army heard of his death. Because they supposed that the Romans had arrived, they all fled towards the *limes*, pursued by the farmers and the priest Sampsigeramos, and they abandoned all their plunder and disappeared. Across the *limes* they were met by Enathos,

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as far as the fortress of Kirkesion, so that they should breed, as a measure against the barbarian Saracens. Equally he brought poisonous snakes and tremendous bisexual creatures from the Libyan desert, as a measure against the barbarian Nobades (reading Νοβάδας for Νομάδας) and Blemmyes. This is why they depict him standing between lions and serpents' CP 504.17-505.3, cf JN 75.3.

'Decius went out to fight against the Franks; as he departed he was murdered with his son by one of the exarchs in Abyrtos ('Adytos' De insid) at the age of 60' De insid 22 (159.34-6), cf CP 505.4-6.

xviii Aemilianus

'Aemilianus reigned for 4 months' LM 436.17, Sk 38.9.

26. Bo 295.17-298.2; LM 436.18.

Antoninus Caracallus (295.17): 'Aemilianus' von S 64.

for whichever...he led (295.23): Bury, 1897, 227 marks an εἰ in Ba before ἐστρατήγησεν (om Bo), neglected in the discussion of Cameron, 1976, 201; we retain Cameron's sense though the additional word is nearly enough to cause reversion to 'whenever he organized any of the factions'.

314 (296.9; corr Chil): '304' von S 366 n.89, '310' Ensslin 1949, 33-5, ὅτε Ba; see Downey, 1961, 590-1.

emperor of the Saracen barbarians, who controlled the land of Arabia and took the side of the Romans. He had a wife named Zenobia, a Saracen empress. Enathos, emperor of the Saracens, destroyed all the Persian troops in Sapor's force, as the learned chronicler Domninos has stated. The most learned Philostratos has written a different account of events concerning Sapor, emperor of the Persians, saying that he also captured the whole of Syria and burnt down many other cities as well as Antioch the Great, and that likewise he also took Cilicia and burnt Alexandria Minor and Rhossos and Anazarbos and Aigai and Nikopolis and many other cities in Cilicia, and that he passed through Cappadocia into Persian territory and that Enathos, emperor of the Saracens, came to meet him to become, he said, an ally of his and then killed him. Domninos' record is the truer; he said that he sent his satrap Spates to Cilicia with an army.

The emperor Valerian had left Rome and had set off to fight at Milan. Events in the East were reported to him and he **(298)** wanted to turn back and set out for the East, but he was unable to do so because he was surrounded and killed there at Milan, at the age of 61.

27. After the reign of Valerian, Gallienus Licinianus reigned for 14 years. He was well grown in stature and valiant, with a dark skin, curly hair, a bushy beard, a good nose, and large eyes; he was magnanimous and he favoured the Blue faction.

As soon as he began to reign, he began a campaign against the Persians and went to avenge the Romans. He gave generously to those who had been plundered and survived, and he restored what had been burnt down and remitted taxes for four years. He also built a great temple in Emesa. He joined battle with the Persians and, after many on both sides had fallen, he made a peace treaty. From there he turned back and went to Arabia, and joined battle with Enathos, emperor of the Saracen barbarians, and killed him and seized Arabia. He returned to Rome, where he died stricken with illness, at the age of 50.

28. After the reign of Gallienus Licinianus, Claudius Apollianus reigned for nine years. He was of medium height, fair-skinned with a big paunch, straight hair, a broad face, a slightly upturned nose, greyish eyes, fairish hair, a twisted mouth and a slight lisp; he was magnanimous and he supported the Green faction.

During his reign Nikomedeia, the metropolis **(299)** of Bithynia, suffered its fourth calamity from the wrath of God as far as the rivers and Dacibyza. He gave generously to the survivors and the city.

In that year Zenobia the Saracen, the wife of Enathos, avenged the death of her husband. She gathered his relatives and captured Arabia, which was at that time in Roman possession. She killed the *dux* of the Romans, Trassus, and all the troops with him in the reign of Apollianus Claudius. The emperor Claudius was campaigning in Sirmium, and he died there at the age of 56.

29. After the reign of Apollianus Claudius, Quintilian reigned for 17 days. He was of medium height, slender, with a long face, a long

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the whole of Syria (297.12): 'Syria' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
27. Bo 298.3-16; LM 436.19.
Licinianus (298.3): cf 'Licinius' LM.
28. Bo 298.17-299.10; LM 436.20, CP 508.8, Sk 39.2.
29. Bo 299.11-16; LM 436.21.

nose, dark skin, straight hair, good eyes and both his hair and beard were grizzled. He died in the palace at the age of 41, for he was sick when of dire necessity he was proclaimed emperor.

30. After the reign of Quintilian, the most sacred Aurelian, the warrior, reigned for six years. He was tall, slender, slightly bald, with small eyes and completely grey hair; he was magnanimous and quick moving. He wore a diadem decorated with a star.

As soon as he began to reign, he started to rebuild the walls of Rome to make them strong, for they had been ravaged by time. He himself directed the work and forced the guilds of Rome to undertake the construction. He completed the walls in a very short **(300)** time, and he issued his sacred command that from that time onward the workmen of the whole city should be called Aureliani, taking the title from the name of the emperor as an honour for their hard work.

After receiving a dispatch Aurelian began a campaign against Zenobia, empress of the Saracens, and set out for the East. It was reported about her that she had plundered and burned the eastern regions up to the boundaries of Antioch the Great and that she had set up camp near the river Orontes. As soon as the emperor Aurelian reached Antioch,. he immediately set out, just as he was, to march against her. When they joined battle he cut down the entire mass of her troops. He captured Zenobia herself, set her on a dromedary and paraded her through all the districts of the East and brought her also to Antioch the Great. After he had watched the chariot-racing there, he brought her in on a dromedary. He built a structure in Antioch and placed her on top of it in chains for three days; he called the structure he built "Triumph". He took her down from there and led her off to Rome as empress of the barbarian Saracens. After parading her in his triumph in Rome in the old manner, he beheaded her.

The emperor Aurelian also made Arabia into a province under Roman control. It had been in the possession of barbarian Saracens, relatives of Enathos the Saracen, all of whom Aurelian killed.

(301) When he was on the point of leaving Antioch the Great, those known as the *monetarii* of Antioch rioted before him, chanting for some customary rights. He was angry with them and punished them.

Aurelian also created the province of Dacia Ripensis; it was situated near the river Danube. Aurelian began another war. He was treacherously murdered by his army at a place known as New Fort, on the grounds that he had commanded the army badly. He died at the age of 61.

31. After the reign of Aurelian, Tacitus Augustus reigned for seven months. He was of medium height, slender, slightly bald and eloquent, with short, completely grey hair and a delicate nose; he was sensible.

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30. Bo 299.17–301.9; LM 436.22, CP 508.9 (AD271), 13-14 (AD273), 509.1 (AD276), De insid 24 (160.3-4), Ke 455.1-3, Sk 39.9-10, JN 76.1-5.
his sacred command (300.1): JN makes the main thrust of the legislation the need for workmen to be registered in various categories, which may well reflect the original Malalas; see von S 382-3, n.15.
for their hard work (300.4): JN adds 'And this institution has prevailed to the present'.
31. Bo 301.10–17; LM 436.23, CP 509.3-4 (AD276), cf 477.18, Sk 39.18-20, cf MK II 76.

In his reign a Manichean named Kerdon appeared, who went about teaching and preaching and gathering crowds.

During the reign of Tacitus there was war in the Pontic region. The emperor went out to war, and was killed in Tzannic territory in Pontus, at the age of 75.

32. After the reign of Tacitus, Florianus Augustus reigned for two months. He was short and fat, with receding hair, fair-skinned, with wine-coloured eyes, a slightly upturned nose, and greying hair and beard; he was an extremely sharp man. He began a campaign against the Persians (302) and when he came to Tarsos was killed by his own men, at the age of 65.

33. After the reign of Florianus, Aelius Probus reigned for three years and three months. He was of medium height, with a large belly and straight, closely cropped hair, a bushy beard, dark skin, a ruddy complexion, good eyes and was very learned; he favoured the Green faction.

In his reign he further decorated what is called the Mouseion in Antioch the Great, and the sigma-shaped Nymphaion in it, making a representation of Okeanos in it in mosaic. The emperor also established the food grants in the city of Antioch at public expense, decreeing by his sacred ordinance that there should be free education.

The emperor Probus made war against the Goths at Sirmium. During the war there was a great universal famine and, because no wages could be found, the army rioted. They attacked and killed him in Sirmium, at the age of 50.

34. After the reign of Probus, the most sacred Carus reigned for two years. He was short, with a good chest, fair skin, with straight greying hair, greyish eyes, a broad face, a good nose and thick lips; he was arrogant.

During his reign he subjugated a region which he called Caria, and made it into a province. He also began a campaign against the Persians; he advanced and captured Persian territory as far as the city of Ktesiphon and returned. He constructed a walled fortress (303) on the *limes* and made it into a city, giving it the status of a city; he called it Carrhae after himself. He returned to Rome and then set out on another war, against the Huns; he was killed during the consulship of Maximian and Januarianus, at the age of 60 and a half. AD28

35. After the reign of Carus, Numerian Augustus reigned for two years. He was tall, slender, with straight hair, a long face, delicate features, a good beard, greying hair, a good nose, good eyes and dark skin.

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32. Bo 301.18–302.2; LM 436.24, cf MK II 76.
33. Bo 302.3–15; LM 436.25, CP 509.13 (AD282), De insid 25 (160.5–9), Sk 40.4–5, MK II 79.
decreeing...education (302.11): 'a benefaction which he confirmed by his sacred ordinance' von S 69, possibly correctly.
wages (302.14): 'storehouses' De insid, cf MK.
50 (302.15) CP, Sk; cf '40' De insid.
34. Bo 302.16–303.4; LM 436.26, Sk 40.6–8.
Maximian (303.4; corr): 'Maximus' Ba.
Januarianus (303.4; corr): 'Jannuarius' Ba.
35. Bo 303.5–304.6; LM 436.27, CP 510.2–12(AD284), Sk 40.9–13, Mk II 79.

During his reign there was a great persecution of Christians. Among them St George the Cappadocian and St Babylas were martyred; the latter was the bishop of Antioch the Great. The emperor Numerian arrived there as he was setting out to fight the Persians. Wishing to observe the sacred mysteries of the Christians, he resolved to go into the holy church where the Christians used to gather to see what the mysteries were which they were performing, because he had heard that the Galileans performed their liturgies in secret. When he drew near he was suddenly met by St Babylas, who stopped him, saying to him, "You are still contaminated by the sacrifices you have made to idols and I will not allow you to see the mysteries of the living God". The emperor Numerian was angry with him and put him to death immediately.

Then he left Antioch and began a campaign against the Persians. When he joined battle, the Persians attacked him **(304)** and destroyed the larger part of his force, and he fled to the city of Carrhae. The Persians besieged him, took him prisoner and killed him immediately. Then they flayed his skin and made it into a bag, which they pickled with myrrh and kept for their own glory; the remainder of his troops they butchered. The emperor Numerian died at the age of 36.

36. After the reign of Numerian, Carinus Augustus, his brother, reigned for two years. He was short, fat, with a broad face, fair skin, curly receding hair and a thin beard; he was magnanimous. He favoured the Green faction.

As soon as he began to reign he began a campaign against the Persians to avenge his brother Numerian, and he overcame them completely.

During his reign the saints Kosmas and Damian were killed in the following manner, because they were envied by their superintendent. They were doctors by training and were highly favoured by the emperor Carinus because they worked cures; for this is what had happened to the emperor Carinus. After he had gained the upper hand in a battle with the Persians and had cut down an enormous number of them, a very harsh winter set in and the Persians asked for three months' truce. Because of the harshness of the winter he spared his own army, because of their exhaustion, and he granted the request for peace for three months. Taking his own forces he went to the region known as Kyrrhestike, **(305)** wishing to rest his army and to have the wounded treated. He arrived in Kyrrhestike in winter and was staying there, dealing with the business of the war, when it suddenly happened that his face was twisted backwards. The many doctors in attendance on the emperor were not able to help him at all, so the doctors of the region were summoned to the emperor, because they knew the airs of their own region. Amongst these was the superintendent of the saints Kosmas and Damian who came to the emperor, and the saints came with him. When the doctors were unable to help the emperor Carinus, the saints Kosmas and Damian had a secret

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The emperor Numerian (303.11) Sk: this role in CP is taken by Carinus, who is accompanied by Carus (who dies by lightning strike in Mesopotamia); although in summary form, CP's text has many features in common with Ba.

36. Bo 304.7-306.8; LM 436.28, CP 510.12-14 (AD284), Sk 40.14-26.

Numerian, Carinus (304.7): CP gives the first two paragraphs of this section with these two names still consistently reversed.

discussion with some of the emperor's nobles so as to cure him. The saints were brought in to the emperor in the night and they cured him by their prayer. He put his trust in them and said, "These men are the servants of the most high God". The emperor, restored to his previous state of good health, held them in honour as did all his nobles. At the request of the saints he immediately made a sacred ordinance to the whole Roman state that none of those known as Christians should suffer any harm, nor be prevented from worshipping as they wished.

Their superintendent, who had been brought in by the other high-ranking doctors attending the emperor, saw the favour which the emperor had for the saints, (306) and was in a state of envy towards them. After the emperor Carinus' departure from Kyrrhestike for Persia, the saints' superintendent took Kosmas and Damian by trickery with his own men and threw them over a precipice in the mountains because they were of the Christian belief. Thus the just men met their end.

In the middle of war the emperor Carinus died a natural death, at the age of 32.

37. After the reign of Carinus, Diocletian reigned for 20 years and nine months. He was tall, slender with a shrivelled face and both his hair and beard completely grey; he had a fair-skinned body, grey eyes, a thick nose, and a slightly hunched back; he was very magnanimous and an avid builder. He was proclaimed emperor during the consulship of Bassus and Quintianus. AD289

38. During his reign there was a great darkness for a whole day.

After three years of his reign he appointed as Caesar his son Maximian Herculianus. Because the Persians had been causing trouble Diocletian took up arms and began a campaign together with Maximian. After they reached Antioch the Great, Diocletian sent the Caesar Maximian against the Persians while he himself remained in Antioch.

He built there a large palace, having discovered foundations which had been laid formerly by Gallienus Licinianus. (307) Diocletian also built a public bath, which he called the Diocletianum, in the level part of the city near the old hippodrome. He also built granaries to store corn, and he gave everyone measures for corn and all other commodities on sale, so that none of the market-traders should be intimidated by the soldiers. He also built what is known as the stadium at Daphne for the Olympic athletes and the other competitors so that they should not go out to Quadrigae and be crowned at the river Argyros; but after everyone had competed in Antioch the Great, they should go up to the place known as Daphne, to prevent their going out such a distance by road to Quadrigae on the Argyros river in Cilicia - both the Olympic competitors and the Antiochenes coming out for the Olympic festival. So he ordered by his sacred ordinance that the competitors in the Olympic contest should receive their laurel crowns at Daphne. He also built a temple of Olympian Zeus in the stadium at Daphne, and at the curved end of the stadium he built a temple to Nemesis. He reconstructed the temple of Apollo, decorating it with different kinds of marble. He also built a subterranean temple to Hekate with 365 steps. He built a palace also at Daphne for visiting emperors to stay in, since formerly they had put up tents in the grove and stayed there. He built three arms factories for

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37. Bo 306.9-13; Sk 40.27.
38. Bo 306.14-308.5.

the manufacture of weapons for the army, and he built arms factories in Edessa too to supply weapons for local use. Equally he built arms factories at Damascus, bearing in mind **(308)** the incursions of the Saracens. He also built in Antioch a mint so that coins might be struck there, for the mint had been destroyed by an earthquake and was now reconstructed. He also built a bath, which he called the Senatorial, and likewise three other baths.

39. The Caesar Maximian set out against the Persians, defeated them completely and returned to Antioch, bringing as a captive the wife of the emperor of the Persians, for the Persian leaders had fled with a few men to the Indian *limes* because their army had been destroyed. The empress of the Persians, Arsane, lived under guard, though with honour, in Daphne for some time at the command of the Roman emperor Diocletian. Later, when peace treaties had been made, she was restored to the Persians and her husband, after honourable captivity.

40. In that year gifts were distributed by the emperor to the whole Roman state in celebration of the victory.

Diocletian also built fortresses on the *limes* from Egypt to the Persian borders and stationed *limitanei* in them, and he appointed *duces* for each province to be stationed further back from the fortresses with a large force to ensure their security. They put up statues to the emperor and the Caesar on the *limes* of Syria.

41. In that year the Egyptians rebelled and killed their governors. The emperor Diocletian began a campaign against them **(309)** and made an attack on Alexandria the Great. He besieged it, dug trenches and cut and destroyed the aqueduct which came from the place known as Canopus and supplied the city. He captured Alexandria and burnt it. He made his entrance into the city on horseback with his horse trampling on the corpses, for he had ordered his army not to stop their slaughter until the blood of the slain came up to the knees of the horse on which he was mounted. It happened at God's command that, near the gate where he had entered, the horse on which the emperor was mounted trod on a man's corpse and stumbled and knelt on it so that the horse's knee was bloodied. The emperor noticed this and granted a pardon, and the soldiers stopped cutting down the citizens of Alexandria. The Alexandrians erected a bronze statue to the horse in thanksgiving. This place is called to this day Diocletian's Horse. From that time the year was designated as the first year of the era of Alexandria. Thus the calendar of Egyptian Alexandria dates from that year.

42. During his reign there appeared in the city of Rome a Manichean named Boundos. He broke away from the Manicheans' belief and introduced his own belief, teaching that the good god had made war on the evil one and had conquered him, and that it was necessary to honour the victor. He also went and taught in Persia. **(310)** This Manichean belief, is called by the Persians "that of the Daristhenoi" in their own language, which means "that of the good one".

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39. Bo 308.6-14.
40. Bo 308.15-22.
41. Bo 308.23-309.18.
which came (309.3; adding ὄντα with von S 74): om Ba.
42. Bo 309.19-310.2.

43. The emperor Diocletian carried out a persecution of the Christians. Many were punished and suffered martyrdom; among them was St Menas. The churches were destroyed and there were threats and much fear.

44. In the year of the Olympic festival the emperor Diocletian arrived in Antioch, coming from Egypt. As the celebration of the Olympic contest was approaching, the emperor Diocletian wore the costume of the alytarch. The alytarch used to wear a white robe of pure silk but the emperor wore purple instead of white, though in all other respects he wore what was customary for the alytarch. Holding the sacred sceptre and making obeisance to the people, he watched the Olympic contest for all the days prescribed.

Some of his dignitaries took part in the Olympic contests to make an honourable display. Some wrestled, while others boxed or took part in the *pankration,* or ran. To the victors he gave imperial rescripts and to all he gave many generous gifts, as the most learned Domninos has written. Diocletian, who had put aside his imperial costume while he was alytarch in Antioch, chose not to continue to reign after the completion of the Olympic festival, saying, "I have laid the empire aside and have put on the costume of **(311)** immortal Zeus". He continued thus from then on. He died a natural death, at the age of 72.

45. After Diocletian had laid the empire aside, Maximian, also named Herculius, reigned for 19 years. On returning to Rome he celebrated a triumph for the victory over the Persians and Egyptians. He was tall and strong, with greying, straight hair on his head, a full beard, dark skin and a good nose and eyes; he was eloquent. He too carried out a persecution against the Christians and punished many holy men. Amongst those martyred were St Pantaleon, St Hesychios, St Hermippos, St Hermolaos and St Hermokrates.

46. The Olympic festival was held again in his reign, at a time when he had gone to the East to fight the Armenians, who had rebelled against the Romans. After defeating them completely and subjugating them, he learned that it was the time for the Olympic festival and he was present in Antioch throughout the days designated for the contest. He too put on the alytarch's costume and acted as the alytarch. During his tenure also senators' children among the population and the younger senators competed. Some wrestled, others ran, or took part in the *pankration,* or drove chariots or boxed or recited. The victors received higher ranks, while some were promoted in the services as well as being granted rewards. **(312)** Maximian too laid aside the empire and the purple and all the imperial costume and wore the alytarch's insignia. After the days of the Olympic festival were finished, he too chose not to continue to reign, but on returning to Rome he renounced the empire and continued thus till his death. Some time later he died a natural death at the age of 57.

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43. Bo 310.3-6.
44. Bo 310.7-311.2.
Domninos (310.18-19; corr): 'Dometianos' Ba.
45. Bo 311.3-11; LM 436.30.
Maximian...ruled for 19 years (311.4): cf 'Diocletian and Maximian ruled for 19 years' LM, listed after Licinianus (cf Bo 314.9).
46. Bo 311.12-312.6.

47. After Maximian had laid aside the empire, Maxentius Galerius reigned for three years. He was short and broad with curly hair, fair-skinned with a good beard, a slight squint and an upturned nose; he was irascible and favoured the Blue faction.

During his reign Iamblichos the philosopher taught, and lived in Daphne until his death.

In that year the Persians became allies of the Armenians, and together they made war on the Romans, invading their territories and plundering them. Maxentius began a campaign against them and made war on the Persians. He marched out against them through Armenia and destroyed them. He detached territories from Persarmenia and put them under Roman rule, calling them First and Second Armenia, the Roman provinces. While Maxentius was in Persarmenia, the Persians invaded Osrhoene. They captured a city, burnt and destroyed it, and taking much plunder made a quick retreat. The city captured by them was called Maximianoupolis. The emperor (313) Maxentius restored it and also built its walls. He gave many generous gifts to the survivors and remitted their taxes for three years. On returning to Rome he was murdered, at the age of 53.

48. After the reign of Maxentius, Constantius Chlorus reigned for 13 years. He was tall, slender with greying hair, body and eyes both a good colour, a good nose, a thin beard; he was peaceable and magnanimous.

In his reign the city of Salamias in Cyprus suffered from the wrath of God, and the greater part of the city was plunged into the sea by an earthquake. The remainder was levelled to the ground. Constantius restored it, gave many extremely generous gifts, undertook buildings and remitted taxes from the surviving citizens for four years. As he provided a variety of buildings for what was previously known as Salamias, it had its name changed from that time to Constantia. It is now the metropolis of Cyprus.

In his reign he sent out Maximus, also known as Licinianus, with a large army to guard the regions of the East against the Persians and the Saracen raids, for they had formerly been causing trouble in the East as far as Egypt.

It happened in that year that the emperor Constantius died after an illness of 40 days. He was 60 years old.

49. After the reign of Constantius, the army in the East (314) proclaimed Maximus Licinianus emperor. He left Festianus as exarch in the East with forces to guard the East and he set out for Rome. When he was on the point of leaving Antioch he watched chariot races, and the people of the city insulted him because he had not given generously to the city although he had been proclaimed emperor there. He became angry and ordered troops out against them. The soldiers shot at them in the hippodrome, and 2,000 perished. The emperor Maximus went to Rome and reigned for seven years. He had a good chest, black hair, was well-knit, had a bushy beard, good eyes and a crooked nose; he was a keen soldier, irascible, and a good administrator.

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47. Bo 312.7-313.3; De insid 26 (160.10-11).
48. Bo 313.4-21.
also known as Licinianus (313.16; corr Chil): 'Kallikianos' Ba.
49. Bo 313.22-314.11; LM 436.29.

50. In his reign he bestowed freedom on the Christians, so that they did not have to hide but could come out publicly. In the time of his reign there occurred the martyrdom of St Gelasinos at Helioupolis in Phoenice. He was second mime and came on to give a comic turn during a popular festival. In the presence of a crowd of spectators they threw him into a large bath-house tub full of warm water, to parody Christian belief and holy baptism. Gelasinos the mime was baptized, and when he came out of the tub and put on white robes he refused to continue performing and said before the people, "I am a Christian, for I saw a tremendous vision of God in my baptism (315) in the tub and I will die a Christian". When they heard this, all the people watching in the city theatre became violently enraged. They rushed down from their seats to the stage, took hold of him and dragged him out of the theatre just as he was, wearing white robes, and they stoned him to death. That is how the just man died. Taking his corpse, his relatives conveyed it to the village known as Mariamme, where he came from, which was half a mile outside the city of Damascus. A chapel was built in his honour.

The emperor Licinianus Maximus died after undergoing surgery, at the age of 46.

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50. Bo 314.12–315.11; CP 513.2-18 (AD297), De virt 8 (160.27-28), JN 77.78-82.
Phoenice (314.14): 'Libanensis' CP, cf JN.
they threw him (314.17): 'the other mimes threw him' CP.
the mime was baptized (314.19): 'the second mime was baptized' CP.
city theatre (315.2): 'the theatre of Helioupolis' CP.
his relatives conveyed (315.6) CP, cf JN: 'they conveyed' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 228.
Damascus (315.8) JN: cf 'Helioupolis' CP, probably correcting; see Weismann, 1975, 62-3.

BOOK 13 The Time of the Emperor Constantine

1. (316) After the reign of Maximus Licinius, the most sacred and faithful Constantine the Great, the son of Constantius Chlorus, began to reign eight days before the Kalends of August during the consulship of
07 Severus and Maximianus. His reign lasted for 32 years. He was tall, ruddy, magnanimous, peaceable and dear to God.

2. In the time of his reign a great war broke out in the West. The most sacred Constantine went out against the barbarians, but was defeated and encircled by them. In his distress, when he was on the point of sleep, he prayed that he might be rescued from them. Overcome by sleep he saw in a dream a cross in the sky on which was inscribed, "In this, conquer". After reading the inscription on the cross, he awoke. He got up and made a standard (317) showing the cross, just as he had seen it in the sky, and had it carried before him. After urging on his army, saying, "Victory is ours", he set out and joined battle with the barbarians. He won the battle so completely that none of the barbarians survived but all perished. He returned to Rome victorious amidst great joy, with the standard of the cross carried before him. He explained to everyone the meaning of the vision and of the standard of the cross, saying, "This is the sign of the God of the Galileans who are known as Christians". Immediately he destroyed the temples and all the shrines of the Hellenes and opened up the Christian churches, sending imperial edicts everywhere that the churches of the Christians should be opened. After fasting and having taken instruction, he was baptised by Silvester, bishop of Rome - he himself and his mother Helena and all his relatives and his friends and a whole host of other Romans. And so the emperor Constantine became a Christian.

3. He began a campaign against the Persians, was victorious and made a peace treaty with Sapor, the emperor of the Persians. It was the Persians who asked to have peace with the Romans.

The emperor Constantine (318) also created the province of Euphratesia, dividing it off from Syria and Osrhoene and granting the status of a metropolis to Hierapolis.

On his return he came to Antioch the Great and built there the Great Church, a very large undertaking, after demolishing the public bath known as that of the emperor Philip, for the bath was old and ruined by time and unfit for bathing. He also built a hospice nearby. Likewise he built the basilica known as that of Rufinus; this had been a temple of Hermes which had been demolished by Rufinus, the prefect of the sacred praetorians. He had set out with the emperor on the campaign but

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1. Bo 316.1-5; LM 436.31.
2. Bo 316.6-317.16; JN 77.52-3, 60.
3. Bo 317.17-318.22; JN 77.61.

Sapor (317.18): written as 'Sarabaros' Ba.

was ordered by him to remain in Antioch the Great. He completed this basilica while the emperor was returning to Rome.

When the emperor Constantine was on the point of leaving Antioch, for the first time he made a Christian, a man named Plutarch, governor of Antioch in Syria. He was ordered to supervise the building of the church and the basilica. During the building of the hospice Plutarch found the bronze statue of Poseidon, which had stood as a talisman to prevent the city from suffering an earthquake. He removed it, melted it down and made it into a statue of the emperor Constantine. He set it up outside his praetorium and inscribed beneath it "Bono Constantino" (To Constantine the Good). This bronze statue stands to the present day.

4. In the great city of the Antiochenes the emperor, **(319)** during the consulship of Julius and Albinus, appointed for the first time a *comes Orientis* to fill the position of praetorian prefect in the East, making the temple of the Muses his praetorium and choosing a Christian named Felicianus. He bestowed on the city of the Antiochenes by his sacred decree the rank and privileges of a second *comitatus*, in the year 383 according to the era of the great city of the Antiochenes. Formerly there had not been a *comes Orientis* stationed in Antioch the Great; when war started a *delegator* was stationed in Antioch in Syria and when the war finished the *delegator* was relieved. The emperor Constantine departed from Antioch, leaving the prefect Rufinus there. Rufinus energetically completed the basilica, and for this reason it was called the basilica of Rufinus. AD335 AD334/5

5. The emperor Constantine sent his mother, lady Helena, to Jerusalem to seek for the precious Cross. She found the precious Cross, with the five nails, and brought it back. From that time Christianity prospered in every way.

6. The emperor created the province of Third Palestine.

7. During his reign, during the consulship of Gallicanus and Symmachus, the former Byzantion was dedicated. The emperor Constantine made a lengthy *processus*, going from Rome to Byzantion. He reconstructed the earlier **(320)** city wall, that of Byzas, and added another great extension to the wall and, joining this to the old city wall, he ordered the city to be called Constantinople. He also completed the hippodrome and adorned it with bronze statues and with ornamentation of every kind, and built in it a *kathisma*, just like the one in Rome, for the emperor to watch the races. He also built a large AD330

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4. Bo 318.23-319.13.
Julius (319.1;): written as 'Illus' Ba.
5. Bo 319.14-18; JN 77.63.
6. Bo 319.19-20.
7. Bo 319.20-321.5; CP 527.18-528.18 (AD328), 493.18-494.12 (AD197), C 193.6-7, GM 499.15-18, 500.4-9.
Gallicanus (319.21; corr Chil) CP: 'Gallianus' Ba.
The emperor Constantine (319.22): 'The glorious emperor Constantine' CP.
made a lengthy *processus*...Byzantion (319.22-3): 'went from Rome and stayed in Nikomedeia, the metropolis of Bithynia, and made a lengthy *processus* at Byzantion' CP.
the earlier city wall, that of Byzas (319.23-320.1): 'the earlier wall of the city of Byzas' Bo, CP; see Bury, 1897, 228.

and beautiful palace, equally on the pattern of the one in Rome, near the hippodrome, with the way up from the palace to the *kathisma* in the hippodrome by the staircase known as the Kochlias. He also built a large and very beautiful forum, and set up in the middle a marvellous column, all of porphyry. On this column he set up a statue of himself with seven rays on his head. He had this bronze statue brought from where it had stood in Ilion, a city in Phrygia. Constantine took secretly from Rome the wooden statue known as the Palladion and placed it in the forum he built, beneath the column which supported his statue. Some of the people of Byzantion say that it is still there. He made a bloodless sacrifice to God, and the *tyche* of the city which had been restored and built and named after himself he called Anthousa. This city had originally been built by Phidalia, and she at that time had called its *tyche* Keroe. Phidalia had been married to Byzas, the king of Thrace, after the death of her (321) father Barbysios, who was the toparch and the warden of the port. Barbysios on the point of death told Phidalia to make a wall for the place down to the sea. Byzas named the area after himself and ruled in the city.

8. Constantine built from the entrance of the palace up to his forum two splendid colonnades decorated with statues and different kinds of marble, and he called the place with the colonnades the Regia. Nearby he built a basilica with great columns and statues outside; this he called the Senaton. Opposite this he set up a statue of his mother Helena as Augusta, on a low porphyry column. This place he called the Augusteion.

Likewise he completed the public bath known as the Zeuxippon, and decorated it with columns and marbles of many colours and bronze statues. He had found the public bath unfinished; it had been begun formerly by the emperor Severus.

He also built the hippodrome and many other buildings. When he had

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with the way up...hippodrome by (320.8-9; corr Dind) CP: om Ba.
all of porphyry (320.10): CP adds 'of Theban stone'.
a statue of himself (320.11): 'a large statue of himself' CP.
still there (320.17): CP adds 'having heard of it by a popular tradition'.
This city...Keroe (320.19-21): 'Byzantion is said to have been a trading settlement in Thrace, and its toparch to have been Barbysios, the father of Phidalia. While her father was still alive, the story continues, she constructed many buildings in the trading settlement, and she also set up there a *tyche*, which she called Keroe' CP; CP 493.18-494.12 is more easily integrated into the text around this point than at Bo 291.15.
down to the sea (321.4): 'from sea to sea, which is now the old wall of Constantinople, that is, from the district called Petrion to the gate of St Aimilianos, near the area called Rhabdos' CP.
and ruled in the city (321.5): 'It lay at the point which is now called the Nikai, near the Kilikes. He gave the place the status of a city' CP.
8. Bo 321.6-322.16; CP 528.19-529.7 (AD328), 18-530.11 (AD330).
basilica (321.9): CP adds 'with an apse'.

finished everything he celebrated a race-meeting. He was the first to watch the spectacle there, and he wore then for the first time on his head a diadem set with pearls and precious stones, since he wished to fulfil the prophetic words which said, "You placed on his head a crown of precious stone" (*Psalm* 20.4); none of the previous emperors had ever worn such a thing.

He also celebrated a great festival on 11th May-Artemisios **(322)** in the year 378 according to the era of Antioch the Great, ordering by his sacred decree that on that day the festival of the Anniversary of his city should be celebrated. On the same day, 11th May, he ordered that the public bath, the Zeuxippon, should be opened near the hippodrome and the Regia and the palace. He had another statue made of himself in gilded wood, bearing in its right hand the *tyche* of the city, itself gilded, which he called Anthousa. He ordered that on the same day as the Anniversary race-meeting this wooden statue should be brought in, escorted by the soldiers wearing cloaks and boots, all holding candles; the carriage should march around the turning post and reach the pit opposite the imperial *kathisma*, and the emperor of the time should rise and make obeisance as he gazed at this statue of Constantine and the *tyche* of the city. This custom has been maintained up to the present day. AD330

9. The most sacred Constantine, on the completion of his consulship, distributed largesse in Constantinople to the Byzantines; these were reed tokens for perpetual daily bread distribution. He called the loaves "palatine" because they were given out in the palace. He set aside wine, meat and garments with **(323)** each loaf and set aside revenues for them from his own resources; he called the loaves "politikoi" (civil).

When he had finished...race-meeting (321.16-17): 'In the year 301 after the Lord's Assumption into heaven, and the 25th year of his reign, the most pious Constantine, father of the Augustus Constantine the Younger and of Constantius and Constans, the Caesars, built a great, glorious and blessed city, honouring it with a senate. On the fifth day before the Ides of March, on the second day of the week, third indiction, he named it Constantinople, proclaiming that the city formerly called Byzantion was to be known as Second Rome' CP 529.11-18, but probably not derived from Malalas.

Regia and the palace (322.5):' Regia of the palace' CP; see Downey, 1961, 394.

candles (322.11): 'white candles' CP.

the carriage (322.11) CP: 'the detachment (?)' Ba, reading ὄχημα CP for σχῆμα Ba, cf ἅρμα Preger 42.8 (=173.1), 196.9.

the pit (322.12): reading στάμα 'the arena', 'the pit' for σκάμα Ba, σκάμμα CP; cf Preger 42.11 (=173.3), 143.15, 196.10. The assumption of textual corruption seems more likely than that adopted by Guilland, 1969, 452, that both words were current Greek for the same area of the hippodrome.

make obeisance as he gazed at this statue (322.14): cf 'make obeisance to the statues' CP.

9. Bo 322.17-323.2.

he called the loaves "politikoi" (civil) (323.1-2): Dagron, 1974, 533, note 5 proposes, probably correctly, that the confusion between

10. Constantine continued to reign in Constantinople, removing it from the province of Europa and from its metropolis Herakleia and giving it, from God, imperial status. He appointed there a praetorian prefect and a city prefect and the other great magistrates, selecting only Christians. It remained from that time felicitously an imperial capital.

11. The emperor Constantine created the province of Phrygia Salutaris.

During his reign the Council of 318 Bishops took place against Arius, concerning the Christian faith. The most pious bishop Eusebios Pamphilou, the chronicler, was present at this council.

12. During the reign of Constantine Maximianoupolis in Osrhoene suffered from the wrath of God, its second calamity after its capture by the Persians. The emperor Constantine reconstructed the city and its walls, for they had fallen down. He gave generously to the survivors. He renamed the city Constantina after himself.

He also did building work at the town formerly known as Souga in Bithynia, giving it the status of a city and calling it Helenoupolis after his mother. He also called the province Helenoupontos after his mother.

13. **(324)** In that year the emperor Constantine gave orders that the three temples in Constantinople on what was formerly known as the Acropolis - the temple of Helios, of Artemis the moon, and of Aphrodite - should remain in the future without revenues.

14. A short time later the emperor Constantine died in Nikomedeia in Bithynia, while he was on a *processus* in a suburban estate known as Achyron, a little distance from the city. He had been ill for six days. He died before the completion of the building, in Antioch the Great in Syria, of the Great Church, a very great work and one of the wonders. He died at the age of 60 years and three months, as the most learned chronicler Nestorianos wrote, both about these events and all the times of the emperors mentioned above.

15. After the reign of Constantine the Great, his son Constantine

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"palatine" and "politikoi" here may be due to a lacuna at some point between the two names.

10. Bo 323.3-8; CP 530.12-16 (AD330).

11. Bo 323.9-13; JN 77.70.

12. Bo 323.14-23.

13. Bo 324.1-4.

14. Bo 324.5-13.

15. Bo 324.14-325.4; De insid 27 (160.12-13).

Paras 15-18: Patzig, 1891, 10 points out that Ba gives little or no information on Constantine II, Constans, Constantius II and the beginning of Julian's reign, while scattered material reminiscent of Malalas may be found common to CP 531-50 and Th 34-51 (marked by references to CP in the margins of de Boor's edition of Th). It is tempting to claim these passages for the original Malalas, yet dangerous, because there is no other passage in common between Malalas and Theophanes before Bo 347 (Th 72; see Rochow, 1983, 461); equally, much of the intervening text (Bo 326-347) may be established with confidence by similarities in TF, Slav and CP, good witnesses which

was emperor at Rome. His father made him emperor of Rome in his own lifetime during the consulship of Ursus and Polemius. AD328

(325) The emperor Constantine the Younger reigned in Rome for 12 years. After the death of his father he went on a *processus*, but he was murdered in Mothone by his brother's men at the age of 20.

16. After the reign of Constantine the Younger, his brother Constans reigned in Rome for 16 years. He was stricken with dysentery and died, at the age of 27.

17. After the reign of Constantine the Great, his younger son Constantius reigned in Constantinople for 30 years. He was magnanimous and an Exakionite, that is, an Arian.

During his reign the Persians, that is, their emperor Sapor, broke the peace. Constantius began a campaign against them, and appointed as Caesar his relative Julian.

When he came to Antioch the Great he completed the Great Church and inscribed on it the following, (326)

"For Christ Constantine wrought these beautiful
dwellings in all ways like the vaults of heaven,
brightly gleaming, with Constantius obeying the
commands of the ruler; the *comes* Gorgonios
carried out the function of *cubicularius*".

Advancing to Persian territory, he made a peace treaty with the Persians for a certain period, after many on both sides had fallen in the battle. He returned and performed the dedication of the Great Church in Antioch. Then Constantius left Antioch, on his way back to Constantinople, and reached Cilicia. He built there the bridge over the river Pyramos, a very great work. He came to Mopsuestia, a city in Cilicia, and fell ill and died there, at the age of 40.

18. After the reign of Constantius, his relative Julian the Apostate, who had previously been appointed Caesar, began to reign during the consulship of Mamertinus and Nevitta. He reigned for seven years, and was an eloquent man. He was called the Apostate because AD362

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confirm the absence of passages in common with Th. If CP and Th are following a common source for events covered in paras 15-18, it is unlikely to be Malalas.

Polemius (324.17): written as 'Polybios' Ba.

16. Bo 325.5-7.

17. Bo 325.8-326.12; LM 436.32, GM 536.7-9.

30 years (325.10): cf 'one year' LM.

Sapor (325.11): written as 'Abbourarsakios' (ie Sapor Arsakios) Ba, cf 328.20 etc.

For Christ...*cubicularius* (326.1-4):for emendations to this inscription, see Müller, 1839, 104, note 18 and Downey, 1961, 358-9 and note 182.

Constantine (326.1; corr Müller): 'Constantius' Ba.

these beautiful dwellings (326.1; corr Müller): 'this beautiful dwelling' Ba.

18. Bo 326.13-327.3; LM 436.33, CP 545.18 (AD362), JN 78.36; Slav: Ist 5.1-6, Soph 114.

Mamertinus (326.15; corr Chil) CP: 'Marmentius' Ba, cf 'Mamertius' Slav.

seven years (326.16) LM: 'two years' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 228.

an eloquent man (326.16): 'He was short, broad-chested, handsome, with a good nose and good eyes' Slav.

(327) he renounced the belief of his ancestors, the Christian faith, and became a Hellene. He was a friend and contemporary of Libanios, the famous sophist of Antioch.

19. During his reign St Domitios was martyred. Julian began a campaign with a powerful army against the Persians and on his way he came to Antioch. Going up on the mountain known as Kasios, he offered a hecatomb there in sacrifice to Zeus Kasios. Descending from there he came to Daphne and also made a sacrifice there to Apollo. He lay down to sleep there and saw in a dream a youth with fair hair saying to him, "It is fated that you die in Asia".

Leaving Daphne he reached Antioch, and was met by his senators, his dignitaries and the people. Since the people of Antioch were zealous Christians, they chanted insolent words to him, giving him by their words an omen that he would not return. Two Christian *candidati*, whose names were Juventinus and Maximianus, separated themselves from his entourage and mingled with the crowds who were insulting him and then further incited the people to insults. When the emperor Julian saw them, he ordered their arrest. He immediately beheaded them in Antioch and their remains were placed in the martyrium known as the Koimeterion; the Antiochenes call them "the Gentiles". Julian was angry with the Antiochenes and threatened them, saying that he would return and punish (328) them, since their omen was not valid. He made a speech about the Antiochenes, attacking them as rebels. He displayed the speech he had delivered against them outside the palace in the city on what is known as *Tetrapylon* of the Elephants, near the Regia.

20. He set off against the Persians, marching by way of Kyrrhestike. As he was passing by Kyrrhos, the city in the region, he saw a crowd standing at the cave of St Domitios and being healed by him. He asked some people what the crowd was which was gathering and learned that there was a monk in the cave on the mountain and it was around him that the crowd standing there was gathering, wishing to be healed and blessed by him. The emperor Julian sent this message to St Domitios through a Christian *referendarius*, "It was to please your God that you entered this cave. Do not desire to please men, but lead a solitary life". St Domitios sent him a message in reply, "It is because I have devoted my soul and body to God that I shut myself up long ago in this cave. But the crowd, who come to me in faith, I cannot drive away". The emperor Julian ordered the cave to be blocked up with huge stones with the just man inside. Thus perished St Domitios.

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19. Bo 327.4-328.4; CP 550.6 (AD363), JN 80.4; Slav: Ist 5.6-6.4.
known as Kasios (327.6-7): Slav adds 'which is six miles from Antioch'.
to Apollo (327.9): cf 'in (?) the Apollonia' Slav.
to sleep there (327.9) Slav: 'to sleep' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 228.
he displayed...against them (328.2-3): cf 'he wrote out his speech about them' Slav.
in the city (328.3): Slav adds 'so that they would understand their offence'.
20. Bo 328.5-19; CP 550.7-19 (AD363), JN 80.4-11; Slav: Ist 6.4-15.
He set off (328.5): Slav adds 'from Antioch'.
It was to please...Do not desire (328.12-13): 'If it was to please..., do not desire' CP, Slav, cf JN.

21. As the emperor Julian was marching out against Sapor, emperor of the Persians, he arrived at Hierapolis. He sent **(329)** and had boats built at Samosata, a city in Euphratesia, some made of wood and some made of skins, as the very learned chronicler Magnus of Carrhae, who accompanied the emperor Julian, wrote. Leaving Hierapolis, he came to the city of Carrhae, and there he found two routes, one leading to the city of Nisibis, which once belonged to the Romans, and the other to the Roman fortress known as Kirkesion, lying between the two rivers Euphrates and Abboras. This had been built by Diocletian, emperor of the Romans.

The emperor divided his army and sent 16,000 legionaries to Nisibis under two exarchs, Sebastianus and Prokopios. Julian himself reached the fortress at Kirkesion. Leaving behind in the fortress at Kirkesion the 6,000 soldiers whom he found stationed there, he added to them 4,000 other legionaries with two exarchs Accameus and Maurus. He went on from there and crossed the river Abboras by means of the bridge, since the boats had arrived on the river Euphrates. The number of these was 1,250. He assembled his army, having with him the *magister* Anatolius, Salutius the praetorian prefect and his *magistri militum*. He mounted a raised platform and addressed the army in person, praising them and urging them to fight the Persians enthusiastically and with discipline. **(330)** The emperor commanded them to embark immediately on the boats, and he went on board the boat prepared for him and ordered the advance scouts to go ahead of them, 1,500 valiant men from the *numerus* of the Lanciarii and Mattiarii. He ordered his standards to be raised, and the *comes* Lucianus, a most warlike man, to accompany him. Lucianus destroyed many Persian fortresses lying along the Euphrates and on islands in the middle of the water, and killed the Persians who were in them. Julian instructed Victor and Dagalaifus to be behind the rest of the boats and to guard the main body.

The emperor departed with all his army by means of the great canal of the Euphrates, which connects with the river Tigris. He came to the river Tigris itself, where the two rivers meet and form a great marsh. He entered the Persian territory in the land of those known as the Mauzanites, near the city of Ktesiphon where the Persian court resided.

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21. Bo 328.20-330.19; TF I 6-9; Slav: Ist 6.15-16.
As the emperor Julian (328.20): Before this TF I 6 adds '...when this had been reported to the emperor Julian, they ceased to insist on rebuilding the temple'. The sentence must be the last of a passage omitted in Ba; the reference is probably to the prodigies which prevented Julian's rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem (see Patzig, 1891/2, 5); cf JN 80.1-2. The order of narrative in JN suggests that TF I may not have included the St Domitios story.
Sapor (328.20): written as 'Sabbourarsakios' Ba, TF.
once belonged (329.6): 'then belonged' TF.
Salutius (329.20): written as 'Salustius' Ba, TF.
Lucianus...to accompany him (330.5-6): 'Lucillianus...to accompany them' Dilleman, 1969, 150 and Paschoud, 1979, 120, probably correctly.
the Persians who were in them (330.8): 'the Persians who were attacking in ships' TF; see Patzig, 1891/2, 7.
the rest of the boats (330.9): 'the rest of the troops' Mendelssohn, 1887, at 131.12-14, cf Paschoud, 1979, 120, probably correctly.

The emperor Julian was victorious and camped on the plain of the city of Ktesiphon, desiring with the support of his senate to go on as far as Babylon and take control of affairs there.

22. The emperor Sapor, suspecting that the Roman emperor Julian was marching by way of Nisibis, set out against him with his entire force. When he was informed that **(331)** the Roman emperor Julian was at his rear taking over Persian territory, and that in front he was confronted by the Roman generals and large forces, he realised that he was surrounded and fled into Persarmenia. As a trick he slit the noses of two of his senators at their own request, and sent them to Julian, the Roman emperor, to lead him astray, so as to prevent his own close pursuit and capture. The Persians with their slit noses came to the Roman emperor, saying that they wished to betray the emperor of the Persians, as he had punished them. Deceived by the oaths which they swore, the emperor Julian followed them with his army. They diverted him into a waterless desert for 150 miles, leading the army astray, on 25th Daisios-June. Finding there the ancient ruined walls of a city known as Boubion, and another place which was called Asia, with its buildings still standing though it was deserted, the emperor Julian and all the Roman army went and camped there. But when they were in this area they lacked food, and there was not even any fodder for the animals, for it was a desert. The whole Roman army realised that the emperor had been deceived and had led them astray and had brought them into desert regions, and they became extremely mutinous. On the following day, 26th June, the emperor took the Persians who had misled him and questioned them. They confessed, saying, "For the sake of our country and the safety of our emperor we have condemned ourselves to death **(332)** and led you astray. Behold your slaves, ready for death". Julian accepted their confession and did not kill them but gave them his assurance, provided they got the army out of the desert region.

23. About the second hour of that day the emperor Julian, while moving among the army and urging them not to behave in an undisciplined way, was mysteriously wounded. He went into his tent and died during the night, as Magnus, whom we referred to above, stated. But the Cappadocian chronicler Eutychianos, a soldier and *vicarius* of his *numerus*, the Primoarmeniaci, also took part in the war himself, and he wrote that the emperor Julian went into Persian territory for a distance

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The emperor Julian...on the plain (330.16-17): 'Achieving control over the approach to Babylon, he crossed over the plain' TF; see Patzig, 1891/2, 7.
to go on as far as (330.18-19): 'to attack' TF.
22. Bo 330.20-332.4; TF I 10-11, JN 80.13; Slav: Ist 6.16-7.6.
Sapor (330.20): written as 'Sabbourarsakios' Ba, TF.
that they wished to betray (331.8): cf 'that they were fleeing from' Slav.
Daisios-June (331.13, cf 21): cf 'Daisios-July' Slav.
Boubion (331.14): 'Babylon' Paschoud, 1975, 187, perhaps correctly.
fodder for the animals (331.18): cf 'grass or water for the horses' Slav.
23. Bo 332.5-333.6; CP 550.20-551.12 (AD363); Slav: Ist 7.6-25.
a soldier (332.9): cf 'a general' Slav.
Primoarmeniaci (332.10): cf 'Armeniaci' Slav.

of 15 days' march, entering via the Euphrates, had been victorious, and had defeated all his opponents, and occupied the country as far as the city known as Ktesiphon, where the Persian emperor had his court. The emperor fled towards the region of Persarmenia. Julian wanted to set off the next day with his senate and army as far as Babylon, and to capture it during the night. While he slept, he saw in a dream a full-grown man wearing a cuirass approaching him in his tent in a city known as Asia near the city of Ktesiphon; the man struck him with a spear. The emperor was frightened and woke up with a cry. The eunuch *cubicularii* and *spatharii* and the soldiers guarding the tent got up and went in to him with imperial lamps. **(333)** The emperor Julian, observing that he had been fatally wounded in the armpit, asked them, "What is the name of the town where my tent is?" They told him that it was called Asia. Immediately he cried out, "O Helios, you have destroyed Julian". And, bleeding profusely, he breathed his last at the fifth hour of the night in the year 411 according to the calendar of Antioch the Great. AD363

24. Before the Persian enemy heard what had happened, the army immediately went to the tent of Jovian, who held the rank of *comes domesticorum* and *magister militum*. They brought him unawares into the imperial tent, pretending that the emperor Julian had sent for him. When he entered the tent they seized him and proclaimed him emperor on 27th Daisios-June, before daybreak. The main body of the army, which was encamped at Ktesiphon and was a fair way distant, did not learn what had happened until sunrise, since they were at a distance. So died the emperor Julian at the age of 33.

25. That same night Basil, the most holy bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, saw in a dream the heavens opened and the Saviour Christ seated on a throne and saying loudly, "Mercurius, go and kill the emperor Julian, who is against the Christians". St Mercurius, standing before the Lord, wore a gleaming iron breast-plate. **(334)** Hearing the command, he disappeared, and then he re-appeared, standing before the

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capture it during the night. While he slept (332.18): cf 'capture it. At night, while he slept' Slav.
cuirass (332.19): cf 'the dress of a consul' CP, 'a light-coloured garment' Slav.
a city known as Asia (332.21): cf 'in a town called Rasia' CP (and at 333.3).
fifth hour of the night (333.5): cf CP which adds 'in the month Daisios, six days before the Kalends of July'.
24. Bo 333.7-17; CP 551.12-21 (AD363); Slav: Ist 7.25-8.7.
unawares (333.9) Slav: cf 'unaware of Julian's death' CP.
27th Daisios-June (333.12-13): cf '27th day of the month Daisios-July' Slav, 'in the month Daisios, on the sixth day before the Kalends of July' CP.
which was encamped at Ktesiphon and was a fair way distant (333.14;corr) cf CP: Ba, Slav would more naturally be read to refer to two groups, one at Ktesiphon and one distant - but CP and the sense of the passage have led us to choose this less natural reading.
age of 33 (333.17): 'age of 36' CP, Slav.
25. Bo 333.18-334.12; CP 552.1-16(AD363), JN 80.20-26; Slav: Ist 8.7-21.
disappeared (334.1): Slav adds 'instantly'.

Lord, and cried out, "The emperor Julian has been fatally wounded and has died, as you commanded, Lord". Frightened by the cry, bishop Basil woke up in confusion; for the emperor Julian held him in honour both as an eloquent man and as his fellow-student, and wrote to him frequently. St Basil went to church for the morning service, summoned all his clergy and told them of his mysterious dream, and that the emperor Julian had been fatally wounded and had died that same night. They all entreated him to be silent and to tell nobody of such news. But the most learned chronicler Eutropius did not agree with some of these details in his account.

26. After the reign of Julian the Apostate, Jovian, the son of Varronianus, reigned; he was crowned by the army there in Persian
AD363 territory during the consulship of Salustius. He was a devout Christian; he reigned for seven months.

27. As soon as he began to reign he addressed the whole army and the senators with him, proclaiming in person, "If you wish me to reign over you, you must all be Christians". The whole army and the senators (335) acclaimed him. When Jovian came out with his army from the desert to the fertile Persian land, he considered anxiously how to escape from Persian territory.

Now the Persian emperor Sapor had not yet learnt of the emperor Julian's death and was filled with terror. Pleading and begging for peace, he sent from Persarmenia one of his nobles, named Surenas, as an ambassador to the Roman emperor. The most sacred emperor Jovian welcomed him cordially and consented to receive the peace embassy, saying that he too would send an ambassador to the Persian emperor. Hearing this, Surenas, the Persian ambassador, asked the emperor Jovian to agree on a peace treaty there and then. Selecting one of his senators, the patrician Arintheus, he entrusted the whole affair to him. He promised to abide by the terms approved or agreed by him, for the emperor was too proud to make a peace treaty with the Persian senator, or ambassador; a truce in the war for three days was granted during

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before the Lord (334.2): cf 'before the throne of Christ' Slav.
26. Bo 334.13-16; LM 436.34, CP 552.17-19 (AD363), JN 80.30-31; Slav: Ist 8.21-25, Soph 116.
Julian the Apostate (334.13): CP adds 'in the month Daisios'.
Varronianus (334.14; corr Chil): 'Uranianus' Ba.
He was a devout Christian (334.15-16): 'He was short, fair-skinned, grey-haired, a devout Christian' Slav.
seven months (334.16) Slav: cf 'seven and a half months' LM, 'eight months' CP.
27. Bo 334.17-337.11; CP 552.19-555.3 (AD363), 9 (AD364), JN 80.32-36, 81.19; Slav: Ist 8.25-9.12.
the senators acclaimed him (335.1): 'the senators and the units of the army acclaimed him' CP, Slav.
out of Persian territory (335.3): cf 'out of the rest of Persian territory' CP.
Sapor (335.4): written as 'Sabbourarsakios' Ba, cf CP.
not yet (335.4; corr Chil) CP, Slav: om Ba.
saying (335.10; corr Dind) CP: 'peacefully' Ba.
Hearing this...ambassador (335.11; corr Chil) CP: om Ba.
by him, for the emperor...ambassador (335.15-16): cf 'and to make peace

the peace negotiations. It was agreed (336) between the Roman patrician Arintheus and Surenas, senator and ambassador of the Persians, that the Romans should cede to the Persians the entire province known as Mygdonia and its metropolis known as Nisibis, just the city with its walls alone, without the people who lived there.

When this had been confirmed and the peace treaty committed to writing, the emperor Jovian took with him one of the Persian satraps, named Junius, who had been with the ambassador, to conduct him and his expedition safely from Persian territory, and to take over the province and its metropolis. On reaching the city of Nisibis, the emperor Jovian did not enter it, but encamped outside its walls. But Junius, the Persian satrap, entered the city at the emperor's command, and set up a Persian standard on one of the towers, since the Roman emperor had ordered that all the citizens to the last man were to depart with all their possessions. Silvanus, a *comes* in rank and a magistrate of the city, came out and threw himself down before the emperor, beseeching him not to surrender the city to the Persians, but could not persuade him. He said that he had taken an oath, and added that he did not wish to have a reputation in the eyes of the world as a perjurer. Then, having built a walled city outside the wall of the city of Amida, he called it the town of Nisibis, and made all the people from the (337) area of Mygdonia live there, including the magistrate Silvanus.

Then, proceeding to Mesopotamia, he immediately restored Christianity completely, gave the Christians control of affairs and appointed Christians as governors and exarchs throughout the East. The emperor Jovian, leaving the East, after concluding a peace treaty with the Persians for a short time, set off eagerly for Constantinople with his army because the winter was severe. As he journeyed back, he came to the land of the Galatians, and he died of natural causes in a village known as Dadastana, at the age of 60.

28. After the reign of Jovian, Valentinian the Ruthless began to reign in the city of Nikaia, and reigned for 16 years. He was a Christian. He was appointed by the senate and crowned emperor by Salutius, the praetorian prefect, who had chosen him and forced him

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together with the council and the Persian ambassador, as he was busy' CP.

were to depart (336.16): CP adds 'immediately'.

having built a walled city...Amida (336.21): 'having built a walled city outside the wall of the city of Amida he joined this wall to the wall of the city of Amida' CP.

Dadastana (337.11; corr Chil) CP, Slav: 'Didastana' Ba, JN. CP adds 'in the month Peritios, on the 12th day before the Kalends of March'; on the sequence of Latin dates found in CP for this period in close connection with Malalas material, see Patzig, 1890/1, 9-10, who thinks, probably rightly, that they are not derived from Malalas.

28. Bo 337.12-338.6; LM 436.35, CP 555.10-556.5 (AD364), De virt 9 (160.29-161.2), Su IV 208.1-4, 316.30-33, Sk 57.29-58.14, JN 82.2-4.

Nikaia (337.13): cf CP which adds 'in Bithynia in the month Peritios, five days before the Kalends of March'.

16 years (337.13): cf '17 years' LM, '14 years' CP.

Salutius (337.14, 338.1, 4): written as 'Sallustius' Ba, CP, Su.

the praetorian prefect (337.15): CP adds 'and former patrician'.

to become emperor. The emperor Valentinian had been sent to Selymbria as military tribune by the emperor Julian the Apostate because he was a devout Christian, for Julian had seen in a vision that he would rule after him. The prefect (338) Salutius had him brought from Selymbria, telling the army that nobody would make a better emperor of the Romans than he. As soon as he began to reign he dismissed the prefect Salutius, and, taking sureties, published an edict against him, so that anybody who had been wronged in any way by this man should approach the emperor. But nobody came forward against Salutius, for he was a man of the utmost integrity.

29. The emperor Valentinian sponsored much building activity in Antioch the Great. He also began a campaign against the Persians, sending his brother Valens, whom he had made Caesar on 1st April; Valens did not fight but marched out and made a peace treaty, for he had full power, as the representative of his brother. The Persians had come and sued for peace. Thus, having arrived in Antioch in Syria with the
AD370 greater part of the military forces on 10th November in the 14th indiction, Valens lingered there to conclude the peace treaty with the Persians. He negotiated a treaty for seven years, with the Persians suing for peace and ceding half of Nisibis.

30. Enchanted by its situation, its air and water, he built the following buildings in the city of the Antiochenes. First the forum, where he undertook a great project. He demolished the basilica formerly known as the Kaisarion as far as the building known as the Plethrion. The Kaisarion was near the *horologion* and the bath, the Commodium, which is now the praetorium of the consular governor of (339) Syria. Valens reconstructed the conch of the Kaisarion, and erected vaulting to cover the winter torrent known as Parmenios, which flows down from the mountain through the centre of the city of Antioch. He put up another basilica opposite the Commodium, and decorated the four basilicas with great columns of Salona marble. The ceilings were coffered, and ornamented with paintings, a variety of marbles and mosaic work. He completed his forum by paving in marble the whole of the inner court above the vaults over the torrent. He embellished the four basilicas with a variety of ornamentation, and erected statues. In the middle he placed a very large column, on which was a statue of the emperor Valentinian, his brother. A marble statue was set up also in the *senaton* of the conch, and another seated statue in costly stone of the most sacred emperor Valentinian, in the middle of the basilica attached to the conch. He built the two curved ends of the *kynegion*, constructing them with vaults and filling them with seats, since formerly it had been a *monomacheion*. He also built the public bath near the hippodrome. He built many other wonderful buildings in the city.

31. The most sacred emperor Valentinian executed numerous senators and provincial governors for acts of injustice, theft and rapacity.

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telling the army (338.2): CP adds 'and senate'.
an edict (338.4): 'edicts' CP, De virt, Su (twice).
29. Bo 338.7-19.
30. Bo 338.19-339.19.
31. Bo 339.20-341.7; CP 557.18-559.10 (AD369), De virt 10 (161.3-162.1), Su IV 316.33-317.4, Sk 59.6-30, JN 82.6-14.
rapacity (339.22) De virt: cf 'false verdicts' CP.

The *praepositus* of his palace, **(340)** named Rhodanos, a most powerful and wealthy man who administered the palace since he was chief eunuch and held in great honour, was burned alive on a pyre of brushwood by the emperor Valentinian at the curved end of the hippodrome, while the emperor was watching the races. His *praepositus* Rhodanos had seized some property belonging to a widow known as Beronike, having fabricated a charge against her from his position of authority; and she approached the emperor Valentinian. As soon as he began to reign he appointed the patrician Salutius as their judge in the case, and he found the *praepositus* Rhodanos guilty. The emperor, learning of the judgement from the patrician Salutius, ordered the *praepositus* to return to the widow what he had stolen from her. But Rhodanos could not be persuaded to make restitution to her, and appealed against the patrician Salutius. In his anger, the emperor told the woman to approach him while he was watching the races, and the woman went up to him at the time of the fifth race in the morning. While the *praepositus* Rhodanos was standing next to him on his right, the emperor gave the order and he was dragged from the *kathisma* before the whole city, and was taken to the curved end of the hippodrome and burned. The emperor Valentinian gave the widow all the *praepositus* Rhodanos' possessions. He was acclaimed by the whole people and the senate as just and ruthless. And a great fear arose among evildoers and those who seized others' property, and justice prevailed.

(341) Likewise, hearing that the lady Marina, his wife, had bought an estate near the city that gave a good return and that she had paid less for the estate than it was worth, since she was deferred to as Augusta, he sent and had the estate valued, binding the valuers by oath. When he learned that its value was far greater than the price paid, he became angry with the empress and banished her from the city, and returned the estate to the woman who had sold it.

32. The emperor proclaimed his son Gratian emperor. The lady Marina was recalled by her son Valerian when he was made emperor in Rome by his father.

The most sacred Valentinian was stricken with illness and died some time later in the fort of Brigetio, at the age of 55.

33. After the reign of Valentinian the Great, the Ruthless, the army made a man named Eugenios emperor, flouting the authority of the senate. He reigned for 22 days and was immediately assassinated.

34. **(342)** The most sacred Valens, brother of Valentinian the

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Beronike (340.6) De virt: cf 'Berenike' CP.
Salutius (340.9, 11, 13): written as 'Sallustius' Ba, CP, De virt, Su.
the emperor told the woman to approach him (340.14): 'Sallustius told the woman to approach the emperor' CP, cf De virt.
fifth race (340.16): cf 'fourth race' CP.
the emperor Valentinian gave the widow (340.20): 'the emperor gave the woman Berenike' CP.
Marina (341.1) CP: written as 'Mariane' Ba, De virt.
32. Bo 341.8-13; CP 560.15-16 (AD378), De virt 10 (162.1-3), JN 82.16.
Marina (341.9) CP: written as 'Mariane' Ba.
Brigetio (341.13): written as 'Birgitino' Ba, 'the Bergitinoi' CP.
33. Bo 341.14-17.
34. Bo 342.1-13; LM 436.36, De virt 11 (162.4-8), cf JN 82.17-18.

Ruthless, a man valiant in war, began to rule, proclaimed by the senate
AD277/8 of Constantinople in the year 326 according to the era of Antioch. When his brother Valentinian died, Valens was not in Constantinople, for he had been sent in his brother's lifetime to Sirmium, to fight the Goths. He defeated them completely and returned; he was crowned, and reigned for 13 years. He was an Exakionite by belief, a fighting man, magnanimous and an avid builder.

As soon as he began to reign he gave the Arians the Great Church of Constantinople and did the same in other cities. He thoroughly maltreated the Christians during his reign.

35. Valens created the province of Second Cappadocia, dividing it off from the First.

During his reign the city of Nikaia **(343)** in Bithynia suffered from
AD367 the wrath of God in the month of September of the 11th indiction. Valens died on a *processus* to Hadrianoupolis in Thrace, on his way to build arms factories there...a house outside the city in another field. The house in the field was set alight by an unknown hand and the stairs caught alight in the night. Thus he died with his *cubicularii* and *spatharii*, at the age of 49.

36. After the reign of Valens, Valentinian's elder son, the most
AD379 pious Gratian, began to reign during the consulship of Ausonius and Hermogenianus. He reigned for 17 years. He was a peaceable man, generous in bestowing honours.

During his reign Theon, the most learned philosopher, taught and interpreted astronomical writings, especially the works of Hermes Trismegistos and Orpheus.

In the sixth year of Gratian's reign, Theodosius the Spaniard was proclaimed emperor by him, since he had married Gratian's sister Placidia.

(344) Before the reign of Gratian, Valerian, emperor of Rome, had died. He was the son of Valentinian and the elder brother of Gratian, and had reigned very few years at Rome. His relative Valentinian became emperor in Rome in his place.

The emperor Gratian fell ill of a disease of the spleen and remained ill for a long time. While he was going up through the Kochlias in the hippodrome at Constantinople to watch the races, at the door of what is known as the Dekimon, he was murdered, dying at the age of 28.

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the year 326 (342.3): corrupt; 'the year 426' (Chil) would be closer but not accurate.
35. Bo 342.14-343.6; CP 557.13-15 (AD368), JN 82.19.
factories there...a house (343.3): the transition from an intention to build arms factories to the house in the field is sudden, both syntactically and in terms of the narrative; the suggestion of a lacuna seems the only solution.
36. Bo 343.7-344.8; LM 436.37, CP 562.1-7 (AD380), De insid 28 (160.14-16).
Ausonius (343.8; corr Chil): 'Ausonianus' Ba.
Hermogenianus (343.9; corr Chil): 'Hermogenes' Ba.
17 years (343.9): cf 'seven years and ten months' LM.
he was murdered, dying at the age of 28 (344.8): 'Justina, his step-mother, plotted his death since he was a Christian; for she was an Arian' CP; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

37. After the reign of Gratian, the senate of Constantinople proclaimed as emperor Theodosius, who was related to the imperial family and came from the land of Spain. After being proclaimed by the senate, the most sacred Theodosius the Great, the Spaniard, the brother-in-law of Gratian, reigned for 17 years. He was a Christian, and a sensible, pious and energetic man. As soon as he began to reign, he immediately returned the churches to the Orthodox, issuing rescripts everywhere and expelling the Arians. The emperor crowned his two sons whom he had by his first wife, Galla, and made Arcadius emperor in Constantinople and Honorius in Rome. The emperor Theodosius razed all the shrines of the Hellenes to the ground. He also destroyed the large and famous temple of Helioupolis, known as Trilithon, and made it a church for the Christians. Likewise he made the temple of Damascus a Christian church. He made **(345)** many other temples into churches and Christianity advanced further during his reign.

The emperor divided Phoenice Libanensis from Phoenice Maritima, and made it a province, giving the status of a metropolis and an ordinary governor to the city of Emesa. The emperor also divided Pontus and created a province which he called Haemimontus.

38. During his reign the Isaurian Balbinus rebelled and laid waste the city of Anazarbos, and Eirenoupolis and Kastabala, cities in Cilicia. He was captured by the *magister militum* Rufus and was executed.

39. The emperor Theodosius in that year pulled down the three temples in Constantinople on what was formerly known as the Acropolis. He made the temple of Helios into a courtyard surrounded by houses and donated it to the Great Church of Constantinople. This courtyard is called the "Courtyard of Helios" to the present day. The temple of Artemis he made into a gaming room for dice players. This place is called "The Temple" to the present day, and the street nearby is called "The Fawn". The temple of Aphrodite he made into a carriage-house for the praetorian prefect, and he built lodging-houses close by and gave orders that penniless prostitutes could stay there free of charge.

Theodosius made the village formerly known as Resaina into a city, which was renamed Theodosioupolis; **(346)** the village received the status of a city during the consulship of Merobaudes and Saturninus, from that AD383 date to the present day.

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37. Bo 344.9-345.7; LM 436.38, CP 561.6-16 (AD379), cf JN 83.2,4.
expelling the Arians (344.16): 'expelling from them the Exakionite Arians' CP.
to the ground (344.20): CP adds 'When the glorious Constantine was emperor, he only closed the temples and shrines of the Hellenes; Theodosius destroyed them'; probably not from Malalas, despite Conybeare, 1902, 396.
temple of Helioupolis (344.21): 'temple of Balanion in Helioupolis' CP (ie 'of Baal of Lebanon' Conybeare, 1902, 396).
38. Bo 345.8-11; De insid 29 (160.17-20).
Balbinus (345.8): cf 'Balbinius' De insid.
cities (345.10): cf 'the city' De insid.
39. Bo 345.12-346.2.
Resaina (345.22): written as 'Rophaina' Ba.

40. During his reign Theodosius held the Council of 150 Bishops in Constantinople concerning the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

Equally the emperor Theodosius promoted as praetorian prefect Antiochos nicknamed Chouzon, the Elder, originally from Antioch the Great. As soon as he was promoted to prefect, he reported to the emperor Theodosius that the great city of Antioch in Syria had spread out and increased in size, and had many buildings extending up to a mile outside its walls. Then the emperor Theodosius ordered that the houses outside the city should also be surrounded by a wall. A wall was built from the gate known as the Philonauta to the place known as Rhodion; the new wall enclosed the mountain as far as the old wall built by Tiberius Caesar. He extended the new wall as far as the stream known as Phyrminos, which runs down from a ravine in the mountain; he brought the stone down from the old *monomacheion*, which was up on the acropolis. He also pulled down the aqueduct leading to the acropolis from what are known as the Waters of the Road to Laodikeia. Julius Caesar had built this aqueduct when he built the public bath **(347)** up on the mountain for the people known as the Akropolitai, those who had remained living up there together with those whom Seleukos Nikator the Macedonian brought down to the city founded by him in the area known as the Valley, those whom he asked to live with him in the city below, Antioch the Great.

At that time Gindaros, Lytargon and many other small Syrian towns were also provided with walls.

41. During his reign the Tzannoi crossed over into Cappadocia, Cilicia and Syria, plundering them and withdrawing again.

42. The emperor Theodosius created the province of Nova Epirus, dividing it off from the Old, granting the status of city and a governor to the city of Dyrrachium. Likewise he divided off Second Palestine from the First and created a province, giving the status of a metropolis and a governor to the place known as Skythopolis.

43. The emperor Theodosius left Constantinople for Rome and entered the city of Thessalonike. The military force which was with him caused an uproar in the city over billeting, and so the inhabitants of Thessalonike rioted and insulted the emperor; and when he was watching the races in the city with the hippodrome full, he ordered his archers to shoot at the crowd and as many as 15,000 were killed. Bishop Ambrose was angry with him because of this and placed him under interdict. He remained many days **(348)** without entering the church, until the bishop was persuaded to receive him at the feast of the Holy Nativity. But he only agreed to receive him when he had issued an imperial rescript that, in any case of imperial displeasure, whatever its nature, a remission should be granted by the arbitrators for 30 days and only then should the sentence be carried out.

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40. Bo 346.3-347.7.
Philonauta (346.13; corr Chil): 'beloved of him' (φίλον αὐτοῦ) Ba.
Julius Caesar (346.21; corr Chil): 'Julianus Caesar' Ba.
41. Bo 347.8-10.
42. Bo 347.11-15.
First and created a province (347.14; corr Chil): 'First and created a governor' Ba.
43. Bo 347.16-348.5; Th 72.19-27 (AD391/2), GM 577.1-5, Sk 65.15-31.

44. The emperor divided Second Galatia from the First and made it a province, giving the city of Pessinos the status of a city and a governor.

45. The emperor Theodosius, while making a *processus* on his way to war, became ill in Milan and died there in Milan at the age of 65. His remains were brought to Constantinople. When Theodosius was on the point of death, he learnt that Arcadius had gone to Rome to visit his brother Honorius who was ill and so he wrote to him, telling him to return to Constantinople to secure the East. But the emperor Arcadius spent some time in Rome with his brother the emperor Honorius, and equally delayed on the journey. While Arcadius was returning to Constantinople, Gainas the senator led a rebellion, wishing to become emperor. But Arcadius arrived back in Constantinople and executed the rebel Gainas.

46. After the reign of Theodosius the Great, the Spaniard, his son Arcadius reigned in Constantinople (349) in all for 23 years, having come from Rome where he left his younger brother Honorius. He was very quick in his movements and energetic. Immediately on his arrival he made his son, Theodosius the Younger, emperor in Constantinople.

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44. Bo 348.6-8.

45. Bo 348.9-20; JN 84.11-12.

46. Bo 348.21-349.4; LM 437.1, TF II 11-14, CP 565.14-15 (AD394), LG 307.3-8 (105.2-8).

in Constantinople (349.4): TF, cf LG, adds 'In the reign of Arcadius (the most holy John, archbishop of Constantinople) was exiled as the result of a plot made against him by Theophilos, bishop of Alexandria the Great, Severianus, bishop of Gabala and the Augusta Eudoxia, wife of Arcadius. He was sent to Koukousos, a city in Armenia. At the moment he was exiled, the most holy bishop went into the baptistery of the most holy Great Church of Constantinople and embraced the most pious Olympias, the daughter of Seleukos the ex-prefect, and other honourable ladies. He prayed and left the (church. Meanwhile fire suddenly enveloped the church on all sides. It came rushing) from the sanctuary and went up by means of the chain of the ever-burning candle hanging in the apse of the sanctuary, and burned the whole church, and around the church (the senate house) as far as the palace. There was a great disturbance in the church and the city, for bishops were expelled from various cities, and also clerics of different ranks, as well as monks and lay people, since they did not wish to take communion in church because of the exile of John, the bishop. Many senators of high rank were beaten and had their property confiscated because they would not take communion in church. No one consented to take communion. But they brought in honourable ladies of senatorial rank from their houses, dragging them shamelessly in public without veils and barefoot. They instructed them, at the command of the emperor Arcadius and Eudoxia his wife, either to take communion in church or to (pour out) a river of gold'; the passages in brackets, which are missing or illegible in the palimpsest fragment, have been inserted by Mai on the basis of corresponding passages in Sozomen, Socrates and Palladius. See Patzig, 1890/1, 5 and 8-9 on the possible length of the lacuna of which this is a part.

47. Arcadius created his own *numerus* which he called the Arcadiaci. He fell ill and died suddenly, at the age of 31.

48. After the reign of Arcadius, his brother Honorius reigned in Rome for 31 years. He was irascible and chaste.

This emperor closed the temple of Serapis Helios in Alexandria the Great.

49. During his reign a great civil disturbance took place in Rome and he left in anger for the city of Ravenna. He sent and brought from Gaul the *magister militum* Alaric, with his forces, to plunder Rome. When Alaric arrived in the city, he allied himself to the city and the senatorial enemies of Honorius. He harmed nobody in the city, but burst into the palace and took all the palace treasure and Honorius' half-sister on his father's side, Placidia, **(350)** who was still a young virgin. Then he went off again to Gaul in rebellion. Constantius, who was still a *comes* with Alaric and was entrusted by him with the girl Placidia, found an opportunity and took her away. He escaped from Alaric and brought her to the emperor Honorius. Honorius was grateful to him and made him a senator, gave him Placidia in marriage and made him emperor in Rome. Constantius had a son by her whom he called Valentinian. During his joint reign with Constantius, Honorius killed the four senatorial usurpers, Attalus, Sebastianus, Maximus and Constans, who were rebelling against him and seducing the populace. After they had been executed and their property confiscated, Honorius left Constantius reigning in Rome, while he himself went to Constantinople to reign with Theodosius the Younger.

50. Constantius, emperor of Rome, died a natural death during the reign and lifetime of Honorius. Then, with the collaboration of the other senators, a senator named John rebelled and reigned in Rome. When he learned this, Honorius went mad, was stricken with the illness of dropsy and died, at the age of 42.

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47. Bo 349.5-7; Th 75.16-17 (AD398/9), 77.24-5 (AD402/3), 80.5(AD407/8), GM 592.21-593.2, LG 306.32-307.3 (104.18-105.2).
Arcadius (349.5): GM, cf LG, Th (77.24-5, 80.5), adds 'He erected the column on the Xerolophos and stood a statue of himself on it. He built a city in Thrace and called it Arkadioupolis. In his reign the earth groaned mightily for seven days, and there was a great and universal earthquake'; perhaps part of the lacuna covering events of Arcadius' reign postulated by Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
48. Bo 349.8-11; LM 437.2.
49. Bo 349.12-350.15; Th 76.20-77.4 (AD402/3), Sk 68.17-69.1, JN 84. 15-20, 23.
in anger (349.13): 'Aroused against the citizens because of some minor matters' Th.
the city of Ravenna (349.13): 'Ravenna, a coastal city in Italy' Th.
Alaric (349.14): Th adds 'a barbarian of Gallic race'.
to plunder Rome (349.15): Th adds 'and to harrass those who had wronged him. All Rome was besieged by him and all but destroyed'.
to Gaul (350.1): Th adds 'to his own nation'.
made him a senator (350.5): Th adds 'a little later'.
Valentinian (350.8): Th adds 'the Younger'.
50. Bo 350.16-21; JN 84.24.

BOOK 14 The Reign of Theodosius the Younger to the Reign of Leo the Younger

1. **(351)** After the reign of Honorius, the most sacred Theodosius the Younger, the son of the emperor Arcadius (brother of Honorius), reigned alone. He had been crowned by his father during the consulship AD400 of Stilicho and Aurelianus. He reigned in all 50 years and seven months.

2. He favoured the Green faction and took their side in each city. In Constantinople, where they had formerly watched the races from the section on his right, he moved them and made them watch from the seats on the left, and he transferred the garrison troops who used to watch from opposite the *kathisma* to the Blue section, and he gave these seats, which extended over six column spaces, to the members of the Green faction. He told the prefect Kyros, "Those whom I support **(352)** I wish to watch opposite me". Then the members of the Green faction chanted in Constantinople to the emperor, "To each his own!" He sent them proclamations by his chief courier, saying, "It was to honour you that I moved you to the left of the *kathisma* from which I watch the races", and they acclaimed him. He gave orders that in each city the Greens should watch on the left of the officials.

3. Theodosius had begun to reign as a boy; when he grew older, the emperor used to study in the palace in his father Arcadius' lifetime. After the death of his father, he was joined in his studies by another very talented youth named Paulinus, son of a *comes domesticorum*.

After the death of his father, the emperor Theodosius, having reached manhood, wanted to take a wife in marriage. He pestered his sister the lady Pulcheria who was a virgin; as she was fond of her brother, she had chosen not to marry anybody. She thoroughly investigated many virgin girls, daughters of patricians or of imperial blood and reported to her brother the emperor Theodosius, since she lived in the palace with him. The emperor Theodosius said to her, "I want you to find me a really lovely young girl, so that no other woman in Constantinople, - whether she be of imperial blood or of the highest **(353)** senatorial family - may possess such beauty. If she is not superlatively beautiful, I am not interested, neither in high rank or imperial blood or wealth. But whoever's daughter she is, providing she

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1. **Bo 351.1-4**; LM 437.3; Slav: Soph 118 (= Ist 101.1-3).
50 years and seven months (351.4): '48 years' LM, Slav.
2. **Bo 351.5-352.7.**
3. **Bo 352.8-353.6**; CP 575.3-576.4 (AD420), JN 87.1; Slav: Soph 118 (= Ist 10.4-6).
comes domesticorum (352.12): CP, Slav add 'and Theodosius loved him'.
and reported...with him (352.18-19): cf 'wishing to live with her brother in the palace' CP.

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comes domesticorum (352.12): CP, Slav add 'and Theodosius loved him'.
and reported...with him (352.18-19): cf 'wishing to live with her brother in the palace' CP.

is a virgin and exceedingly beautiful, her I shall marry". Hearing this, the lady Pulcheria sent messengers in all directions to continue her investigations. Paulinus, too, rushed around to please him.

4. In the meantime there happened to arrive in Constantinople, together with her relatives, a beautiful, eloquent girl from Hellas, named Athenais, later renamed Eudokia. She was the daughter of the very wealthy Athenian philosopher Leontios. Athenais Eudokia had been compelled to come to the imperial city to stay with her aunt for the following reason. The philosopher Leontios, her father, had two full-grown sons. When he was on the point of death, he drew up a will, according to which he provided that his two sons, Valerius and Gessius, should inherit the whole of the fortune which he left behind him. He stated in the will, "To Athenais, my beloved and legitimate daughter, I bequeath 100 *nomismata* only; for her good fortune, which exceeds that of all other women, is sufficient for her". And Leontios the philosopher died in Athens. After he had departed this life, Athenais Eudokia pleaded with her brothers, since they were older than she, throwing herself before them and entreating them not to adhere to the will, but to give her a third share with them of **(354)** their father's possessions, saying, "I have done no wrong, as you yourselves know, to your father. I do not know why, on the point of death, he left me destitute and bestowed upon me merely the wealth which may come by good fortune after his death". Her brothers remained unmoved, and in their anger even drove her out of their father's house, in which she lived with them. Her mother's sister took her in as she was an orphan, and protected her as a virgin. She took her with her and went off to her other aunt, her father's sister, in Constantinople. They took her to make a petition against her brothers, and prepared her to approach the most pious lady Pulcheria, sister of the emperor Theodosius. The girl was admitted and explained in an eloquent address that she had been treated with violence by her brothers. Observing that she was beautiful

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Paulinus (353.5): 'Paulinus, his fellow-student and friend' CP.
to please him (353.6): CP adds 'in this matter'.
4. Bo 353.7–355.10; Ev I 20 (28.23-30), CP 576.4-578.8,13-19 (AD420), GM 608.10-609.3, Ke 590.9-18, JN 84.25-34, 37; Slav: Soph 118 (= Ist 10.7-8).
later renamed Eudokia (353.9) cf JN 84.28: CP does not mention the name 'Eudokia' until the very end of this whole episode.
Leontios (353.10, 13, 20; cf Ke, Soc HE vii 21): cf 'Herakleitos' CP, JN.
Valerius (353.16): cf 'Valerian' CP, JN.
the philosopher died in Athens (353.19-20) Ke: cf 'the wise Athenian died' CP.
After he had departed this life (353.20): cf CP which adds 'and the contents of his will had become clear'.
as you yourselves know, to your father (354.1-2): 'and you yourselves know how I felt towards our common father' CP.
as she was an orphan...virgin (354.7): cf 'and looked after her not only as an orphan but as a virgin and her niece' CP.
her other aunt, her father's sister (354.8-9) CP: Ba would more naturally read 'her aunt, her father's other sister', which it is tempting to link to a confused reference in JN to a third aunt.

and eloquent, Pulcheria asked her aunts whether she was a virgin, and was informed by them that she was a virgin kept chaste by her father who had been a philosopher in Hellas, and that she had had an extensive education in philosophy. She gave orders that the girl and her aunts should wait under the watchful eye of *cubicularii*, and said that she would take her petition from her and go in to see her brother the emperor Theodosius. She said to him, "I have found a very good-looking young woman, refined, with a good figure, eloquent, from Hellas, a virgin (355) and the daughter of a philosopher". When he heard this, Theodosius, being a young man, became excited. He sent for his fellow-student and friend Paulinus, and asked his sister to bring Athenais Eudokia into her chamber on some other pretext, so that he, together with Paulinus, might observe her from behind the curtain. So she was brought in. When he saw her he fell in love with her, and Paulinus too was struck by her. He kept her and converted her to Christianity, since she was a Hellene, and renamed her Eudokia; he married her, celebrating an imperial wedding with her. He had a daughter by her named Eudoxia.

5. When the brothers of the Augusta Eudokia heard that she had become empress, they sought refuge in Hellas in terror. She sent for them and brought them from the city of Athens to Constantinople, with reassurances, and gave them high rank: the emperor appointed the one known as Gessius to be praetorian prefect of Illyricum, and Valerius to be *magister*. The empress Eudokia, their sister, said to them, "If you had not treated me badly, I should not have been compelled to come here and become empress. And so you bestowed upon me the imperial rank, which goes beyond my birth-right. For it was my good fortune, not your attitude towards me, which made you uncharitable towards me".

6. The emperor Theodosius also advanced Paulinus through all the ranks, since he was his friend, (356) matchmaker for his marriage and their table companion. After that he promoted him to *magister*, and so his fortunes increased. Since he had free access to the emperor Theodosius, as his bestman at his marriage, Paulinus also often visited the Augusta Eudokia, as *magister*.

7. Theodosius the emperor sent the patrician Aspar to Rome with a large military force against the rebel John. Aspar defeated John,

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with a good figure (354.22): CP adds 'with delicate features, a good nose, skin white as snow and good eyes, utterly charming, with fair curly hair and a dignified posture'; see Patzig, 1890/1,12.
imperial wedding (355.9): CP adds, probably not from Malalas, 'the Augustus Theodosius celebrated his marriage, taking as his wife Athenais Eudokia, in the month Daisios, on the seventh day before the Ides of June. In the month Daisios, on the fourth day before the Ides of June, races were held to celebrate the marriage, as were theatrical performances during the races'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 10, for arguments against this passage being genuine Malalas.
5. **Bo 355.11-21**; CP 578.20-579.9 (AD421), GM 609.5-6, JN 84.34-6.
Valerius (355.16): cf 'Valerian' CP, JN.
uncharitable (355.20): 'unyielding' CP.
6. **Bo 355.22-356.5**; CP 579.10-14 (AD421), GM 609.3-5, JN 87.1-3; Slav: Soph 118 (= Ist 10.9-10).
7. **Bo 356.6-16**; CP 582.15-18 (AD437).

deposed him from the imperial rule in Rome and executed him. The emperor Theodosius made Valentinian the Younger emperor in Rome. He was his relative, the son of the elder Placidia and the emperor Constantius. Theodosius gave him his daughter, named Eudoxia, whom he had had by the Augusta Eudokia, daughter of the philosopher. By her Valentinian had two daughters, Eudokia and Placidia.

8. It so happened that, some time later, when the emperor Theodosius was proceeding to the church at Holy Epiphany, the *magister* Paulinus, who was indisposed because of his foot, remained behind and sent his apologies. A poor man brought to the emperor Theodosius a Phrygian apple of enormous size, so big as to defy description. The emperor and all his senate were amazed. Immediately the emperor gave **(357)** 150 *nomismata* to the man who brought the apple, and sent it to the Augusta Eudokia; and the Augusta sent it to the *magister* Paulinus, since he was a friend of the emperor; but the *magister* Paulinus, not being aware that it was the emperor who had sent it to the Augusta, took it and sent it to the emperor Theodosius, as he was entering the palace. When the emperor received it, he recognised it and concealed it. He called the Augusta and questioned her, saying, "Where is the apple which I sent you?" She replied, "I ate it". Then he made her swear the truth by his salvation, whether she had eaten it or had sent it to somebody. She swore, "I have not sent it to anybody, I have eaten it myself". Then the emperor commanded the apple to be brought in and showed it to her. He became angry with her, suspecting that it was because she was in love with Paulinus that she had sent him the apple and had denied it. For this reason the emperor Theodosius put Paulinus to death. The Augusta Eudokia was offended at the insult she had received, for it was known everywhere that Paulinus had been executed on her account, for he was a very handsome young man. The Augusta asked the emperor Theodosius to be allowed to go to the Holy Places to pray, and he gave her permission. She travelled from Constantinople to pray in Jerusalem, and built many buildings in

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Theodosius gave him (356.12): CP adds, perhaps not from Malalas, 'in the month Hyperberetaios on the fourth day before the Kalends of November'.
8. Bo 356.17-358.4; TF II 14-16, Ev I 20-21 (28.30-29.1, 7-9), CP 584.5-585.23 (AD444), De virt 12 (162.9-24), Th 99.18-28 (AD447/8), GM 609.6-610.6, LG 308.5-20 (106.16-107.10) Ke 591.2-24, JN 87.4-22; Slav: Soph 118 (= Ist 10.11-11.2).
sent it to the emperor Theodosius (357.4): De virt summarises from this point 'and the result is obvious. For Theodosius had Paulinus executed, the Augusta went to Jerusalem and the Holy Places and erected many buildings', returning to the full narrative only with the last sentence 'when she was on the point of death'.
as he was entering the palace (357.5) GM, LG: cf 'as he was leaving the church' CP.
received it (357.5): cf CP which adds 'without the Augusta'.
and showed it to her (357.11-12): CP, Slav, LG, Ke, JN add 'and the result was estrangement and separation between them'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
put Paulinus to death (357.14) CP, GM, cf LG, Ke, JN: cf 'ordered Paulinus to be exiled to Cappadocia and then put to death' Th.
to pray in Jerusalem (357.20): CP, cf TF, adds 'When she entered Antioch

Jerusalem. She reconstructed the wall of Jerusalem, saying, "It was of me that the prophet David spoke when he said, 'In thy good pleasure (*eudokia*), **(358)** O Lord, the walls of Jerusalem shall be built'" (*Psalm* 51.18). She remained there and built an imperial tomb for herself; she died and was buried in Jerusalem. When she was on the point of death she swore an oath that she was not guilty of the accusation concerning Paulinus.

9. The emperor Theodosius was eloquent, and loved by the whole people and the senate.

10. During his and Valentinian's reign, a campaign against Rome and Constantinople was begun by Attila, of the race of the Gepids, with a host of many tens of thousands. He sent a message through a Gothic ambassador to Valentinian, emperor of Rome, "Attila, my master and yours, commands you through me to make ready your palace for him". Likewise he sent the same message to the emperor Theodosius in Constantinople, through a Gothic ambassador. When Aetius, the leading senator of Rome, heard the incredible boldness of Attila's reckless message, he went off to Theoderic in Gaul. Though Theoderic was an enemy of the Romans, he was persuaded to join him against Attila, who had attacked many Roman cities. They made a sudden assault on Attila, as he was making camp near the river Danube, and cut down many thousands of his men. In this battle Theoderic was wounded by an arrow and died. **(359)** Equally Attila died, suffering a haemorrhage through the nose at night, while he was sleeping with his Hunnish concubine. This girl was suspected of having murdered him. The history of this war has been

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the Great she pronounced in the *bouleuterion* an encomium on Antioch ('and on the building known as the *bouleuterion*' TF), sitting in (lit. 'inside') an imperial throne of solid gold set with jewels. The people of the city chanted acclamations to her, a likeness of her in gold was dedicated in the *bouleuterion*, and they erected a bronze statue of her in the building called the Mouseion, both of which stand to the present day. She bestowed money on the city of Antioch in Syria for the corn-supply, and set off for the Holy Places'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 5-6. Ev adds 'She made a speech to the people here (ie in Antioch) with this concluding epic line, "I boast that I am of your race and blood" (*Iliad* 6.211, and 20.241), hinting at the colony sent here from Hellas', perhaps drawing on Malalas; see Patzig, 1890/1, 18.

She remained there (358.1): 'She remained in Jerusalem' CP, TF; see Patzig, 1890/1, 6.

9. Bo 358.5-6; TF II 16; Slav: Ist 11.3-4.

was eloquent (358.5): '(...) by nature handsome, white-skinned, well-built, with a good nose, a good chest, black eyebrows, straight hair, a thick beard (...); he was magnanimous, charming and eloquent' TF; cf 'of medium stature, white-skinned, handsome' Slav; see Patzig, 1890/1, 6. Plainly 'of medium stature' may be inserted in the first of TF's lacunas.

10. Bo 358.6-359.7; Ev I 17 (26.25-6), TF II 16, CP 587.7-588.5 (AD450), Slav: Ist 11.4-20.

Gepids (358.8): 'Gepid Huns' CP, Slav.

Theoderic (358.16,21; corr): 'Alaric' Ba, CP; see PLRE II 1070-1.

enemy of the Romans (358.16): CP, Slav add 'because of Honorius'.

Equally...murdered him (359.1-3): Slav has a fuller version but which

written by the most learned Priscus, the Thracian. Others, however, have written that Aetius the patrician bribed Attila's *spatharius*, who stabbed and killed him, and that Aetius returned victorious to Rome.

11. At that time the emperor Theodosius built the Great Church of Alexandria, which is known to the present day as the church of Theodosius, for he favoured Cyril the bishop of Alexandria.

12. At that time the Alexandrians, given free rein by their bishop, seized and burnt on a pyre of brushwood Hypatia the famous philosopher, who had a great reputation and who was an old woman.

In his reign the island of Crete suffered through the wrath of God, "the island of a hundred cities in the midst of the sea", as the most learned Euripides described it. Its whole surrounding area suffered too. In Crete the public bath built by the Caesar Julius in the metropolis of Gortyn collapsed. It had twelve distinct chambers and one arrangement of chambers was in service each month. **(360)** The bath was perfect, and the twelve chambers were heated by a single furnace, and it was a remarkable sight. The emperor Theodosius restored six of these, that is, two patterns of the bath, one for summer and one for winter, as the landowners of the city had petitioned him. He provided large sums for the city and countryside for building purposes.

13. He also built in Antioch the Great a large, well lit and very beautiful basilica opposite the building known as the Athla. The Antiochenes call this the basilica of Anatolius, because the *magister militum* Anatolius supervised its construction with funds he received from the emperor, when he was appointed by him *magister militum per Orientem*. For this reason, when he had completed the building of the basilica, he inscribed on it in gold mosaic these words, "Erected by the emperor Theodosius", as was correct. Above, there were the two

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is probably not from Malalas since the vocabulary is untypical (despite Tvorogov, 1975, 138).

11. Bo 359.8-11; JN 83.37; Slav: Ist 11.20-23.

12. Bo 359.12-360.6; JN 84.45, 87; Slav: Ist 11.23-12.2. See Nauck, TGF 506 (Euripides, fr.472).

the island (359.17): 'the great island' Slav.

twelve distinct chambers ... month (359.20-21): 'twelve chambers, according to the number of months, and which paid a tax from one chamber each month' Slav.

13. Bo 360.7-20; Ev I 18 (27.18-28.3); Slav: Ist 12.2-3.

He also built (360.7): Before speaking of the basilica of Anatolius, Ev gives details of three other buildings, perhaps drawing from Malalas (see Patzig, 1890/1, 18), 'During these years Memnonios, Zoilos and Kallistos were sent out as governors to Antioch, shining examples of our faith. Memnonios completely rebuilt, splendidly and diligently, the structure known to us as the Psephion, leaving a hypaethral inner court. Zoilos built the basilica on the south side of that of Rufinus, which has retained his name down to our day even though it has changed its structure as the result of the variety of damage it has suffered. Kallistos constructed a handsome and splendid building known to the people of the past and of our time as the stoa of Kallistos, in front of the seats of justice immediately opposite the forum on which stands the beautiful edifice, the headquarters of the generals'.

emperors, Theodosius and his relative Valentinian, the emperor at Rome. Theodosius also gilded the two bronze doors of the Daphnetic gate, after the pattern of the gate he had gilded in Constantinople, which up to the present is still called the Golden Gate; likewise that of Antioch the Great is known to the present day as the Golden Gate. It was gilded by the consular Nymphidianos.

14. In that year the death was announced of Valentinian, emperor at Rome, who was murdered by the senator Maximus, who gained power and began to reign in Rome.

15. **(361)** The emperor Theodosius acted badly towards Antiochos, the *praepositus* and patrician, who was a powerful man in the palace and in control of affairs. He had brought up Theodosius in his father's lifetime, as *cubicularius* and administrator of the Roman state from the time of his father Arcadius. He continued, after Theodosius had grown up, to treat him overbearingly as he was a patrician. Theodosius, however, became angry with him, confiscated his property, tonsured him and made him a priest of the Great Church in Constantinople, issuing a decree that eunuch *cubicularii* after the completion of their service, that is, ex-*praepositi* of the palace, should not be admitted to senatorial or patrician rank. Antiochos died, as a *presbyter*.

16. The emperor appointed the patrician Kyros the philosopher, a man of great learning in every field, to be praetorian prefect and city prefect. He was in power for four years, holding the two offices, riding out in the carriage of the city prefect, supervising building operations and reconstructing the whole of Constantinople, for he was a most refined man. The Byzantines chanted about him in the hippodrome all day, while Theodosius was watching the races, as follows, "Constantine built, Kyros rebuilt, put them at the same level, Augustus!" Kyros was amazed and commented, "I do not like fortune when she smiles **(362)** too sweetly". The emperor was angered that they chanted about Kyros and coupled his name in their chants with that of Constantine, as having reconstructed the city. So a plot was made against Kyros and he was charged with being a Hellene, so that his property was confiscated and he was stripped of his office. After seeking asylum he too became a priest, and was sent to Phrygia as bishop

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14. Bo 360.20-23; Ev II 7 (54.6-10), De insid 30 (160.21-24), JN 83.14; Slav: Ist 12.3-5.
Maximus (360.22) Ev, De insid; cf 'Maximian' Slav (and in para 26).
15. Bo 361.1-13; Th 96.18-21 (AD443/4), Su II 695.9-10; Slav: Ist 12.5-14.
after Theodosius had grown up (361.6): cf 'after the death of Theodosius' father' Slav.
16. Bo 361.14-362.18; CP 588.6-589.5 (AD450), Th 96.31-97.15 (AD444/5), LG 310.23-29 (110.16-23), Su II 695.10-15, III 220.14-15, JN 84.48-58; Slav: Ist 12.14-13.6.
riding out (361.17): CP adds 'as praetorian prefect in the prefects' carriage, and riding back seated'.
a most refined man (361.19): CP adds 'and he decreed that lights should be lit in the evenings, and likewise at night'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
put them at the same level, Augustus! (361.21) Slav: om CP, Th, LG, Su II 695; see Dagron, 1974, 271, note 1.

of the place known as Kotyaion. For the people of Kotyaion had murdered four bishops. Kotyaion is a city in the province of Phrygia Salutaris. Kyros arrived at Kotyaion as its bishop before the feast of the Holy Nativity. When the clergy and citizens of the city learned that the emperor had sent him to them to be killed as a Hellene, they immediately set up a chant in the church on the day of the Holy Nativity, demanding that he preach. So he was compelled to go up and preach. After giving them the sign of peace, he addressed them thus, "Brethren, let the birth of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ be honoured by silence, because it was through hearing alone that he was conceived in the holy Virgin by the Word. To him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen". He was acclaimed and descended, and remained there until his death.

17. The emperor appointed as prefect, Antiochos Chouzon, the grandson of the elder Antiochos Chouzon. He supplied funds for the horse-races in Antioch the Great and for the Olympic festival and the Maioumas.

18. After him (363) Rufinus the emperor's relative was appointed prefect. He was put to death for plotting a rebellion.

19. The emperor Theodosius was passionately in love with the *cubicularius* Chrysaphios, known as Ztoummas, since he was extremely handsome. He gave him many gifts, whatever he asked for, and Chrysaphios had free access to the emperor. He had control over all affairs and plundered everything. He was the patron and protector of the Greens.

20. During his reign Nikomedeia, the metropolis of Bithynia, suffered its fifth calamity from the wrath of God. It happened late in the evening, and the city was razed to the ground and flooded by the sea. Theodosius built many buildings there including the public baths,

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to Phrygia as bishop of the place known as Kotyaion (362.5-6) cf Su II, III: 'to Asia as bishop of the city of Smyrna' Slav, cf CP, Th, LG, JN; the latter texts refer consistently to Smyrna. See Cameron, 1982, 223.
Kotyaion is a city...Phrygia Salutaris (362.7-8): cf 'Smyrna is a city in the province of Lydia under the proconsul of Asia' Slav.
He was conceived in the holy Virgin by the Word (362.16): 'He was conceived in the holy Virgin; for he was the Word' CP, Slav (perhaps preferable to Th, despite Bury, 1923, 228, note 6, Gregory, 1975, 318, and Cameron, 1982, 243, note 96), cf 'the Word of God was conceived in the holy Virgin' Th.
17. Bo 362.18-21; Slav: Ist 13.6-8.
18. Bo 362.21-363.2; TF III 17: Slav: Ist 13.8-10.
19. Bo 363.3-8; TF III 17, De virt 13 (162.25-163.2), Su IV 78.12-13; Slav: Ist 13.10-15.
Ztoummas (363.4; corr from Bo 368.5): 'Ztommas' Ba, cf 'Stoummas' TF, 'Tzoummas' De virt.
had free access to the emperor (363.6): 'had influence over the emperor since he had free access' TF, De virt, cf Slav.
over all affairs (363.6): De virt adds 'asking the emperor for petitions', cf Su; TF adds 'turning them in his own favour', cf Slav.
of the Greens (363.3-7): TF, De virt add 'everywhere'; see Cameron, 1976, 21, note 5.
20. Bo 363.9-14; TF III 17-18; Slav: Ist 13.15-19.

the colonnades, the harbour, the public arenas, the martyrium of St Anthimos, and all the city's churches.

21. During his reign the Isaurians made a raid and captured Seleukeia in Syria in the month of Peritios, during the consulship of Theodosius and Rumoridus. Coming through the mountains, they plundered and destroyed the area and, seizing all they could, returned to Isauria.

22. During his reign Constantinople suffered from the wrath of God for the first time. The earthquake occurred on the night of 26th January, from the colonnades known as Troadic to the bronze **(364)** *tetrapylon.* The emperor went barefoot in a procession of prayer with the senate, the people and the clergy for many days.

23. In that year Blasses, emperor of the Persians, advanced to make war on the Romans. When the emperor of the Romans heard of this, he made the patrician Prokopios *magister militum per Orientem,* and sent him with an expeditionary force to do battle. When he was about to engage battle, the Persian emperor sent him a message, "If your whole force has a man able to fight in single combat and to defeat a Persian selected by me, I shall immediately make a peace-treaty for 50 years with the customary provision of gifts". When these terms had been agreed, the emperor of the Persians chose a Persian named Ardazanes from the division known as the Immortals, while the Romans selected Areobindus, a Gothic *comes foederatorum.* The two came out on horseback fully armed. Areobindus also carried a lasso, as is the Gothic custom. The Persian charged at him first with his lance, but Areobindus, bending down to his right, lassoed him, brought him down off his horse and killed him. Thereupon the Persian emperor made a peace treaty. Areobindus returned to Constantinople after his victory with the general Prokopios, and as a mark of gratitude was appointed consul by the emperor.

24. The emperor created a province which he called Lykia, by

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public arenas (363.13): TF is illegible here, but Mai proposes 'praetoria'.
21. Bo 363.15-19; TF III 18, JN 84.40; Slav: Ist 13.19-23.
in Syria (363.16): Slav adds 'which is in (E)pieria'; JN adds 'and likewise the city of Tiberias'.
Rumoridus (363.17; corr): 'Romoridus' Ba.
the mountains (363.18): TF, Slav, JN add 'named Amanos'.
22. Bo 363.20-364.2; TF III 18, CP 589.6-12 (AD450), JN 84.39; Slav: Ist 13.23-27.
January (363.21): 'Audynaios-January' TF, cf 'Audynaios' CP. TF adds 'and buildings collapsed from'.
tetrapylon (364.1): CP adds 'It lasted for some time, so that nobody dared to remain indoors, but all fled out of the city in processions of prayer by day and night'; this passage from CP, like another at the end of the paragraph on the earthquake's liturgical commemoration, is probably not from Malalas; see Croke, 1981, 142-4.
23. Bo 364.3-21; TF III 19-20, LG 309.8-21 (108.9-23), GM 606.23-607.12.
Blasses (364.3): cf 'Blasys' TF,'Blasis' GM; an error, see PLRE II 1136.
50 years with (364.9): '50 years; but if he should be defeated, I shall receive 50 *centenaria*' TF, GM, LG; LG continues 'and'. See Patzig, 1890/1, 6.
24. Bo 364.22-365.11; TF III 20-21; Slav: Ist 13.27-14.9.

(365) dividing it off from Lykaonia, giving the status of a metropolis and a governor to the city of Lykia known as Myra, where there is one of God's mysteries, a fire burning of its own accord. Likewise the emperor divided off Second Syria from First, giving the status of a metropolis and a governor to the city of Apameia, and he created the province of Second Cilicia, dividing it off from First, giving the status of a metropolis and a governor to the city of Anazarbos. He also created another province which he called Honorias after his uncle Honorius, dividing it off from Bithynia, and gave the status of metropolis and a governor to Herakleia, a city in Pontus.

25. During his reign the career of Nestorios reached its climax. He later became bishop of Constantinople. A riot broke out while he was preaching, and Theodosius was compelled to summon the Council of 240 bishops at Ephesos against Nestorios, and to depose him from his see. The Council was led by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria the Great.

26. At that time, the lady Eudoxia, wife of the emperor Valentinian but now widowed, daughter of emperor Theodosius and Eudokia, was living in Rome. She was displeased with Maximus the rebel, who had murdered her husband and become emperor, and so she urged the Vandal Geiseric, the king of Africa, to move against Maximus, emperor of Rome. Geiseric (366) suddenly arrived at the city of Rome with a large force and captured Rome. He killed the emperor Maximus and slaughtered everybody, plundering everything in the palace down to the bronze statues, and taking the surviving senators prisoner together with their wives. Amongst these he also took prisoner the lady Eudoxia, who had urged him to attack, and her daughter Placidia, wife of the patrician Olybrius, who himself was living in Constantinople, and the virgin Eudokia. He carried them all off to the city of Carthage in Africa. Geiseric immediately gave the virgin Eudokia the younger, lady Eudoxia's daughter, in marriage to his own son Huneric. He kept the ladies with him in honourable captivity. The emperor Theodosius learnt that it was at the instigation of his own daughter Eudoxia that Rome had been betrayed. He was displeased with her and let her stay in Africa with Geiseric, without communicating with him. But he made a *processus*

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a fire burning (365.3): 'a mountain producing fire' TF, cf 'a mountain visibly producing fire and water' Slav.
Second Syria from the First (365.4): TF, Slav add 'creating a province'.
25. Bo 365.12-18; TF III 21; Slav: Ist 14.9-12.
the career of Nestorios reached its climax (365.12), cf 'lived also Nestorios' Slav: 'the affair of Nestorios became muddied' TF; see Patzig, 1891/2, 29 and 1898, 119.
from his see (365.16) Slav: 'and remove his name from the holy diptychs' TF.
26. Bo 365.19-366.19; TF III 21-22, Ev II 7 (54.10-30), CP 591.19-592.7 (AD455); Slav: Ist 14.13-15.3.
The lady Eudoxia...now widowed (365.19-20): 'the widowed lady Eudoxia, who had become the wife of the emperor Valentinian' TF, cf Slav.
Geiseric (365.23): written as 'Ginzirichos' TF, 'Zinzerichos' Ba.
the emperor of Rome (365.24): 'the emperor, and against Rome' TF, cf Slav.
Huneric (366.10): written 'Honorichos' Ba.

from Constantinople to Ephesos, a city in Asia. There he prayed to St John the Theologian, asking who would reign after him. He received the answer in a vision and returned to Constantinople.

27. A short time later he went out riding, and while riding he fell from his horse and injured his spine, so that he was brought back on a litter. Calling his sister the lady Pulcheria, **(367)** he spoke to her about Marcian, who was to reign after him. He summoned Marcian, the ex-tribune, and said to him in the presence of Aspar and all the senators, "It was revealed to me that you must become emperor after me". Two days later Theodosius died, at the age of 51.

28. After the reign of Theodosius, the most sacred Marcian reigned. He was crowned by the senate. He was tall, with straight grey hair and enflamed feet. It was the year 499 according to the era of AD450/1 Antioch, of the fourth indiction. As soon as he began to reign, he married the emperor Theodosius' sister, the lady Pulcheria, who was a virgin of 54. He reigned for six years and five months.

29. During his reign the city known as Tripolis in Phoenice Maritima suffered from the wrath of God, at night, in the month of Gorpiaios. He restored the summer bath known as the Ikaros, which had collapsed. There were two bronze statues in it, which are also a wonderful sight, of Ikaros and Daidalos and of Bellerophon and the horse Pegasos. He also reconstructed the Phakidion and several other buildings in the city, as well as the aqueduct.

30. During his reign he summoned the Council of Chalkedon, the Council of 630 bishops.

31. **(368)** During his reign the ladies Eudoxia and Placidia were returned from captivity, and arrived in Constantinople. Olybrius received back his wife Placidia, and she gave birth to Juliana in Byzantion.

32. The emperor beheaded Chrysaphios Ztoummas, the *cubicularius,* the beloved of the previous emperor, and confiscated his property. For Chrysaphios had injured many people, who now bore witness against him, and he was the protector and patron of the Greens.

33. Marcian married his daughter by his former wife to Anthimios, and made him emperor in Rome. By her Anthimios had a daughter, whom he gave in marriage to the *magister militum* Ricimer.

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27. Bo 366.19.367.5; CP 589.17-590.5 (AD450), LG 309.25-32 (109.4-11), GM 604.9-10; Slav: Ist 15.3-9.
spine (366.21) CP: cf 'neck' Slav.
on a litter (366.22): CP adds 'from the river Lykos'.
28. Bo 367.6-11; LM 437.4, CP 590.8-12 (AD450), cf JN 87.44; Slav: Ist 15.10-14, Soph 120.
29. Bo 367.12-18; PsD 766 (AD454/5); Slav: Ist 15.14-19.
Phakidion (367.17): cf 'Phakalion' Slav.
30. Bo 367.19-20; Slav: Ist 15.19-20.
31. Bo 368.1-4; cf CP 594.4-10 (AD464), Slav: Ist 15.20-23.
32. Bo 368.5-8; De virt 13 (163.2-5): Slav: Ist 15.23-26.
of the previous emperor (368.7) De virt: cf 'of the emperor Theodosius' Slav.
33. Bo 368.9-12; Slav: Ist 15.26-28.
Marcian (368.9): 'the emperor Marcian' Slav.

34. Marcian favoured the Blue faction in each city. When a riot had been started by members of the Green faction, he promulgated his sacred decree and gave orders that Greens should not hold official or administrative posts for three years. He was angry at the riot and his feet became enflamed. In this way he fell ill for five months and died of gangrene, at the age of 65. The lady Pulcheria had died two years before him.

35. **(369)** After the reign of Marcian, the most sacred Leo the Elder, the Bessian, was crowned by the senate and reigned for 16 years and 11 months.

During his reign Anthimios, who had been crowned by Marcian, reigned in Rome.

AD459 AD457/8 AD459

36. In the reign of Leo, Antioch the Great suffered its fourth calamity from the wrath of God, at dawn, on Sunday 13th September, in the year 506 according to the era of Antioch, during the consulship of Patricius. The emperor gave generously to the Antiochenes and their city for building purposes.

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34. Bo 368.13-19; CP 592.10-14 (AD456), 16-7 (AD457), JN 87.44; Slav: Ist 15.28-16.5.
in each city (368.13): 'not only in Constantinople but also in each city' CP.
35. Bo 369.1-4; LM 437.5; Slav: Ist 16.6-9, Soph 121.
and reigned (369.2; corr): om Ba (perhaps a lacuna resulting from a failure to combine correctly two frequently used phrases).
11 months (369.2): Slav adds 'he was handsome'.
36. Bo 369.5-9; Ev II 12 (63.9-64.15), PsD 770 (AD458/9), JN 88.1; Slav: Ist 16.9-13.
Antioch the Great (369.5): 'Syrian Antioch' Slav.
September (369.6) PsD: 'Gorpiaios-September' Ev, Slav.
This earthquake is dealt with at greater length than this by Ev who refers to an even more detailed account in 'John the Rhetor', who is very likely to have been Malalas. Ev has made significant changes in style, and also in details of the date and the numbering of the earthquake in the Antioch series (see Brooks, 1892, 299; Patzig, 1890/1, 17-18; Gleye, 1896, 428-30; Downey, 1961, 476-8, 597-604): 'In the second year of Leo's reign there was a dreadful trembling and shaking of the earth in the city of Antiochos. Various episodes had previously occurred involving the people of the city, who showed the complete madness of those beside themselves with frenzy and a savagery beyond that of any wild animal, and these served, as it were, as a prelude to these great disasters. The earthquake reached a fierce climax in the year 506 of the era of the city (AD457/8), about the fourth hour of the night, on the 14th of the month Gorpiaios, which the Romans call September, when Sunday had begun, in the eleventh indiction of the cycle, the sixth earthquake whose occurrence is recorded, 347 years having passed since the one which took place under Trajan; that occurred in the 159th year of the autonomy of the city (AD110/11), while that in the reign of Leo occurred in the 506th, as has been stated by those who have made a careful investigation. This earthquake threw down nearly all the buildings of the new city, which had become populous and had no vacant or completely disregarded areas, but had been built up with great elegance by the generosity of emperors competing with one another in

37. During his reign St Symeon the Stylite died, while Ardabourios the patrician, the son of Aspar, was *magister militum per Orientem.* The Antiochenes chanted, demanding the body of the righteous man, and so Ardabourios sent a force of Goths and brought the body of St Symeon to Antioch the Great. A martyrium was built for him there, a great shrine, and he was laid inside, in a tomb.

38. In the reign of Leo, Isokasios, the *quaestor* and philosopher, was accused of being a Hellene. He was originally from Aigai in Cilicia, but he was a landowner in Antioch the Great. (370) He held many offices with honour, for he was a very learned man. He was arrested at the emperor's command, living as he then was in Constantinople, and he was dismissed from his office. Then he

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their benefactions. In the palace, the first and second buildings were brought down, while the others remained standing, together with the neighbouring bath, which provided washing facilities for the city because of the disaster, though previously it had not been in use. This was essential, because of the destruction which occurred to the other baths. The earthquake brought down the colonnades in front of the palace and the nearby *tetrapylon,* and the towers at the gate of the hippodrome and some of the neighbouring colonnades. In the old city, the colonnades and houses were left completely untouched by the earthquake, but the baths of Trajan, Severus and Hadrian were a little shaken and damaged. In the neighbourhood known as Ostrabine some buildings collapsed; the earthquakes destroyed that called the Nymphaion, together with the colonnades. Details of each of these cases have been carefully recorded by John the Rhetor. He says that 1000 talents of gold were remitted to the city from its taxes, while the citizens were excused from tax on buildings destroyed in the earthquake. The emperor also took responsibility for work on public buildings'.

37. Bo 369.10-16; Ev I 13 (22.29-23.11), CP 593.17-594.3 (AD464), PsD 771 (AD459/60); Slav: Ist 16.13-19, Soph 121.

St Symeon the Stylite (369.10) CP: cf 'Symeon the great Stylite' Slav.

the son of Aspar, was *magister militum per Orientem* (369.11-12): 'the son of Aspar, the *magister militum,* was *comes Orientis*' CP, probably wrongly; see PLRE II 136. CP later (594.12-20, AD465) adds the following passage in which Patzig, 1890/1, 10 rightly finds strong signs of Malalas' style, 'Under these consuls (ie Basiliscus and Hermineric us) Menas the *praefectus vigilum* was accused of depravity and questioned by the senate in the hippodrome. At the emperor's command a child tripped him and threw him flat on his face at the furthest point of the hippodrome bend, and the people took hold of him and began to drag him along. When the officials saw what had happened they were terrified and withdrew. They dragged him as far as the house of Stoudios. A Goth picked up a stone and struck him on the ear and killed him. His corpse was dragged by the people as far as the sea'.

38. Bo 369.17-371.4; CP 595.6-596.12 (AD467), Th 115.9-18 (AD467/8), LG 313.24-30 (115.5-12), Su II 601.14-15, JN 88.7-11; Slav: Ist 16.19-17.10.

landowner (369.19): CP, Slav add 'and householder'.

living as he then was (370.2-3) Slav: cf 'because of the riot which had then occurred' CP.

was sent from Constantinople to Chalkedon to Theophilos, the governor of Bithynia, who took statements from him. But the *comes* Iakobos, the *archiatros* also known as Psychristos, petitioned the emperor, for the emperor loved Iakobos, as did the whole senate and the rest of the city, since he was an excellent doctor and philosopher. The senate had even set up an image of him in the Zeuxippon. Iakobos made a vigorous request to the emperor that Isokasios should be examined in Constantinople by the senate and the praetorian prefect, and not by a provincial governor, since he held quaestorial rank. The emperor Leo was persuaded, and ordered Isokasios to be brought back from Chalkedon. He was led into the Zeuxippon and was examined by the praetorian prefect Pousaios. Pousaios reproached him as he came before the tribunal, stripped and with his arms tied behind his back, "Do you see, Isokasios, the state to which you have reduced yourself?" Isokasios replied, "I see, but I am not shocked, for I am a human being who has met with human calamities. But pass an honest judgement in my case, as you used to when you sat in judgement with me". When the people of Byzantion who were standing by and watching (371) heard Isokasios, they shouted many acclamations in favour of the emperor Leo. Then they freed Isokasios and took him from the Zeuxippon to the Great Church. He gave his name, was instructed and baptised, and then sent to his own country.

39. The most sacred emperor Leo ordered that Sundays should be days of rest, promulgating a sacred law on the subject, to the effect that neither flute nor lyre nor any other musical instrument should be played on Sunday, but that everyone should have a holiday. And all observed it.

40. During his reign he suspected that Aspar the patrician was

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from Constantinople to Chalkedon (370.4): 'to Chalkedon opposite Constantinople' CP, Slav.
the *comes* Iakobos (370.5-6): CP, Slav add 'the Cilician' (perhaps an error; see PLRE II 582).
archiatros (370.6): CP adds 'of the city'.
an image (370.9) Slav: cf 'images' CP.
by the praetorian prefect (370.16) Slav: CP adds 'and consul'.
tribunal (370.17): cf 'curtain' CP.
39. Bo 371.5-8; CP 596.13-16 (AD467), PsD 776 (AD465/6), JN 88.5; Slav: Ist 17.10.13.
flute nor lyre (371.7; corr Dind) CP: 'with flutes(?), lyre' Ba (see Bury, 1897, 228); cf PsD which adds 'nor tambourine'.
everyone (371.8) Slav: cf 'all things' CP.
observed (371.8) CP: cf 'was annoyed' Slav.
40. Bo 371.9-372.2; Ev II 16 (66.14-18), CP 596.17-597.9 (AD467), De insid 31 (160.25-161.11); Slav: Ist 17.13-27.
During his reign (371.9): De insid adds before this point 'Aspar the patrician behaved in a very troublesome way to the emperor Leo. It was because of his confidence in the force of Goths he had at his disposal that he did this. During this period Aspar the patrician made requests to marry his son Patricius, who was Caesar, to the emperor's daughter; but when the people, the monks and the clergy opposed it, the marriage plans were put in abeyance'. This and two other passages (see **bodies**

planning a rebellion, being the leader of the senate, and so he put him to death inside the palace, together with his sons Ardabourios and Patricius who were also senators, at a *conventus* and mutilated their bodies. A riot began in Constantinople, for the victims had a large band of Goths and *comites* and other followers, and a large number of supporters. Then a Goth who was one of Aspar's associates, a *comes* named Ostrys, entered the palace with some other Goths, shooting with their bows. A battle broke out between the *excubitores* and Ostrys, and there were many casualties. He was surrounded and saw that he was beaten, and so he fled, taking Aspar's concubine, a beautiful Gothic girl, who escaped with him on horseback to (372) Thrace, where he plundered estates. The Byzantines chanted an acclamation about him, "The dead man has no friend - except Ostrys".

41. The emperor Leo carried out a persecution of the Exakionite Arians because of Aspar and Ardabourios, sending decrees everywhere to prevent them possessing churches or gathering together.

42. During his reign there occurred in Constantinople a fall of

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and **supporters** below) may not be from Malalas, in spite of their inclusion among the Constantinian excerpts (see Patzig, 1890/1, 13); Ba, CP and Slav agree in omitting them. The additions seem, however, to come from a good source (see Stein, 1949, 86, note 3). This is a problem area for the definition of the 'original Malalas' which we are seeking to reconstruct.

inside the palace (371.11) CP: 'in the palace' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 228.

Patricius (371.11) CP: cf 'the Caesar Patricius' De insid.

bodies (371.13) CP: 'and throwing them from the palace into panniers' De insid.

supporters (371.20): De insid adds 'whom he called *foederati*, from which are derived the *annonae foederaticae*' (on the last, see Mommsen, 1872, 350, note 2).

Ostrys, and there were (371.23) cf Slav: cf 'Ostrys' men, and the latter suffered' De insid.

beautiful (371.25): CP, De insid, Slav add 'and rich'.

estates (372.1) CP: cf 'many estates' De insid.

41. Bo 371.3-5; CP 597.10-12 (AD467), De insid 31 (161.12-14), PsD 783 (AD471/2), cf JN 88.6; Slav: Ist 17.27-18.2.

persecution (372.3) De insid: 'great persecution' CP, Slav.

gathering together (372.5): De insid adds 'in a church'.

CP adds at this point four entries of which two seemed to Patzig, 1890/1, 10 to show clear indications of Malalas' style (cf para 37 above); i) CP 597.13-15 'In that year there appeared in the sky a very large sign, called by some a trumpet, by others a meteor' (cf Th 115.1-2, which speaks of 'a cloud having the shape, as it were of a trumpet, appearing for 40 days in the evening'; this parallel Th passage increases the likelihood that Malalas was the source); ii) CP 598.3-8 'Dengizich ('Dinzirichos' CP; cf PLRE II 354), the son of Attila, was killed by Anagastes, the *magister militum per Thracias*, and his head was brought into Constantinople while chariot races were being held. It was carried in triumph down the Mese and taken to the Xylokerkos and stuck on a pole. The whole city went out to gaze at it for several days'.

42. Bo 372.6-10; CP 598.10-14 (AD469), Th 119.29-33 (AD473/4), Eccl Hist 112.7-10, PsD 784 (AD472/3), JN 88.2-4; Slav: Ist 18.2-5.

ash instead of rain, and the ash settled on the tiles to a depth of four fingers. Everyone was terrified and went on processions of prayer saying, "It was fire, but through God's mercy it was quenched and became ash".

43. There occurred in his reign a great conflagration in Constantinople, such as had never been experienced before. The flames spread from sea to sea, and the emperor Leo, fearing for the palace, left the city and crossed over to St Mamas. He spent six months there on a *processus*. He built a harbour there and a colonnade, which he called the New Colonnade, as it is called to the present day.

44. Leo in the time of his reign began a campaign against Geiseric the Vandal, king of the Africans, fighting a tremendous sea-battle. He sent a large fleet under the command of the patrician Basiliscus, the brother of the Augusta Verina, Leo's wife. Basiliscus accepted bribes from Geiseric, king of the Vandals, and betrayed the ships, (373) with the exarchs, the *comites* and the whole army. He with his ship - a fast vessel - was the first and only one to escape. All the rest of the ships and the army perished, sunk at sea. Among them was Damonicus the ex-*dux*, who had become the *magister militum* of the expedition, and was originally from the great city of the Antiochenes. He fought bravely against the Africans, but was isolated and surrounded, captured and flung, fully armed, into the depths. Basiliscus returned, defeated, to Constantinople.

45. During the reign of Leo, Anthimios, the emperor in Rome, was murdered. He had aroused the enmity of his son-in-law, Ricimer the *magister militum*, and was afraid of him, as he was a Goth. The emperor Anthimios then went and sought refuge in St Peter's, saying that he was ill. When the emperor Leo heard of this, he sent to Rome the Roman

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Everyone was terrified...became ash (372.8-10) CP, cf Th: cf 'The whole city and the whole area was in great fear; panic and terror took hold of all who persisted in prayer, sorrow and tears by night and day; everyone said, "This dust which rained from heaven was fire which God was to send in his wrath upon earth; but the mercy of the living God spared the world and extinguished it and turned it into dust so that it should not burn and consume the whole human race. And now let us turn from our wrong-doings, lest we perish utterly in our sins"' PsD.
became ash (372.10): CP adds 'on 11th Dios-November', cf '6th November' Eccl Hist.
43. Bo 372.11-16; CP 598.15-19 (AD469), Eccl Hist 112.4-7, PsD 785 (AD473/4); Slav: Ist 18.5-10.
occurred (372.11) CP, Slav: cf Eccl Hist which adds 'on 1st September'.
sea to sea (372.12-13) CP, Slav: Eccl Hist adds (probably not from Malalas) 'that is, from Neorion to the harbour of Julian'.
harbour (372.15) CP: cf 'almshouse' Slav.
44. Bo 372.17-373.8; Slav: Ist 18.11-21.
Geiseric (372.17): written as 'Sinzirichos' Ba (cf paras 26, 45).
king of the Vandals (372.22): cf 'king of Africa' Slav.
45. Bo 373.9-375.11; De insid 32, 33 (162.15-162.21); Slav: Ist 18.21-19.27.
Ricimer (373.11, 17 etc): written as 'Recimer' Ba, De insid; see PLRE II 942.
heard of this (373.13): CP, Slav add 'in Constantinople'.

patrician Olybrius, after his consulship, which he had held together AD464
with Rusticius. He was told to reconcile the emperor Anthimios and his son-in-law Ricimer, as they were both Roman senators. Leo's orders were, "After Anthimios and Ricimer have become friends, leave Rome and go to Geiseric the Vandal, the king of Africa, since you have free access to him because he has your wife Placidia's sister as his son's bride, **(374)** and persuade him to become my ally".

But the emperor Leo suspected that Olybrius supported Geiseric and was on his side, and so Leo was on his guard against him in case, if Geiseric were to declare war on Leo, Olybrius should betray Constantinople to Geiseric (being a relative) and Olybrius should become emperor in Constantinople. After Olybrius had travelled to Rome, leaving his wife Placidia and daughter in Constantinople, the most sacred emperor Leo wrote through a *magistrianus* to Anthimios, emperor of Rome, as follows, "I put to death Aspar and Ardabourios, so that nobody should oppose my orders. You too should execute your son-in-law Ricimer, to prevent him giving you orders. See, I have also sent to you the patrician Olybrius. Execute him too, and reign as one who gives orders rather than as one who takes them". Now Ricimer had stationed a guard of Goths at every gate of Rome, and at the harbour, and whoever was entering Rome was asked what he was carrying. When the *magistrianus* Modestus, who had been sent from Leo to the emperor Anthimios, arrived and was searched, the imperial rescripts from Leo to Anthimios were removed and taken to Ricimer. He showed them to Olybrius. Then Ricimer sent to Goundoubarios, his sister's son, **(375)** and summoned him from Gaul where he was *magister militum*. He arrived and killed the emperor Anthimios, while he was in the holy church of the apostle Peter. Then Goundoubarios immediately returned to Gaul. Ricimer crowned Olybrius emperor with the consent of the Roman senate. Olybrius reigned in Rome for a few months, but then he fell ill and died. Then Ricimer chose another emperor from the senate of Rome, Majorian, but they killed him as well, since he supported Geiseric, king of the Africans. To replace him, Ricimer chose yet another emperor in Rome from the ranks of the senate, named Nepos. Then Ricimer died.

46. The emperor Leo chose two sons-in-law for his daughters: for Leontia, the elder, the patrician Marcianus, the son of Anthimios, emperor of Rome, and for Ariadne, Zeno Kodisseos the Isaurian. He made them both *magistri militum praesentales* and patricians. The most

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Anthimios (373.18): 'the emperor Anthemios' De insid, Slav.
your wife Placidia's sister (373.20-21; corr Chil) De insid: 'your sister Placidia's wife' Ba.
Geiseric (373.19 etc): written as 'Zinzirichos' Ba, 'Gizirichos' De insid.
and at the harbour (374.15-16): 'and at the *portus*, that is, the harbour' De insid.
Goundoubarios (374.21, 375.4): 'Goundabarios' Bo (see Bury, 1897, 228); see PLRE II 524 (Gundobadus).
Majorian (375.8): written 'Majorinus' Ba.
they killed him as well (375.8-9): cf 'Ricimer killed him' De insid.
46. Bo 375.12-376.5; PsD 786 (AD474/5) Slav: Ist 19.27-20.5.
for his daughters (375.12): cf 'for his two daughters' Slav.

illustrious Ariadne had a son as her first child, and called him Leo. The most distinguished Leontia had only daughters.

The emperor Leo crowned Leo the Younger, his grandson, son of Zeno, in Constantinople, making him (376) co-emperor with himself. The Caesar Leo the Younger became consul in the month of January of the 12th
AD474 indiction, in the year 522 according to the era of Antioch. On the following 3rd February the emperor Leo the Elder was stricken with illness and died of dysentery at the age of 73.

47. After the reign of Leo the Elder, Leo the Younger reigned for one year and 23 days. He was a small boy. He was under the influence of his mother, the most illustrious Ariadne. As Zeno the *magister militum*, the patrician, his father, made obeisance to him as emperor, he placed an imperial crown on his father's head on 9th
AD474 Peritios of the 12th indiction, and they reigned jointly.

The emperor Zeno Kodisseos the Isaurian reigned with his son Leo for a short time. The most sacred Leo the Younger became consul in the year
AD474 522 according to the era of Antioch of the 12th indiction. But in the 11th month of his consulship the most sacred Leo the Younger fell ill and died, in the month of November of the 13th indiction, in the year
AD474 523 according to the era of Antioch, at the age of seven, as was written by the most learned Nestorianos, whose chronicle ended with Leo the Younger.

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most illustrious...most distinguished (375.16, 18): our translation here is a guess since a distinction is being made which is not obviously explicable.

47. Bo 376.6-20; LM 437.6, CP 599.8-16 (AD474), PsD 788, 789 (AD477/8); Slav: Ist 20.5-14, Soph 121.

23 days (376.7) Slav: cf '22 days' LM.

a small boy (376.7): 'small in stature and of good appearance' Slav.

November (376.17): 'Dios-November' CP.

seven (376.19): cf '17 and a half' Slav, '17' CP.

BOOK 15 The Time of the Reign of Zeno to the Time of the Reign of Anastasios

1. (377) After the reign of Leo the Younger, the most sacred Zeno reigned for 15 years. In the eighth month of his reign, he appointed Peter, the *paramonarios* of St Euphemia's in Chalkedon, as bishop and patriarch of Antioch the Great and sent him to Antioch.

2. After two years and ten months of his reign, he quarrelled with his mother-in-law, Verina, over a request she had made of him but which he had refused her, and so his mother-in-law, the lady Verina, began to plot against him. Terrified that he would be assassinated by someone in the palace, since his mother-in-law was living in the palace with him, he made a *processus* to Chalkedon and escaped from there using post-horses, and got away to Isauria even though he was emperor. (378) The empress Ariadne, who had also secretly fled from her mother, caught up with him in Isauria and remained with her husband.

3. After the emperor Zeno and Ariadne had fled, the lady Verina immediately chose an emperor by crowning her brother Basiliscus. Basiliscus, the brother of Zeno's mother-in-law Verina, reigned for two years. When Verina had made Basiliscus emperor, she also named him as consul, together with Armatus who had been appointed by Basiliscus as AD476
senior *magister militum praesentalis*. These two held the consulship.

As soon as Basiliscus began to reign, he crowned his son, named Marcus, as emperor. These two reigned jointly.

4. During the reign of Basiliscus and his son Marcus, a city in First Syria named Gabala suffered from the wrath of God in the month of Gorpiaios at dawn. The emperor Basiliscus bestowed 50 *litrai* of gold on the city for its reconstruction.

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1. Bo 377.1-5; LM 437.7; Slav: Ist 3.1-5.
15 years (377.2): '15 years and two months' LM (cf 380.19 below), cf 'two years and ten months' Slav (but see 377.5 below). Slav adds 'He was of average stature' (perhaps, like the similar phrase used below of Basiliscus, the Slavic translator's reaction to the lack of a personal description in the text before him).
eighth month (377.2): cf Slav which adds 'of the second year'.
2. Bo 377.5-378.2; CP 600.4-11 (AD477); Slav: Ist 3.5-12.
quarrelled...refused her (377.6-8) cf CP: cf 'he was troubled because of a request which his daughter had made of him, and which he had granted' Slav.
mother-in-law (377.10): Slav, CP add 'Verina'.
3. Bo 378.3-11; CP 600.12-18 (AD477), PsD 790 (AD478/9); Slav: Ist 3.12-17.
two years (378.6): cf CP which adds 'which are counted in the total of Zeno's previous and subsequent years' (anticipating 380.19-20 below). Slav adds 'he was of average stature' (but see on 377.2 above).
4. Bo 378.12-16; PsD 791 (AD479/80), JN 88.35; Slav: Ist 3.17-4.1.

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4. Bo 378.12-16; PsD 791 (AD479/80), JN 88.35; Slav: Ist 3.17-4.1.

5. The emperor Zeno returned against Constantinople with a large force from Isauria, sending (379) the *magister militum* Trocundes with a garrison of Isaurians to Antioch the Great. On hearing of this the patriarch Peter, though he had been appointed to the see by Zeno, acted on behalf of Basiliscus' party. When Basiliscus learned of the emperor Zeno's return, he sent Armatus, the *magister militum praesentalis*, together with all the forces of the army which he had in Thrace, in Constantinople and at the palace, making him swear by his holy baptism as a recent convert not to betray him. So Armatus took the main body of the army and crossed over. The emperor Zeno learnt of this in advance and sent a message to Armatus, making him many promises including the appointment as *magister militum* for life and making his son Caesar. So Armatus was won over by the emperor Zeno, betrayed Basiliscus and joined the emperor Zeno's party. Armatus no longer opposed Zeno as he approached, but decided to march on Isauria by another route.

AD476/7 Zeno set out, crossed from the place known as Pylai, and entered the palace with his infantry in the 14th indiction. He was received by the troops and the senate. The emperor Zeno relied on the Green faction because he was supported by them; he too used to favour the Green faction.

Basiliscus heard suddenly that the emperor Zeno had reached the palace and entered it and that everyone had received him, (380) including his mother-in-law, the lady Verina. So he took his wife and children and fled to the great baptistery of the Great Church of Constantinople, since he had been betrayed by Armatus. This was during the consulship of Theoderic.

The most sacred emperor Zeno put up the flag for the chariot-races and immediately came to preside. He was received by the whole city; after he had been received and while he was watching, he sent to the Great Church and took the imperial insignia from Basiliscus, his son and his wife. He got Basiliscus, his wife and children out with an assurance that they would not be beheaded nor put to death and he sent him and his family to the fortress of Limnai in Cappadocia. They were thrown into a tower in the fortress, the door was sealed, and a large force of Isaurian soldiers guarded the tower and the fortress of Limnai until Basiliscus his wife and children starved to death and gave up their souls. They were entombed in that tower in Cappadocia.

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5. **Bo 378.17-380.17**; Ev III 8 (108,6-10), CP 600.20-602.11 (AD478), PsD 792 (AD480/1), cf Th 124.15-18, 124.30-125.1 (AD476/7), GM 618.5-9, JN 88.36-42; Slav: Ist 4.1-5.2.

Armatus (379.5): the form of 'Armatus' varies in Ba and the other witnesses reviewed here, eg 'Harmatus', 'Harmatius', 'Armatus', 'Armatius'; see PLRE II 148.

***magister militum* for life** (379.11): '*magister militum praesentalis* for life' CP.

to march on Isauria...crossed (379.14-16): 'to set out by another route. But the emperor Zeno set out with his army along the route from Isauria, crossed' CP, cf Slav; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

the palace (379.17): 'Constantinople and the palace' CP, Slav.

Limnai in Cappadocia (380.12) Slav, CP, cf JN: cf 'Koukousos in Cappadocia' Ev, Th; see Rochow, 1983, 462.

in Cappadocia (380.17): 'of Limnai' CP.

6. After his return Zeno reigned for 12 more years, that is he reigned in all for 15 years and two months. Some people also include Basiliscus' two years as part of his reign. The emperor Zeno on his return immediately removed Peter, bishop and patriarch of Antioch the Great, because of his support for Basiliscus, and exiled him to Euchaita in Pontus. He appointed Stephanos as bishop of Antioch in his place. **(381)** The emperor Zeno distributed gifts to all his tax-payers to mark his return.

In his reign bishop Stephanos of Antioch was murdered with sharpened reeds by his own clergy, for being a Nestorian. This occurred when he had gone out of the city, to the festival of the Forty Martyrs at a place known as that of Barlaam. His corpse was thrown into the river Orontes. When the emperor Zeno learned about this, he appointed another bishop and patriarch, named Kalandion, for the city of the Antiochenes in Syria. But he too was exiled for being a Nestorian, whereupon bishop Peter was recalled from exile by the emperor Zeno, at the request of the people and clergy of Antioch. After returning from Euchaita, Peter again became patriarch and died on his throne in Antioch.

7. During the reign of Zeno, the son of Armatus the *magister militum praesentalis*, named Basiliscus, was appointed by Zeno in accordance with the agreement and became Caesar. Basiliscus sat at Zeno's side while he presided over the races, and both emperor and Caesar awarded honours to the charioteers. But Zeno reflected that the Caesar's father Armatus, the *magister militum praesentalis*, had broken the oath sworn to the emperor Basiliscus by his holy baptism not to betray him; he had then been won over by Zeno **(382)** himself and had betrayed Basiliscus and let him be killed. "How", he asked, "will he stay faithful to me as emperor? For in a little while, if his son the Caesar grows to manhood, it is certain that he will wrong me. But I have done him no wrong but even immediately made him a patrician and *magister militum* and made his son Caesar". So he ordered that Armatus be killed as a perjurer; and he was killed near the Dekimon as he was going up to preside over the races. After Armatus' execution, Zeno consecrated his son the Caesar Basiliscus, although only a boy, as

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6. Bo 380.18–381.13; Ev III 10 (109.8–12), PsD 794 (AD482/3), JN 88.43–4; Slav: Ist 5.3–17.
gifts (381.1): 'many gifts' Slav.
that of **Barlaam** (381.5; corr, see Downey, 1961, 489 and note 68) cf JN: 'Barlae' Ba, cf Slav.
on his **throne** (381.13): cf Slav which adds the difficult phrase 'wearing *galigia* and *ordaria*'.
7. Bo 381.14–382.9; Ev III 24 (122.1–8), CP 602.20–603.18 (AD484), Th 125.2–13 (AD476/7), JN 88.45–6; Slav: Ist 5.18–6.5.
"How", he asked, "will he stay faithful (382.1; corr Dind) CP: 'since, he said, he had not stayed faithful' Ba, corrected to the reading of CP by a second hand.
Armatus (382.5) Slav, Th, cf JN: CP adds 'the ex-consul, the *magister militum*'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 11.
near the Dekimon (382.6): CP adds 'in the Kochlias in the palace', cf Slav and Th, who use this phrase instead of 'near the Dekimon'; see Rochow, 1983, 462.

bishop in Kyzikos, the metropolis of Hellespont.

8. During his reign the Samaritans rebelled in Palestine and crowned a bandit chief, a Samaritan named Justasas. He entered Caesarea, presided over the chariot-races and killed many Christians. Poyphyrios was then governor of First Palestine. Justasas also burned the church of St Prokopios while Timothy was bishop of Caesarea. Asklepiades, the *dux* of Palestine, came with his force and also Rheges, the *lestodioktes* who was a dignitary of Caesarea, together with the Arcadiaci. They set out against Justasas, joined battle and captured him. He was beheaded and his head, along with his crown, was sent to the emperor Zeno. The emperor Zeno immediately turned their synagogue, **(383)** which was on Mount Garizim, into a chapel dedicated to Mary, the Holy Mother of God. He also reconstructed the church of St Prokopios, issued an edict that no Samaritan could enter public service and confiscated the property of the wealthy among them. Order was restored.

9. During his reign the ex-consul Theoderic, the son of Valamer, who had been brought up and educated in Constantinople, was *magister militum praesentalis*. But after seeing what had happened to Armatus, he became afraid of the emperor Zeno. So he took his army and left Constantinople, making for Selymbria because of the *numeri* stationed there. He then rebelled and seized all Thrace. He marched against the emperor Zeno as far as Sykai, which is opposite Constantinople, across the strait, and cut the city's aqueduct. After remaining for a number of days without being able to harm the emperor, he left there and set off for Rome which was then controlled by Odovacer, king of the barbarians. He made war on Odovacer with the treacherous support of the Roman senate and captured both Rome and king Odovacer without any loss. He took control of Rome after killing

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bishop in Kyzikos (382.8): 'was ordained a lector. For Ariadne saved him since he was her nephew. Later he served very well as bishop of Kyzikos' Th, possibly derived from the original Malalas; see Croke, 1983, 85.
Hellespont (382.9): CP, Slav add, cf JN, 'Since he had worn the imperial purple as Caesar. Zeno confiscated all Armatus' property'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
8. Bo 382.10-383.4; CP 603.19-604.13 (AD484), De insid 34 (162.22-36); Slav: Ist 6.5-18.
his reign (382.10): 'Zeno's reign' De insid, Slav.
the Samaritans rebelled in Palestine (382.10): 'those of the Samaritan race in Palestine found a pretext to revolt' CP, De insid, Slav.
came (382.15): 'came immediately' CP, De insid.
Garizim (383.1): written as 'Gargizi' Ba, 'Gargarizi' De insid, 'Gargarides' CP, 'Gargad' Slav.
Order was restored (383.4): There was fear and peace' CP, De insid, Slav.
9. Bo 383.5-384.4; Ev III 27 (124.9-18), De insid 34 (163.1-21), cf Th 130.32-131.5, 9-14 (AD584/5), JN 88.47-51; Slav: Ist 6.18-7.5.
Valamer (383.6) Th: written as 'Valemer' Ba; see PLRE II, 1135-6.
because of the *numeri* stationed there (383.9-10) De insid: cf 'and he seized those stationed there' Slav, cf JN.
He then rebelled (383.10):'On leaving he immediately rebelled' De insid.
Odovacer (383.15, 17): written as 'Odoacer' Ba.

Odovacer, in whose place he ruled Rome as king for 47 years. After this he was reconciled with the emperor Zeno and did everything in accordance with his wishes, recognizing the consuls of Constantinople and (384) praetorian prefects; he also received the codicils of his chief magistrates from the emperor Zeno, notifying Zeno whom he wanted to be appointed. He even received the rods of the consuls in the presence of the emperor himself.

10. As soon as Theoderic became king, a Roman widow of senatorial rank, named Juvenalia, approached him with the following information, "For 30 years I have been involved in a law-case with the patrician Firmus. Please free me from it". So he brought in the lawyers of both parties and said to them, "If you do not give them the judgement and discharge them by tomorrow or the day after it, I shall behead you". So they sat down for two days, pronounced a legal decision, gave them a judgement and discharged them. Juvenalia lit some candles and approached Theoderic to thank him for freeing her from her case. He was angry with the lawyers, summoned them and said, "Why did you not do in 30 years what you have done in two days so as to discharge them?" So he sent and had the lawyers of both parties beheaded, and there was much fear. He published a decree about each law.

He left Rome and lived in Ravenna, a coastal city, until his death. After his death (385) his grandson Athalaric became king of Rome. He was Arian in belief, that is to say, an Exakionite.

11. During the reign of Zeno Constantinople suffered its second calamity from the wrath of God, an earthquake over a small area as far as the Forum Tauri. Nikomedeia, the metropolis of Bithynia, also suffered then, its sixth calamity, and likewise Helenoupolis in the same province. Zeno provided them with much assistance.

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he wanted (384.3): 'he really wanted' De insid.
in the presence of the emperor (384.4): cf 'from the emperor' Slav; cf Jones, 1962, 127.
10. Bo 384.5–385.2; CP 604.15-605.13 (AD485), JN 88.52-56; Slav: Ist 7.5-21.
As soon as (384.5; corr Dind): 'Only' Ba.
30 years (384.7): 'three years' CP, Slav, JN; see PLRE II 472.
Firmus (384.8) JN: cf 'Formus' CP, Slav.
Athalaric (385.1; corr) CP, Slav, JN: 'Alaric' Ba.
11. Bo 385.3–8; Ev III 28 (124.19-125.5), CP 605.16-18 (AD487), Th 125.29-126.5 (AD477/8), cf Eccl Hist 112.11-18, Ke 618.16-22; Slav: Ist 7.21-25.
earthquake (385.3): CP adds 'on 26th Gorpiaios-September', cf Slav, Th; Th has 'on 25th September of the 1st indiction'.
Forum Tauri (385.5): Th adds 'Many churches, houses and porticoes collapsed to the ground and countless numbers of people were buried. The globe of the statue in the Forum also fell and so did the statue of Theodosios the Great, the one on the column of the Forum Tauri, and also the inner walls for a considerable distance. The earthquake lasted a long time, so that the city began to sink', cf Eccl Hist.
them with much assistance (385.7): 'much assistance for their reconstruction' Slav. Slav adds 'During the reign of Zeno, Mammianos, a patrician of Antioch in Syria, Phoenician by descent, built much in Syrian Daphne'. This sentence in Slav is the remnant of a longer

12. In his reign the patrician Illus rebelled. He was an Isaurian and friend of the emperor Zeno and had escorted him back with a large force on his second return from Isauria, after he had fled there from Constantinople while emperor. Illus had returned to Constantinople with the emperor Zeno. Since they enjoyed each other's confidence, Illus had schemed with Zeno to expel Zeno's mother-in-law from Constantinople so that she would not plot against him again, as on the first occasion. Zeno sent Illus to Isauria to fetch Zeno's brother Longinus. So Illus went out and stayed in Isauria, from where he wrote to Zeno to obtain assurance, as he said, through the lady Verina, mother-in-law **(386)** of the emperor Zeno, as he was afraid of the emperor Zeno. Her son-in-law Zeno persuaded the lady Verina, just as Illus and Zeno had agreed, to go out and give Illus a guarantee of immunity because of his fear of Zeno, and to bring him back with his brother Longinus. So Verina went out to Isauria, where she was received by Illus who imprisoned her in a well-garrisoned fortress in Isauria and ordered her to be guarded by his soldiers. Then taking the emperor's brother Longinus, he returned to Constantinople. There Illus became senator, consul, *magister* and patrician so that he was administering the whole state. Likewise the emperor's brother Longinus became
AD486 *magister militum praesentalis* and consul. For the four factions of

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passage reflected in the following page of Ev, who ascribes it to John the Rhetor - who is assumed to be Malalas (see Patzig, 1890/1, 17, for whom, in ignorance of Slav, this passage is a problem; Gleye, 1896, 430 and Downey, 1937b, 203, note 2), 'John the Rhetor relates that, during the reign of Zeno, Mammianos, who was formerly an artisan, reached a prominent position, becoming a member of the senate. He built what is known as the antiforum in the suburb of Daphne, on ground previously planted with vines and suitable for cultivation, situated opposite the public bath, where the bronze statue was set up to Mammianos as benefactor of the city. In Antioch, he constructed two imperial colonnades, very beautiful in their architecture, and in the brilliant and translucent marble of their decoration, and as a kind of boundary between the two imperial colonnades he erected a *tetrapylon*, with very refined adornments of columns and bronze statues'. Ev continues with a passage on an attempt to identify Mammianos' work after subsequent disasters in Antioch, but changed syntax implies that this is not derived from Malalas.

12. Bo 385.9-386.24; Ev III 27 (123.27-30), Th 127.13-17 (AD479/80), De insid 35 (163.22-164.10), JN 88.65-67; Slav: Ist 7.25-8.19.

In his reign (385.9): 'In the reign of Zeno' De insid, Slav.

friend (385.10) Slav: 'uncle' De insid (probably wrongly; see PLRE II 589).

through the lady Verina (385.21) De insid: cf 'that the lady Verina should come to him' Slav.

guarantee of immunity (386.4) Slav: De insid adds 'by his sacred command'; see Mommsen, 1872, 370 for a detailed collation of the De insid variants for this passage.

So Verina went out (386.6): 'So Verina, Zeno's mother-in-law, went out' De insid; see Mommsen, 1872, 370.

magister militum praesentalis (386.13): 'senior *magister militum praesentalis* immediately' De insid, Slav.

Constantinople he provided four young *emmalos* dancers because the dancers in Constantinople, though they were famous, were old. He made them retire after bestowing many gifts on them. To the Greens he gave the *emmalos* Autokyon, known as Karamallos, from Alexandria the Great, and he gave Rhodos, known as Chrysomallos, also an Alexandrian, to the Blue faction and Helladios, from the city of Emesa, to the Red faction and he also gave the dancer known as Margarites Katzamys, from Kyzikos, granting him to the Whites. Longinus then stepped down from his second consulship.

13. **(387)** The empress Ariadne, the wife of Zeno, after receiving a letter from her mother secretly, begged the emperor Zeno that the lady Verina be released from the fortress where she was imprisoned. The emperor Zeno told her to ask the patrician Illus about her. After summoning Illus, the empress Ariadne tearfully asked him for her mother Verina to be released. Illus was not persuaded but said to her, "Why do you ask for her? Is it so that she can again make another emperor in place of your husband?" So Ariadne said to the emperor Zeno again, "Is it to be Illus in the palace, or I?" The emperor said to her, "Do whatever you can; as for me, I want you." So then Ariadne plotted to kill Illus. During the races, as Illus was going up through the Poulpita to the Dekimon, he was struck on the head with a sword by a *scholarius* named Sporakios, who had been induced to join the plot and was intending to cut him in two. But Illus' *spatharius* was nearby and he noticed the sword coming down and took the blow on his right hand. The tip of the sword struck Illus on the head and sliced off his right ear. The *scholarius* was killed on the spot. But Illus was rescued by his own men, picked up and carried home. When Zeno heard about this, he swore falsely that he knew nothing about the plot against Illus. Illus was not convinced, but restrained his anger and sought treatment. **(388)** When he was rather better, he went across the water, wanting to take some action. He was restored completely to health, but always had

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13. Bo 387.1–389.3; Ev III 27 (124.5-7), Th 127.17-128.12 (AD479/80), 128.30-129.21, 29-130.8 (AD480-4), De insid 35 (164.11-166.12), JN 88.68-85; Slav: Ist 8.19-10.28.

her mother (387.2): Slav, De insid add 'Verina'.

to kill Illus (387.12): Slav adds 'for preventing her mother's return'; De insid continues 'and ordered the eunuch Urbicius, the *cubicularius*, to induce someone to murder the patrician and *magister* Illus', cf Slav, Th, JN.

During the races (387.13): De insid adds 'Illus was summoned by Zeno to go down from the *kathisma* to the Delphinx of the palace to receive barbarian ambassadors', cf Slav. The evidence of Slav is a decisive argument against Patzig, 1890/1, 13 who regards this passage as an interpolation; cf Mommsen, 1872, 370.

through the Poulpita (387.13): 'up the Kochlias' De insid, Slav, Th.

on the head (387.15): De insid adds 'by the ear'.

Sporakios (387.15) Slav: written as 'Sphorakios' De insid, 'Spanikios' Th, 'Scholarios' JN; see PLRE II 1026.

by his own men (387.20): 'by other *spatharii* and his own men' De insid, cf Slav.

nothing about the plot (387.22): 'nothing about the murderous plot' De insid.

a scar from the wound. He went to the emperor Zeno and asked for leave to go to the East for a short while for a change of air, as he said, because he was ill from the wound. The emperor Zeno was persuaded by this and released him from his position as *magister* and made him *magister militum per Orientem*, granting him full authority. Illus asked to take with him, to conciliate the Augusta, the patrician Leontius, the son of Paulina, so that he could hand over to him the lady Verina, the mother of the empress Ariadne, to convey her to Constantinople. Illus asked the emperor for permission to take other senators too to enhance his own reputation; permission was given him. So the patrician Illus departed, taking with him the patrician Leontius and the other senators. He arrived in Antioch the Great and stayed there for a short time and gave generously to the people before departing for Isauria. He took the lady Verina from the fortress, and made her crown the patrician Leontius as emperor in St Peter's outside the city of Tarsos in Cilicia. Leontius was persuaded to accept the crown since he was a free-born man. Verina issued sacred commands for each city and imperial rescripts for the governors and soldiers, so that they should receive Leontius **(389)** and there should be no resistance. She wrote a rescript that contained much

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scar from a wound (388.2): Th, De insid, Slav add 'and he used to wear a cap'.
ill from the wound (388.5): Slav appears to add at this point 'as Plato, the city prefect, had fled to escape the attacks of the populace'; see PLRE II 892. But in Slav (EL) Bo 388.5-407.7 is transposed with 407.7-428.4; Istrin restores the correct order, but by an oversight he leaves the start of the later passage, 407.7-9, in the wrong place so that it appears as a spurious 'addition' here. Spinka/Downey, 1940, 106 and Tvorogov, 1975, 140 compound the error.
full authority (388.7): De insid adds 'to do whatever he saw fit', cf Th 'even to appoint *duces*' (probably supported by a muddled passage in Slav).
taking with him the patrician Leontius (388.14): De insid adds 'to take and escort Verina'.
He arrived in Antioch the Great (388.15): De insid, cf Slav, Th, JN and Ev, add 'having with him a large army and Leontius (Th adds 'the patrician, who was a Syrian by birth, and an excellent man in education and military experience, and the *magister militum per Thracias*', cf 'the patrician, who was Thracian by birth' Slav; see Stein, 1949, 28, note 2 and Downey, 1961, 494, note 95), the patrician Pamprepius (Th adds 'the senator who was accused of magic'), the ex-consul Marsos, the ex-consul Justinian, the ex-prefect Ailianos, the ex-*illustris* Matronianus, the ex-prefect Kouttoules and many *comites*'. Again there is decisive evidence against Patzig, 1890/1, 15 who regarded this passage too as an insertion; cf Downey, 1961, 490, note 73.
for a short time (388.16): 'two years and erected many ('certain' Slav) buildings' De insid, Slav.
free-born man (388.20): Slav, De insid add 'Leontius was handsome, with curly abundant hair'; Slav continues 'young, pure, with a fair complexion, a good nose and good eyes, and courteous', cf 'well-grown and pure' De insid.
Verina issued...no resistance (388.21-389.1): 'Verina issued a ('her'

abuse of Zeno. Leontius ruled in Antioch for a few days.

14. At this news the emperor Zeno sent out a large force with the *magister militum*, John the Scythian. When Leontius heard this and also Illus and his supporters, they went up with Verina to the fortress of Papyrion. Verina died there of natural causes. Pamprepius was killed on the battlements as a traitor in their midst, and his corpse was

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De insid) rescript to the Antiochene Syrians for them to receive Leontius as emperor (De insid, Slav add 'and not resist him'). She also issued rescripts to all the governors of the East and the Egyptian diocese (Th adds 'and that of Libya to accept Leontius as emperor and not to oppose him', cf JN)' De insid, Slav, Th, cf JN. Slav adds 'These letters were first read in the praetorium of the *magister militum* in Antioch, and ran as follows', cf 'it ran as follows' De insid.

She wrote...Zeno (389.1-2): '"Aelia Verina, perpetual Augusta, to our citizens of Antioch (cf 'Verina Augusta, to our governors and Christ-loving peoples, greeting' Th, who, unlike De insid and Slav, does not want to confine the letter to the Antiochenes). Know that the imperial rule is ours, and that after the death of Leo of pious memory, we chose as emperor Traskilisseos (Th, JN, cf 'Traskoliseos' Slav, 'Stratokodisseos' De insid), later renamed Zeno, so that the subjects and all military contingents should benefit. But now, seeing that the state together with its subjects are being ruined through his avarice, we have considered it necessary to crown you a Christian emperor, distinguished for his piety and justice, so that he may preserve the Roman state, bring a peaceful end to the war and protect all subjects in accordance with the laws. We have crowned the most pious Leontius (Slav, Th, cf JN, add 'emperor of the Romans'), who will bestow his care on all of you". And immediately the whole populace of Antioch rose up as one and cried out, "God is great" and "Lord, have mercy; may he grant you what is good and beneficial"' De insid, Slav, Th, cf JN; see Downey, 1961, 495, note 98.

Leontius ruled in Antioch for a few days (389.2-3): 'Leontius the usurper left the city of Tarsos and came alone without Illus to Antioch (Slav adds 'the Great, in the consulship of Theoderic', cf Th 'on 27th June in the seventh indiction') and ruled as usurper in Antioch the Great (Slav adds 'and remained there for twelve days. Entering the palace of that city', cf JN). He appointed Ailianos (cf 'Lilianos' Th, JN) as praetorian prefect, Pamprepius as *magister* and Justinian as *comes largitionum*. From there he went and fought against the city of Chalkis in Syria, because they did not receive his portraits for a month and a half' De insid, Slav, cf Th, JN.

14. Bo 389.4-14: De insid 35 (166.13-28), cf Th 132.16-18 (AD487/8), 129.23-26 (AD482/3), 129.29-130.8 (AD483/4), JN 88.86-91; Slav: Ist 10.28-11.8.

When Leontius heard this...Papyrion (389.5-7): 'Illus, who remained in Cilicia, heard of this and wrote to Leontius in Antioch; leaving Antioch, both of them and Pamrepius and Verina and the rest went up to the fortress of Papyrion in Isauria' De insid, Slav, cf JN.

on the battlements (389.8): literally 'up high' Ba, De insid, Slav; JN and the following phrase suggest the interpretation given.

as a traitor (389.8) 'as he was suspected of being a traitor' De insid, Slav.

thrown out on the mountains. Illus and Leontius were besieged and captured. They were publicly interrogated before the governor of Seleukeia in Isauria and were beheaded at his orders. Their heads were brought to Zeno in Constantinople, stuck on poles, and a great mob went out to gaze at them, for they had been taken across to St Konon's at Sykai.

15. During his reign Perozes began to reign over the Persians.

The Greens were responsible for many riots and murders at that time in Antioch. They murdered Jews, it is said, sparing no one. The *comes Orientis* at the time, Theodoros, was deposed, having aroused the emperor's anger, after which the faction riots died down. The impious actions of the Greens against the Jews were reported to the emperor Zeno. He became angry with the Greens (390) in Antioch, asking, "Why

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were besieged (389.9-10): De insid, Slav add 'for a long time'.
were beheaded (389.11): De insid adds 'by an executioner'.
stuck on poles...at Sykai (389.12-14): 'While he was watching the races, their heads were brought in on poles ('poles' Slav, De insid, Ba: 'pole' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 229), and from there they crossed over to St Konon's. They remained on the poles for many days, and the whole populace of Constantinople went out to view the heads' De insid, cf Slav, Th.
15. Bo 389.15-390.3; De insid 35 (166.28-167.20): Slav: Ist 11.9-12.9.
The Greens...sparing no one (389.16-18): 'Those of the Green faction in the city (De insid adds 'of Antioch') began a fight with stones against the Blues during a spectacle at the hippodrome, while Thalassios the governor and consular was watching. And they struck him on the head (De insid adds 'with a stone') and chased him from the hippodrome. Looking around for the man who had struck him, he ('Thalassios' De insid) recognized him and sent to have him arrested (De insid adds 'by his *commentarienses'*) and brought him to his praetorium. He was a bath-attendant of the bath called Urbicius and Eupatios (Gleye, 1894, 626 conjectures 'of the bath called Urbicius, named Olympios', a violent emendation which does, however, create good sense, and is accepted by Downey, 1961, 635, note 17). And he immediately began to beat ('interrogate' De insid) him. And when the people of the Green Faction heard about this, they rushed to the consuls' praetorium to attack the governor, and set fire to and burned the so-called Xystos, and the whole portico burned as far as the consuls' praetorium, and they released Olympios, and the governor Thalassios fled out of the city and took up residence at a place called Hippokephalos, and resigned from his office, and Quadratus took his place. But the rioting in the city did not cease. Six months later the Antiochenes of the Green faction gathered again and, during a disturbance at the hippodrome, they killed many and burned the synagogue called Asabiniani (see Downey, 1961, 499, note 120), because the Jews were on the side of the Blues. And they plundered all that was in the synagogue, and those who lived there' Slav, cf De insid.
The impious actions...of emperor Zeno (389.19-21): 'A monk had shut himself in a tower on the wall and had blocked up the entrance, speaking through a window to those who came to pay their respects. Welcoming an excuse, the Greens from the city, who had the upper hand, rioted because of the monk and burned the Jewish synagogue which was near the city

did they burn only the corpses of the Jews? They ought to have burned live Jews too". This silenced the affair.

16. The emperor Zeno asked the very learned *comes* Maurianos who would reign after him, for Maurianos used to foretell many things for him since he had mystic knowledge. He predicted that an ex-*silentiarius* would succeed both to his state and his wife. When he heard this the emperor Zeno arrested the patrician Pelagius, who was an ex-*silentiarius* and had attained the rank of patrician, a learned man. Zeno confiscated his property and ordered that he be kept under guard. During the night his guards strangled him and threw his corpse into the sea at the emperor's command. When Arcadius, the praetorian prefect, heard this, he rebuked the emperor Zeno about Pelagius. This reached Zeno's ears and he ordered that Arcadius be killed as he entered the palace. But Arcadius learned of this and when he was summoned by the emperor, as he was passing the church, pretended he wanted to pray. So he got out of the carriage and went into the Great Church of Constantinople. He stayed inside, and escaped death. While he was there, (391) the emperor Zeno confiscated his property.

But a short time later the emperor Zeno was overcome by dysentery and died, at the age of 60 years and nine months, on 9th Xanthikos of the 14th indiction, in the year 539 according to the era of Antioch. AD491

Thus from Adam to the death of the emperor Zeno there were 5983 years.

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wall. They dug up the remains of the Jews who were buried along the length of the synagogue, collected a lot of brushwood and set it alight and threw the bones on the fire. The churches and houses of the streets known as the Distadia were burned down. The emperor Zeno heard of this when the Jews came and made supplication to him' Slav, cf De insid which begins the passage 'During the reign of the emperor Zeno'.

They ought to have burned live Jews too (390.2-3): Slav adds, cf De insid, 'throwing them on the fire together with the dead ones'.

the affair (390.3): Slav adds 'in Antioch'.

16. Bo 390.4-391.6; CP 606.3-21 (AD490), 607.3-4(AD491), Th 134.25-135.6 (AD489/90), 136.16-20(AD490/91), Ke 620.20-621.2, LG 315.5-11(117.8-14), JN 88.92-97; Slav: Ist 12.10-26, Soph 123.

When he heard this the emperor Zeno arrested the patrician Pelagius who was an ex-*silentiarius* (390.8-9) CP, Slav, JN: these words are omitted by Ba.

his guards (390.11): CP, Slav, Th add 'the *excubitores*'; for this and subsequent small additions, see Patzig, 1890/1, 11.

strangled him (390.12) CP adds 'with a noose'.

about Pelagius (390.14): 'because of the murder of Pelagius' CP, Slav; Slav adds 'the patrician'.

Arcadius (390.16): 'Arcadius, the praetorian prefect' CP.

the church (390.17): 'the Great Church' CP, Slav.

escaped death (390.20): 'escaped a bitter death' CP, Slav, Th.

60 years and nine months (391.3): '65 years and nine months' Slav, cf '65 years and nine days' CP.

Xanthikos (391.3): 'Xanthikos-April' CP.

5983 years (391.6): cf Th '5983 years according to the accurate true calculations of the Alexandrians', '5458 years and seven months' Slav.

BOOK 16 The Time of the Emperor Anastasios

1. **(392)** After the reign of Zeno, the most sacred Anastasios,
AD491 known as Dikoros, began to reign during the consulship of Olybrius, the son of Areobindus. He came from Dyrrachium in Nova Epirus, and was an ex-*silentiarius*. He reigned for 27 years and three months and was crowned in the month of April on Holy Thursday of Holy Week. He married Ariadne, who had been the wife of the previous emperor Zeno. He was very tall, with short hair, a good figure, a round face, both hair and beard greying; he had a grey pupil in his right eye and a black one in his left though his eyesight was perfect; and he shaved his beard frequently.

2. In his reign he made the patrician Hierios praetorian prefect, who then appointed his relative Kalliopios as *comes Orientis*. While Kalliopios was in office **(393)** the Greens of Antioch attacked him in the praetorium, but he escaped to safety. When he learned of this, the prefect Hierios reported it to the emperor Anastasios who immediately appointed Constantius of Tarsos as *comes Orientis*, granting him full authority over life and death since the Green faction, which was rioting in Antioch, was attacking the governors. Constantius made the
AD494/5 people of Antioch obey the governors' orders. This was in the year 543 according to the era of Antioch.

This emperor supported the Red faction at Constantinople and took measures against the Greens and Blues everywhere when they caused disturbances.

3. When the emperor heard that the Isaurians were gathering in

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1. **Bo 392.1-10**; LM 437.8, CP 607.5-12 (AD491), Th 136.20-22 (AD491/2); Slav: Ist 13.1-6, Soph 124.
in Nova Epirus (392.2): 'in the province of Nova Epirus' CP, Slav.
27 years and three months (392.4): '27 years, nine months and nine days' LM, Slav.
and was crowned...Holy Week (392.5): 'he was crowned in the month of Xanthikos-April ('on 14th April' Th), on Thursday of Holy Week, in the 14th indication' CP, Slav, Th. CP adds 'in the year 537 (to be corrected to '539', see 391.3 above), according to the era of Antioch'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 10. (14 April 491 was in fact Easter Day).
2. **Bo 392.11-393.11**; De insid 36 (167.21-23).
life and death (393.4; corr Chil): 'every zone' Ba.
The emperor supported...caused disturbances (393.9-11): Before, during or after para 2 (ie before para 3, cf JA De insid 100; see Cameron, 1976, 226, note 7) we must place De insid 36, 'During the reign of Anastasios there occurred a disturbance in the hippodrome; there were many fatalities and serious fires, and the four dancers were exiled'.
3. **Bo 393.12-394.10**; De insid 37 (167.24-168.10), cf Th 137.23-140.7

their own area intending to rebel, he immediately began a campaign against them. He made war on them and sent out as generals the *magister militum praesentalis* John, nicknamed the hunchback, and the patrician Diogenianos, the relative of the Augusta, and others, with a force of Scythians, and a band of Goths and Bessoi. He massacred the Isaurians, ravaged their land, destroyed their cities and burned down their fortresses; he took prisoner the exarchs who had led their rebellion, the ex-*magister* Longinus the bald, Athenodoros the younger, Longinines the lame and the ex-bishop of Apameia Konon, the son of Fuscianus. Longinines was the first to perish at the outset of the war when **(394)** the armies met each other at Kotyaion, a city in Phrygia. He was killed there and after him Konon, the son of Fuscianus, was struck by a spear and fell. The Isaurians were put to flight and then captured, with their remaining exarchs taken alive. They were beheaded and their heads taken to the emperor Anastasios. After this victory he bestowed gifts on all tax-payers under his rule.

The most sacred emperor Anastasios imposed on all land-holders a tax to be paid in gold, based on acreage, to prevent taxes in kind being demanded and used for their own purposes by the soldiers.

4. During his reign the supporters of the Greens at Constantinople appealed to the emperor, while the chariot-races were being held, for the release of some people who had been arrested by the city prefect for throwing stones. The emperor did not yield to them but grew angry and ordered troops to attack them, and there was great disorder. The supporters advanced against the *excubitores*, and approached the *kathisma* and they threw stones at the emperor Anastasios. Among them was a man called Mauros who threw a stone at the emperor, who stood up and dodged it. The *excubitores*, having seen the man's

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(AD492/6); Slav: Ist 13.6-8.

intending to rebel (393.13): De insid adds 'which they did, and advanced as far as Kotyaion; taking up arms he'.

as generals (393.14): cf 'three *magistri militum*' De insid.

the patrician Diogenianos (393.16): cf 'Diogenianos and Patricius' De insid (probably incorrectly, an error which may also have motivated the 'three *magistri militum*' above; see PLRE II 840, but cf *ibid.* 362).

Longinines (393.22): cf 'Lingines' De insid, 'Ninilingis' Th; on this difficult name, see PLRE II 683, *s.v.* Lilingis.

under his rule (394.7): De insid adds 'battle was joined again with the Isaurians, and Longinus of Selinus (written as 'Silountios', cf PLRE II 688) and Indes and his brother were brought as prisoners from Isauria, and Longinus, the brother of the emperor Zeno, was exiled'.

used for their own purposes (394.10; reading (μὴ) διαπρέπεσθαι for διατρέφεσθαι with Dihle, 1976, 5): 'nourished' Ba; cf Festugière, 1978, 237 who proposes for the whole phrase 'and the soldiers being nourished by them'.

4. Bo 394.11-395.5; CP 608.1-18 (AD498), Th 147.17-20 (AD504/5), De insid 38 (168.11-25), 39 (168.26-34), JN 89.19-21.

they threw stones...Mauros who threw a stone (394.17-18; corr Dind) CP: cf 'they threw a stone' Ba, cf 'someone threw a stone' De insid; see Patzig, 1890/1,12.

dodged it (394.19): CP, De insid add 'since he would have been killed'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 13.

boldness, went for him and dismembered him limb by limb, and so he breathed his last. The crowd, which was hemmed in, set fire to the Chalke, as it is known, of the hippodrome, and the colonnade was burned as far as the imperial *kathisma* (395); and also the public colonnade, as far as the Hexahippion and the Forum of Constantine, was completely burned and destroyed, collapsing throughout its length. After many had been arrested and punished, there was quiet, when Plato, who was patron of the Green faction, was appointed as the city prefect.

5. During his reign a man named John Isthmeos, who came from the city of Amida, appeared in Antioch the Great. He was an alchemist and a tremendous imposter. He secretly went to the money dealers and showed them some hands and feet of statues made of gold, and also other figurines, saying that he had found a hoard of such figurines of pure gold. And so he tricked many of them and conned them out of a lot of money. The Antiochenes nicknamed him Bagoulas, which means a slick imposter. He slipped through everyone's fingers and fled to Constantinople, and there too he conned many money dealers and so came to the emperor's attention. When he was arrested and brought before the emperor, he offered him a horse's bridle of solid gold with the nose-piece inlaid with pearls. The emperor Anastasios took it, saying to him, "Me you will not con", and banished him to Petra, where he died.

AD507 6. In the same year of his reign, during the third consulship of the emperor Anastasios, a charioteer named Kalliopas, an ex-*factionarius* from Constantinople, came out to Antioch the Great. **(396)** He was given to the Green faction at Antioch while Basileios of Edessa was *comes*. He took over the stable of the Green faction, which was vacant, and was completely victorious. A short time later the usual celebration of the Olympic festival was held in the customary way at Antiochene Daphne. The Antiochene populace went up to Daphne, and those who had been on the rampage set off with the charioteer Kalliopas and

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the man's boldness (394.20) cf De insid: 'Mauros' boldness' CP.
dismembered him (394.21) CP: cf 'dismembered Mauros' De insid.
the colonnade was burned (394.23): 'that side of the arena was burned' CP, De insid; see Guilland, 1969, 481.
Here, or after para 5 (ie between paras 4 and 6), De insid adds, 'When Constantius ('Constantinus' in De insid here, but 'Constantius' later and in JA and Marcellinus; see PLRE II 313), surnamed Tzouroukkas, was city prefect, a disturbance took place. While Constantius the prefect was watching the afternoon session (of the races, see Cameron, 1976a, 288) during the festival known as the Brytai in the theatre, the factions set on each other in the theatre. Many were drowned in the water, wounded or killed in fighting with swords, resulting in the death in the theatre of the emperor's son by a concubine (cf Th). The emperor grew angry and punished many from both factions, and also exiled the factions' four dancers', cf Th.
5. **Bo 395.6-19**; De virt 14 (163.6-19), Th 150.12-22 (AD506/7), GM 622.9-18, LG 317.33-318.6 (121.19-122.5); Slav: Ist 13.8-12.
alchemist and tremendous imposter (395.8): 'tremendous alchemist and imposter' De virt, cf Th.
6. **Bo 395.20-398.4**; cf De insid 40 (168.35-6), JN 89.23-29.
In the same year (395.20): para 6 is probably summarized in De insid, 'In his reign there were many riots in Antioch and many murders'.

attacked the Jewish synagogue which was in Daphne; they set fire to it, plundered everything that was in the synagogue and massacred many people. This was on 9th July of the 15th indiction.~ They set up the AD507
holy cross there, and turned the place into a martyrium of St Leontios.

When these events were reported to the emperor Anastasios, he appointed Prokopios of Antioch, the ex-*commerciarius*, as *comes Orientis*. The latter took out with him, in accordance with a sacred decree, a man named Menas of Byzantion as *praefectus vigilum*. When a riot broke out, caused by members of the Green faction, Menas wanted to arrest some of the rioters. They heard about this and sought refuge at St John's outside the city. When the *praefectus vigilum* heard about this, he went in the middle of the day to St John's with a force of Goths. He entered the church unexpectedly and found there one of the troublemakers, named Eleutherios, under the holy altar in the sanctuary. He stabbed him with his sword there, dragged **(397)** his body from the sanctuary and cut off his head, with the result that the holy sanctuary was drenched in blood. Then, taking the head, he set off for the city of Antioch and when he reached the bridge over the river Orontes, he threw the head into the river. He then went to Prokopios, the *comes Orientis*, and told him of these events. This was reported to the Greens during the afternoon and they went out to St John's, where they found Eleutherios' headless corpse. They took the body, put it on a litter and carried it back to the city. But at the bath known as the Bath of Olbia, opposite what is known as the basilica of Rufinus, they were met and joined battle with the combined forces of the *praefectus vigilum* and the members of the Blue faction in the street of the Thassalioi. The Green faction got the better of the encounter, seized the basilica of Rufinus and that known as the basilica of Zenodotos, and set fire to them. The entire basilica of Rufinus was burned, including the two *tetrapyla* on each side of it, and the praetorium of the *comes Orientis*. All these were destroyed by the fire and collapsed. The *comes Orientis* fled to the Alexandria of Cambyses. The members of the Green faction seized Menas, the *praefectus vigilum*, slit him open and disembowelled him. Then after dragging his corpse around, they hung it on the bronze statue known as the Kolonisios, in the middle of the antiforum. **(398)** They then removed his corpse and dragged it outside the city of Antioch and burned it on a pyre of brushwood. On being informed of this, the emperor Anastasios appointed Eirenaios Pentadiastes, an Antiochene, as *comes Orientis*. This man brought vengeance and fear upon the city.

7. The emperor remitted by sacred decree the whole of the recurrent tax known as the *chrysargyron* and in its place he provided revenue for the Sacred Largesse from his own funds. This was a great and tremendous example of his munificence.

8. The emperor built the basilica in Antioch known as that of Rufinus, and also various buildings in every city of the Roman state.

9. During his reign Amida, the extremely strong metropolis of Mesopotamia, and also Theodosioupolis were captured in a campaign by

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The members (397.19; corr. Chil): om. Ba.
7. Bo 398.5-8; cf Ev III 39 (136.32-33): Slav: Ist 13.12-13.
8. Bo 398.9-10; JN 89.30-31.
9. Bo 398.11-399.12; cf Ev III 37 (135.27-136.7), PsD 814 (AD502/3), 817 (AD505/6) (=Jo Styl); Slav: Ist 13.13-14.1.

Koades, emperor of the Persians, who had attacked with a large army. The Persian emperor took prisoner the powerful Roman general Constantine, who was defending Theodosioupolis, and many others, who died in Persian territory. The emperor Anastasios began a campaign against the Persians, sending the *magister militum per Orientem* Areobindus, the son of Dagalaifus and husband of Juliana, the senior *magister militum praesentalis* Patricius, the *magister militum praesentalis* Hypatios, who was the son of the patrician Secundinus, the patrician Appion whom he made praetorian prefect of the East, and with them a huge military **(399)** force consisting of infantry and cavalry. Battle was joined between the two armies and many were the dead and fallen from both sides. The most learned chronicler Eustathios wrote about this battle; however, he died shortly afterwards, before he was able to complete the writing of his narrative. The emperor Anastasios recalled the general Hypatios, the son of Secundinus, to Constantinople and sent in his place the most illustrious Celer the Illyrian, a learned man. The cities held by the Persians were regained by Celer, the *magister*. Then there was peace and an end to hostilities and the armies withdrew, together with all the Roman and Persian forces.

10. The most sacred Anastasios immediately fortified Dara, a place in Mesopotamia, as a very large and powerful stronghold, lying between the Roman and Persian frontiers. In it he built two public baths, churches, colonnades, warehouses for storing grain and cisterns for water. The reason why this place received the name Dara from Alexander of Macedon was that he had captured the emperor of the Persians there, and it derives its name from this. But now, it has been given the status of a city and renamed Anastasioupolis. They set up statues of Anastasios there.

11. **(400)** In his reign Euphemios, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed. Anastasios banished him to Euchaita in Pontus as a Nestorian. In his place Makedonios became patriarch of Constantinople, but he too was deposed as a Nestorian. Likewise Flavian, the patriarch of Antioch, was banished as a Nestorian to a city called Petra, which is in Third Palestine. Severus, who was a monk, replaced him as patriarch
AD512 of Antioch the Great on 6th November in the year 561 according to the era of the Antiochenes.

12. The emperor relieved John the Paphlagonian of his post as

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who had attacked (398.13): cf Slav which adds 'the Greeks', probably translating 'Ρωμαῖοι.
Persian emperor (398.15): 'Koades', Slav.
Juliana (398.20): 'the lady Juliana' Slav.
10. Bo 399.13-399.21; CP 608.19-609.7 (AD498), Th 150.24-29 (AD507/8), Ke 630.14-18, JN 89.32 PsD 817 (AD505/6) (= Jo Styl); Slav: Ist 14.1-5.
The most sacred (399.13): 'the emperor' CP, Slav.
he had captured the emperor of the Persians there (399.19): 'Alexander struck Dareios the emperor of the Persians there with a spear' CP, Slav ('with a spear', δόρατι reflects Ba's writing of Dara, as Δορά cf CP, thus making the etymological point).
its name (399.20): CP adds 'to the present day'.
11. Bo 400.1-10; cf JN 89.46, PsD 809 (AD497); Slav: Ist 14.6-11.
Severus (400.8): 'the presbyter Severus' Slav.
12. Bo 400.11-21; cf Ev III 42 (144.24-28); Slav: Ist 14.12-13.

tractator of public documents in the praetorium of the prefects and gave him the rank of ex-consul, and in his place he appointed Marinus the Syrian as both *tractator* and *logothetes*. This man dismissed all members of the city councils, and in their place created the *vindices*, as they are known, in each city of the Roman state. The emperor appointed the ex-consul John the Paphlagonian, known as Caiaphas, as *comes largitionum* in Constantinople. This man changed all the current small coinage into *folles* which were to be current from then on throughout the Roman state.

13. John melted down the bronze statues of the Plateia of Constantinople, which the most sacred emperor Constantine **(401)** had collected from every city as being the finest, and brought for the decoration and adornment of Constantinople. After melting these down, John made from them an exceedingly large statue of the emperor Anastasios, and placed this statue on the great column which stood unused in the place known as the Forum Tauri. This column had previously held a statue of Theodosios the Great, but the statue alone had fallen during the earthquakes.

14. In that year the emperor promulgated a decree outlawing the practice of making a record by tattooing; the actual name of tattooist was banned and likewise the practice. The law was as follows: "That it is our desire to free those under the yoke of slavery. How therefore can we tolerate that those who are free be brought into a servile condition?" The emperor published another sacred decree that no one, without an imperial rescript, was to adopt children either male or female, but only by a rescript, so that even an adopted child should have the right of a legitimate son or daughter to inherit the property of the adoptive parent even if intestate.

15. In that year of his reign the people of Alexandria the Great, because of a shortage of oil, rioted and murdered their *augustalios*, named Theodosios, who was originally from Antioch, the son of the patrician Kalliopios. This was in the year 564 according to the era of the Antiochenes, of the 9th indiction. **(402)** The emperor became angry and punished many Alexandrians for rebelling against their governor. AD515/6

16. During his reign the Thracian Vitalian rebelled, allegedly giving the banishment of the bishops as a pretext. He gained control of

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current (400.19): reading προχωροῦν with Dind; cf Bury, 1897, 229.
13. Bo 400.22–401.8; Th 149.10–14 (AD505/6); Slav: Ist 14.14–19.
14. Bo 401.9–19; Slav: Ist 14.19–23.
15. Bo 401.20–402.2; De insid 41 (169.1–7), Th 163.9–16 (AD516/7), JN 89.35.
shortage of oil (401.23); 'shortage of bread and oil' De insid.
the son of the patrician Kalliopios (401.23): cf, incorrectly, 'the son of Patrikios, the son of Kalliopios' De insid, cf Th; see PLRE II 1102.
governor (402.2): 'governors. The factions again began a fight and the soldiers went out against them. The factions became reconciled, and killed many people and burned much property' De insid; see Mommsen, 1872, 374.
16. Bo 402.3–406.8; Ev III 43 (145.1–29), De insid 41 (169.8–170.3), Th 160.13–18 (AD513/4), GM 619.16–620.2, JN 89.71–88, cf LG 316.3–9 (118.18–119.3); Slav: Ist 14.23–15.5.

Thrace, Scythia and Moesia as far as Odessos and Anchialos, having with him a large army of Huns and Bulgars. The emperor sent out Hypatios, the *magister militum per Thracias*, who engaged Vitalian in battle but was betrayed and was captured by him. He was given back to the Romans after payment of a large ransom. Hypatios was dismissed and, after his return to Constantinople, the Illyrian Cyril was appointed to succeed him as *magister militum per Thracias*. Cyril immediately went out and engaged Vitalian and in the battle many from both sides fell. Cyril however proved superior and entered the city of Odessos where he stayed, while Vitalian retreated from those regions. Vitalian bribed those who were guarding the gates of the city of Odessos, with a gift of money. Through some relatives of the gate-keepers he sent the money and various promises. As a result of this treachery Vitalian entered the city of Odessos at night, captured Cyril, the *magister militum per Thracias*, and killed him. He then went and plundered again **(403)** the whole of Thrace and Europa until he reached Sykai and Anaplous opposite Constantinople, as he wanted to take Constantinople itself. He took up his position at Anaplous at a place known as Sosthenion in the chapel of the archangel Michael.

The emperor Anastasios had formerly summoned, through Marinus, the philosopher Proklos of Athens, a famous man. The emperor Anastasios asked him, "Philosopher, what am I to do with this dog who is so disturbing me and the state?" Proklos replied to him, "Do not despair, emperor. For he will go away and leave as soon as you send some men against him". The emperor Anastasios immediately spoke to the ex-prefect Marinus the Syrian, who was standing close by while the emperor was conversing with the philosopher Proklos, and told him to prepare for battle against Vitalian who was then opposite Constantinople. The philosopher Proklos said to Marinus the Syrian in the presence of the emperor, "Take what I give you and go out against Vitalian". And the philosopher ordered that a large amount of what is known as elemental sulphur be brought in and that it be ground into fine powder. He gave it to Marinus with the words, "Wherever you throw some of this, be it at a building or a ship, after sunrise, the building or ship will immediately ignite and be destroyed by fire". Marinus asked the emperor to send one of his *magistri militum* with the weapon.

The emperor immediately summoned **(404)** the Phrygian Patricius, the *magister militum*, and John, the son of Valeriana, and told them to prepare an attack against Vitalian across the water, and to take fast ships and soldiers. They fell at the emperor's feet, saying, "We two have been his friends and his father's friends. We are afraid that chance may bring an unfavourable result and we might be suspected of treachery". The emperor was angry with them and dismissed them from the palace. He then ordered Marinus the Syrian to take the ships, the elemental sulphur and the force of soldiers that had been prepared and to go out against Vitalian. When Vitalian heard that Marinus was moving against him with a large force, he seized every ship he could find and

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During his reign...Huns and Bulgars (402.3-7): on the relationship between Ba and Th here, see Beševliev, 1980, 539-43.
Athens (403.6): De insid adds 'a city in Hellas'.
or a ship (403.20) JN: cf 'or ships' De insid, 'or ships of the enemy' Slav.

loaded them with bands of Huns and Goths, fully armed. He then set out to attack Constantinople, confident that he would certainly capture it and crush Marinus, who was coming to meet him, together with the force under his command.

Marinus distributed the elemental sulphur, which the philosopher had given to him, among all the fast ships, telling the soldiers and sailors, "There is no need for weapons but throw some of this at the ships that are coming against you and they will burn. And if we get to the houses on the other side, where the enemies of the emperor are, throw it there". Marinus told his men to throw it exactly as the philosopher had told him, when he had said that the ships would be set alight by the fire **(405)** and sunk with the men on board. So he set out for the other side against Vitalian and his men, and Vitalian's ships came to meet them. They drew very close to one another opposite St Thekla's in Sykai at that part of the Bosphorus which is called Bytharion. The sea battle took place there at the third hour of the day. Suddenly all the ships of the rebel Vitalian caught fire and were set ablaze and plunged to the bottom of the Bosphorus, taking with them the Gothic, Hunnish and Scythian soldiers who had joined him. But when Vitalian and those on the other ships saw what happened, that their own ships had suddenly been set ablaze, they fled and returned to Anaplous. The ex-prefect Marinus crossed over to Sykai and killed all Vitalian's men whom he found in the suburbs and houses, pursuing them as far as St Mamas. When evening fell, Marinus and his force stayed there, defending those areas. Vitalian fled from Anaplous during the night with his remaining men and travelled 60 miles that night. At daybreak none of Vitalian's men could be found on the other side. Christ the Saviour and the emperor's *tyche* had won the victory.

The emperor Anastasios made a *processus* to Sosthenion and gave thanks in the church of the archangel Michael for many days. The philosopher Proklos the Athenian **(406)** successfully sought permission from the emperor to leave and refused to accept anything from the emperor, who had in fact ordered that he should receive four *centenaria*. The philosopher returned to his own city of Athens, where he immediately died. There were some people in Constantinople who said that it was from the heat of the sun that the elemental sulphur, as it was so fine, caught fire, when it was thrown into the air, and that this was its nature. Vitalian withdrew to Anchialos and stayed there quietly.

17. In the time of the emperor Anastasios the Sabir Huns, a very warlike race, crossed the Caspian Gates and reached Cappadocia, plundering it and all the Roman territory they passed through. They killed a great many people, burned estates and then returned home with much booty. Those who had been plundered of their possessions went to the emperor, who provided generously for those who had been looted in each city. He also built walls around the large towns in Cappadocia and made the two Cappadocias secure. He granted that the taxes of all the provinces that had been plundered be completely remitted for three years.

18. During his reign the island of Rhodes suffered its third calamity from the wrath of God, at night. The emperor gave generously

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17. Bo 406.9-18; cf Ev III 43 (145.30-31), Th 161.28-30 (AD515/6).
18. Bo 406.19-21; Ev III 43 (145.32-146.2), cf PsD 815 (AD503/4).

both to the survivors and to the city for building purposes.

19. In his reign a civic insurrection took place **(407)** among the Byzantines in Constantinople over Christian belief, because the emperor wanted to add to the *Trisagion* the phrase they use in the eastern cities, "He who was crucified for us, have mercy on us". The population of the city crowded together and rioted violently on the grounds that something alien had been added to the Christian faith. There was uproar in the palace which caused the city prefect Plato to run in, flee and hide from the people's anger. The rioters set up a chant, "A new emperor for the Roman state", and went off to the residence of the ex-prefect Marinus the Syrian, burned his house and plundered everything he had, since they could not find him. For he had heard that this great mob of people was coming towards his house, and had fled. They claimed that, as an easterner, Marinus had suggested this phrase to the emperor. After plundering his official apartments they cut up his silver with axes and divided it out. They found an eastern monk in the house whom they seized and killed and then, carrying his head on a pole, they chanted, "Here is the enemy of the Trinity". They went to the residence of Juliana, a patrician of the most illustrious rank, and chanted for her husband, Areobindus, to be emperor of the Roman state. Areobindus fled and hid in Perama. The emperor Anastasios went up to the *kathisma* in the hippodrome, **(408)** without a crown. When the people learned this, they went into the hippodrome. The emperor, through his sacred pronouncement, gained control of the populace of the city, exhorting them to stop murdering and attacking people at random. The whole crowd became quiet and begged him to put on his crown. As soon as they became quiet and stopped forming crowds, the emperor ordered that arrests be made. Of the many brought into custody, he had some punished and others thrown into the Bosphorus by the city prefect. They suffered in this way for many days and after countless numbers had been executed, excellent order and no little fear prevailed in Constantinople and in every city of the Roman state.

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19. Bo 406.22–408.11; CP 610.1–6 (AD507), De insid 42 (170.4–17), GM 620.3–621.4, JN 89.58–68, cf Ev III 44 (146.3–30), Ke 631.12–21, LG 316.10–24 (119.4–19), PsD 818 (AD506/7); Slav: Ist 15.5–24, 9.18–20.

run in, flee (407.8): Gleye, 1896, 447 conjectures 'flee in a fast ship', reading εἰς δρόμωνα for εἰσδραμόντα.

in Perama (407.21): 'On the other side' CP, which has a lacuna here, ending at 'the residence of Juliana'. De insid summarizes the first part of this passage, between an introduction on the *Trisagion* and Anastasios' arrival in the *kathisma*, as follows, 'The populace killed a male and female anchorite' (see Mommsen, 1872, 375). No female victim is mentioned in Ba, CP (lacunose), Slav or JN. However, the murders of one male and one female anchorite are described in Ke, LG and GM, the latter having a version closer to Ba than the other two, though all share some common elements with the translation printed here. Comparisons between versions at this climax of the monophysite controversy suggest interesting insights into textual history (see Gleye, 1896, 447–9 and Patzig, 1898, 120–3); but they will not be made here, since it is uncertain whether the textual history concerned is that of Malalas or of his source.

20. A short time later the emperor Anastasios saw, in a dream, an elegant, full grown man standing in front of him. He was carrying a book with writing in it, which he was reading. He turned over five pages, read out the emperor's name and said to him, "See, because of your insatiability, I am erasing 14". And with his finger he erased them, it was said. The emperor Anastasios woke up in a panic, summoned Amantios, the *cubicularius* and *praepositus*, and told him about the vision he had in his dream. **(409)** Amantios said to him, "May you live forever, emperor. I too have had a dream tonight that I was standing facing your majesty, and from behind me a pig, as big as a wild boar, came up and seized the edge of my cloak in its mouth, shook me and pulled me to the ground and killed me by trampling on me and devouring me". The emperor summoned Proklos the philosopher from Asia, the interpreter of dreams who was a close associate of his, and told him his dream, as did Amantios likewise. He explained to them the meaning of the dream, which was that they would die some time later.

21. In addition to his original gifts the emperor Anastasios again sent other gifts to all tax-payers in his state. In every city of the Roman state he carried out a variety of building projects, including walls and aqueducts; he dredged harbours, constructed public baths from their foundations and provided much else in every city.

22. Shortly afterwards the emperor Anastasios became ill and was confined to bed. There was a great flash of lightning and a thunderclap; he was terrified and breathed his last, at the age of 90 years and five months.

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20. Bo 408.12–409.10; JM 2888c–2889a, CP 610.10–611.8 (AD518), Th 163.31–164.8 (AD517/8), Ke 635.21–636.7, cf LG 317.1–3 (120.8–10), Sk 91.3–7; Slav: Ist 15.24–16.6.

elegant (408.13–14): 'white-robed' JM, CP (reading λευχείμων for λευοχῆμον app), Slav; on this and other textual points in this para, see Patzig, 1898, 125–6.

insatiability (408.16) CP, Slav: cf 'lack of belief' JM, LG, 'wrong belief' Th, Ke, Sk.

14 (408.17) CP, JM, Th: cf '11 years' Ke, LG, Sk.

and told him his dream...to them the meaning (409.8–9; corr Dind) CP: 'and told him the meaning' Ba; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.

some time later (409.9–10): 'a short time after' CP, cf 'not long after' Th, Ke.

21. Bo 409.11–16; Slav: Ist 16.6–7, Soph 126.

22. Bo 409.17–20; CP 611.8–10 (AD518), JM 2889a, cf Th 164.19–21 (AD517/8), GM 619.11–15, Sk 91.7–9; Slav: Ist 16.7–10, Soph 126.

BOOK 17 The Time of the Emperor Justin

1. **(410)** After the reign of Anastasios, the most sacred Justin, a Thracian from Bederiana, began to reign on 9th July in the eleventh AD518 indiction during the consulship of Magnus. At God's command the army with the *excubitores* guarding the palace, together with the people, crowned him and made him emperor, for he had been the *comes excubitorum*. He reigned for nine years and 22 days. In stature he was of medium height, with a good chest, curly completely grey hair, a good nose, a rather ruddy complexion, and handsome. He was a veteran of war, generous, but unlettered.

2. As soon as he began to reign he executed his *praepositus*

Book 17...Justin: 'Book 16. The time of the emperor Justin ('Justinian' mss) and the destruction (in Antioch)' Slav.

1. **Bo 410.1-8;** LM 437.9, Ev IV 1 (153.5-11), CP 611.11-17 (AD518), cf LG 318.19-22 (122.17-123.1), Ke 636.17-637.1, JN 90.2; Slav: Ist 17.1-7, Soph 127.

Anastasios (410.1): CP, Slav add 'Dikoros'.

Bederiana (410.2): cf 'Bendara' CP, Slav.

July (410.3): 'Panemos-July' CP, Ev, Slav.

eleventh indiction (410.3): CP, Ev, Slav add 'in the year 566 according to the era of the Syrian Antiochenes'. See Patzig, 1890/1, 10; Gleye, 1896, 434; Vasiliev, 1950, 70, note 53.

At God's command (410.4): like 'by the will of God' (411.2), this phrase is not found in any witness to the text apart from Ba; see Gleye, 1896, 435.

the army with the *excubitores* (410.3; see Bury, 1897, 229): 'the army of *excubitores*' Bo, CP, cf Ev.

2. **Bo 410.8-411.5;** CP 611.19-612.8 (AD519), Th 165.24-166.2 (AD518/9), De insid 43 (170.18-22), cf Ev IV 2 (153.17-154.5), LG 318.26-32 (123.5-11), Ke 637.23-638.1, Sk 93.19-24, 94.1-3, JN 90.3; Slav: Ist 17.7-14.

As soon as (410.8): In place of the whole of this paragraph De insid reads 'Under the emperor Justin uproar broke out in the most holy church and Amantios the *praepositus* and Marinus the *illustris* were shouted down. Amantios the *praepositus*, Theokritos the *domesticus* and Andreas Lausiacus were put to death. The *cubicularii* Ardabourios and Misael were sent into exile'. The excerpt in question (De insid 43) continues without a break with the Vitalian story given under paragraphs 5 and 8 below. Patzig, 1890/1, 13 lists the additional material from the excerpt (also available in, eg, Marcellinus Comes *sub annis* 519, 520) and calls into question whether this is really an excerpt from a fuller Malalas text. Certainly, at a point where Ba, Slav, CP and Th agree on the general shape of the text given (with some confirmation from Ev and

Amantios and his *cubicularius* Andreas Lausiacus as well as the *comes* Theokritos, the *domesticus* of Amantios. Amantios had planned to make the latter emperor by giving Justin money to distribute so that Theokritos might become emperor; and **(411)** Justin distributed it. However, the army and people, after accepting the money, did not choose to make Theokritos emperor, but by the will of God made Justin emperor. After beginning to reign Justin put to death inside the palace those who had intended to plot against his rule.

3. The emperor recalled the patrician Appion and also the senators Diogenianos and Philoxenos, who had been sent into exile by the previous emperor. He made Appion praetorian prefect and Diogenianos *magister militum per Orientem.* Some time later he made Philoxenos consul.

4. At the beginning of his reign there arose in the East a tremendous star, named a comet which sent out a beam pointing downwards. People called it Bearded, and they were afraid.

5. The emperor immediately won over Vitalian as well, who had rebelled against the emperor Anastasios and the state, and appointed him *magister militum praesentalis.*

6. In the first year of his reign, Severus, the patriarch of Antioch, fled to Egypt in fear of Vitalian, and in his place Paul, the

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LG), it is hard to suggest how the passage in De insid may be defined within the textual history of Malalas.

his *praepositus* Amantios (410.9) CP, Th, cf De insid: but 'Amantios the *praepositus* and eunuch' Slav, cf Ev, underlines the point of the story.

against his rule (411.4): CP, Slav add 'as usurpers', cf Th.

3. Bo 411.6-10; CP 612.9-14 (AD519), Th 166.2-5 (AD518/9), cf LG 319.29-30 (124.17-18), Ke 638.1-2; Slav: Ist 17.14-15.

the senators Diogenianos and Philoxenos (411.7): 'Diogenianos the ex-*magister militum* and Philoxenos who was also an ex-*magister militum*' CP.

magister militum per Orientem (411.9) Th: 'ex-*magister militum per Orientem*' CP; see PLRE II, 362.

4. Bo 411.11-13; CP 612.15-18 (AD519), Th 166.6-8 (AD518/9), cf Ke 638.3-5, PsD 836 (AD524/5) JN 90.5; Slav: Ist 17.16-18.

At the beginning of his reign (411.11) cf Slav: 'In the same year' CP, Th, Ke.

in the East (411.11): 'throughout the East' CP; cf Slav which adds 'in the evening', Ke adds 'it had a beam pointing to the West'.

5. Bo 411.14-16; Th 165.3-6 (AD518/9), De insid 43 (170.23-26).

The emperor (411.14): The whole story of Vitalian during Justin's reign is included in De insid 43 (see para 2 above). Corresponding to para 5 here we find, 'Vitalian immediately came to Constantinople, and became *magister militum*, with the rank of ex-consul, and consul *ordinarius.* In negotiations with him, Justin the emperor appealed to him and gave him sworn assurances', cf Th for another version, which has some points of similarity with De insid.

magister militum praesentalis (411.16): Th adds 'and *comes*'; see PLRE II 1174.

6. Bo 411.17-412.2; Th 165.15-18 (AD518/9), JN 90.7-9, cf Ev IV 4 (154.22-155.17), Ke 637.17-20, PsD 831 (AD519/20); Slav: Ist 17.18-18.5.

Antioch (411.18): 'Antioch the Great' Slav.

ex-warden of the hospice in the quarter of Euboulos, was appointed patriarch. He included in the diptychs of the churches of each city the 630 bishops of the Council of Chalkedon. As a result there was a great schism and many broke communion with him, **(412)** stating that those who followed the Council supported the doctrines of Nestorios.

7. During his reign hippodromes were provided for the Seleukeians and Isaurians.

In that year a woman from the region of Cilicia appeared. She was of the race of the giants, in stature being a cubit taller and broader than a full-grown man. She travelled around the whole Roman state begging, and turned up at Antioch the Great where she collected from each workshop one *follis*.

8. The emperor Justin designated as consul the *magister militum praesentalis* Vitalian, and he served as consul of the Romans. While
0520 he was consul, after his first race, Vitalian was put to death in the

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Euboulos (411.20): Slav adds 'in Constantinople'.
patriarch (411.19): Slav adds 'in Antioch'. Gleye, 1896, 433-4 sees the influence of Malalas in an Antiochene date inserted in Ev's account at this point, and makes proposals about possible omissions from Ba.
7. Bo 412.3-9; Th 171.29-32 (AD524/5), LG 319.15-19 (124.2-6), GM 626.19-21; Slav: Ist 18.5-12.
taller and broader than a full-grown man (412.6; corr Chil) reading ὑπερέχουσα τέλειον Th: ὑπερτέλειον Ba.
one *follis* (412.9) Th: cf 'one copper coin, and after accumulating 40 silver coins, which is what the Antiochenes call a *follis*, she left the city' Slav.
8. Bo 412.10-15; Ev IV 3 (154.17-20), Th 165.6-8 (AD518/9), 166.19-21 (AD519/20), De insid 43 (170.26-171.5), cf LG 318.25-6(123.4-5).
While he was consul, after his first race, Vitalian (412.12-13): At some point after para 5 above and before the death of Vitalian narrated here, De insid refers to some hippodrome disturbances. The text continues without interruption, but the transition is most abrupt (Vasiliev, 1950, 111) and it seems best to regard them as a separate event, distinct from Vitalian's death. Further, all sources agree that Vitalian was killed inside the palace, and nowhere else is his death connected with the hippodrome. A particular problem with the Ba text is that there is no suggestion elsewhere that Vitalian was murdered at the beginning of his consulate (see, eg, Stein 1949, 230; PLRE II 1176), as is implied by 'after his first race'. We tentatively suggest a lacuna (or a clumsy abbreviation amounting to the same thing), and propose some degree of connection between 'after his first race' and the hippodrome disturbances of De insid. Within this lacuna, therefore, De insid adds 'When the chariot races had been held, the faction members created a disturbance in the afternoon. The soldiers came out and killed many of them. After that the factions were reconciled, while the prefect Theodoros was watching the afternoon session (see Cameron, 1976a 285), and both left the hippodrome, joining in revelry. The next day they assembled in the hippodrome and asked the emperor to watch the races, and the factions chanted requests for dancers. The Greens called for Karamallos, the Blues for a certain Porphyrios from Alexandria, the Reds and Whites for their favourites. The emperor granted each faction what it had asked for. After this they rushed with their cloaks through

palace for having rebelled against the Romans and for having plundered many cities and territories of the Roman state.

9. During his reign Ztathios, the emperor of the Laz, angrily departed from Persian territory. This was while the Persians were ruled by Koades, a friend of Ztathios, emperor of the Laz, who had once been under the rule of Koades. Thus whenever an emperor of the Laz happened to die, his successor, though from the race of the Laz, was appointed and crowned by the emperor of the Persians. **(413)** The emperor of the Laz had rejected the belief of the Hellenes and so as not to be appointed by Koades, emperor of the Persians, and not to perform sacrifices and all the other Persian customs, as soon as his father Damnazes died, he immediately travelled to the emperor Justin in Byzantion, put himself at his disposal and asked to be proclaimed emperor of the Laz. He was received by the emperor, baptized, and, having become a Christian, married a Roman wife named Valeriana, the granddaughter of Nomos the patrician,. and he took her back with him to his own country. He had been crowned by Justin, the emperor of the Romans, and had put on a Roman imperial crown and a white cloak of pure silk. Instead of the purple border it had the gold imperial border; in its middle was a true purple portrait medallion with a likeness of the emperor Justin. He also wore a white tunic, a *paragaudion,* with gold imperial embroideries, equally including the likeness of the emperor. The shoes that he wore he had brought from his own country, and they were studded with pearls in Persian fashion. Likewise his belt was

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the city and the hippodrome, and paraded in celebration over nearly all the city. Members of the factions joined together and dragged around some of the riff-raff (reading παρακενωτῶν for παρακενότων cf CP 622.20, but the meaning is uncertain) and threw them into the sea'.

Vitalian was put to death in the palace (412.13): 'Vitalian, the consul and *magister militum,* was put to death in the palace, as was Celerianus, his treasurer' (reading σακελλάριος for κελλάριος, 'cellarer'; other possible readings are βουκελλάριος , 'bodyguard', or even, 'secretary' De insid; see PLRE II, 278 and Vasiliev, 1950, 111.

Roman state (412.14): cf Th which adds 'at the time of his uprising against Anastasios'.

9. Bo 412.16-414.16; CP 613.3-615.4 (AD522), Th 168.14-169.12(AD522/3), JN 90.35-41, Ke 638.17-639.7; Slav: Ist 18.12-19.13.

During his reign (412.16): cf CP, which presents the material of the first few sentences in a different order from Ba; neither is really satisfactory.

Ztathios (412.6): written as 'Tzathios' CP, Th, cf Ke, JN; see Vasiliev, 1950, 259, note 1 and Rochow, 1983, 464-5.

crowned by the emperor of the Persians (412.21): CP adds 'of the time'.

Damnazes (413.5): cf 'Zamnaxes' CP.

Nomos (413.9) Th: written as 'Oninos' CP, cf Slav, JN.

the patrician (413.9): CP, Th, Slav add 'and ex-*curopalates*'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 11.

He had been crowned (413.10-11): 'He had been appointed and crowned' CP, Slav, cf Th; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

true purple portrait medallion (413.14): 'small purple portrait medallion' CP, cf Slav.

shoes (413.17): 'red shoes' CP, Th, Slav; see Rochow, 1983, 465.

decorated with pearls. He received many gifts from the emperor Justin, as did his wife Valeriana.

When Koades, the emperor of the Persians, learned of this, he sent **(414)** the following message to the emperor Justin by an ambassador, "Though friendship and peace between us are discussed and are now established, your actions are hostile. Witness the fact that you have appointed as emperor of the Laz a subordinate of mine, who does not come under the Roman administration but has from time immemorial belonged to the Persian state". In reply Justin, the emperor of the Romans, made the following statement through an ambassador, "We have neither annexed nor won over any of those subordinate to your empire. In fact, a man named Ztathios came to us in our empire and begged as a suppliant to be rescued from Hellenic belief, from impious sacrifices and from the errors of demons, and asked to become a Christian, worthy of the grace of the eternal God, the Creator of all things. It was impossible to prevent someone who wished to enter a better way and to know the true God. Thus, when he had become a Christian and worthy of the heavenly mysteries, we sent him back to his own country". As a result, there was enmity between Romans and Persians.

10. In that year the emperor of the Persians won over a king of the Huns, named Zilgibi. The emperor Justin heard about this, and since he had formerly won over Zilgibi to aid the Romans and had sent him many gifts and made an agreement with him on oath, he was exceedingly displeased at the news that he had gone over to the Persian emperor. **(415)** After he had been won over by Koades, emperor of the Persians, the Hun marched to join Koades, the Persian emperor, against the Romans with 20,000 men, to begin a campaign against the Romans. The most sacred Justin revealed king Zilgibi's perfidy and perjury to the emperor Koades through his envoy in a friendly message proposing peace, just as if, it is said, he had written for another purpose. He told him that he had accepted money from the Romans to act against the Persians, to betray them and to join the Romans the moment the battle began; "It is necessary", he continued, "for us, brothers as we are, to speak out in friendship and not be made the sport of these dogs". When the Persian emperor learned of this, he asked Zilgibi, "Have you accepted gifts from the Romans and been won over against the Persians?" Zilgibi told the truth and confessed. Koades, emperor of the Persians, was

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his wife Valeriana (413.21): CP adds 'since she had now been compelled, or persuaded, to marry him and to go to a foreign empire', cf Slav; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
Hellenic belief (414.9): 'polluted Hellenic belief' CP, Th, Slav.
It was impossible (414.13; corr Dind) CP: 'we win him over' Ba; Dind points out the problem.
10. Bo 414.17-415.21; CP 615.5-616.8 (AD522), Th 167.4-20 (AD520/1), JN 90.42-6; Slav: Ist 19.13.
Zilgibi (414.18): on the forms of the name in the texts deriving from Malalas, see Vasiliev, 1950, 265, note 18.
gone over to the Persian emperor (414.22): CP adds 'Koades'.
to join Koades, the Persian emperor (415.1; corr) CP, cf JN: om Ba; see Patzig, 1890/1, 12.
Zilgibi told the truth and confessed (415.12-13): 'Zilgibi said, "Yes"' CP, Th, JN.

enraged and, suspecting that Zilgibi had come to him treacherously, put him to death and destroyed many of his horde at night. He despatched a large force against the Huns, who were unaware that this force had been sent against them by the Persian emperor but thought that it was an invasion from some other country against the Huns and their king. The remaining Huns who survived fled. Then the emperor Koades resolved to discuss terms for peace and informed the Roman emperor Justin of this through the envoy Labroios.

11. In this year Paul, the patriarch of Antioch, died and **(416)** Euphrasios of Jerusalem was appointed in his place. He carried out a great persecution of those known as Orthodox, and put many to death.

12. At that time the Blue faction rioted in all the cities and threw the cities into confusion with stone-throwing, violence and murder. They even attacked the officials in each city, beginning in Byzantion. These activities continued until the appointment in Constantinople of the ex-*comes Orientis* Theodotos as city prefect. He was appointed during the first indiction and restored order over the AD522/3 rioting among the Byzantines by punishing many of the rioters at the emperor Justin's command. Among these he arrested a certain Theodosios, nicknamed Ztikkas, who was very wealthy and held the rank of *illustris*. Theodotos, on his own authority, put him to death without

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Labroios (415.20): written as 'Broios' CP; see PLRE II 652.
11. Bo 415.22-416.2; Ev IV 4 (155.21-2), JN 90.14; Slav: Ist 19.13-16.
of Jerusalem (416.1) cf JN: cf 'patriarch of Jerusalem' Slav.
12. Bo 416.3-417.4; Th 166.26-33 (AD519/20), Ke 638.5-11, cf JN 90.16-23; Slav: Ist 19.17-20.
At that time (416.3): 'In the second year of the reign of Justin' Slav, cf Th.
beginning in Byzantion (416.6): 'This evil disorder arose in Antioch' Th, Ke, cf Slav; Th adds (replacing the rest of this section), 'and from there spread to all cities and was rampant for five years. They killed with their swords the Greens whom they encountered, going up and murdering even those who were hiding at home. The authorities did not dare impose punishments for the murders. This went on until the sixth year of the pious Justin', cf Ke, Slav.
the ex-*comes Orientis* Theodotos (416.8): before this JN adds 'And there arose many men belonging to the people who in Constantinople and the cities of Hellas loudly accused the patrician Justinian, his brother's son. Now Justinian helped the Blue faction to commit murder and pillage among the various nations. And the emperor appointed (as) prefect'. This and the following readings of JN are interesting in that a) they provide a narrative which could have been abbreviated into Ba, since there are several points of correspondence; b) they seem to show some knowledge of the situation described in Prokopios, SH IX 35-42, especially Justinian's personal involvement and his illness at a crucial moment. On the other hand a) JN does not correspond to Prokopios in detail; b) the monophysite JN was anxious to find material derogatory to the orthodox Justin and Justinian. The issues are partly faced by Vasiliev, 1950, 117.
Justin's command (416.11): JN adds 'and he made him swear that he would show no partiality'.
put him to death (416.14): JN adds 'And next he had Justinian the

reporting this to the emperor. This met with the emperor's anger and he was dismissed from office, deprived of his rank and ordered into exile in the East. After reaching the East, he fled in terror in the third
AD524/5 indiction and sought asylum in Jerusalem where he stayed in hiding. Theodoros, the ex-consul, nicknamed Teganistes, was appointed city prefect in his place. Ephraimios of Amida was appointed in Antioch. He took measures against the rioting by the Blues. Then the rioting of the Blue faction **(417)** ceased and caused no more disturbances in the cities. But spectacles were prohibited and all dancers throughout the East were banished, except from Alexandria the Great in Egypt.

13. The emperor prevented the Olympic festival from being
AD520/1 celebrated in Antioch after the 14th indiction. The number of alytarchs who held office, from Afranius to the year 568 when the Olympic festival
AD520 was stopped, was 77.

14. In that year while Anatolius, son of Carinus, was *comes Orientis,* a great conflagration occurred in Antioch through divine anger. This conflagration foretold God's coming displeasure. The burned area extended from the martyrium of St Stephen to the praetorium of the *magister militum.* Even after this many conflagrations occurred in various neighbourhoods of Antioch; many houses were burned and many lives lost and no one could discover the source of the fire. At the entreaty of Euphraisios, the patriarch of Antioch, the emperor generously gave two *centenaria* of gold to the places that had been burned.

15. In that year it happened that the place known as Dyrrachium,

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patrician arrested, and wished to put him to death. But when he fell ill, he let him go'.

13. Bo 417.5-8; Slav: Ist 19.21-23.

The emperor (417.5): 'Justin' Slav.

14. Bo 417.9-19; Th 172.1-11 (AD525/6), JE 224.12-18, Ke 640.12-17, JN 90.24-5, cf Ev IV 5 (155.23-6); Slav: Ist 19.23-27.

In that year (417.9): cf 'In this year, in October of the fourth indiction' Th.

a great conflagration occurred in Antioch (417.10-11): cf 'a great conflagration arrived unseen in the middle of the city' Th.

praetorium of the *magister militum* (417.13): JN adds 'and as far as the bath called Tainadonhus and the bath of the Syrian nation'; see Downey, 1961, 520, note 76.

neighbourhoods of Antioch (417.15): Th, JE, cf JN add 'for six months'; for the relationship of JE to the Greek texts throughout the description of the Antioch fire and earthquake, see Brooks, 1892, 293-5.

source of the fire (417.16): Slav and Th add 'For the fire flared up from the roof-tiles'; Th continues, cf JE, 'of the five- (JE adds 'and six-') storey buildings'. See Stein, 1949, 242, note 3.

Euphrasios (417.17; corr Chil) Th, Slav: 'Euphraimios' Ba; see PLRE II 395.

15. Bo 417.20-419.4; Ev IV 8 (159.10-23), Th 168.8-11 (AD521/2), 171.14-28 (AD524/5), LG 319.30-320.2 (124.18-24), cf Ke 638.14-16, JN 100, PsD 842 (AD530/1); Slav: Ist 19.28-20.23.

In that year (417.20) Th: cf 'During his reign' Slav.

a city in the province of Nova Epirus, the birthplace of the emperor Anastasios, suffered from the wrath of God. Anastasios had built many buildings there and **(418)** had even provided a hippodrome for the inhabitants. The emperor Justin provided the city of Dyrrachium with much money for reconstruction; it had formerly been called Epidamnos. Likewise he gave generously to the survivors.

In that year Corinth in Hellas also suffered; and the emperor graciously gave much there too.

In the next year Anazarbos, a city in Cilicia, suffered its fourth calamity from the wrath of God. The emperor restored it.

In that year Edessa, a great city in the province of Osrhoene, was engulfed one evening by the wrath of God in the form of river-water, from the river known as Skirtos which flows through the middle of the city. The inhabitants perished together with their houses. The survivors and inhabitants of the city used to say that the river had flooded this city on another occasion but had not caused such destruction. "For we have learned", they said, "that the same thing has happened on other occasions". After the anger had ceased, there was found by the buildings near the river, when they were having their foundations cleaned out, a large stone tablet, on which was carved the following inscription, "The river Skirtos (Leaper) will leap terrible leapings for the citizens". The city of Edessa was built by Seleukos Nikator, who fortified it. Seleukos, who was a Macedonian, had named it Antioch the Half-barbarian and, after its first **(419)** calamity, it was renamed Edessa. The emperor gave much to each city, renewing them with many beautiful works and giving generously to the survivors. He renamed Edessa Justinoupolis.

Nova Epirus (417.21): Th adds 'in Illyricum'.
in Hellas (418.5): 'the metropolis of Hellas' Th, Slav.
a city in Cilicia (418.7): 'the metropolis of Cilicia Secunda' Ev, Th Slav; Th adds 'while Kalliopios, son of Eirenaios, was its governor; and the whole city collapsed'.
restored it (418.7-8): Th adds, cf Ev, 'and named it Justinoupolis'; see Rochow, 1983, 465.
a great city in (418.9): 'a great and famous city' Th; Slav and Th add 'and metropolis of'.
middle of the city (418.10): Slav adds, cf Th, LG, 'and providing it with beauty and with its needs. And through the wrath of God it became swollen with water, more than the sea, and it flooded the city and its inhabitants and flattened all the houses which stood there, while those in the houses shouted to be spared, for they were unable to help themselves'.
the anger had ceased (418.16): Slav adds, cf Th, LG, 'the water had dried up'.
by the buildings near the river...cleaned out (418.16-17; corr) cf Slav: 'the buildings near the foundations of the river which were being cleaned out' Ba ('by' has been proposed by Chil and inserted in Ba by a late hand, see Bury, 1897, 229; and 'foundations' seems to be misplaced); cf 'on the banks of the river' Th, LG.
carved (418.18): cf Th, LG which add 'in hieroglyphics'.

16. In the seventh year of his reign, in the month of May, Antioch the Great suffered its fifth calamity from the wrath of God, during the consulship of Olybrius. Great was the fear of God that occurred then, in that those caught in the earth beneath the buildings were incinerated and sparks of fire appeared out of the air and burned anyone they struck like lightning. The surface of the earth boiled and foundations of buildings were struck by thunderbolts thrown up by the earthquakes and were burned to ashes by fire, so that even those who fled were met by flames. It was a tremendous and incredible marvel with fire belching out rain, rain falling from tremendous furnaces, flame dissolving into showers, and showers kindling like flames consumed even those in the earth who were crying out. As a result Antioch became desolate, for nothing remained apart from some buildings beside the mountain. No holy chapel nor monastery nor any

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16. Bo 419.5–421.21; Ev IV 5 (155.23–156.9), JE 224.18–225.25, Th 172.11–173.7 (AD525–7), GM 626.8–15, LG 319.9–13, 20–24 (123.20–24, 124.7–11), Ke 640.18–641.16, JN 90.26–34, PsD 846 (AD534/5); Slav: Ist 20.24–24.20.

seventh year (419.5): Slav and Ev add 'and the tenth month'.

in the month of May (419.6): 'on 29th Artemisios–May' Slav, Ev, cf 'on 20th May' Th; Slav and Th add 'of the fourth indiction'; cf Ev which adds 'on Friday'; Slav adds 'at the sixth and seventh hours', cf 'at the seventh hour' Th, JE. See Rochow, 1983, 465.

Antioch the Great (419.6): Slav, Th, JN add 'in Syria'.

Olybrius (419.7): Slav, Th add 'in Rome'; Slav, PsD, JE continue, cf Th, Ev, LG, GM, 'The destruction was indescribable, such that no mortal tongue could express'.

Great was the fear (419.7): 'So great was the anger' Th, JE, LG, GM, cf Slav.

in that (419.8): 'that' JE, Th, LG, GM, Slav.

those caught...incinerated (419.8–9) cf Slav, JE; cf 'Almost the entire city collapsed and became a tomb for its inhabitants. Some of those who were buried and still alive beneath the ground were burned by fire that came out of the earth' Th, Ke, GM, cf LG, probably resulting from an attempt to tidy the text.

boiled (419.11): PsD, JE, cf Slav, add 'and blazed, setting fire to everything'.

met by flames (419.13): Slav, JN add 'like those who remained in their houses'. Slav continues 'Except for the soil in the fields this fire consumed everything in the city, as soon as it had received the command from God; everything was consigned to a single conflagration'. The sentence may be an interpolation, since Slav is concerned, elsewhere in this description, to stress the directness of divine intervention.

Antioch (419.17): 'Christ-loving Antioch' Slav.

nothing remained (419.18): Slav adds 'in this glorious city'.

some buildings (419.18–19): 'sporadic rows of buildings' Slav, cf 'a few buildings' JE.

beside the mountain (419.18): Slav adds, cf JE, 'From the spring called Olympias to the gates known as those of Draduon one could see them standing, but with crumbling walls that threatened death; many of them fell (JE adds 'the next day'), killing those who lived in them and

other holy place remained which had not been torn apart. Everything had been utterly destroyed. The great church of Antioch, which had been built by the emperor Constantine the Great, **(420)** stood for seven days after this tremendous threat from God, when everything else had collapsed to the ground during the wrath of God. Then it too was overcome by fire and razed to the ground. Likewise other houses which had not collapsed through the divine calamity were destroyed to their foundations by fire. In this terror up to 250,000 people perished. For this was the great festival of the Ascension of Christ our God and a great throng of visitors had come to town. During the wrath of God it became clear what a great number of citizens there was. Many of those who had been buried by earth survived to be

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burying passers-by. Not one single dwelling, house or stall ('garden wall' JE) in the city remained undestroyed'.

torn apart (419.20): Slav adds 'and collapsed to its foundations through the wrath of God'; PsD, JE continue, cf Slav, 'The rest of the buildings were reduced to heaps of dust and were destroyed by fire. Liquid mud ('sea sand, as it were' Slav) boiled and bubbled up from the nether regions, there was a rank stench of the sea, and water seemed to flow out, just as if sea-water were coming up together with the hot mud'.

Constantine the Great (419.22): Slav, PsD JE add 'and which had no equal even among the Romans ('Greeks' Slav)'.

seven days (420.2) JE: 'two days' Bo (see Bury, 1897, 229), cf 'five days' Slav.

from God (420.2-3): JE adds 'though it was cracked'.

razed to the ground (420.4): Slav adds 'Likewise the great church of the Archangel Michael and the church of the Holy Virgin Mary collapsed to the ground. The church of the Archangel Michael had been built by the emperor Zeno. Both these sacred houses had remained standing, wholly undamaged by the earthquake. But through the wrath of God they suddenly caught fire, together with the church of the Holy Prophets and the church of St Zacharias, and then they collapsed to the ground'.

other houses (420.4): 'other churches' Slav, JE.

In this terror (420.6): 'As far as the survivors were able to count the dead or their bodies were found' JE, cf 'According to informed estimates' Slav.

perished (420.6): Slav adds 'citizens and strangers'; Slav and JN continue 'men and women, young and old ('babies' JN)'.

to town (420.8): Slav adds, cf JN, 'and just when the bells of the church called Kration (probably 'Kerateion') were ringing across the city in customary celebration of the sacred litany, at that very moment the earthquakes started'; despite Downey, 1961, 522, note 85, it seems likely that Slav and JN are referring to the same service here at the same moment of the earthquake.

During the wrath of God...citizens there was (420.8-10): 'There had been a great multitude of citizens; and the wealth of the property of that multitude and the length and breadth of their civic possessions were inestimable. As for the splendour of the city and its good climate and the beauty of its churches, visitors who had seen it both before and after exclaimed, "This quiet haven from the world, this refuge of the universe has been utterly desolated! Where are its creatures and their finery?"' Slav.

brought up alive but then died. Some of the citizens who survived gathered whatever of their possessions they could and fled. Peasants attacked them, stole their goods and killed them. But God's benevolent chastisement of man was revealed even in this, for all those robbers died violently, some by putrefaction, some were blinded and others died under the surgeon's knife, and after confessing their sins they gave up their souls. One who plundered at that time was Thomas, a *silentiarius*, who had escaped in flight from the wrath of God and lived three miles out of the city at the place known as St Julian's Gate, and, by means of his servants, stole everything from the fugitives. He did this for four days, and as he was polluting everything he suddenly died though he had been in good health, **(421)** and everyone glorified God. His property was stolen and lost. He was buried there, in the place where he died.

Other mysteries of God's love for man were also revealed. For pregnant women who had been buried for 20 or even 30 days were brought up from the rubble in good health. Many, who gave birth underground beneath the rubble, were brought up unharmed with their babies and survived together with the children to whom they had given birth.

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stole their goods and killed them (420.13-14): 'and strangers robbed them and stole from them. For there were robbers who entered the city to plunder, and they killed many who refused to hand over their property. When these strangers killed, they robbed their victims of the only hope or possession left to them: their lives. The strangers entered the city and pillaged the ruins. They found caskets of silver plate, and gold coins and silver lying about. They found many women adorned with much gold and with precious stones and beads' Slav.
even in this, for...violently (420.14-15): 'in the fate of these looters and strangers, for all who took whatever it was that they had decided upon died instantly, and not one of them remained alive' Slav.
plundered at that time (420.18): 'with his servants plundered a lot' Slav.
Thomas (420.18): 'called Thomas the Hebrew' Slav.
in flight (420.19): 'unharmed' Slav.
three miles (420.20): 'two or three miles' Slav.
fugitives (420.21): 'from passers-by and from those fleeing the wrath of God. There were also looters who took much gold from under the rubble' Slav.
for four days (420.22): Slav adds 'and they took much gold and silver and other possessions'.
in good health (420.23): Slav adds 'and strong, he collapsed and died suddenly, before he had even compiled an inventory of all that he had plundered'.
everyone glorified God (421.1): 'everyone who heard of this glorified God, the righteous judge' Slav.
His property (421.1): Slav adds 'was dispersed by the elders, and some of it'.
stolen and lost (421.1-2): Slav adds 'so that he had nothing left but the robes he wore'.
where he died (421.2): Slav adds 'and in that robe, for fear of the citizens who were clamouring against him'.
20 or even 30 days (421.4): '21 days' Slav.

Equally other children were brought out alive after 30 days. Many even more tremendous things occurred. On the third day after the collapse the Holy Cross appeared in the sky in the clouds above the northern district of the city, and all who saw it stayed weeping and praying for an hour. After the collapse of the city many other earthquakes occurred during the next 18 months. Buildings collapsed too at Seleukeia and at Daphne over a distance of some 20 miles. The emperor provided much money for the cities that had suffered. When he had heard of God's benevolent chastisement of man, he was afflicted with great sorrow; the games were not held in Byzantion and, when the time of Holy Pentecost came, he entered the church without his crown, weeping and wearing a purple cloak along with all the senators who also were wearing purple.

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were brought out alive (421.8): cf 'perished' Slav.
after 30 days (421.8): Slav adds, cf JN, 'Other infant children lay next to their mothers, who were stretched out dead beside them, yet the children lived and sucked from the women who had died'.
occurred (421.9): Slav adds 'the like of which no human tongue can express, but only immortal God knows the secret'.
after the collapse (421.9): Slav adds, cf JE, 'that is, on Sunday at the eighth hour'.
northern (421.10): 'western' Slav, PsD, JE.
an hour (421.12) PsD, JE: cf 'one and a half hours, so long did it remain after it had appeared in the heavens' Slav, which, in a very corrupt and difficult addition to the next sentence, may be attempting a parallel between the hour and a half of vision and the year and a half of earthquakes.
18 months (421.14) Slav, PsD, JE: cf 'one year' Th, Ke; Slav adds 'Yet of that which remained, nothing fell; no house or church or anything else fell, though its fall seemed constantly imminent. It was as if someone had said, "God, the lover of all mankind, has forbidden it; they must stand, and not fall". And so they survived the later earthquakes intact'.
over a distance of some 20 miles (421.14-15): 'over an area some 20 miles square' Slav, cf 'within a radius of 20 miles' JN.
The emperor provided much money (421.15-16): 'the divine Justin sent many *centenaria* of gold, more than any other emperor' Slav, JN.
with great sorrow (421.17): Th adds, cf LG, Ke, Slav, JN 'he took off (Slav adds 'immediately') the diadem from his head and the purple, and mourned in sack-cloth (LG, Ke add 'and ashes') for many days'.
in Byzantion (421.18): 'in Constantinople, for he knew the city of Antioch and praised and loved it' Slav.
Holy Pentecost (421.18): cf 'Holy Thursday of the Great (ie Easter) Week' Slav, JN.
he entered the church...wearing purple (421.19-21): 'When he went (Slav adds 'in Constantinople from the palace') to the church on a feast day, he refused to wear the crown or the chlamys, but he went dressed very plainly in a purple mantle and wept in the presence of the whole senate (Slav adds 'and the citizens'); everybody wept ('watched him' Slav), and wore mourning like him' Th, cf Slav, Ke. Ke adds (perhaps from another source) 'all the inhabitants of the city put on dark clothes and met together in the plain, seven milestones from the city,

17. **(422)** In that year the emperor sent out the *comes* Carinus with five *centenaria*. With him he also sent Phokas the patrician and Asterios, learned men, giving them much money for the reconstruction of the city, its aqueducts and bridges over the river, since he knew the city; for he had lived in it for some time when he had gone there with the *magistri militum* during the Persian war. He wrote frequently to these patricians to take care of the city.

18. After eight years and nine months of Justin's reign the most sacred Justinian became co-emperor with him, together with the Augusta Theodora, and was crowned by his most sacred uncle during
AD527 the consulship of Mavortius. The emperor Justinian gave generously to the city of the Antiochenes. He established a secure, orderly condition in every city of the Roman state and despatched sacred rescripts to

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and went on processions of prayer for seven days, fasting'; see Praechter, 1897, 105.

It is interesting that Ev's reference to Ioannes Rhetor (=Malalas) here mentions that the earthquake is the last event in the chronicle; see Patzig, 1890/1, 20.

17. Bo 422.1-8; Th 173.7-13 (AD526/7); Slav: Ist 24.21-25.4.

five *centenaria* (422.2): Slav adds, cf Th, 'for excavation, to see whether any person or property had survived'; Th continues 'and to preserve what had been buried from robbers and looters'; Slav continues 'and to investigate the earthquake thoroughly and on his return he was to report to the emperor what should be done'.

Phokas the patrician (422.2-3): Slav adds, cf Th, 'son of Krateros, and a rich man'.

and Asterios (422.3): Slav continues, cf Th, 'the patrician and ex-*referendarius* and ex-prefect of the city, a wise man, instructing them, "Both of you, see that the men survive, and put up the city's buildings quickly"'. See Rochow, 1983, 465.

for the reconstruction of the city (422.4) Th: 'and told them about the various places in the city, about the public baths and' Slav.

had lived in it (422.6): Slav adds 'pleasantly'.

frequently (422.7): 'every day' Slav.

take care of the city (422.8): 'saying, "As many *centenaria* as you need, let me know, so that I may send them"' Slav.

18. Bo 422.9-21; Ev IV 9 (159.24-29), CP 616.15-617.6 (AD527), Th 170.24-29 (AD523/4), Eccl Hist 109.26-30, 110.6-7, JN 90.48; Slav: Ist 25.5-11, Soph 127.

nine months (422.10): CP, Slav, cf Ev, add 'and five days'.

most sacred Justinian (422.10): CP adds, cf Slav, 'his relative, who was magnanimous beyond measure'.

together with the Augusta Theodora (422.11) Slav: cf 'was proclaimed together with his wife Theodora' CP.

uncle (422.12): CP, Slav add 'Justin'.

in the consulship of Mavortius (422.12): 'on 1st Xanthikos, April according to the Romans, of the fifth indiction, in the year 575 of Antioch in Syria, when Mavortius was consul in Rome' CP, Slav, cf Ev, Th; see Patzig, 1890/1, 10.

The emperor Justinian...Antiochenes (422.12-13): 'The emperors provided many gifts of money for restoration in Antioch' Eccl Hist.

orderly condition in (422.14-15): CP adds 'Constantinople and'.

every city so that rioters or murderers, no matter to what faction they belonged, were to be punished; thus in future no one dared to cause any kind of disorder, since Justinian had struck fear into all provinces. For a short period the factions of Antioch the Great were on friendly terms.

19. **(423)** He built in Antioch a church of the Holy Mother of God and ever-virgin Mary, opposite the building known as the basilica of Rufinus, building close to it another church, that of Saints Kosmas and Damian. Equally he also built a hospice, baths and cisterns. Likewise the most devout Theodora also provided much for the city. She built an extremely fine church of the archangel Michael; she also built what is known as the basilica of Anatolius, for which the columns were sent from Constantinople. The Augusta Theodora made and sent to Jerusalem a very costly cross, set with pearls. The emperor Justinian despatched gifts to all tax-payers in the Roman state.

20. The emperors appointed the patrician Hypatios as *magister militum per Orientem* to protect the eastern regions from Saracen incursions.

21. At that time many Manicheans were punished in every city. Among those punished was the wife of the senator Erythrios and other women as well.

22. The *comes Orientis*, when the wrath of God occurred, was Ephraimios, who was compelled a short time later to accept appointment as patriarch of Antioch, for his predecessor Euphrasios had been burned to death during the wrath of God. The pious emperors, learning **(424)** that Ephraimios, the *comes Orientis*, had been consecrated patriarch canonically by the clergy, appointed as *comes Orientis* in his place

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to be punished (422.16): CP adds 'and that nobody was to throw stones or commit murder, but to watch the races in good order'.
19. Bo 423.1-12; Eccl Hist 110.7-9, JN 90.50.
he built (423.1): 'the emperors built' Eccl Hist.
a hospice (423.4): Eccl Hist adds 'the one named after Justinian'; cf Eccl Hist which continues 'They (ie probably Justinian and Theodora) ordained that the city be named Theoupolis'; but cf Book 18, para 29.
the columns were sent (423.8): the translation with a passive verb reflects an active masculine participle, which apparently refers to Theodora (but in a formulaic construction normally applied to an emperor).
20. Bo 423.13-15; Th 170.30-171.2 (AD523/4).
Hypatios (423.13): Th adds 'the son of Secundinus'; see Rochow, 1983, 465.
the eastern regions from (423.15): Th adds 'the Persians and'.
21. Bo 423.16-18; Th 171.2-3 (AD523/4); Slav: Ist 25.11-13.
At that time...every city (423.16-17): 'The two emperors undertook the persecution of God's enemies, the Manicheans' Slav; Slav and Th continue 'and they punished many of them'.
the senator Erythrios (423.17): cf 'the patrician Andronikos' Slav.
other women as well (423.18): Slav adds 'and from that time the theatre was discontinued'.
22. Bo 423.19-424.13; cf Th 173.21-22 (AD526/7), 172.30-31 (AD526/7), Eccl Hist 109.31-110.2, PsD 842 (AD530/1); Slav: Ist 25.14-15.
Ephraimios (423.20): cf Th, Eccl Hist, who add 'of Amida'.

Zacharias, who came from Tyre. When Zacharias saw the destruction in the city, he entreated the pious emperors by letter to let him come to Byzantion and lead a delegation on behalf of the city of the Antiochenes. He took with him the bishop of Amida, a devout man, and other clergy. They reached Constantinople and, after accomplishing much, they returned to Antioch the Great with imperial gifts, bringing 30 *centenaria* of gold and decrees on a variety of subjects to maintain the ancestral customs in that city. A short time later the emperors bestowed on the city an additional ten *centenaria*.

23. Meanwhile the most sacred Justin became ill from the ulcer which he had on his foot, for he had been struck there in battle by an arrow and that is what caused the danger to his life. He died at the age of 75 on 1st August of the fifth indiction. Altogether his reign lasted nine years and 22 days, including four months with his nephew.

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30 *centenaria* of gold (424.10): Slav summarizes this whole section as follows 'For the rebuilding of the city 30 *centenaria* were given and ten for restoring the churches'.

23. Bo 424.14–20; CP 617.6–10 (AD527), Th 173.17–19 (AD526/7), Eccl Hist 109.26–29, JN 90.47; Slav: Ist 25.15–21.

the age of 75 (424.18): 'the age of 77' Slav, CP; see Vasiliev, 1950, 63, note 43.

on 1st August of the fifth indiction (424.17): 'in the month Loos, August according to the Romans, on Sunday 1st, at the third hour in the current fifth indiction' CP, cf Slav.

BOOK 18 The Time of the Emperor Justinian

1. **(425)** After the reign of Justin, the most sacred Justinian ruled for 38 years, 7 months and 13 days from 1st April in the 5th indiction, in the year 575 according to the calendar of Antioch, during the consulship of Mavortius. AD527

In appearance he was short, with a good chest, a good nose, fair-skinned, curly-haired, round-faced, handsome, with receding hair, a florid complexion, with his hair and beard greying; he was magnanimous and Christian. He favoured the Blue faction. He too was a Thracian from Bederiana.

2. In the month of October of the 6th indiction the emperor AD527 appointed an Armenian named Patrikios as *comes Orientis* in Antioch. He gave him a large sum of money with instructions **(426)** to go and reconstruct the city in Phoenice on the *limes,* known as Palmyra, and its churches and public baths. He ordered a *numerus* of soldiers to be stationed there with the *limitanei,* and also the *dux* of Emesa, to protect the Roman territories and Jerusalem. Palmyra had formerly been great, for in that place, before the city was built, David fought with the fully armed Goliath in single combat. David struck Goliath with a stone and felled him and, running up, beheaded him with the sword which Goliath had been carrying. He took his head and kept it for some days, and then brought it into Jerusalem in victory, raised on a pole before him. So the emperor Solomon made Palmyra a great city because of his father David's victory and gave it its name, since it had been the death *(moira)* of Goliath. Formerly this city also protected Jerusalem. Thus

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Book 18...Justinian: 'Book 17 *(sic),* The sixth destruction in Antioch' Slav.

1. Bo 425.1-9; CP 616.19-617.1,11-15 (AD527), cf Th 173.13-14(AD526/7), 241.3-4 (AD565), Ke 642.10-15; Slav: Ist 26.1-5.

ruled...13 days (425.1-2): 'reigned alone, reckoning the years from the time when he was proclaimed emperor; that is, from the month of Xanthikos, which is April 4th' Slav, cf CP. This variant may indicate that Slav's text of Malalas derived from a stage in the tradition in which the chronicle did not extend to Justinian's death - perhaps coming to an end approximately where Slav itself now ends (cf the comments of Ev at Book 17, para 16). CP, which seems to reflect the phrasing of Slav and gives a different length for Justinian's reign (38 years and 11 months), hints at the possibility of an intermediate stage of the tradition.

he was short (425.5): Slav adds 'he made mistakes while speaking the Roman language, though he wrote it flawlessly'.

2. Bo 425.10-426.20; Th 174.12-15 (AD527/8).

in Phoenice on the *limes* (426.1): 'in Phoenice Libanensis situated on the inner *limes*' Th.

Zacharias, who came from Tyre. When Zacharias saw the destruction in the city, he entreated the pious emperors by letter to let him come to Byzantion and lead a delegation on behalf of the city of the Antiochenes. He took with him the bishop of Amida, a devout man, and other clergy. They reached Constantinople and, after accomplishing much, they returned to Antioch the Great with imperial gifts, bringing 30 *centenaria* of gold and decrees on a variety of subjects to maintain the ancestral customs in that city. A short time later the emperors bestowed on the city an additional ten *centenaria*.

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in Phoenice on the *limes* (426.1): 'in Phoenice Libanensis situated on the inner *limes*' Th.

the Persian emperor Nebuchadnezzar advanced by way of it and took it with great effort first, for he feared to leave it at his rear since an army of Jewish soldiers was stationed there. He captured it, burnt it and so took Jerusalem.

AD528 3. Justinian distributed consular largesse in the 6th indiction in the month of January.

4. **(427)** In that year the Persian emperor went to war with Ztathios, the emperor of the Laz, because he had gone over to the Romans. The emperor of the Laz sent a request to the emperor of the Romans, asking for a military force from him. Justinian sent him three *magistri militum* - Gilderic, Kerykos and Eirenaios - with a great Roman force, and when they joined battle many fell on both sides. On hearing of this the Roman emperor was angry with the *magistri militum,* since they had betrayed one another through mutual jealousy. Because of his anger he dismissed them. The *magister militum* Peter came, removed their commission, took their armies from them and withdrew from that area.

5. The emperor reconstructed a city in Armenia named Martyropolis, renaming it Justinianoupolis. He constructed its walls and colonnades for they had fallen into ruin in the course of time, and transferred

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took Jerusalem (426.20): Th has a lacuna in this paragraph from 'and also the *dux*' up to its last words, which are '...and the Holy Places'.
3. **Bo 426.21-22**; CP 617.18-21 (AD528), Th 174.16-18 (AD527/8), Ke 642.15-643.2; Slav: Ist 26.6-8.
Justinian...January (426.21-2): 'The emperor Justinian in the 1st year of his reign, in the month Audynaios, on 1st January by the Roman system, in the 6th indiction, distributed more money, and bestowed it on all, than any other emperor during his consulship' CP, cf Th, Slav.

At this point, in an area otherwise apparently drawing on Theophanes, Ke has a passage on Justinian's persecution of Arians and his construction of a monastery out of the churches of Saints Sergius and Bacchus and of the Holy Apostles near his palace and the sea; since it is not attested by Th or CP its position in the tradition is unclear.
4. Bo 427.1-13; CP 618.1-13 (AD528), Th 174.19-26 (AD527/8), JN 90.52, Ke 643.3-9; Slav: Ist 26.8-12.
Ztathios (427.2): written as 'Tzathios' CP, Th.
emperor of the Romans (427.3): 'the emperor Justinian' CP, Slav.
Gilderic (427.5): 'Belisarios' CP, Th, Ke, JN, Slav; see Patzig, 1891/2, 26.
Eirenaios (427.5): CP adds 'son of Pentadia', cf Slav.
many fell on both sides (427.6-7): 'many Romans fell' CP, JN, cf Th, cf 'many Persians fell' Slav (perhaps by confusion with 'they cut down many Persians', as read by CP, JN, cf Th, at 427.12-13.
betrayed one another (427.9): CP adds 'and sent information to the emperor against each other'.
The *magister militum* Peter (427.11): 'Peter, the *magister militum* and ex-imperial *notarius*' CP, cf Th.
withdrew from that area (427.12-13): 'When he attacked the Persians with the Laz, they cut down many Persians' CP, JN, cf Th.
5. Bo 427.14-17; Slav: Ist 26.12-14.
in Armenia (427.14): 'in Armenian Souphania (= Sophanene)' Slav; see Jones, 1971, 224-5.

an eastern *numerus* there.

6. In that year the king of the Heruli, named Grepes, came over to the Romans and arrived in Byzantion with his own force. He made obeisance to the emperor Justinian and asked to become a Christian. He was baptized at Holy Epiphany with the emperor Justinian acting as his sponsor in holy baptism. His senators and (428) twelve of his relations were baptized with him. When Justinian had bestowed many gifts on him and dismissed him, he travelled with his force to his homeland, with the emperor of the Romans saying to him, "Whenever I want you, I will inform you".

7. In his reign various heresies were suppressed and their churches taken away from them, except for those known as the Exakionite Arians.

8. The whole period from the accession of Augustus Octavian Imperator to the completion of the second consulship of the emperor Justinian in the 7th indiction is 559 years, so that the total of years from Adam to this indiction is 6497, which is the number of years I found in the works of Clement, Theophilos and Timotheos, the chroniclers who agree among themselves. In the chronology of Eusebios Pamphilou, I found the number of years from Adam to the consulship of the emperor Justinian in the 7th indiction to be 6432, but the chroniclers Theophilos and Timotheos have calculated and recorded the years with greater accuracy. The writings of all therefore indicate that the sixth millennium had been passed. So from the foundation AD528 AD528/9

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6. Bo 427.17–428.4; Th 174.27–175.5 (AD527/8), Ke 643.10–15, JN 90.70, PsD 844 (AD532/3), MS 9.21 (192); Slav: Ist 26.14–27.1.
Grepes (427.19): written as 'Gretes' Th, Ke, 'Grates' Slav, 'Agripas' MS; see Stein, 1949, 305, note 3.
Byzantion (427.19): 'Constantinople' Th, Slav.
7. Bo 428.5–7; Th 176.17–19 (AD527/8), Ke 645.7–8; Slav: Ist 27.1–3.
away from them (428.1): Th adds, cf Ke, 'and given to the Orthodox'.
8. Bo 428.8–429.9; Slav: Ist 27.3–28.6, Soph 128.
559 (428.11): cf '6059' Slav.
from Adam to this indiction (428.11–12): 'from Adam the first-created to the imperial consulship of the divine Justinian, to its termination and to the end of the indiction' Slav.
6497 (428.12; '4' is in rasura and a later hand, see Bury, 1897, 229): cf '6407' ('6417' Soph) Slav. Slav continues 'According to the Antiochenes who live in the city by the Orontes this was the 577th year starting from Julius Caesar. According to the Alexandrians, who are Egyptians and live by the Nile, this was the 245th year from Diocletian. According to the so-called Syrian Macedonians of Apamea, this was the 40th *(sic)* year from Seleukos Nikator' Slav.
Clement, Theophilos and Timotheos, the chroniclers (428.13–14): cf 'Timotheos and Theophilos, the very learned chroniclers' Slav.
agree among themselves (428.14): cf 'spoke accurately' Slav.
6432 (428.17): cf '6032' Slav.
Theophilos and Timotheos (428.17–18): cf Slav which adds 'and Clement'.
sixth millennium had been passed (428.19): cf 'and that the seventh thousand is to come long after the present seventh indiction' Slav (a corrupt passage; see Franklin, 1987).

of Rome to the second consulship of the most sacred Justinian there were 1280 years more or less; from the foundation of Constantinople to the consulship mentioned above of Justinian and the completion of the 7th **(429)** indiction is 199 years. One must not add up the years of the earlier emperors according to the number mentioned above for their reigns, because two used to reign at the same time; equally fathers would crown their children from infancy and reign with them. The chronicler must thus record how many years each emperor reigned, but readers of chronicles must pay attention simply to the sum of the years that have elapsed in the case of the reigns of all the emperors mentioned above.

9. At this time, as I mentioned above, the most sacred Justinian reigned; Koades Darasthenos, the son of Perozes, was emperor of the Persians and Athalaric, grandson of Valemeriacus, reigned in Rome; Hilderic, grandson of Geiseric, was king of Africa; Andas, who became a Christian, reigned over the Axoumite Indians, and Samanazos over the Iberians.

10. In the year of Justinian's reign mentioned above a man named Sittas was dispatched as *magister militum per Armeniam,* for in previous times Armenia did not have a *magister militum* but *duces,* governors and *comites.* The emperor gave Sittas *numeri* of soldiers from the two *magistri militum praesentales* and the *magister militum per Orientem.* Sittas enrolled indigenous **(430)** *scriniarii* and made them his own military *scriniarii* in accord with an imperial rescript, having requested the emperor to enrol natives since they knew the regions of Armenia. The emperor granted him this and the rights of the Armenian *duces* and *comites,* and also consulars who were formerly *milites castrensiani;* for the former offices had been abolished. He also took

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1280 years more or less (428.21): cf '1200 years, no more, no less' Slav.
foundation of Constantinople (428.22): 'foundation of the very rich city of Constantinople, that is, from 11th of the month of May-Artemision' Slav.
199 years (429.1): Slav adds 'no more, no less'.
reign with them (429.4): Slav adds 'Others reigned in Rome'.
each emperor reigned (429.6): Slav adds 'from the time he was proclaimed emperor'.
simply (429.8): 'not simply' Slav; see Gleye, 1896, 425.
9. Bo 429.10-15; Slav: Ist 28.7-12.
reigned (429.10): Slav adds 'over the Romans and in Constantinople'.
son of Perozes (429.12): 'elder son of Perozes' Slav.
Athalaric (429.12; corr Chil): 'Alaric' Ba; see PLRE II 172-3.
Hilderic (429.13): written as 'Gilderic' Ba.
Geiseric (429.13): written as 'Ginzirichos' Ba.
Axoumite (429.14): Slav adds 'and Amerite' (= 'Homerite').
Samanazos over the Iberians (429.15; 'Zamanazos' Ba, see Bury, 1897, 229): 'Samanazos reigned in Lazica' Slav.
10. Bo 429.16-430.11; Th 175.5-11 (AD527/8), Ke 643.16-22; Slav: Ist 28.12-22.
Sittas (429.17): written as 'Ztittas' Ba (see PLRE III).
duces,* governors and *comites (429.19): 'satraps, *duces, comites* and governors' Slav.

four *numeri* from the *magister militum per Orientem* and from that time he became a great bulwark for the Romans. Sittas was a warlike man who married the sister of the Augusta Theodora, named Komito, whose wedding took place in the palace of Antiochos near the hippodrome in Constantinople.

11. In that year the emperor promulgated a sacred decree concerning bishops, heads of orphanages, *oikonomoi* and wardens of hospices, that each of those mentioned above should have power of bequest only over those things held as property before entering office, and that immediately upon appointment his wealth was to be declared.

12. In that year the district of Sykai with its theatre and walls was reconstructed, and he renamed it Justinianoupolis.

13. In that year the queen of the Sabir Huns came over to the Romans. She was a woman manly both in size and wisdom, named Boa, a widow with two small sons and 100,000 people under her command. **(431)** She ruled the lands of the Huns after the death of her husband Blach. Having been won over by the emperor Justinian with many gifts of imperial raiment and a variety of silver vessels and not a little money, she took captive two other Hunnish kings whom Koades, the emperor of the Persians, had persuaded into an alliance with him against the Romans. Queen Boa captured them as they were passing into Persian territory to Koades, emperor of the Persians, with a force of 20,000 men, the majority of whom were slain in the battle. She captured one of the kings, named Tyranx, and she sent him as a prisoner to the emperor Justinian in Constantinople, who had him executed at St Konon's on the other side of the Golden Horn. Glom, the other king of the Huns, was

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11. Bo 430.12-17; Th 176.20-24 (AD527/8), Ke 645.9-14, MS 9.21 (193); Slav: Ist 28.23-29.2.
to be declared (430.16): Slav adds 'From the time he is subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, then the following applies: whatever he acquires or disposes of subsequently - that is, after taking office - all goes to the church or to the institution which he administers'; cf Th, Ke, MS.
12. Bo 430.18-17; CP 618.14-17 (AD528); Slav: Ist 29.2-4.
In that year the district...Justinianoupolis (430.18-19): 'In that year the emperor Justinian restored the suburb formerly known as Sykai, which lies opposite Constantinople, and also the theatre at Sykai and its walls, giving it the status of a city and renaming it Justinianoupolis' CP, cf Slav; CP adds 'He also built the bridge by which one can make the crossing from the other side to the all-blessed city'.
13. Bo 430.20-431.15; Th 175.12-23 (AD527/8), Ke 644.1-12, JN 90.61-5; Slav: Ist 29.4-8.
Boa (430.22): 'Boa, rex' Slav, Th, cf 'Borex' Ke.
Blach (431.2): written as 'Balach' Th, JN, 'Malach' Ke.
two other Hunnish kings (431.5): 'two kings from another tribe of the inner Huns' Slav, Th.
into Persian territory (431.8): Slav, Th, Ke add 'through her own land'.
Tyranx (431.11): written as 'Styrax' Th, Ke, 'Stourax' Slav, 'Astera' JN.
Glom (431.13): written as 'Glones' Th, 'Gloes' Ke, 'Eglon' Slav, 'Aglanos' JN.

killed in the battle by the queen's warriors.

14. In that year the king of the Huns near Bosporos, named Grod, also came over to the emperor. He came to Constantinople and was baptized. The emperor stood sponsor for him at baptism, and after bestowing many gifts upon him sent him away to his own country, to guard the Roman territory, including Bosporos, the city built by Herakles who came from Spain. Herakles made it contribute a yearly tax of cattle to the Romans instead of money, and named the city "Boon phoros" (tax of cattle) (432) which is what he had ordered it to pay. He stationed in that city a *numerus* of Roman or Italian troops known as Spaniards, giving them a tribune to be on guard with them. There was trade in the city between Romans and Huns.

This king who had become Christian went away to his own country near Bosporos where he found his brother. Leaving him behind with a force of Huns, he went away. The Huns used to worship idols; they took these and melted them down, for they were made of silver and electrum, and they exchanged them at Bosporos, taking *miliaresia* in return. The priests of the Huns were furious, and killed the king and made his brother Mougel king in his place. Fearing the Romans, they went to Bosporos and killed those who were guarding the city.

Hearing this, the emperor made the ex-consul John the *comes* of the Straits of the Pontic Sea, and ordered him to take up his position at the place known as Hieron, at the mouth of the Pontic Sea, despatching him with a force of Goths. The emperor began a campaign against the Huns, sending ships full of soldiers, together with an exarch, through the Pontic Sea and sending likewise by land a large force under the command of the general Badouarios. When the barbarians heard this (433)

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queen's warriors (431.15): Th, Ke add 'And in this way she became an ally at peace with the emperor Justinian'. Slav adds '(Here) ends the Hellenic chronicle'.
14. Bo 431.16-433.2; Th 175.24-176.17 (AD527/8), Ke 644.13-645.6, PsD 845 (AD533/4), MS 9.21 (192), JN 90.66-9.
Grod (431.17): written as 'Gordas' Th, Ke, 'Gourdios' MS.
to Constantinople (431.18): Th adds 'and became a Christian', cf Ke, JN.
to be on guard with them (432.3): Th adds 'against the Huns and to exact the cattle tax', cf Ke.
trade (432.4): 'much trade' Th.
This king (432.5): Th adds 'of the Huns'.
his brother (432.6): Th, Ke add 'and told him of the emperor's love and liberality and that he had become Christian', cf JN.
furious (432.10): Th adds 'and, united with his brother, went away', cf Ke.
Mougel (432.12): written as 'Mouageris' Th, 'Mougeras' Ke.
Fearing the Romans...guarding the city (432.12-13): 'In fear that the Romans might seek him out, they fell suddenly on the city of Bosphoros and killed the tribune Dalmatius and his soldiers' Th, cf Ke.
the ex-consul John (432.16): Th adds 'the grandson of John the Scyth and son of the patrician Rufinus', cf Ke.
force of Goths (432.17): 'large force of Scyths' Th, Ke, cf JN.
by land (432.20): Th, Ke add 'Godilas from Odyssopolis and'.

they fled, and Bosporos became peaceful under Roman government.

15. In that year a war occurred among the Indians, between those called the Axoumitai and the Homeritai. The cause of the war was as follows.

The emperor of the Axoumitai is further into the interior than the Homeritai, while the emperor of the Homeritai is near Egypt. It is through the country of the Homeritai that the Roman traders reach Axoum and the Indian empires further into the interior. For there are seven empires of Indians and Ethiopians - three of the Indians and four of the Ethiopians, the latter being close to the Ocean in the areas further east. Now when the traders entered the country of the Homeritai for trading purposes, Dimnos, the emperor of the Homeritai heard of it and killed them, confiscating all their goods. He alleged that the Christian Romans were ill-treating the Jews in their territory, and killing many of them each year. That was why trade was cut off. The emperor of the Axoumitai declared to the emperor of the Homeritai, "You have done wrong in killing the Christian Roman traders, and you have caused damage to my empire". As a result of this there was great enmity between them, and they went to war against each other. When the emperor of the Axoumitai was on the point of fighting, he made a vow, **(434)** saying, "If I defeat Dimnos the emperor of the Homeritai, I shall become a Christian, for I am fighting him on behalf of the Christians". The emperor of the Axoumitai was victorious and took Dimnos prisoner, killed him and all his forces, and took over his land and empire.

After the victory he sent two of his senators and with them 200 men to Alexandria, asking the emperor Justinian that he might receive a bishop and clergy, be introduced to and taught the Christian mysteries and be baptized, and that all the land of India pass under the Romans. All this news was brought to the emperor Justinian by Licinius, the *augustalios* of Alexandria. The emperor decreed that they should take whomever they wanted as bishop. The Indian ambassadors chose the

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they fled (433.1): Th, Ke add 'and disappeared', cf JN.
under Roman government (433.1): Th, Ke add 'without fear'. See Patzig, 1892, 26 on the textual variants of this passage.
15. Bo 433.2-434.18; Th 222.33-223.27 (AD542/3), Ke 656.6-15, PsD 846 (AD534/5), JN 90.71-8.
Axoumitai (433.4): Th adds 'Indians', and probably after 'Homeritai' adds 'Jews' though the text has a partial lacuna.
areas further east (433.11; Bury, 1897, 229): 'eastern areas' Bo.
Dimnos (433.13): written as 'Damianos' Th (and elsewhere), Ke, 'Damnus' JN, 'Dimnun' PsD.
trade was cut off (433.17): Th adds 'with the more inland Indians', cf JN.
The emperor of the Axoumitai (433.18): Th adds 'Adad', (cf 'Andas' 434.16, cf 'Andug' PsD) here and elsewhere.
to my empire (433.20): Th adds 'and inland India by preventing Roman traders from reaching us', cf JN.
was victorious (434.3): Th adds 'with the help of God', cf Ke.
After the victory (434.6): Th adds 'and giving thanks to God', cf Ke.
***augustalios* of Alexandria** (434.12): Th adds 'and Justinian rejoiced greatly at this'.
Indian ambassadors (434.14): Th adds 'after thorough enquiries'.

paramonarios of St John's in Alexandria, a devout and celibate man named John, 62 years of age. Taking the bishop and the clergy whom John himself had chosen, they brought them back to the land of India to Andas their emperor.

16. In that year it happened that enmity developed between the *dux* of Palestine Diomedes, a *silentiarius,* and the phylarch Arethas. Arethas took fright and went to the inner *limes* towards India. On learning this Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen, attacked the Roman phylarch, **(435)** captured him and killed him, for he had 30,000 men with him. On learning this, the emperor Justinian wrote to the *duces* of Phoenice, Arabia and Mesopotamia and to the phylarchs of the provinces to go after him and pursue him and his army. There set out at once the phylarch Arethas, Gnouphas, Naaman, Dionysios *dux* of Phoenice, John *dux* of Euphratesia, and the chiliarch Sebastianus with their military force. Learning of this Alamoundaros the Saracen fled to Indian territory with the Saracen force that he had. The Roman *duces* and phylarchs went in with an accompanying force and, not finding him anywhere there, they set off towards Persian territory. They captured his camp and took prisoner a number of men, women and children, as many dromedaries as they found and other animals of various kinds. They burnt four Persian fortresses, capturing the Saracens and Persians in them, and they returned victorious to Roman territory in the month of April of
AD528 the 6th indiction.

17. The emperor also completed the public bath in Constantinople known as Dagistheos', which the emperor Anastasios had begun to build. He built the central hall of the Basilican cistern **(436)**, intending to bring the water of Hadrian's aqueduct into it. He also reconstructed the city's aqueduct.

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their emperor (434.18): Th adds 'and so became believers in Christ and were baptized', cf Ke.
16. Bo 434.19-435.17; Th 179.15-27 (AD528/9), JN 90.79-80.
phylarch Arethas (434.20): Th adds 'of these Saracens under the Romans'.
killed him (435.1): Th adds 'and took his women and children and returned'.
Indian territory (435.9): Th adds 'where none of the Romans have ever been'.
as many dromedaries...kinds (435.14): 'as many Roman prisoners as they found, plus camels, sheep, oxen and much silk and clothing' Th.
victorious (435.17); 'most victorious' Th.
in the month...indiction (435.17; Bury, 1897, 229): om Bo.
17. Bo 435.18-436.2; CP 618.20-619.6 (AD528), Th 176.24-27 (AD527/8), Ke 645.14-16.
known as Dagistheos' (435.20): 'in the quarter of Dagistheos' CP, Th.
He built the central hall of the Basilican cistern (435.20-436.1): 'He made the central hall of the Basilica of Illos into a great reservoir' CP, Th, cf Ke.
He also reconstructed the city's aqueduct (436.2): 'The emperor reconstructed this aqueduct which had been built previously by the emperor Hadrian to provide water for the people of Byzantion before the foundation of Byzantion' CP (reading ἱδρυέσθαι for ὑδρεύεσθαι 'before Byzantion had a water supply'); see Downey, 1937b, 205.

18. In that year some of the bishops from various provinces were accused of living immorally in matters of the flesh and of homosexual practices. Amongst them was Isaiah, bishop of Rhodes, an ex-*praefectus vigilum* at Constantinople, and likewise the bishop from Diospolis in Thrace, named Alexander. In accordance with a sacred ordinance they were brought to Constantinople and were examined and condemned by Victor the city prefect, who punished them: he tortured Isaiah severely and exiled him and he amputated Alexander's genitals and paraded him around on a litter. The emperor immediately decreed that those detected in pederasty should have their genitals amputated. At that time many homosexuals were arrested and died after having their genitals amputated. From then on there was fear amongst those afflicted with homosexual lust.

19. In that year Pompeioupolis in Mysia suffered from the wrath of God. When the earthquake occurred, the ground suddenly split open and half the city with its inhabitants was swallowed up. They were beneath the ground and the sound of their voices was carried to the survivors. The emperor made many benefactions for excavations **(437)** to rescue those beneath the ground, and equally to those left alive and to the city for its reconstruction.

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18. Bo 436.3-16; Th 177.11-17 (AD528/9), Ke 645.17-646.2, GM 645.1-8, MS 9.26 (221).
He tortured...genitals (436.10-11): cf 'He mutilated the genitals of some and ordered sharp straws to be inserted into the genital orifices of others and they were to be paraded naked in the forum' Ke, cf MS; cf 'they were punished dreadfully by the emperor' Th.
on a litter (436.11-12): Th adds 'and the crier yelled out, "As bishops, you are not to abuse your holy dress"', cf MS.
19. Bo 436.17-437.2; Th 216.17-22 (AD535/6), JE 225.26-226.2 (AD538/9), GM 626,15-19, PsD 850 (AD538/9), MS 9.21 (193).
wrath of God (436.17): JE adds 'Not only was this city, like others, demolished by the earthquakes, but there occurred an event of portentous horror'.
split open (436.18): JE adds 'in the middle of the city', cf MS.
swallowed up (436.19): JE adds 'into a terrible, grim chasm. As it is written, it descended alive into the underworld', cf MS.
They were beneath the ground...survivors (436.20): 'Those who had fallen into the terrible, grim trench, buried deep in the earth, all together called upon the survivors from the ground in a most piteous tone for many days. The latter, though their hearts were wrung by the wails rising from the uttermost depths, were able to bring them no help' JE, cf Th, MS.
The emperor (436.21): 'When this news was brought to the emperor, he' JE.
and equally...reconstruction (437.1-2): 'But when not even one person could be helped or saved in any way, he gave gold to the surviving inhabitants, who had escaped the cruel and bitter anger aroused by our sins and were safe, for the restoration of the rest of the city' JE; see Brooks, 1892, 295. One may add that the Syriac of JE may well be more emotional than the original Malalas.

20. The emperor renewed the laws decreed by previous emperors and made new laws which he sent to each city: that a governor should not build a house or buy property while he held office, unless a relative of his was involved; the purpose of this was to prevent owners from being coerced or anyone else forced to make a bequest to him because of his official position. Likewise in the case of natural children: that they should inherit according to the law of the emperor Anastasios. As regards an heir: that he should be permitted to reject the inheritance whenever he wished and he should not be restricted by a time limit. As regards witnesses: that private citizens should be forced to give evidence even against their will.

The emperor revoked the Gothic wood-and-oil tax, relieving tax-payers of this burden.

21. During his reign two Hunnish generals invaded Scythia and Moesia with an army, Badouarios and Justin being *magistri militum* of the Romans there. They went out against the Huns and, when a battle took place, Justin was killed in the fighting. **(438)** Constantiolus, the son of Florentius, took his place as *magister militum per Moesiam*. The Huns went plundering as far as Thrace. The *magister militum* Constantiolus went out against them, with Godilas and the *magister militum per Illyricum* Askoum the Hun, whom the emperor Justinian had sponsored in holy baptism. The Huns were surrounded in the fighting and many of them fell, all their booty passing out of their hands. The Romans were victorious and even killed the two kings. On their way back they were met by other Huns. When they joined battle, the Roman generals, being weakened from their exercise, turned and ran. The Huns came in pursuit and lassoed the Roman exarchs as they fled. Godilas drew his sword, cut the lasso and made off. Constantiolus was pulled from his horse to the ground and Askoum was captured. After taking the two prisoners they handed back Constantiolus, for whom they received 10,000 *nomismata* from the Roman emperor, and he returned to Constantinople. They kept Askoum the Hun and returned to their own territory with many other prisoners. The region of Thrace was then at peace.

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20. Bo 437.3-18; Th 177.17-21 (AD528/9), CP 619.8-10 (AD529), Ke 646.2-4, MS 9.21 (193). Cf Bo 448.6-10, para 38 (apart from CP the later witnesses combine Malalas' two entries).
made new laws which he sent to each city (437.4-5): 'made a *monobiblos* entitled "The New Constitutions". In this he stipulated' Th, cf Ke, MS.
build a house or buy property (437.6): 'buy land or build a house or inherit alien property except from somebody related to him' Th.
21. Bo 437.19-438.20; Th 217.26-218.17 (AD538/9), Ke 651.17-23.
Hunnish (437.19): 'Bulgarian' Th, Ke here and elsewhere; see Beševliev, 1980, 340-5.
generals (437.19): 'kings' Th.
army (437.20): Th adds 'of Bulgarians and a *droungos*'.
Badouarios and Justin...there (437.21): 'when Justin was *magister militum per Moesiam* and Badouarios in Scythia' Th.
Askoum (438.4 etc): written as 'Akoum' Th, Ke.
way back (438.8): Th adds 'joyfully', cf Ke.
10,000 *nomismata* (438.16): cf 'a thousand *nomismata*' Th.

22. In that year Probus the patrician, a relative of the emperor Anastasios, incurred anger for having slandered the emperor Justinian. A *silentium et conventus* was held to produce a written record, **(439)** and when all the proceedings had been read out to the emperor after Probus' conviction at a full meeting of the senate, the emperor took the proceedings and tore them up, saying to Probus, "I forgive you for the offence you committed against me. Pray then that God too may forgive you". The emperor was applauded by the senate.

23. In that year a man called Eulalios, a *comes domesticorum,* went from riches to poverty in the following manner: a fire broke out where he was living and he escaped naked with his three children. He owed a great many debts and, when on the point of death, made a will in favour of the emperor, saying in his will: "The most pious Justinian is to provide for my daughters at a daily rate of 15 *folles.* When they are full-grown and are entering into marriage they are to receive a dowry of ten *litrai* of gold each. My creditors are to be discharged by my heir". Upon this Eulalios died. The will was reported to the emperor by the *curator.* He ordered him to take up the inheritance. He went to the house where Eulalios had lived and, after making an inventory of his property, his wealth was found to amount to 564 *nomismata.* Returning, **(440)** he reported to the emperor the valuation of the property and the legacies bequeathed by him. On hearing this the emperor instructed the *curator* Makedonios to take up the inheritance. When the *curator* objected to the emperor that the value of the estate was not sufficient for the terms of the will, the emperor gave his command, saying, "Why are you preventing me from taking up the inheritance when I wish to do a pious act? Go, discharge all his creditors and the legacies devised by him. As for his three daughters, I order that they be brought to the Augusta Theodora to be looked after in the imperial apartments, and I order that there be given to them as a dowry 20 *litrai* of gold each and all the property that their father left to them".

24. At that time the pious Theodora added the following to her other good works. Those known as brothel-keepers used to go about in every district on the look-out for poor men who had daughters and giving them, it is said, their oath and a few *nomismata,* they used to take the girls as though under a contract; they used to make them into public prostitutes, dressing them up as their wretched lot required and, receiving from them the miserable price of their bodies, they forced them into prostitution. She ordered that all such brothel-keepers should be arrested as a matter of urgency. When they had been brought in with the girls, **(441)** she ordered each of them to declare on oath what they had paid the girls' parents. They said they had given them five *nomismata* each. When they had all given information on oath, the pious empress returned the money and freed the girls from the yoke of their wretched slavery, ordering that henceforward there should be no brothel-keepers. She presented the girls with a set of clothes and

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22. Bo 438.21-439.7.
23. Bo 439.8-440.13; Ke 637.3-9.
24. Bo 440.14-441.7.
as though under a contract (440.18): a difficult phrase, cf Justinian, *Novel* 14.
all such brothel-keepers (440.22; Bury, 1897, 229): 'all' om Bo.

dismissed them with one *nomisma* each.

25. At the end of this indiction the Augusta Theodora set out for the place known as Pythion with patricians and *cubicularii*, accompanied by 4,000 people. After giving generously to the churches in each place she returned to Constantinople.

26. In that year news was brought to the emperor Justinian of a battle between the Persians and the Romans following a Persian invasion of Mesopotamia by an army of 30,000 men under Xerxes, the son of the emperor Koades. His elder son Perozes was fighting in Lazica and Persarmenia with a large force, and at that time their father Koades did not enter Roman territory. Against Meran and Xerxes there set out the ex-*dux* of Damascus, Koutzis the son of Vitalianus, an excellent soldier, and Sebastianus with the Isaurian contingent, and Proclianus the *dux* of Phoenice and the *comes* Basileios. Belisarios and Tapharas the phylarch were also with them. Tapharas **(442)** was thrown to the ground and killed when his horse stumbled, and Proclianus likewise. Sebastianus and Basileios were taken prisoners, Koutzis was captured after being wounded, but Belisarios escaped by taking flight. When these events were reported to the emperor Justinian, he was extremely distressed. Some generals also fell on the Persian side with many of their forces, and the Persians returned to their own country.

The emperor sent senators from Constantinople to defend the cities of the East with their forces, the patrician Plato to Amida, the patrician Theodoros to Edessa, Alexander the son of Hierios to Beroia, and other senators to Souron and Constantia to defend the cities. At that time the patrician Pompeios was sent with a large force, which included Illyrians, Scythians, Isaurians and Thracians. Hostilities were suspended by agreement between the Romans and the Persians because of the onset of severe winter conditions.

27. It was at that time that Antioch suffered its sixth calamity from the wrath of God. The earthquake that occurred lasted for one hour and was accompanied by a terrible roaring sound, so the buildings that

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25. Bo 441.8-12; Th 186.8-13 (AD532/3).
Augusta (441.9): 'most pious Augusta' Th.
set out...4,000 people (441.9-10): 'journeyed to the hot springs of Pythia to take the waters. She was accompanied by the patrician Menas the prefect, the patrician Helias the *comes largitionum*, and other patricians and the *cubicularii* and satraps, 4,000 in number' Th.
churches (441.11): Th adds 'poorhouses and monasteries'.
26. Bo 441.13-442.17.
Constantia (442.12): written as 'Constantina' Ba.
27. Bo 442.18-443.7; Th 177.22-33 (AD528/9), Ke 646.5-21, GM 643.3-10, JE 226.3-227.3(AD539/40), PsD 851(AD539/40), MS 9.21 (193-5), 9.29(243).
at that time (442.18): In this year on 29th November at the 3rd hour on a Thursday in the 7th indiction' (ie AD528) Th, JE, Ke; for varying dates of sources, see Stein, 1949, 420, note 2.
wrath of God (442.18): Th, JE, Ke add 'two years after the first shock'.
earthquake (442.19): 'strong earthquake' Th, JE, Ke, GM.
terrible roaring sound (442.20): Th, GM add 'from heaven'; cf JE, MS which add 'like the sound of a roaring bull'.
so the buildings...churches (442.21-22): 'and the trembling ground was shaken by that most dreadful sound, so that the buildings which had

had been reconstructed after the former shocks collapsed, as did the walls and some of the churches. **(443)** When the other cities heard what had happened, they all held processions of prayer in mourning. Parts of the area around the city suffered also. Up to 5,000 lives were lost in this earthquake. The surviving citizens fled to the other cities, but a number of them lived in the mountains. The patriarch Euphraimios reported all these events to the emperor, and when the people at Byzantion heard what had happened, they held processions of prayer for a considerable number of days.

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been reconstructed after their destruction all fell to the ground - the walls and gates of the city, and above all the great church and the other churches and martyrs' shrines, and the other houses which the previous earthquake had spared all collapsed, with few exceptions' JE, cf Th; Th adds 'All the magnificence with which the city had been invested through acts of generosity by the emperor and through the buildings erected by the citizens at their own expense was all destroyed'.

Parts of the...suffered also (443.2): 'the surrounding villages, which had earlier been rebuilt, were all destroyed for a distance of 10 miles. But the 6th earthquake did no damage to Seleukeia or Daphne, cities situated at a distance of 20 miles from Antioch in different directions, which in the 5th disaster had been destroyed and overwhelmed, not by fire but only by the earthquake. They too had struck terror into onlookers' JE.

up to 5,000 (443.3): '4870' Th, GM, cf '4770' MS.

in this earthquake (443.3): JE adds 'apart from the injured, of whom some had broken limbs, others had suffered a variety of injuries. But God's mercy and grace were made manifest in the fact that he did not permit the city again to catch fire and be burned as in the last disaster'.

The surviving citizens (443.4): 'The majority of the surviving citizens' JE.

fled (443.4; Bury, 1897, 226): om Bo.

the other cities (443.4): JE adds 'leaving Antioch abandoned and in ruins', cf MS.

in the mountains (443.4): 'on the mountain facing the city, and made themselves huts out of blankets, clothing and rugs, in which to spend the bleak winter. For after the collapse and destruction of Antioch, the earthquake was followed by a harsh winter, and snow fell to a depth of three cubits. Those who had remained in the city itself spent their time in lamentations and great grief. They went on processions of prayer carrying olive branches, barefoot in the snow, and when they had processed in a snow storm out of the city into the open plain as far as the first milestone, they threw themselves headlong into the snow, chanting the "Kyrie eleison". They were a sad and terrible sight as they froze in the snow, very pale, crying out in great bodily and mental pain, and they lay there, grim-faced, weeping, suffering, disfigured by the extreme winter cold. But while they were praying, it was revealed in a vision to a pious Christian that he should tell all the Antiochene citizens who had survived to write on the lintels of the doors of the houses and shops which had remained intact, "Christ is with you ('us' Th, GM): stand". Therefore all the surviving inhabitants wrote this on

28. In that year Laodikeia suffered its first calamity through earthquake. Half the city was brought down by the shock, including the Jewish synagogues, and 7,500 people perished in the shock, a large number of Hebrews and a few Christians. The churches of the city remained intact, being preserved by God. The emperor bestowed two *centenaria* upon the people of Laodikeia to excavate their city.

29. In that year Antioch was renamed Theoupolis by order of the emperor. Also a written oracle was discovered at Antioch, which read as follows, "And you, unhappy city, shall not be called the city of Antiochos". Likewise it was found in the papers of those who record the acclamations in the city, that they had provided an omen when they had chanted for the city's name to be changed. This too was reported to the emperor **(444)** Justinian, and he granted sacred munificence to the people of Antioch, Laodikeia and Seleukeia, so that their taxes were remitted for three years. He bestowed 200 *litrai* on these cities and the title of *illustris* on their land-owners.

30. In that year the Manichean belief appeared in Persian territory, and the Persian emperor was angry when he learned of it, as were equally the chief *magoi* of the Persians. These Manicheans had even created a bishop, named Indarazar. The Persian emperor held a

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the buildings which had not collapsed, and so, with this assurance, they entered them' JE, cf Th, GM, MS; see Brooks, 1892, 295-6.

28. Bo 443.8-15; JE 227.4-13, PsD 852(AD540/1), MS 9.21(195), 9.29(243).

In that year (443.8): JE adds 'on 2nd January at the 8th hour in the year 852 (AD540/1)'.

earthquake (443.8): JE adds 'the city was completely destroyed from the Antioch gate to the Jewish quarter, and the land moved seawards. But the part to the left of the East of the church of the Blessed Mother of God did not collapse'.

in the shock (443.11): JE adds 'those who were counted, at least'.

a large number of Hebrews and a few Christians (443.11-12): JE adds 'were found alive but very seriously injured, 274 Hebrews and 40 Christians'.

preserved by God (443.13): JE adds 'and no fire raged at this destruction'.

excavate their city (443.14): JE adds 'and so the city was restored and its walls rebuilt'.

29. Bo 443.16-444.4; Th 178.5-7 (AD528/9), cf Eccl Hist 110.8-9.

by order of the emperor (443.17) Ba first hand, cf Th: 'by order of St Symeon the Miracle-Worker' Ba second hand; see Bury, 1897, 229 and Chrysos, 1966, 147-52. 'The emperors ordained that the city be named Theoupolis' Eccl Hist, but cf Book 17 para 22.

30. Bo 444.5-19; Th 169.27-170.24 (AD523/4), PsD 842 (AD530/1), MS 9.21 (190-1).

In that year the Manichean belief...Indarazar (444.5-9): 'Kavades, the son of Perozes, the emperor of the Persians, in a single day destroyed thousands upon thousands of Manicheans, along with their bishop, Indazaros, and including those Persian senators who were of their persuasion. For his third son, named Phthasouarsan, whom his daughter Sambike had borne to him, had been brought up by the Manicheans, and won over to their views. They declared to him, "Your father has grown old and if he happens to die, the chief *magoi* will make

silentium and, having detained all the Manicheans with their bishop, he gave orders to the armed force that was in attendance and they put to the sword all the Manicheans, their bishop and his clergy. They were all slaughtered before the eyes of the emperor and the Christian bishop. Their property was confiscated, and the emperor gave their churches to the Christians. He also sent out sacred rescripts throughout the state governed by him, that any Manichean who was discovered should be burnt to death, and he had all their books burnt. This was related by the Persian carrier, who was baptized and renamed Timotheos.

31. In that year the Roman emperor renamed the fortress known as Anasarthon Theodorias after the Augusta, having granted it the status of a city. Likewise he renamed the fortress at Sousa Justinianoupolis.

32. **(445)** In that year Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen, came with a force of Persians and Saracens and plundered First Syria as far as the borders of Antioch, even burning some places within its territory. On hearing these events, the Roman exarchs went out against them. Once the Saracens became aware of this, they took all their booty and escaped across the outer *limes*.

33. At that time the aqueduct of Alexandria the Great was

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one of your brothers emperor so that their own teaching should prevail. We are able, however, by our prayers to persuade your father to abdicate from the kingdom and to assign it to you, so that you may strengthen the teaching of the Manicheans everywhere". He agreed to do this if he became emperor. Having been informed of it' Th.

The Persian emperor held a *silentium* (444.10): 'Kavades ordered a *conventus* to be held' Th; Th adds 'for the alleged purpose of making his son Phthasouarsan emperor'.

having detained all the Manicheans (444.10): 'He ordered all the Manicheans to be present at the *conventus*' Th, cf MS.

with their bishop (444.10): Th adds 'their women and children, and likewise the chief *magos* Glonazes and the *magoi* and also the bishop of the Christians Boazanes, who was loved by Kavades for being an excellent physician. Having summoned the Manicheans he said, "I rejoice at your teaching and, while I am still alive, I want to give my empire to my son Phthasouarsan, who shares your beliefs. But set yourselves apart to receive him". Encouraged by this they stood apart with confidence', cf MS.

before the eyes of the emperor (444.13): 'before the eyes of the chief *magos*' Th.

31. Bo 444.20-23.

32. Bo 445.1-7; Th 178.7-15 (AD528/9).

In that year (445.1): 'On 21st March of the 7th indiction' Th.

Alamoundaros, the Persian Saracen (445.1): 'Alamoundaros, son of Zekike, kinglet of the Saracens' Th.

the borders of Antioch (445.3): Th adds 'at a place called Litargon and the estates of Skapathai. He killed many people'.

its territory (445.4): 'the territory outside Chalkedon and the Sermian estate and the Kynegian country' Th.

booty (445.6): Th adds 'and prisoners'.

outer (445.6): 'inner' Th; see Rubin, 1960, 492-3, note 820.

33. Bo 445.8-9.

reconstructed by the emperor Justinian.

34. When the emperor heard what the Saracens had done, he sent a considerable force of infantry, known as the Lykokranitai, from Phrygia and they set out for the Saracen and Persian territory. At that time Belisarios was appointed exarch of the Romans by the emperor, for the patrician Hypatios, the previous *magister militum*, had been dismissed, and Belisarios was entrusted with the armed forces and the *duces* for the war against the Persians.

In that year the Scythian Hermogenes, the ex-*magister* and a learned man, was sent to Persian territory.

AD529 35. In the month of June of the 7th indiction a riot broke out among the local people when the Samaritans fought with the Christians and Jews, and many parts of Scythopolis were set on fire by the Samaritans. On hearing of this the emperor was angry with the governor Bassus, and so he relieved him of his office and had him beheaded in that district. When the Samaritans **(446)** learnt of the emperor's anger against them, they rebelled and crowned a bandit chief, a Samaritan named Julian, and they burnt estates and churches and killed many Christians. On entering Neapolis Julian watched chariot races with a large number of Samaritans, and the first event was won by a certain

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34. Bo 445.10-19; Th 178.15-22 (AD528/9).
When (445.10): 'In the month of April of the 7th indiction' Th.
the patrician Hypatios (445.15): Th adds 'the son of Sekoundinos'.
In that year (445.17): 'On 12th May' Th.
Hermogenes, the ex-*magister* (445.17): 'Hermogenes the *magister*' Th.
was sent (445.17): 'arrived in Antioch' Th.
to Persian territory (445.18): 'sent as an envoy by the emperor Justinian to discuss peace with the emperor of the Persians' Th.
35. Bo 445.19-447.21; De insid 44 (171.6-34), CP 619.14-620.2 (AD529), Th 178.22-27 (AD528/9), Ke 646.22-647.3, Eccl Hist 110.12-15, JN 93.4-9, MS 9.21 (191).
named Julian (446.2): De insid adds 'son of the man known as Sabaron'; cf JN which adds 'And he seduced many of his people by his lying statement when he declared, "God hath sent me to re-establish the Samaritan kingdom"; just as Jeroboam the son of Nebat who, reigning after the wise Solomon the son of David, seduced the people of Israel and made them serve idols'.
and they burnt estates and churches and killed many Christians (446.3): 'The Samaritans attacked the Christians there and massacred many of them in this way. There was a custom which was common in the land of Palestine and in the whole of the East that on the Sabbath, after the reading of the gospel, the children of the Christians would leave the church and go and play near the synagogues of the Samaritans, and throw stones at their houses. It was the custom of the Samaritans on this day to withdraw and keep to themselves. On that occasion they could not bear to give way to the Christians, and so when the children came out after the holy gospel and went to the Samaritan synagogues and started throwing stones, the Samaritans came out against the children with swords and killed many of them. Many children fled to the holy altar of St Basil's, which is there, and some of the Samaritans pursued and slew them under the altar' De insid.

Nikeas, a Christian charioteer. There were other charioteers at Neapolis, both Samaritans and Jews, whom the charioteer Nikeas defeated. When he approached the rebel to be honoured as was his due, he asked him what his religion was. When he learnt that he was a Christian, he took the fact that the very first victory had gone to the Christians as an ill omen against himself, which in fact it proved to be, and so he immediately sent and had the charioteer beheaded in the hippodrome. He also ill-treated the bishop of the city. When the governors of Palestine and the *dux* Theodoros, the snub-nosed, learnt of this, they immediately reported the daring rebel to the emperor Justinian. The *dux* set out against Julian with a large force, taking with him the phylarch of Palestine. On learning of this Julian, the Samaritan rebel, fled from Neapolis. The *dux* pursued him with his force, and they joined battle. The *dux* cut down a large number of the Samaritans and captured the Samaritan Julian, whom God **(447)** delivered into his hands. He beheaded Julian and sent his head with the diadem to the emperor Justinian. When the emperor learnt about the rebellion of the Samaritans and the ill-fated Julian, the information from the governors arrived at Constantinople at the same time as the rebel leader's head. 20,000 of the Samaritans fell in the battle. Some of them fled to the mountain known as Garizim, and others to Trachon, to what is known as the Iron Mountain. The Saracen phylarch of the Romans took 20,000 boys and girls as booty from the Samaritans; he took these as prisoners and sold them in Persian and Indian territory.

When the emperor learnt that the Samaritans had burnt many estates in Palestine at the start of their rebellion, he was angry with the *dux* of Palestine for not having proceeded against them and scattered them as soon as he heard that they were gathering, before their attack on the estates and the city. He relieved the *dux* of his office with ignominy and ordered him to be kept under strict guard. Eirenaios the Antiochene was sent as *dux* in his place. He set out against the Samaritans who still remained in the mountains and killed many of them, exacting a harsh vengeance.

When the governors...the phylarch of Palestine (446.13-17): this passage is hard to reconcile with its equivalent in De insid, 'When Justinian learnt of this, he sent the ex-prefect Eirenaios, son of Pentadia, giving him authority to write to the regional governors. Having led these out with a military force, he also brought Theodotos, surnamed Magalas, the *dux* of Palestine, with a large body of men, and many others, to take up arms against the Samaritans': it seems however to belong at this point, despite the double role it implies for Eirenaios, son of Pentadia (see 447.19 below).

head with the diadem (447.2): De insid adds 'and the rest of his royal dress'.

Garizim (447.7): written as 'Arparizin' Ba.

was sent as *dux* (447.19): 'was sent as *magister militum*' CP.

harsh vengeance (447.21): CP adds 'Some of them in terror were converted under compulsion to Christianity, and they were received and baptized. To this day they play a double game: at moments when their governors are harsh they wear a false mask and treacherously and maliciously proclaim themselves Christians, while when their governors are slack and avaricious the Samaritans act as haters of Christians - as

36. In the month of July the emperor of the Persians, Koades, received **(448)** the *magister* Hermogenes, who had been sent on an embassy of friendship with gifts marking the proclamation of the emperor Justinian.

37. At that time it happened that Amaseia in Pontus suffered through the wrath of God, as did parts of its surrounding area. The emperor gave generously to the city.

38. In that year the re-codification of the ancient laws took place. When he had composed his own laws the emperor sent them out to all the cities, in order that people involved in legal proceedings should not suffer hardship or loss and matters should be brought to a speedy conclusion. When he had compiled these as a single volume he sent it to Athens and Beirut.

39. The emperor divided off from Antioch in First Syria the cities of Laodikeia, Gabala and Paltos, and from Apameia in Second Syria the city of Balaneai, creating a province which he named Theodorias and gave metropolitan status to Laodikeia. But he did not free the bishop of Laodikeia from his subordination to the patriarch of the city of the Antiochenes.

40. In that year Myra, the metropolis of Lykia, suffered through the wrath of God, and the emperor gave generously to the survivors and the city for building purposes.

41. In that year a riot occurred in the theatre at Antioch the Great, and news of the riot was reported to the emperor. He was angry and from that time he prohibited **(449)** the performance of theatrical shows in the city of the Antiochenes.

42. In that year there was a great persecution of Hellenes. Many

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if they know nothing of Christianity - persuading their governors by bribery to favour the Samaritans'; for this whole revolt, see Winkler, 1965, 447.

36. Bo 447.22-448.2; Th 178.27-29 (AD528/9).

In the month of July (448.2): Th adds 'of the 7th indiction'; on Th's rewriting of this passage, see Winkler, 1965, 447.

marking the proclamation of the emperor Justinian (448.2): 'concerning peace' Th.

37. Bo 448.3-5.

38. Bo 448.6-10; CP 619.8-10 (AD529), 633.19-634.2 (AD534), Ke 646.2-4, MS 9.21 (193). Cf Bo 437.3-18, para 20.

In that year...Athens and Beirut (448.6-10): cf CP (AD529) 'In this year the *Codex Justinianus* was completed. By imperial command it was to become valid on 16th March (16th day before the Kalends of April) of the current 7th indiction'.

39. Bo 448.11-16.

to Laodikeia (448.14): 'to it' Ba (leaving unclear to which name the pronoun refers). Cf George of Cyprus, *Descriptio orbis Romani* (ed Gelzer, 1890) 45, 886-90.

40. Bo 448.17-19.

41. Bo 448.20-449.2.

42. Bo 449.3-11; Th 180.11-21 (AD529/30), Ke 647.3-7, PsD 852 (AD540/1), MS 9.24 (207).

In that year (449.3): Th adds 'of the 8th indiction'.

of Hellenes (449.3): Th, Ke add 'and of every heresy'.

had their property confiscated. Some of them died: Makedonios, Asklepiodotos, Phokas, the son of Krateros, and Thomas the *quaestor*. This caused great fear. The emperor decreed that those who held Hellenic beliefs should not hold any state office, whilst those who belonged to the other heresies were to disappear from the Roman state, after they had been given a period of three months to embrace the orthodox faith. This sacred decree was displayed in all provincial cities.

43. At that time Priscus, ex-consul and former imperial secretary, incurred anger. His property was confiscated and he was made a deacon and sent to Kyzikos.

44. At that time the *magister* Hermogenes returned from Persia, after he had presented the gifts, and reported the reply from Koades the Persian emperor to Justinian the Roman emperor. He brought a letter that read as follows:

> "Koades, Emperor of Emperors, of the rising sun, to Flavius Justinian Caesar, of the setting moon. We have found it written in our ancient records that we are brothers of one another, and **(450)** that if one of us should stand in need of men or money, the other should provide them. From that time till the present we have remained constant in this. Whenever nations have risen against us, against some we have been compelled to fight, whilst others we have persuaded by gifts of money to submit to us, so it is clear that everything in our treasury has been spent. We informed the emperors Anastasios and Justin about this, but we achieved nothing. Thus we have been compelled to mobilize for war, and having become neighbours of Roman territory we have been compelled to destroy the peoples in between on the pretext of their disobedience, even though they had

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Some of them died: Makedonios, Asklepiodotos (449.4): 'The ex-*referendarius* Makedonios was denounced and also the ex-prefect Asklepiodotos who, in fear, took poison and died. Pegasios of Helioupolis was tried by the courts along with his children' Th.
Phokas, the son of Krateros, and Thomas the *quaestor* (449.5): 'Among others Phokas the patrician, son of Krateros and Thomas the *quaestor* were arrested' Th; see Bury, 1923, 367, note 3.
Hellenic beliefs (449.7): Th, Ke add 'and heretics'.
state office (449.7): Th, Ke add 'but only orthodox Christians'.
43. Bo 449.12-14; De insid 45 (171.35-172.6), Th 186.15-17 (AD533/4).
ex-consul (449.12): cf 'consul' Th.
former imperial secretary (449.13): De insid adds 'who was *comes excubitorum*'.
incurred anger (449.12): De insid adds 'for having insulted and slandered the empress Theodora', cf Th.
and sent to Kyzikos (449.14): 'Justinian banished him to Kyzikos, where he was to be put in prison. After being imprisoned he dug his way out and escaped from there to Artake, which he used as a sanctuary. Soon afterwards he was ordered to live at Nikaia as a cleric' De insid, cf Th.
44. Bo 449.15-450.15.

done nothing wrong. But, as pious Christians, spare lives and bodies and give us some of your gold. If you do not do this, prepare yourselves for war. For this you have a whole year's notice, so that we should not be thought to have stolen our victory or to have won the war by trickery".

45. In that year the emperor Justinian bestowed his toga with its imperial jewels upon the Antiochenes; it was displayed in the church known as that of Kassianos.

AD529 46. During the consulship of Decius, Moundos, who by descent belonged to the Gepids and was a king's son, went over to the Romans. After the death of his father he attached himself to Thraustila, his uncle, and lived in Sirmium. **(451)** When the king of Rome, Valemeriacus, known also as Theoderic, learnt this, he sent messages and won Moundos over. Moundos was persuaded and went to Valemeriacus Theoderic, together with his men, and stayed with him fighting in support of him. Moundos left Rome and when he reached the river Danube, he sent ambassadors to the emperor Justinian, requesting that he might become a subject of his empire. Justinian accepted Moundos and his men; he made him *magister militum per Illyricum* and sent him out in this capacity. On arriving in the land of Illyricum he was attacked by the Huns with a large army of various barbarians. He set out and attacked them, and destroyed them all. He sent off booty acquired from them, together with one of their kings. Peace was established in Thrace, and thus fear restrained the barbarian peoples.

47. During the consulship of Decius, the emperor issued a decree and sent it to Athens ordering that no-one should teach philosophy nor interpret the laws; nor should gaming be allowed in any city, for some gamblers who had been discovered in Byzantion had been indulging themselves in dreadful blasphemies. Their hands were cut off and they were paraded around on camels.

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45. Bo 450.16-18.

46. Bo 450.19-451.15; Th 218.31-219.14 (AD539/40), Ke 652.3-12.

king's son (450.20): 'son of Giesmos' Th, Ke; Ke adds 'king of Sirmium'.

his uncle (450.21): 'his maternal uncle' Th.

Moundos left Rome and when he reached (451.4-5): 'After the death of Theoderic, journeying to' Th.

subject of his empire (451.7): Th adds 'and he came to Constantinople'.

Justinian accepted Moundos and his men (451.7-8): 'The emperor bestowed many gifts on him and his sons' Th.

Huns (451.11): 'Bulgarians' Th, Ke.

and one of their kings (451.13): 'and from among the captives he sent their leader and others to Constantinople where they were paraded in the hippodrome' Th.

Peace (451.14): 'Deep peace' Th, Ke.

in Thrace (451.14): Th adds 'for the Huns no longer dared to cross the Danube (cf Ke). The emperor sent the Bulgar prisoners to Armenia and Lazica, and had them enrolled in the *numeri*'.

47. Bo 451.16-21; Vat Gr 163 26v, lines 25-27.

the laws (451.18): 'astrology' Vat ie ἀστρονομίαν for νόμιμα of Bo.

they were paraded around (451.21): reading περιεβωμίσθησαν for περιεβωμβήσθησαν cf Lampe, sv περιβωμβέω.

48. **(452)** In that year an annual income of 4000 *nomismata* was bestowed by the pious emperor upon the hospice in Antioch.

49. In that year the precious relics of the holy martyr Marinos were found in First Syria outside the place known as Gindaroupolis. The visiting priest of the area had very often seen in a vision the place where the saint lay. He had iron nails through all his body from the head down and was stretched out on a board and nailed to it, and he had been placed in a rock that was hollowed out to form a tomb for him. His body was removed and carried away and laid to rest outside the city of the Antiochenes at St Julian's.

50. In that year during the consulship of Lampadios and Orestes, AD530
Hermogenes and the *magister militum* Rufinus were sent as ambassadors of the Romans into Persian territory. When they had reached Dara, which had been renamed Anastasioupolis, they sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians, who put off receiving them. While they were staying at Dara together with the *magister militum* Belisarios, the other exarchs and the army, they encamped outside the city and awaited the response from the Persian emperor. Meram, the chief Persian exarch, and the son of the Persian emperor, with other Persian exarchs were based at Nisibis. When they discovered that the Romans were encamped outside Dara, **(453)** the Persians divided their forces into three commands and attacked with 70,000 men.

Realizing this, the Roman exarchs came out against the Persians and attacked them. In the battle that followed the Persian and Roman armies fought at close quarters; the Romans cut the Persians completely to pieces and also captured a Persian standard. Meram fled with a few men, including the emperor's son, and escaped to Nisibis. In this conflict a Persian exarch named Sagos was slain; the *dux* Sounikas, a Roman exarch, had challenged him to single combat. Here, with the dead strewn over the ground, could be seen a victory over Persian folly.

Hearing of this Koades, the emperor of the Persians, instructed the patrician Rufinus, with the *comes* Alexander, to enter his territory on their embassy.

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48. Bo 452.1-3.
49. Bo 452.4-12; MS 9.24 (206-7).
50. Bo 452.13-453.14; Th 180.21-181.11 (AD529/30).
during the consulship...Rufinus (452.13-15): 'in the month of March of the 8th indiction in Antioch Hermogenes, the *magister* and ex-consul, and Rufinus, the ex-*magister militum* (see PLRE II 955) and patrician' Th.
sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians (452.17): Th adds 'to receive them'.
at Nisibis (452.24): Th adds 'with a large Persian force, in the month of June of the 8th indiction'.
Roman exarchs (453.3): Th adds 'with the *magister*, beginning a skilful campaign'.
In the battle that followed (453.4): 'In a great battle and terrible clash' Th.
Nisibis (453.7): Th adds 'so the Romans won a great victory'.
Rufinus (453.13): Th adds 'alone'.
on their embassy (453.14): Th adds 'in the month of August and, after much discussion, they established the terms of peace and departed peacefully'.

51. In that year a travelling showman from the region of Italy made his appearance. He had with him a tawny-coloured dog which, upon instructions from his master, would perform various remarkable tricks. His master would stand in the market-place and when a crowd had collected to watch he used to take rings from the bystanders - without the dog seeing - and would put them on the ground, covering them with earth. Then he would order the dog to pick up and return their rings to each of them. The dog would hunt around and then, with his mouth, would give his ring back to each person as he recognized it. The dog would also give back a large number of coins from different emperors according to the emperors' names. **(454)** When a crowd of men and women were standing round, he would, when asked, point out pregnant women, brothel-keepers, adulterers, misers and the magnanimous. He always picked them out correctly, and so many people said that he had the spirit of Pytho.

52. During this reign there appeared a tremendous great star in the western region, sending a white beam upwards; its surface emitted flashes of lightning. Some people called it the Firebrand. It continued shining for 20 days, and there were droughts and murders during riots in every city and many other events full of ill omen.

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51. Bo 453.15-454.4; Th 224.15-27 (AD543/4), Th d (de Boor II, 370-1), Ke 657.4-14, GM 643.20-644.12, LG 323.9-19(130.1-12).
travelling (453.16;κωμοδρομῶν Chil):κοσμοδρομῶν Ba; see Bury, 1897, 230.
showman (453.16): Th, Ke add 'named Andreas'.
tawny-coloured dog (453.16): Th, Ke, GM add 'blind'; Th d adds 'not large in size, with its ears and tail cut off'.
rings (453.20): 'gold, silver and iron rings' Th, Ke; GM adds 'and bronze'; Th d adds 'and coins of various emperors'.
hunt around (453.22): Th d adds 'and remove the rings from the ground'.
large number (453.24): 'mixed up' Th, Ke.
The dog would also give back...different emperors (453.23-4): 'and everybody was amazed. Then again he would say to the dog, "Give me the coin of the emperor Leo". The dog would hunt around, take the coin in his mouth and give it to him. And he would say, "Give me Zeno's coin", and the dog would bring it, and likewise for each emperor he told him he would give him the coin with the emperor's inscription' Th d.
picked them out correctly (454.3): Th d adds 'and all pregnant women whom the dog prophesied would have male or female children gave birth accordingly. Thus everybody was astounded'.
spirit of Pytho (454.5): Th d adds 'for its eyes were transformed'.
52. Bo 454.5-10; Th 181.14-18 (AD530/1), GM 643.10-14, JE 227.17-24.
During this reign (454.5): 'In September of this year in the 9th indiction' Th, cf 'In this year in the evening' JE.
star (454.5): Th, GM, cf JE, add 'a comet'.
in the western region (454.6): JE adds 'like a spear of fire'.
Firebrand (454.7): JE adds 'all who saw it were struck with terror'.
and there were droughts (454.9): 'Afterwards many who were waiting for what would happen after that portent saw many wars, the spread of fear, hunger, drought' JE.
murders during riots (454.9): 'universal riots and murders' Th, GM.
ill omen (454.10): cf JE which adds 'We are unable to describe these evils and record them as they were reported on every side'.

53. At the end of the month of September the Roman ambassadors who had been sent to Persian territory returned, having made a treaty. The emperor Justinian, on learning that he had won peace for the Romans, was filled with joy. When he received the letter accompanying the treaty and read it, he found that it was as follows:

> "Our ambassadors who had been sent to your Clemency have now returned and have announced to us the good intention of your paternal disposition. We have rendered thanks for all things to the Lord God in that an event befitting his goodness has taken place and that peace has been made with the help of God to the benefit of the two states and the credit of us both. It is clear that great glory and credit is due in all the earth before God and men for the fact that peace has been established between the two worlds **(455)** under the reign of your Clemency and of us who truly love you. The enemies of both our states will be destroyed when with God's help this peace is established. Our ambassadors then will arrive with all speed, for they must complete what is necessary to secure the peace. We pray indeed that your paternal disposition be preserved for many years".

54. Rufinus was sent once more by the Romans, whence a second letter was despatched to Persian territory; he found the Persian emperor had withdrawn from the peace agreement they had made between them. For news had come that the Samaritans in Roman territory, incurring the anger of the emperor Justinian, as was described above, had fled and gone over to Koades, the Persian emperor, from their own territory of Palestine, and had promised to fight for him. They numbered 50,000. They promised to hand over to the Persian emperor their own land, all Palestine and the Holy Places, a city which possessed donations from various emperors, both a large sum of gold and an untold quantity of precious stones. When the Persian emperor heard this and had been convinced by their statements, he withdrew from the agreement to make the treaty. He made his excuse the question of the gold-bearing area that had been discovered formerly in the time of the emperor Anastasios and was under Roman jurisdiction; these mountains had formerly been part of the Persian state. The gold-bearing mountains lie on the border between Roman Armenia **(456)** and Persarmenia, as the experts say. These mountains produce much gold, for when rain and storms occur the soil of these mountains is washed away and pours out flakes of gold. Previously certain people leased these mountains from the Romans and Persians for 200 *litrai* of gold, but from the time the

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53. Bo 454.11-455.6; Th 181.18-22 (AD530/1).
September (454.11): cf 'November' Th.
Roman ambassadors (454.11): 'the patrician Rufinus from his embassy' Th.
and the credit of us both (454.20; Ba, see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.
many years (455.5): This letter is much more likely to be Justinian's than Koades'; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 119-20.
54. Bo 455.7-456.18; Th 178.29-179.14 (AD528/9).
gold-bearing (455.21, 23; Ba, see Bury, 1897, 230): 'gold-flowing' Bo.
200 *litrai* (456.5): cf 'about a talent' Th.

mountains were taken over by the most sacred Anastasios only the Romans were in receipt of the revenue that had been decreed. This was what upset negotiations over the treaty.

The Romans learnt of the Samaritan betrayal when certain of their men of substance were captured on their return from Persian territory, and were recognized after their journey to Koades, the emperor of the Persians, and after their agreement with him to betray their land as was mentioned above. There were five Samaritans who were recognized. On being captured, these were taken before the *magister militum per Orientem* and were examined in his presence. They confessed to the treachery which they were planning. The report on them was read to the emperor Justinian.

55. In that year there were widespread earthquakes and much time was spent in prayer in each city.

56. At this time an ambassador was sent by the Persian emperor to the Roman emperor and, having handed over the letter he was carrying, he was sent away bearing gifts.

When the Roman emperor heard from the patrician Rufinus **(457)** about the transgression of the emperor of the Persians, Koades, he composed and despatched sacred commands to the emperor of the Axoumitai. When this Indian emperor had joined battle with the emperor of the Homerite Indians, he defeated him completely, capturing his empire and his whole territory. In his place he made Anganes, from his own family, emperor of the Homerite Indians, so that the empire of the Amerite Indians should also be subject to him. The Roman ambassador set sail for Alexandria and reached the Indian territory by way of the Nile and the Indian Sea. When he came into the presence of the Indian emperor, the emperor of the Indians was overcome with great delight, because he had for many years wanted to secure the friendship of the emperor of the Romans. In the ambassador's account of the occasion when he was received by the Indian emperor, he described the form of the Indian imperial ceremonial: the emperor was naked, wearing from his belt to his loins gold-threaded linen clothing, and over his shoulders and stomach a tunic decorated with pearls, and bracelets in groups of five and gold bangles on his arms. Around his head was wound a gold-threaded linen turban with four cords on either side and a gold collar around his neck. He stood on top of four elephants which had a yoke and four discs, and upon them something like a tall carriage covered with gold leaf, just as the chariots of the provincial governors are covered **(458)** in silver. The emperor of the Indians stood on high holding a small

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On being captured (456.14): Th adds 'at Ammadios'.
magister militum per Orientem (456.15): Th adds 'Belisarios'.
55. Bo 456.19-20.
56. Bo 456.21-459.3; Th 244.14-245.13 (AD571/2).
despatched sacred commands to the emperor of the Axoumitai (457.2): 'sent Julian the *magistrianus* with an imperial letter to Arethas, the emperor of the Ethiopians' Th; Th inserts the name 'Arethas' twice more later. 'Julian' is likely to be an accurate name, while 'Arethas' is probably wrong, resulting from the late position in which Th places this passage; see Kawar, 1960, 63-4.
ambassador's account (457.13): 'Julian's account after his return' Th.
four elephants (457.21): 'four upright elephants' Th.

gilt shield and two spears, also gilt, in his hands. His whole senate stood likewise at arms, with flute-players providing music.

When the Roman ambassador was brought in he knelt and made obeisance, and the Indian emperor ordered me *(sic)* to arise and approach him. When he received the letter from the Roman emperor he kissed the seal, and when he received the gifts the emperor sent him he was amazed. Opening the letter and reading it, through an interpreter, he discovered that its contents were that he should arm himself against Koades, the emperor of the Persians, and destroy the territory bordering on his own, and in future no longer engage in commerce with him but carry on trade through the country of the Amerite Indians he had subjugated, by way of the Nile to Alexandria in Egypt. Immediately Elesboas the emperor of the Indians, in the sight of the Roman ambassador, declared war on the Persians. He sent out ahead the Indian Saracens he had under him and attacked Persian territory on behalf of the Romans, advising the emperor of the Persians that he should expect the emperor of the Indians to wage war against him and to plunder all the land ruled by him. With everything thus under way the Indian emperor **(459)** embraced the head of the Roman ambassador, gave him the kiss of peace and dismissed him with much ceremony, for he sent a letter and gifts to the Roman emperor through an Indian ambassador.

57. In that year a plea was sent from Hilderic, king of the Africans, that his cousin had rebelled against him and the Moors had made war on the Africans. They had captured much of his territory, including the city known locally as Tripolis, Leptoma, Sabatha and Byzakin, and taken prisoners over an area of a ten days' march. Hilderic, the king of the Africans, began a campaign against them with a large army, together with the general named Gelimer, who joined battle with the Moors and completely overwhelmed them. And when he had united in friendship with them, he took them into alliance and after rebelling he entered Carthage in opposition to Hilderic, captured him and imprisoned him in a house with his wife and children and killed the senators. Gelimer sent gifts to the emperor Justinian through his ambassador. When the Roman emperor was informed he was angry with them because of the king of the Africans, for he had learnt about the rebellion against Hilderic; and he dismissed them with much abuse. He sent a *magistrianus* to Rome **(460)** to king Athalaric, grandson of Valemeriacus, telling him not to receive ambassadors sent to him by Gelimer, and not to acknowledge his title of king because he was a rebel. When he had received the letter sent by the emperor, he complied with it and did not receive ambassadors from Gelimer the African.

58. In that year the emperor, wanting to fight against the Persians both on land and on sea, sent out an army to keep the Roman state free from disturbance.

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seal (458.9) 'seal which bore the emperor's portrait bust'. Th.
destroy the territory (458.13): 'destroy Persian territory' Th.
Roman ambassador (459.1): 'Julian' Th.
57. Bo 459.4-460.6.
Hilderic (459.4, 10; corr Chil): 'Theuderich' Ba.
Valemeriacus (460.1; corr Dind): 'Alemeriacus' Ba.
58. Bo 460.7-9.

59. In that year a petition was sent to the patriarch Ephraimios from those remaining in captivity under the Saracen Alamoundaros, to the effect that their imprisonment had been accompanied by harsh punishment; for he beheaded some of them, fearing they might act treacherously. Some had fallen at his feet, begging him to give them a few days' grace to send a petition to the Roman state for money to be sent for their ransom. When Alamoundaros heard this, he agreed gladly, it was said. He gave them a limit of 60 days after Taizanes the Saracen chieftain had interceded on their behalf. When the petition was sent out, it was read in Antioch and everyone tearfully contributed according to his means to what are known as offertory boxes in each church. First among them the patriarch, moved to pity, **(461)** with his clergy and the civic magistrates contributed of their own volition. And when the petition sent by the captives was read, the whole population asked for a public meeting to be summoned. When the public meeting was summoned and a carpet stretched out, each threw what he could afford on the carpet. When all the money was gathered up and sent, the captives were ransomed.

60. In that year the *magister* Hermogenes was sent into the eastern regions because of the Persian war, for the Roman emperor had learnt that a Persian general named Exarath, with a Persian force and in possession of a royal standard, had set out against Roman territory. Alamoundaros, the Saracen prince, with a great armed force, appeared at Kallinikon, a city in Osrhoene, having come by way of Kirkesion. When the *magister militum* Belisarios learnt this, he came to support the *duces* with 8,000 men; among them was the phylarch Arethas with 5,000 men. The Persians advanced with their Saracens and encamped at night near the fortress of Gabboula beside which flowed a small river. After they had dug a ditch there they scattered iron caltrops over a great distance around the ditch, **(462)** leaving one entrance for themselves. Coming behind them with 4,000 men, the *dux* Sounikas found some of the Persians and Saracens plundering the villages round about, and hunted them down. He killed a few of them and captured some others whom he interrogated and learnt about their plans.

The Roman *magister* came to Hierapolis and learnt that the Persians had encamped on Roman territory. He went off to Belisarios who was near the Persians at the city of Barbalissos, together with Stephanos and Apskal, the exarchs and the *dux* Simmas, with 4,000 men. Belisarios was angry with Sounikas because he had attacked the Persian army on his own initiative. When the *magister* arrived he reconciled them, urging them to advance on the Persians. The Persians and their Saracens were intercepted at the village known as Beselathon and at Batnai and at the cities round about. The Persians made wooden engines, breached and destroyed the walls of Gabboula and, when they entered it, they killed everyone they found and also took captives. They captured other places as well in sudden raids.

When the Antiochenes heard what had happened, they fled **(463)** to the coast of Syria. The Roman generals sent messages to one another to be ready to fight with them, for it had been made clear on the Persian side that they would join battle. They collected all their booty and

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59. Bo 460.10–461.7.
60. Bo 461.8–465.16.
Barbalissos (462.11; corr Dind): 'Barbaisissos' Ba.

withdrew by night. When Belisarios and the Roman exarchs learnt this, they pursued and overtook them. The Persians turned and stopped and, drawing themselves up, they encamped on the *limes* across the Euphrates and made plans. Likewise the Roman exarchs drew up their army and took a position opposite the Persians. They were arranged with the Euphrates at their back, while Belisarios ordered that boats be stationed along the river banks. Arethas was encamped on the southern section with Dorotheos and Mamantios, the Isaurian exarchs, while Sounikas and Simmas, with their army, were on the north. It was on 19th April, on Holy Saturday, at Easter, that the battle took place. The Persians attacked Sounikas and Simmas and, as the Romans resisted, the Persians as a trick turned their backs and retreated to their own men. When the Persians had come together they realized that the Romans had the Euphrates at their back, so they attacked with their Saracens and joined battle; many fell on both sides. Among those who fell on the Persian side were Andrazes the tribune and Naaman, son of Alamoundaros; on the side of the Roman Saracens the *dux* named Abros was captured, while Stephanakios was wounded and fell. In the general mêlée **(464)** Apskal charged into the middle of the Persians and was killed there when his horse trampled on a corpse. When the Phrygians saw their exarch fall and his standard captured by the Persians, they turned in flight and the Roman Saracens fled with them, but others continued with Arethas fighting. Some supposed that a number of the Saracens fled because of the treachery of the phylarchs. When the Isaurians who were stationed nearby saw the Saracens fleeing, they threw themselves into the Euphrates thinking they could get across. When Belisarios saw what was happening, he took his standard with him and got into a boat; he crossed the Euphrates and came to Kallinikon. His army followed him. Some used boats, others tried to swim with their horses, and they filled the river with corpses. Sounikas and Simmas continued fighting the Persians and these two exarchs, persevering with their surviving army, dismounted and valiantly fought a battle on foot. By skilful deployment they destroyed many of the Persians. They did not allow them to pursue the fugitives but intercepted three of their exarchs. They killed two of them and captured alive one named Amerdach, a warlike man whose right arm had been cut off at the elbow by Sounikas. **(465)** They continued fighting with their army.

When evening fell the Roman exarchs and their army came to the city of Kallinikon, after the Persians had been pursued for two miles. At sunrise the next day they left the city of Kallinikon, crossed the Euphrates with their army and the citizens and despoiled the Persian corpses. When the *magister* (Hermogenes) learnt all that had happened in the battle, he informed the Roman emperor. Having read the letter, the emperor Justinian ordered by letter the *magister militum praesentalis* Sittas, resident in Armenia, to journey to the East to give military help. Sittas also captured Persian lands. He came to Samosata by traversing the Armenian mountains. Constantiolus was also ordered to go to the East to find out the truth about the battle. After reaching Antioch he set out in the direction of the Roman exarchs, to learn the complete truth.

Mamantios (463.12; corr Dind): 'Mama' Ba, first hand; see Bury, 1897, 230.

61. At that time Julian the praetorian prefect was dismissed from office and John the Cappadocian was appointed in his place.

The Romans learned that Persian exarchs with a Persian force and Saracens had moved against Osrhoene, and had encircled the fort known as Abgersaton, which had been built by Abgaros, the toparch of the city of Osrhoene. It had an old brick wall. The garrison inside **(466)** killed 1,000 of the Persians by shooting down with their arrows; and when they ran out of arrows they used slings and killed many of them. As a result the Persians were hard-pressed, and by use of a variety of engines they dug through the brick wall of the fortress and started to make their way in. But those on the wall became aware of the breach that had been made by the barbarians and came down from the wall; they began to cut down with their swords the Persians who were entering. The Persians realized this and, while the Roman soldiers were occupied at the breach, they took ladders and made their way up to the wall at night. They forced their way in, captured the fortress and killed everyone, except for a few who were able to escape and brought news of what had happened. The Persians set out from there and returned to Persian territory.

When Constantiolus learned of the events from the *magister* and the rest of the exarchs, he set out for Byzantion and reported the events to the emperor. When he had heard a report on the battle from Constantiolos, he relieved Belisarios of his command and appointed Moundos to the position of *magister militum per Orientem.*

In the month of June, while the Roman *magistri militum* were making preparations against the Persians, Alamoundaros, the prince of the Saracens, wrote to the Romans for a deacon called Sergius to be sent to him so that he could convey peace terms through him to the Roman emperor. Sergius was sent back to the Roman emperor with the letter **(467)** sent by Alamoundaros. The emperor, having read the letter, did not stop his campaign against the Persians. He sent Rufinus as an ambassador to Persia with a letter for the king recommending that he accept friendship; "for it is honourable and glorious to make the two states to live in peace. If you do not do this, I shall seize the Persian land for myself".

At the same time Sergius the deacon was sent to king Alamoundaros with imperial gifts.

In that year gifts were sent from the emperor of the Romans to the emperor of the Persians. Likewise the Augusta sent gifts to the Persian empress, who was his sister. When Rufinus and Strategios reached the city of Edessa they sent a message to Koades, the emperor of the Persians. He put off receiving them, since he had sent a force secretly against the Romans.

62. In that year there was a fire in Antioch. Somebody lit candles in the theatre, and when the wax dripped on to the timbers, they caught fire. A crowd rushed up and the fire was put out.

63. In that year Demosthenes was sent to the East, conveying a considerable sum of money to prepare granaries in each city because of the war with Persia. When he reached Antioch he then went on to Osrhoene.

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61. Bo 465.17-467.14.
62. Bo 467.15-18.
63. Bo 467.19-22.

64. **(468)** Rescripts were sent to the cities, saying that those who did not take communion in the holy churches should be sent into exile, for they were excusing themselves by citing the Council of Chalkedon, that is, the Council of the 630 Bishops. A riot broke out in Antioch, and the mob burst into the bishop's residence, throwing stones and chanting insults. Those who were in the patriarchate came out, together with the *comes Orientis,* and resisted them with missiles and stones and killed many of the rioters. These events were reported to the emperor, and he ordered many to be punished.

65. In that year a report was sent from Hermogenes concerning a battle which had taken place between Romans and Persians. The Persian generals had made a raid with a force of 6,000 men, to capture Martyropolis, for they had camped in the area of Amida by the river known as Nymphios. The Romans made a stand against the Persians but could not drive them back. When a second battle took place, the Romans, using the tactic of flight, appeared to be in retreat. The Persians made a charge and, thinking their opponents were in flight, broke their own ranks. The Romans turned and cut down 2000 of the Persians, taking some of their exarchs as prisoners and capturing some standards from them. When the rest escaped and expected to cross the river Nymphios, they perished in its currents as they were pursued. The Romans returned victorious **(469)** to Martyropolis. The Roman *dux* went out with the landowners and stripped the Persian corpses, having put their exarchs under guard.

66. In that year Dorotheos, the *magister militum per Armeniam,* also set out against the Persians with a Roman force. He won a victory, and killed Persarmenians and Persians, whom he treated cruelly. He also captured many Persian fortresses. One of those he captured was a strong fortress on top of a mountain, approached by a single narrow pathway, by which the inhabitants came down to draw their water from the river which flowed past. The Persian traders used to store up there all the goods they carried with them for their business, since the place was safe. When news of this was brought to Dorotheos, he encircled the fortress and put a guard on the path to it. The Persians inside were starved out and surrendered, persuaded by sworn promises. When a report was sent by Dorotheos to the emperor Justinian about what had been found in the fortress, he sent out Narses the *cubicularius* to take over what was stored there. When Narses arrived, they handed everything over to him.

The Persian exarchs reported the events to their emperor. A large Persian army was sent out, and came close **(470)** to Martyropolis, for they had received a message from their emperor not to return to Persia until they had recaptured that fortress. They appeared before the place and besieged it, making attacks. They undermined the wall and made scaling-ladders, setting them up against the wall. Later they constructed a tall wooden tower but won no advantage, for among those besieged there was a clever man who worked out counter-strategies to

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64. Bo 468.1-9.
65. Bo 468.10-469.3.
and expected (468.22; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.
victorious (469.1; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.
66. Bo 469.4-470.18.

oppose the Persian schemes. He made a taller tower inside the walls and, with the Persians fighting from the tower outside and the Romans fighting back from the tower inside, the Romans used a machine to drop a column which smashed everything to the ground and killed many Persians at the same time. When the rest of the Persians saw what had happened, since they were suffering losses and had also heard that Sittas, the Roman *magister militum,* was approaching to help those in the fortress, they withdrew, frightened that they would be surrounded. When the emperor Justinian heard this, he instructed his ambassadors not to enter Persia until he sent them a second letter, and so they remained on Roman territory with the gifts.

67. The emperor sent to all the cities laws for litigants, dealing with the expenses involved in obtaining judgements. Likewise with regard to the payment of *sportulae,* he decreed that no one was to dare to take more than the amount prescribed by him. **(471)** In the city of the Antiochenes these were written in Greek letters on the notice-boards. At the same time the theatre of the city received financial support.

68. On 8th September Koades, the emperor of the Persians, hearing of the losses sustained by the Persians at the hands of the Romans, suffered a sudden paralysis on the right side of his body. He summoned his second son Chosroes and proclaimed him as emperor, placing a crown on his head. After an illness of five days, Koades, the emperor of the Persians, died at the age of 82 years and three months. He had reigned for 43 years and two months.

When Chosroes was proclaimed emperor of the Persians, he sent a message to the Roman ambassadors by a Persian *magistrianus* that they should enter Persian territory and make a peace treaty between Romans and Persians. The Roman ambassadors refused to enter Persia without imperial command, explaining, "We do not dare to come to visit you". When the emperor of the Persians learned of this, he wrote a letter and sent it to the emperor Justinian, asking that permission be given to the Roman ambassadors to enter Persia and to make a treaty. The emperor of the Persians wrote a friendly letter and sent it by the *magister* Hermogenes. When the Roman emperor received this message, he wrote in reply, "We do not give permission for our ambassadors **(472)** to come to you, nor do we recognize you as emperor of the Persians".

69. In that year the emperor of the Persians told the Manicheans who were subject to his state that they could practise their religion as they wished. The Persian *magoi,* distressed by this event, plotted with the senators and decided to depose him from the throne and to put his brother in his place. When the emperor of the Persians heard of this, he beheaded his brother and executed the senators and the *magoi.* He wrote a letter to the Roman emperor containing a proposal for a three months' truce. The Roman emperor wrote back to the *magister* to accept the three months' truce and to exchange hostages with the Persians. He ordered Strategius and Rufinus, his ambassadors, to return to Byzantion.

70. In that year Sabir Huns passed through the Caspian Gates and

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67. Bo 470.19-471.3.
68. Bo 471.4-472.2.
69. Bo 472.3-14.
70. Bo 472.15-473.4.

appeared in Roman territory, plundering as far as the land of the Armenians. Then they spread out and reached as far as Euphratesia, Second Cilicia and Kyrrhestike. On learning of this, the Roman emperor summoned the patrician Rufinus and ordered him to set out for the eastern territories and find out whether they had come against the Romans at the prompting of the Persian king. Rufinus set out and, after communicating with the Persian emperor, found that the Huns had not invaded with the Persian emperor's authority. He wrote to Dorotheos, the *magister militum per Armeniam,* **(473)** to take up arms against the Huns. The Huns heard of this and, taking all their booty, they returned by way of the places through which they had come. The *magister militum* Dorotheos pursued them and took a good deal of booty from them.

71. In that year of the 10th indiction, a pretext for rioting occurred in Byzantion caused by some avenging demons when Eudaimon was city prefect and was holding in custody trouble makers from both factions. When he had examined various persons, he found seven of them guilty of murder and sentenced four of them to be beheaded and three to be impaled. After they had been paraded through the whole city and had crossed to the other side, some of them were hanged. But two of them, one a Blue and the other a Green, fell as the scaffold broke. The people who were standing round saw what had happened and acclaimed the emperor. When the monks near St Konon's had heard this and came out, they found two of those who had been hanged lying on the ground still alive. Taking them down by the sea and putting them in a boat, they sent them to St Laurence's to a place of sanctuary. On learning of this, the city prefect sent a military force and kept guard over them where they were. AD531/

(474) Three days later the chariot-races known as those of the Ides were held. They are known as the Ides because the Roman emperor entertains at banquets in his palace all those who are being promoted in the service, bestowing on each the office of *primicerius.* While the

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71. Bo **473.5-477.3**; CP 620.3-4, 620.13-629.6 (AD532), Th 181.24-31 (AD531/2), 184.3-186.2 (AD531/2), De insid 46 (172.7-30), Eccl Hist 112.19-27.

In that year of the 10th indiction (473.5): Th gives 2 texts before beginning at this point on the Nika riot: a) a brief summary of the riot (= Eccl Hist 112.9-27) translated as Appendix I below and b) the "Acclamations at Kalopodios", translated in Bury, 1923, 71-4 and Cameron, 1976, 319-22. On the textual confusion of Th at this point, particularly in relation to b) and its apparent presence in CP, see Maas, 1912, 46-51 and Cameron, 1976, 318-29, who show that this acclamation is out of context in the preliminaries to the Nika riot. Another summary of the riot (= De insid 46) is translated as Appendix II below.

as the scaffold broke (473.13): Th adds 'They were hanged again, and again fell'.

acclaimed the emperor (473.14-15): 'chanted, "Get them to the church"' Th; see Bury, 1897a, who derives both phrases from the original Malalas.

to a place of sanctuary (473.19): 'because there was a custom that nobody should be removed from the church till he had suffered sufficiently' Th. (Th's language is obscure here. He may mean 'until bail was granted'.)

chariot-racing was being held on 13th January, both factions began to call upon the emperor to show mercy. They continued chanting until the 22nd race and they were not granted an answer. Then the devil prompted evil counsels in them and they chanted to one another, "Long live the merciful Blues and Greens!" After the races the crowds went off united, having given themselves a watch-word with the word, "Conquer" *(Nika),* so as not to be infiltrated by soldiers or *excubitores.* And so they charged on. Towards evening they went to the city prefect's praetorium, demanding an answer about the fugitives at St Laurence. Not receiving an answer, they set fire to the praetorium. This fire destroyed the praetorium, the Chalke Gate of the palace as far as the Scholae, the Great Church and the public colonnade. The people continued to charge on their disorderly way. At daybreak the emperor ordered the races to be held and after the customary flag had been hoisted the faction members now set fire to the tiers of the hippodrome. Part of the public colonnade as far as the Zeuxippon **(475)** was burnt. Moundos, Constantiolus and Basilides went out with a force at the emperor's command, intending to silence the rioting mob which by then was chanting against John, nicknamed the Cappadocian, the *quaestor* Tribonian and the city prefect Eudaimon. The senators who had been sent

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the fugitives at St Laurence (474.15-16): Th adds 'asking the prefect to remove the soldiers on guard there'.

This fire destroyed the praetorium...public colonnade (474.17-19): cf Th 'The porticoes from the arch of the Forum to the Chalke were burned, and also the shops of the silversmiths and the whole palace of Lausos were destroyed by fire. They killed unsparingly the soldiers who attacked them. Then they broke into houses and began to loot their contents'; see Bury, 1897a, 117, who suggests that Th is here showing mistaken independence of judgement in arranging the lists of burned buildings in a way which seemed to him more logical. It is unlikely that Ba either can be trusted for this list, which probably reflects more than one catalogue of burnt buildings; see Gleye, 1896, 444, who points out that Ba, CP and Th give the burning of St Sophia at three different stages of the riot. CP should be trusted most since it is the most detailed account, free, apparently, from errors caused by abbreviation. However since CP is in lacuna here, we do not know what was burnt at this point apart from the praetorium - except that the Chalke and St Sophia probably survived one or two more days (see below).

the Zeuxippon was burnt (474.23-475.1): CP adds, after the lacuna, '(The emperor sent to see what they were chanting) "at random. But when a serious emergency arises, then you do what you have decided". The emperor said to them, "Go out and discover why they are rioting"'; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 112-13; Bury, 1897a, 98, note 3 and 99; Maas, 1912, 46-8; Cameron, 1976, 324-5. The first words, bracketed above, are part of a later attempt to fill the lacuna in CP.

Moundos...emperor's command (475.1-2): 'The patrician Basilides (see Maas, 1912, 48, note 3), who was deputising for the *magister* Hermogenes in Constantinople, and Constantiolus went out of the palace. Halting the rioting mob outside the palace and silencing them, they addressed them, asking, "What do you want and why are you rioting?"' CP.

John, nicknamed the Cappadocian (475.4): 'the praetorian prefect, John the Cappadocian' CP.

out heard this chanting from them and reported it to the emperor. Immediately John, Tribonian and Eudaimon were dismissed. Belisarios went out with a troop of Goths; there was fighting and many of the faction members were cut down. The mob was incensed and started fires

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Tribonian (475.4): cf 'Rufinus' CP; see Baldwin, 1981, 304 and note 27.
Immediately John...dismissed (475.7-8): 'He immediately dismissed the praetorian prefect John and appointed the patrician Phokas, the son of Krateros, praetorian prefect in his place. He dismissed Tribonian ('Rufinus' CP) the *quaestor* and appointed in his place as *quaestor* the patrician Basilides who, as mentioned above, was deputising for the *magister*. He dismissed the city prefect Eudaimon and appointed as city prefect in his place Tryphon, the brother of Theodoros the former city prefect. But the people continued rioting outside the palace' CP.
faction members were cut down (475.9-10): CP adds 'till evening'.
started fires...indiscriminately (475.10-11): 'they then set fire to the bronze-roofed entrance to the palace, and it was burnt, together with the portico of the *scholarii, protectores* and *candidati*, which collapsed. Likewise the Senate was burnt, by the area known as the Augusteion, and the Great Church with its tremendous, wonderful columns was completely destroyed on all four sides. From there the crowd went down, rioting once more, to the harbour of Julian (Th adds, 'I mean, that of Sophia') to the residence of Probus. They demanded weapons from him and chanted, "Probus for emperor of the Roman world" (cf 'Another emperor for the city' Th). They set fire to the house of the patrician Probus. When a small part had been burnt, the fire died down and was extinguished ('the house was burnt down' Th).

On Friday 16th of that month the people went to the praetorium of the prefects and started a fire there. Only the roofs of the two imperial houses of the praetorium were burnt - where the *scrinia* are kept - for a north wind sprang up and blew the flames away from the praetorium (for the second burning of the praetorium and for punctuation here, see Bury, 1897a, 116-7). The baths in the quarter of Alexander were burnt, as was part of the hospice in the quarter of Euboulos, and St Eirene, which had been built by Illus the Isaurian, who rebelled against the emperor Zeno. The great hospice of Sampson was burnt down and its sick occupants perished (at this point St Sophia was burnt, according to Th; see Bury, 1897a, 103. Th also adds here, or perhaps later, though it precedes in his narrative the indiscriminate murders mentioned below, 'The emperor in his terror wanted to load his monies into a boat and withdraw to Herakleia in Thrace, leaving the palace to be guarded by the *magister militum* Moundos with his son and 3000 men, Constantiolus and the *cubicularii*'; see Bury, 1897a, 104).

On Saturday, that is the 17th of the month Audynaios, the soldiers who had come from the Hebdomon and Rhegion and Athyras, and from Calabria, clashed with the people, since the crowd were committing murders indiscriminately, dragging their victims and throwing them into the sea like riff-raff; they were likewise killing women (Th 'a large number of women'). Many faction-members died. When the mob saw that they were being attacked, they went to the Oktagon, which is between the basilica of the Furriers and the public portico of the Rhegia. When the soldiers realised that they could not get in, they threw firebrands down

in other places and began killing indiscriminately.

On the 18th of the same month the emperor went up to the hippodrome carrying the Holy Gospels. On learning of this the crowds came in too and he made a proclamation to them on oath. Many of the people chanted for him as emperor, but others rioted, chanting for Hypatios. The people took Hypatios and led him off to the place known as the Forum of Constantine. Setting him on high on the steps and bringing regalia and a golden collar out from the palace, they put these on his head. Then they took him and led him off to the hippodrome, intending to take him up into the imperial *kathisma*, for

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on them, and set fire to the Oktagon. As a result of this fire the area around St Theodoros in the quarter of Sphorakios was burnt, except for the *skeuophylakion* of the holy house ('*skeuophylakion*' looks like a gloss of mss 'oven', φοῦρνος , or 'prison', φούριον = φρούριον ,which gives no satisfactory sense). The entire portico of the silversmiths, the house of Symmachus the ex-consul *ordinarius* and St Aquilina as far as the vault of the other portico at the Forum of Constantine were burnt down. The people fled from there and set fire to the Libyrnos by the Magnaura. But a large crowd gathered and it was quickly put out.' CP, cf Th.

On the 18th (475.11): 'On Sunday, that is, the 18th' CP.

the emperor went up to the hippodrome (475.12): CP adds 'into the *kathisma* early in the morning'.

the crowds came in too (475.13): CP adds 'and the whole hippodrome was filled by the crowd'.

he made a proclamation to them on oath (475.14): 'the emperor took an oath before them, saying, "By this power I forgive you this wrong-doing, and I order that none of you be arrested. But be at peace, for the fault lies not with you but with me. For my sins made me refuse what you asked of me in the hippodrome"' CP.

chanted for him as emperor (475.15): 'chanted, "Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas*"' CP.

but others rioted, chanting for Hypatios (475.15-16): 'but others chanted, "You are breaking your oath, you donkey!" The emperor fell silent and left the hippodrome. He immediately dismissed those in the palace and said to the senators, "Go, and each of you guard his house". As they left, the people met Hypatios the patrician and Pompeius the patrician, and chanted, "Hypatios Augustus, *tu vincas*"' CP.

The people took Hypatios (475.16): 'The people took the patrician Hypatios, wearing a white cloak' CP.

on the steps (475.18): CP adds 'of the column of the statue of the emperor Constantine'.

bringing regalia...they put these on his head (475.18-19): 'bringing out from the palace known as the Placillianai the imperial insignia which were stored there. They put them on Hypatios' head and a golden collar around his neck. (De insid also refers to raising him on a shield). When this became known to the emperor, the palace was sealed off' CP.

Then they took him...*kathisma* (475.20-21): 'The crowds of people took Hypatios and Pompeius the patrician and Julian the former praetorian prefect, and brought Hypatios to the hippodrome, to the imperial *kathisma*.' CP.

the crowd was eager to throw imperial robes for him out from the palace. Hypatios had learnt that the emperor had left and, seating himself in the *kathisma,* he boldly came out in rebellion.

(476) When Moundos, Constantiolus, Belisarios, other senators and an armed force had come up through the *kathisma* from behind, Narses, the *cubicularius* and *spatharios,* slipped out without being noticed and beguiled some of the Blue faction by distributing money. Some of the mob started a disturbance and chanted for Justinian as emperor for the city. The mob was divided and set upon one another. The *magistri*

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imperial robes (475.22): 'imperial purple and a diadem' CP.

from the palace (475.22): CP adds 'and crown him emperor. All the people who were in the hippodrome shouted to him, "Augustus Hypatios, *tu vincas*". '

Hypatios had learnt that the emperor had left (475.22-23): 'Hypatios, foreseeing that the people were fickle and that the emperor would regain control, secretly sent the *candidatus* Ephraim, in whom he had confidence, to announce to the emperor Justinian, "See, I have assembled all your enemies in the hippodrome; give your orders and carry them out". Ephraim went to the palace and wanted to enter and deliver the message to the emperor, but he was met by Thomas, an *a secretis,* who was the emperor's doctor and was greatly favoured by him. Thomas said to the *candidatus,* "Where are you going? There is nobody inside, for the emperor has left here". Ephraim returned and said to Hypatios, "Lord, it seems that God wants you to rule, for Justinian has fled and there is nobody in the palace"' CP.

seating himself...rebellion (475.23-24): 'On hearing this, Hypatios decided with greater boldness to sit in the imperial *kathisma* in the hippodrome, and to listen to the acclamations chanted to him by the people, and the insulting phrases they uttered against the emperor Justinian and the Augusta Theodora. Two hundred and fifty ('200' Th) young Greens came from Konstantianai ('Flakianai' Th where 'Flacillianai' perhaps should be read), wearing breastplates. These young men came fully armed, reckoning that they could force open the palace and install Hypatios inside' CP, cf Th.

When Moundos...the *kathisma* from behind (476.1-2): 'The most sacred emperor Justinian, hearing of the reckless actions of the people and of Hypatios and Pompeius (reading παρά for περί with CP, ms P), immediately came up by the stairway known as the Kochlias to what are called the Poulpita, behind the *kathisma* of the hippodrome, to the *triclinium* with the bronze doors, which were locked. With the emperor were Moundos, Constantiolus, Basilides, Belisarios and some other senators. He also had the armed troops of the palace together with his own *spatharii* and *cubicularii* ' CP, cf Th.

Narses (476.3): 'When this had happened, Narses' CP.

without being noticed and (476.3): CP adds 'by his own actions and those of his men'.

started a disturbance...for the city (476.5-6): 'separated off and began to chant, "Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas;* Lord, save the emperor Justinian and the Augusta Theodora". The whole crowd in the hippodrome roared. Some of the rabble-rousers from the Green faction rushed against them and began to throw stones at them' CP, cf Th.

set upon one another (476.6-7): CP adds (cf Th) 'Those inside the palace

militum entered the hippodrome with a force and began to cut down the crowds from both entrances, some with arrows, others with swords. Belisarios went off unnoticed, seized hold of Hypatios and Pompeius and brought them to the emperor Justinian. They fell down at the emperor's feet, saying in their defence, "Lord, it was a great effort for us to assemble the enemies of your majesty in the hippodrome". The emperor answered them, "You have done well. But if they were obeying your authority, why did you not do this before the whole city was burnt?" At an order from the emperor the *spatharii* arrested Hypatios and Pompeius and put them in prison. Those slaughtered in the hippodrome amounted to 35,000, more or less. On the next day Hypatios and Pompeius were put to death and their bodies were thrown into the sea. The emperor announced his victory and the rebels' destruction

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negotiated and took the military force that existed there, and beguiled some of the *excubitores* and *scholarii*, for these too had defected to the people'.

The *magistri militum*...both entrances (476.7-8): 'Coming out with their own men they charged into the hippodrome, Narses through the doors, the son of Moundos through the curved end, others through the single door of the imperial box into the arena, still others through the quarter of Antiochos and what is known as the Dead Gate. They began to cut down the people at random' CP, cf Th.

some with arrows, some with swords (476.9): CP adds (cf Th) 'with the result that none of the citizens or foreigners ('Blues or Greens' Th) found in the hippodrome survived. Amongst these Antipatros, the *vindex* of Antioch-Theoupolis, was slain'.

Belisarios went off...Hypatios and Pompeius (476.10-11): 'Immediately those under Belisarios, the *magister militum*, opened the doors leading to the imperial *kathisma* and charged in with the *spatharii*. Arresting Hypatios, together with Pompeius the patrician, his cousin' CP, cf Th.

They fell down (476.12): 'When they were brought in, they fell down' CP.

At an order...put them in prison (476.17-19): 'He instructed his eunuchs and *spatharii* and the *barbatus* Eulalios and the *candidati*, "Take them and lock them up". They took them down into the palace and locked up Hypatios and Pompeius alone' CP.

35,000, more or less (476.20): '35,000 citizens and foreigners, as those who made the estimates say. No faction-member was to be seen anywhere, and there was peace till the evening' CP, cf Th.

On the next day (476.21): CP adds 'which was Monday 19th Audynaios'.

Hypatios and Pompeius (476.21): Th adds 'his brother', CP adds 'the patricians'.

were put to death (476.21): De insid adds 'one as having worn imperial regalia and revolted, the other as his accomplice'.

thrown into the sea (476.22): CP adds (cf Th and De insid) 'Hypatios' body was washed up on the shore, and the emperor ordered it to be buried in the middle of the other executed criminals, and a stone to be placed over the body, on which was inscribed, "Here lies the emperor of Louppa". Some days later the emperor ordered Hypatios' family to take his body and bury it. They took it and buried it in the martyrium of St Maura. Pompeius' body never reappeared. All their possessions were confiscated. The rest of the patricians found with them fled, some to

to all the cities **(477)** and he undertook to rebuild the places that had been burnt. He built a granary and reservoirs near the palace so as to have supplies in times of crisis.

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monasteries, others to churches, and their homes were sealed, together with a further 18 patricians, *illustres* and consulars, whose property was confiscated and who were exiled as supporters of Hypatios. There was widespread fear of the emperor. When the emperor learnt later of the reply given by Thomas, the *a secretis,* to the *candidatus* Ephraim, he beheaded Thomas and exiled Ephraim to Alexandria the Great.

On Tuesday 20th Audynaios all Constantinople was quiet and nobody dared to appear in public, but only the shops which supplied food and drink to the needy were open. Business was suspended and Constantinople had no commercial activity for several days'.

The emperor announced...had been burnt (476.22-477.1): 'The emperor Justinian immediately announced his victory to all the cities of his empire, as well as the destruction of the rebels who had risen up against him, undertaking to rebuild splendidly, better than before, the Great Church, the palace and all the public buildings of the city which had been burned down' CP.

He built a granary...times of crisis (477.2-3): 'Inside the palace he built bakeries and granaries to store grain and likewise a cistern for water because of crises arising from riots. He ordered the city prefect to punish those of the Blue faction who had joined with the Greens and the other factions against him' CP. Th, De insid add 'No chariot-races were held for a considerable period'; see Sotiriadis, 1888, 109-11.

Appendix I. Th 181.24-31 (= Eccl Hist 112.19-27), 'In this year, the 5th of Justinian's reign, in January of the 10th indiction, occurred what is known as the Nika revolt. The members of the factions crowned as emperor Hypatios, the relative of the emperor Anastasios. A large part of the city was burned, including the Great Church, St Eirene, the Hospice of Sampson, the Augusteion, the portico of the Basilica and the Chalke of the palace. There was great panic and many of those found in the hippodrome with Hypatios perished; the number reported is 35,000'.

Appendix II. De insid 46(172.7-30), 'In the 2nd year of Justinian's reign the faction of the Greens-and-Blues rose up against him and caused great disorder and destruction at Constantinople. These faction members burnt the places that they took over, from the palace to the Forum and the Arca, to right and left, including all the adjacent houses, the praetorium of the city prefect and the Oktagon. Then after that the people shouted, "*Tu vincas,* Hypatios Augustus". They brought Hypatios, the *magister militum,* from his house, made him wear imperial dress and raised him on the shield. The whole hippodrome was filled with the people, as they wanted to watch an emperor being crowned. Whilst the hippodrome was still packed with the crowd, the emperor ordered his soldiery to be let loose with some of the commanders. Moundos entered from the imperial box above the gate and attacked the people in the hippodrome while Belisarios entered from below the box, and they put to the sword about 30,000. Justinian arrested both Hypatios and Pompeius and executed them, one for having worn imperial regalia and revolting, the other for being his accomplice. Also, he banished 18 *illustres* and senators, confiscating their property, for having joined the usurpation of Hypatios. Thus peace was restored in the city. He appointed Tryphon

72. In that year Rufinus set out for Persian territory with sacred memoranda to make a peace treaty with the Persians.

73. In that year an Indian ambassador was sent with gifts to Constantinople.

74. In that year John the Cappadocian became praetorian prefect.

75. In that year there occurred a great shower of stars from dusk to dawn, so that everyone was astounded and said, "We have never known anything like this to happen".

76. In that year Hermogenes and Rufinus returned from Persia, bringing with them a peace treaty between the two states of Rome and Persia...of the two states for the duration of both their lives. The region of Pharangion was to be restored to the Persians with all the prisoners, while the forts that had been captured by the Persians were restored to the Romans, with those captured in them. The two rulers agreed and said explicitly in the treaty that they were brothers according to the ancient custom and that if one of them needed military assistance in money or men, they should provide it without dispute.

(478) After these proceedings both armies, the Roman and the Persian, withdrew. The war had lasted 31 years from the time that Koades, the emperor of the Persians, had advanced as aggressor into Roman territory, as was mentioned above during the reign of Anastasios, and the capture of Amida, mentioned above, and the restoration of that city of Amida to the Romans, and the local wars with raiding Saracens.

77. In that year an earthquake occurred in Byzantion late in the evening, so that the whole city gathered in the place known as the Forum of Constantine, assembling for prayers, petitions and vigils.

78. In those days the emperor Justinian sent to each city sacred

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as city prefect and punished many of the faction members, and the chariot-races were not held for a long time'.

72. Bo 477.4-6.

73. Bo 477.7-8.

74. Bo 477.8-9.

75. Bo 477.10-12; Th 186.3-5 (AD531/2), GM 643.14-16.

and said (477.11): Th adds '"The stars are falling and', cf GM.

76. Bo 477.13-478.7.

...of the two states (477.15-16): despite Festugière, 1979, 236-7, a lacuna seems more likely than the simple repetition of 'of the two states'.

77. Bo 478.8-11; CP 629.10-20 (AD532).

In that year an earthquake...petitions and vigils (478.8-11): 'In this year, in the month of Dios, November according to the Romans, in the 12th indiction, there was a severe earthquake that caused no damage in Constantinople, late in the evening, so that the entire city gathered in the Forum of Constantine in a procession of prayer and said, "God is holy, holy and strong, holy and immortal, who was crucified for us, have mercy on us". They spent the whole night in vigil and prayer. When day dawned, all the people who were processing in prayer shouted out, "Victory to the *tyche* of the Christians. You who were crucified, save us and the city. Augustus Justinian, *tu vincas*. Remove and burn the decree formulated by the bishops at the Council of Chalkedon"' CP.

78. Bo 478.12-15; CP 630.1-633.16 (AD533); Justinian, C.1.1,6. See M. Amelotti and Zingale, 1977, 31-5.

decrees containing the following provisions: Edict concerning the orthodox faith and against impious heretics. It was displayed in the churches in each city.

In those days...in each city (478.12-15): 'On the 20th of the month Dios, of the 12th indiction, the emperor Justinian issued at Constantinople his sacred edict, which he sent to the city of Rome, to Jerusalem, to the great Theoupolis of the Antiochenes in Syria, to the great city of the Alexandrians in Egypt, to Thessalonike the city of the prefecture of Illyricum and to Ephesos the city of Asia. The contents were as follows:

The emperor Caesar Justinian, Pious, Victorious, Triumphator, Maximus, ever-revered, Augustus, to our citizens - We are desirous in all things to worship the Saviour and Lord of all, Jesus Christ, our True God, and to imitate his condescension as far as the human mind is able to comprehend it. Finding some people infected by the sickness and madness of Nestorios and Eutyches, the enemies of God and of the most holy catholic and apostolic church, and refusing to name the holy and glorious ever-virgin Mary as Theotokos rightly and in truth, we have been eager that they should be instructed in the correct faith. Incurable as they are and concealing their error they go around, as we have learnt, disturbing and scandalizing the souls of the simple and speaking in opposition to the teachings of the holy catholic and apostolic church. Therefore we have thought it necessary to refute the falsehoods of the heretics and to make plain to all the doctrine of God's holy and apostolic church and the teaching of her most holy priests, whom we follow in making clear what pertains to the hope that is in us, not making inovations in the faith - heaven forbid - but demonstrating the madness of those who favour the teaching of the impious heretics, as we have already done in the preamble to our reign and made obvious to all.

We believe in one God, the father omnipotent, and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, and in the Holy Spirit, worshipping one essence in three *hypostaseis,* one godhead, one power, the consubstantial Trinity. In the last days we confess Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, son of the True God, begotten of the Father before all ages, co-eval with the Father, from whom and through whom all things have their being, who descended from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Spirit of the holy, glorious and ever-virgin Theotokos Mary and, being made man, endured the cross for us under Pontius Pilate, and was buried and rose again on the third day; and we know his miracles and the suffering which he endured willingly in the flesh were of one and the same Christ. For we know that God the Word and Christ are not separate; the one and the same is consubstantial with us in humanity; and we accept and confess the unity in *hypostasis.* For the Trinity remained a Trinity even when one part of the Trinity, the Word of God, became flesh. For the Holy Trinity does not allow of the addition of a fourth person. Since this is so we anathematize every heresy, especially Nestorios the man-worshipper and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who divide our one Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, and our God and who do not confess rightly and in truth the holy, glorious ever-virgin, Mary to be Theotokos, that is, Mother of God, but who say there are two sons, one being God the Word from the Father and the other

79. Not long afterwards a tremendous earthquake occurred in Antioch the Great but it caused no damage.

AD533 80. In that year the emperor distributed largesse for his third consulship and recalled the patricians Olybrios and Probus, then in exile, granting them all their property.

AD533/4 81. In the 12th indiction the king of Africa **(479)** was taken prisoner, with his wife, by Belisarios and they were brought to Constantinople. They were brought in as captives with the spoils while the chariot-races were being held.

82. In that year the statue of Julian the Apostate, which had been placed in the middle of the Julian Harbour, fell down. They set up a cross in place of the statue.

After AD535 83. After Belisarios' consulship a council was held at Constantinople by the bishop of Rome, Agapetos. He deposed Anthemios, the patriarch of Constantinople.

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born from the ever-virgin Theotokos Mary and deny that he was begotten by grace and connection and relationship to God the Word and God himself; and who do not confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the son of God and our God who was incarnate and made man and crucified, is one with the consubstantial Trinity. For he alone it is who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Holy Spirit.

We anathematize also Eutyches, who is out of his mind, and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who introduce delusions and who deny the true incarnation by the holy, ever-virgin Theotokos Mary of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that is, our salvation, and who do not confess that he is consubstantial with the Father in divinity. Likewise we anathematize Apollinarios the destroyer of souls and those who have agreed or now agree with him, who say that our Lord Jesus Christ the son of God and our God is man only; and those who introduce confusion and turbulence to the incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, and all who have agreed or do agree with them.

All the bishops received a copy of this in their cities and displayed it in the churches' CP.

79. Bo 478.16-17.
80. Bo 478.18-21.
81. Bo 478.22-479.3.
82. Bo 479.4-6.
83. Bo 479.7-12; Th 217.1-12 (AD536/7), Eccl Hist 112.29-31.

After Belisarios' consulship...patriarch of Constantinople (479.1-12): 'In this year Epiphanios, bishop of Constantinople, died on 5th June of the 15th indiction, having been bishop for 16 years and 3 months. Anthimos, a heretic, bishop of Trebizond was translated to Constantinople. In this year Agapetos, bishop of Rome, came to Constantinople and called a synod against the impious Severus and Julian of Halikarnassos and the other Theopaschites. Among these was Anthimos the bishop of Constantinople, who for being of one mind with them was deposed and driven out of the capital after ten months as bishop. Menas, presbyter and steward of the Sampson hospice, was ordained in his stead by Agapetos, the pope of Rome. Agapetos, bishop of Rome, died while he was in Byzantion. In his place Silverius was ordained, who lived for one year' Th; cf Eccl Hist, whose briefer account, while

In that year the bishop of Rome died in Byzantion. Menas, ex-warden of the hospice of Sampson, became patriarch in Constantinople.

84. In the consulship of John the Cappadocian the Arians' churches were confiscated. AD538

85. In that year the Chalke Gate of the palace at Constantinople was finished, being decorated with various kinds of marble and with mosaic work. The *horologion* near the Augusteion and the Basilica was moved.

In that year the office of the *praefectus vigilum* was abolished and a *praetor* was appointed in his place.

In that year a *quaestor* was appointed.

86. In this consulship the dedication of the Great Church took place.

87. In the month of June of the 3rd indiction Antioch the Great **(480)** was captured by Chosroes, emperor of the Persians. Germanus was sent with his son Justin to carry on the war, after being appointed *magister militum.* Achieving nothing, he stayed in Antioch buying silver for two or three *nomismata* a *litra* from the Antiochenes. The emperor of the Persians entered Apameia and other cities of the East. AD540

88. In that year Belisarios was sent to Rome. He attacked and captured Rome, Sicily and the surrounding cities held by Witigis, king of the Goths. He attacked and captured Witigis with his wife and son, and brought them to Byzantion.

A short time later the emperor sent Narses, the *cubicularius,* with a large force to Rome against the Goths.

89. In the month of August John, nicknamed the Cappadocian, was dismissed, after twice discharging the office of prefect. His property

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chronologically fantastic, may more accurately preserve the sequence of events than Th.

84. Bo 479.13-14.

85. Bo 479.15-20; Th 216.23-25 (AD535/6), GM 627.3-7.

The *horologion*...was moved (479.17-18): 'He also made the *horologion* at the Milion' Th; around this point (just before the *horologion* entry in Th and in connection with the dedication of St Sophia in GM) Th, cf GM, adds 'In that year Justinian directed that the hymn "The only-begotten Son and Word of God" ('of the *troparion* beginning, "The only-begotten Son and Word of God"' GM) be sung in churches'.

86. Bo 479.21-22; Th 217.16-22 (AD537/8), Eccl Hist 112.35-113.3.

In this consulship...took place (479.21-22): 'In this year, on 27th December of the 1st indiction, the first dedication of the Great Church took place. The procession set out from St Anastasia, with Menas the patriarch sitting in the imperial carriage and the emperor joining in the procession with the people. From the day when the most holy Great Church was burned until the day of its dedication was 5 years, 11 months and 10 days' Th, cf Eccl Hist.

87. Bo 479.23-480.7; Th 218.18-20 (AD538/9).

88. Bo 480.8-15; Th 205.24-28. Cf Bo 484.22-485.3, para 110.

large force to Rome (480.14): 'a fleet to Rome to maintain control of those parts' Th.

89. Bo 480.16-481.2; De insid 47 (172.31-173.12).

John (480.16): De insid adds 'the praetorian prefect'.

office of prefect (480.17): De insid adds 'having enjoyed great power'.

was confiscated and he was sent to Kyzikos, being ordained a deacon at Artake. There he formed a conspiracy with some landowners and they killed Eusebios, the bishop of the city of Kyzikos. On learning this, the emperor was angry with John and sent and examined him there over the murder which had occurred. At the emperor's command **(481)** he was exiled from there to Antinoe. Some time later he was recalled, and died in Byzantion.

AD541/2 90. In the 5th indiction the following incident took place. A woman living near what is known as the Golden Gate went into ecstasy one night and spoke a lot of nonsense, so that the people of Constantinople came running up and went off in a procession of prayer to St Diomedes-in-Jerusalem. They brought the woman out of her house and took her to the church of St Diomedes, for she was saying that in three days' time the sea would rise and take everybody. Everybody went in processions of prayer and chanted, "Lord, have mercy", for reports were circulating that many cities had been swallowed up. It was then that men died of a plague in Egypt, including Alexandria. The emperor sent Narses, the *cubicularius,* and others in fast ships to learn what had happened. When Narses' servants had gone off on his instructions to St Diomedes' and learnt from the crowd gathered there what was being said by the woman, they came and reported to Narses what had happened in the church, and also that they had heard from the woman who was in ecstasy that in three days' time the sea would rise and submerge everybody. On hearing what was said by her, the crowds went away in alarm.

91. **(482)** In that year Longinus was appointed city prefect. He paved the central hall of the Basilican cistern. He also built the colonnades of the Basilica magnificently.

92. The Lord God saw that man's transgressions had multiplied and

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confiscated (480.17): De insid adds 'on the grounds that he had acted with the patrician Antonia *(sic),* wife of Belisarios, in plotting against the emperor Justinian'.
to Kyzikos (480.18): De insid adds 'to live there'.
was angry with John and sent (480.21): De insid adds 'certain men of patrician and consular rank, Florus, the ex-consul Paul the Galatian, the patrician Phokas and the ex-prefect Thomas'.
At the emperor's command (480.22): 'Since he was found to blame for the murder' De insid.
Some time...Byzantion (481.2): 'John lived at Antinoe for a number of years until the death of Theodora, when he was recalled but remained a private person, not being appointed to office' De insid.
90. Bo 481.3-21; Th 224.29-33 (AD544/5), GM 628.14-17, Ke 657.15-19.
many cities had been swallowed up (481.11): Perhaps the following passage in Th, cf GM, probably from the original Malalas, came at this point, 'In this year the sea advanced on Thrace by four ('three' GM) miles and covered it in the territories of Odyssos and Dionysopolis and also Aphrodision. Many were drowned in the waters. By God's command the sea then retreated to its own place'.
91. Bo 482.1-3.
central hall (482.2): perhaps 'central courtyard'; see Guilland, 1969a, 3-10.
92. Bo 482.4-11; Th 222.22-23 (AD541/2), JE 227.25-240.30, PsD 855 (AD544/5) MS 9.28 (235-8), GM 641.1-17.

he caused the overthrow of man on the earth, leading to his destruction in all cities and lands. The plague lasted a while, so that there were not enough people to bury the dead. Some carried out the corpses from their own houses on wooden litters and even so they could not manage. Some of the corpses remained unburied for days. Some people did not attend their own relatives' funerals. God's compassion lasted at Byzantion for two months.

93. In the month of September of the 7th indiction an earthquake AD543 occurred in Kyzikos, and half of the city collapsed.

94. In that year an equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian was set up near the palace in what is known as the Augousteion. This statue had been of the emperor Arcadius, having previously stood on a pedestal in the Forum Tauri.

95. In that year a shortage of wine occurred.

96. In the month of November an error occurred over the Sunday before Lent. The emperor ordered that meat should be sold for another week. All the butchers killed and set out meat for sale, **(483)** but no one ate it; but the Holy Passion of Christ our God was

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The Lord God...two months (482.4-11): JE preserves a long and somewhat rhetorical description of the plague and its effects in Palestine and Constantinople; it includes some incidents that are also mentioned in Ba, as well as in GM, but at no point does the wording in either JE or GM come convincingly close to Ba.

93. Bo 482.12-13; JE 227.14-16, PsD 855 (AD544/5), MS 9.31 (262), Th 224.11-13 (AD543/4), Gr Chron 9.

In the month of September (482.12): 'on Sunday 6th September' Th.

in Kyzikos (482.12): JE adds 'most of its wall was brought down or shattered, while the part which had not fallen was left leaning at an angle as if it were about to fall'; Th adds 'a great earthquake occurred throughout the world'.

94. Bo 482.14-17; Th 224.13-15 (AD543/4).

In that year...Forum Tauri (482.14-17): 'In that year the great bronze column called Augusteus near the palace was completed and the equestrian statue of the emperor Justinian was put on top' Th.

95. Bo 482.18; Th 225.4-5 (AD545/6), Ke 657.20-21.

shortage of wine (482.18): 'shortage of corn and wine, and much bad weather. There was a great earthquake at Byzantion' Th, cf Ke.

96. Bo 482.19-483.2; Th 225.5-10 (AD545/6), GM 644.13-18, Ke 657.21-658.2, PsD 857 (AD545/6), MS 9.33 (271).

the Sunday before Lent (482.19): 'Holy Easter and the people held the Sunday before Lent on 4th February' Th, cf GM; cf 'the beginning of Lent. Some had begun to fast two weeks previously, others a week after. In the imperial city the emperor and the nobles, who had returned a week after the fast had begun, decided that the fast should not start until the following week. The emperor ordered the butchers to sell meat but they did not wish to slaughter the sheep and cattle and, apart from a few gluttons, the people considered this meat carrion. Some threw chalk and dust over it and spoilt it to prevent it being sold. The emperor compelled the butchers to slaughter more beasts and paid them out of the public treasury' MS.

ate (483.1): 'bought or ate' Th, GM.

Holy (483.1; see Bury, 1897, 230): om Bo.

celebrated as the emperor had wanted.

AD547 97. In the month of February of the 10th indiction the bishop of Rome, Vigilius, arrived in Constantinople.

In that year Rome was captured by the Goths.

98. In that year Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed by the pope of Rome on certain charges under canon law.

99. In that indiction, while the City's Anniversary was being celebrated in Byzantion and Thomas was city prefect, a riot occurred between both factions. The emperor saw what had happened and gave orders to the *excubitores,* who set upon the mob. Some were suffocated as they fled and others were slaughtered.

100. In that indiction Menas, the archbishop of Constantinople, was

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wanted (483.2): Th adds 'and the people continued fasting for an extra week', cf GM.

97. Bo 483.3-5; Th 225.12-13 (AD546/7).

In the month of February...the Goths (483.3-5): cf Th which reverses these sentences.

98. Bo 483.6-8; Th 225.13-28 (AD546/7).

In that year...canon law (483.6-8): Th collects several references to the pope's quarrels in Constantinople into one passage (see Stein, 1949, 641, note 2 and 652, note 1) which seems to be an inefficient summary of entries in the original Malalas, corresponding to paras 98, 100 and 111, while para 107 is directly reflected in Th 227.2-4. Ba does not read as a consistent narrative and both Ba and Th are difficult to reconcile with facts known from other sources; it is best to regard both as poor summaries, on different principles, of a longer original Malalas, parts of which can also be glimpsed in TF (see para 111). Th's passage is translated as a whole here (and will be referred to in paras 100 and 111): 'Pope Vigilius arrived in Constantinople and after being received with great honour by the emperor, he promised to unite the catholic church and to anathematize the Three Chapters. He was so greatly honoured by the emperor that he became puffed up and excommunicated Menas, bishop of Constantinople, for four months by way of penance. Menas replied by imposing the same penance on Vigilius. The emperor, angry with Vigilius because of the penance and the delay in fulfilling his promises about uniting the church, despatched men to arrest him. Vigilius, fearing the emperor's wrath, sought refuge in the sanctuary of Sergius the martyr in the monastery of Hormisdas. As he was being dragged from there, he clung on to the columns supporting the altar and brought them down, for he was a large, heavy man. The emperor repented and received pope Vigilius, who in turn, at the request of the Augusta Theodora, received Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, on 29th June, the day of the Holy Apostles'.

99. Bo 483.9-13; Th 225.29-226.2 (AD546/7).

In that indiction...celebrated (483.9): 'In the same year on 11th May, on the Saturday of Holy Pentecost, while the City's Birthday chariot-races were taking place' Th.

excubitores (483.11): '*excubitores* and armed soldiers' Th.

slaughtered (483.13): Th adds 'and there was a heavy death toll'.

100. Bo 483.14-16; cf Th 225.25-28.

installed in his see. He went off to the monastery of the Holy Apostles in Periteichisma.

101. In that year, while a *comes* nicknamed Dipundiaristes was *praetor,* those who had been implicated in the murder of the bishop of Kyzikos, Andreas and John nicknamed Dandax, were tried in public. After the trial the two had their right hands cut off.

102. In that year continual earthquakes occurred.

103. In the month of June in that indiction there occurred the most tremendous thunder **(484)** and lightning, so that people were injured by the lightning even in their sleep. During these terrors part of the column on Xerolophos was stripped off. AD547

104. On the 28th of this month of the 10th indiction the Augusta Theodora died.

105. In the month of July, after fighting had occurred between both factions, a fire broke out in the building known as the House of Pardos. Many places were burnt and many murders were committed.

106. In the 13th indiction an Indian ambassador was sent to Constantinople with an elephant. AD549/50

In that indiction...Periteichisma (483.14-16): 'Vigilius, at the request of the Augusta Theodora, received Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, on 29th June, the day of the Holy Apostles' Th (as in para 98). Ba is unsatisfactory (see Festugière, 1979, 237,) and can only be translated as in the text (see Janin, 1953, 55). In view of the passage in Th from a similar stage in the story, however, the reference to the Holy Apostles could merely reflect a date, with the sense of the rest of Ba's sentence irrecoverable.

101. Bo 483.17-20.

102. Bo 483.21; Th 226.4-7 (AD547/8), Ke 658.8.

continual earthquakes occurred (483.21): Th adds 'and heavy rain and likewise a great earthquake in the month of February, when everyone despaired and became very frightened, and held processions of supplication and begged God to be saved from the impending dangers'.

103. Bo 483.22-484.3; Th 226.11-15(AD548/9), Ke 658.10-11, GM 641.17-19.

people (484.1): 'many people' Th, Ke.

During these terrors...stripped off (484.2-3): 'On St John's day the thunder and lightning was so terrible that part of the column of the Xerolophos was sliced off, as was the column's carved capital' Th.

104. Bo 484.4-5; Th 226.8-9 (AD547/8), Eccl Hist 113.8-9, Ke 658.9.

10th (484.4): '11th' Th, Eccl Hist.

died (484.4): 'died in piety' Th, Ke.

105. Bo 484.6-8; TF IV. 22-23, Th 226.15-22 (AD548/9), Ke 658.11-17.

were burnt (484.8): Th adds 'that is, from the bronze *tetrapylon* as far as the district known as Eleusia'.

were committed (484.8): Th adds 'During the procession at the Hebdomon, the *vestitores* lost the crown of the emperor'; TF, beginning at this point (see Patzig, 1891/2, 6) adds 'our lord Justinian; it was found eight months later by the *praetor,* the *comes* known as Diapoundaristes; one pearl and all the remaining jewels were safely recovered', cf Th.

106. Bo 484.9-10; TF IV.23, Th 226.33-227.2 (AD549/50), Ke 658.18-19.

In the 13th indiction...elephant (484.9-10): 'In the month of October, in the 13th indiction, while the chariot races were being held, an elephant and an Indian ambassador entered the hippodrome' TF, cf Th, Ke.

107. In that year there was erased from the holy diptychs the name of Menas, the archbishop, and the name of Vigilius, the pope of Rome.

AD550 108. In the month of April a faction riot occurred in the hippodrome when no races were being held. There were many deaths on both sides.

109. On 28th June in that indiction there occurred the dedication of the Holy Apostles and the deposition of the precious relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy in Constantinople. The bishop Menas rode with the holy remains, seated in an imperial carriage.

110. In that year Narses, the *cubicularius,* was sent **(485)** to Rome to fight against the Goths, because after Belisarios had taken Rome it was retaken by the Goths.

111. On 26th June in that indiction the bishop of Rome, Vigilius, was received by the emperor. He had incurred the emperor's anger and

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107. Bo 484.11-13; TF IV.23, Th 227.2-6 (AD549/50), Ke 658.19-20.
In that year (484.11): 'In the month of January, in the 13th indiction' TF, cf Th.
the pope of Rome (484.13): 'the archbishop of Rome was pronounced first' TF, cf Th. TF adds 'In the month of March, in the 13th indiction, the elephant escaped from its stable at night and killed and maimed many people', cf Th, Ke.
108. Bo 484.14-16; TF IV.24, Th 227.6-10 (AD549/50), Ke 658.20-22.
In the month of April (484.14): 'On 16th April in the 13th indiction' TF, cf Th.
a faction riot (484.14): 'a clash between the Greens and Blues at dusk' TF, cf Th.
both sides (484.15): TF adds (sentence obscured by lacuna) 'and some (received) painful wounds from the partisans'. TF continues 'But the partisans got into the workshops and made off with whatever they could find. John surnamed Kokkorobios was city prefect at the time', cf Th, Ke; see Maricq, 1950, 410, note 1. TF continues 'In the battle a young man was killed, Pamphemos from the neighbourhood known as Dagistheos' (reading τῶν Δαγιοθέου ὀνόματι for τῶνδ' Ἀγιοθέου ὀνομάτων).
109. Bo 484.17-21; TF IV.24-5, Th 227.10-15 (AD549/50), Eccl Hist 113.10-14, Ke 658.22-659.3, MS 9.33(269-70).
28th June (484.17): 'Tuesday 28th June' TF, Th.
indiction (484.17): TF adds 'in the 9th year after the consulship of Basilios'.
Timothy (484.19): TF adds 'in the house of the Holy Apostles'.
imperial carriage (484.21): TF adds 'holding the three caskets with the holy relics on his knees', cf Th; TF continues 'and another imperial carriage was led without a driver (reading ἀδέστρατον see Sophocles, *ad loc.*, from Eccl Hist ἀδεστράτου in place of ὃ δὴ τοῦτον) in front of the holy relics and the archbishop Menas', cf Eccl Hist.
110. Bo 484.22-485.3; TF IV.26, Th 227.17-20 (AD550/1), Ke 659.4-6. Cf Bo 480.8-15, para 88.
In that year (484.22): 'In the month of April in the 13th ('14th' Th) indiction' TF, Th.
against the Goths (485.1): TF adds 'who were holding Rome', cf Th.
Belisarios (485.2): TF adds two illegible words.
111. Bo 485.4-7; TF IV.26-27, Th 225.21-25 (AD546/7).

had taken sanctuary at St Sergius' in the district known as Hormisdas.

112. In the 14th indiction a severe and tremendous earthquake occurred throughout the land of Palestine, in Arabia and in the land of Mesopotamia, Antiochia, Phoenice Maritima and Phoenice Libanensis. In this terror the following cities suffered: Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and parts of other cities. Large numbers of people were trapped in them. In the city of Botrys part of the mountain called Lithoprosopon, which is close to the sea, was broken off and fell into the sea. It made a harbour, so that very large ships were able to anchor in the harbour formed by the ruptured mountain. This city had not had a harbour in the past. The emperor sent money to all the provinces and restored parts of these cities. At the time of the earthquake the sea retreated out to the deep for a mile and many ships were destroyed. At God's command the sea was restored again to its original bed. AD550/1

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by the emperor...Hormisdas (485.5-7): 'by our pious lord, because he had broken off relations with him and taken refuge in St Sergius in the district called Hormisdas' TF, cf Th. TF continues 'Our pious lord sent the *praetor*, the *comes* known as Diapoundaristes, and a serious disturbance occurred. Pope Vigilius went to the holy sanctuary, and the *comes* grasped him by the beard to remove him from there. The bishop held on to the column of the holy altar and the holy altar fell to the ground. Later the pope went to the city of Chalkedon...pope Vigilius...by (?) our most pious lord', cf Th in para 97.

112.Bo 485.8-23; TF IV.27-28, Th 227.21-228.4 (AD550/1), Ke 659.6-15, GM 642.2-7, JE 241.17-31, PsD 868 (AD556/7), 870 (AD558/9), MS 9.29 (247).

In the 14th indiction (485.8): 'In this year in the reign of our most pious lord, on the 6th day of the month of July, in the 14th indiction' TF.

throughout the land of Palestine, in Arabia (485.9): 'in the whole area of the East - I mean, in Arabia, the whole of Palestine' TF.

Phoenice Maritima...in them (485.10-14): 'Many cities collapsed in the area of Phoenice Maritima -- that is, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Tripolis, Byblos, Botrys and other cities, and certain (reading φανερά for φάναι ρα') of their surrounding areas also fell. Large numbers of men and animals were swallowed up in these cities' TF.

to anchor in the harbour (485.17): at this point TF IV ends.

and restored parts of the cities (485.19-20): 'for restoring what had fallen in these cities' Th.

At the time of the earthquake...original bed (485.20-23): JE gives the following narrative which, despite its emotional overtones, presumably reflects the original Malalas, 'The sea also along the whole Phoenician coast retreated and went back nearly two miles. But we have decided to report for posterity a terrible disaster and a great and remarkable portent which happened in the city of Beirut in Phoenicia during the earthquake which destroyed the cities. For in the terrible confusion, when the sea at God's will had retreated and withdrawn from Beirut and the other coastal cities of Phoenicia for a distance of nearly two miles, the dreadful depths of the sea became visible. Suddenly, wonderful, varied and amazing sights could be seen - sunken ships full of different cargoes, and other things too when the waters had retreated

AD551 113. **(486)** In the month of September of the 15th indiction there occurred the dedication of St Eirene which is across the Golden Horn in Justinianai. The holy relics left the Great Church with the

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from the land. Some ships which were moored in the harbours settled on the sea-bottom since at God's command they had been left high and dry as the water flowed away. Therefore men, moved by that disaster and led to grief and penitence by the brutal spectacle of wrath, would have felt contempt not only for the impious world but also for their own lives, had their hearts not been hardened like Pharaoh's - not by God as was written about him but by the devil. For the inhabitants of the cities and towns on the coast immediately rushed into the sea on a bold and determined impulse, to steal with wicked avarice the huge overturned treasures which were at the bottom of the sea - an impulse which cost them their lives. Therefore when many thousands of people, rushing into the depths of the sea on a deadly impulse, had begun to take the treasures and remove them quickly and others, seeing them laden with deadly wealth, had rushed up with great enthusiasm so as not to be deprived of the hidden treasures which had suddenly been revealed by the earthquake, when some of them had rushed down to the bottom others were hastening above, others were trying their utmost in the middle, and all were rushing around in confusion, then a tremendous surge of the sea, rushing up unobserved to return to its original depth, overwhelmed and consumed in the depths of its eddying waters all those wretched people who had rushed to find wealth from the bottom of the sea and, like Pharaoh, they went down to the depths and were drowned, as it is written, like stones, and God rolled the waters of the sea over them, as the flood burst forth and flowed back to its former abundance. Those who had lingered on the edge of the shore in these places, and were now hurrying to go down, those who were closest to the land, fled to the shore when they saw the deep sea rushing back to its former position. But after they had escaped, as if from hunters, a violent earthquake took place which overturned houses in the cities, especially Beirut. The houses as they fell crushed those who had escaped from the sea, and so nobody survived. For with the sea rising up against them from behind and the earthquake bringing down the city in front of them because of their evil greed, they were caught between two disasters. This happened to them in accordance with the priestly saying, "though saved from the sea Justice would not let them live". Therefore those who had sought wealth were delivered up to total destruction and lost their lives, and their bodies were found floating on the waves like rubbish. Then in the rubble of the destroyed city, at God's command, fire broke out and for almost two months the flames burned and flared up among the ruins, till even the stones were burnt and turned to lime. Then the Lord sent down rain from heaven for three days and nights, and so the fire burning in the city of Beirut was put out. Any who had been saved from the sea's return and the collapse of the city, lay in the city wounded and injured and consumed by thirst, since the city's aqueduct had been destroyed. When this report was received the emperor Justinian sent gold through several noblemen, who removed and carried out innumerable human bodies and restored the city to some extent', cf MS.

113. Bo 486.1-7; Th 228.6-13 (AD551/2), Eccl Hist 113.15-19.

in Justinianai (486.2): 'at Sykai' Th, Eccl Hist.

two patriarchs, I mean Menas, the patriarch of Constantinople, and Apollinarios, the pope of Alexandria. They both sat in the imperial carriage, holding the precious relics on their knees.

114. In that year the harbour near the palace of the Secundianai was emptied and dredged.

115. In the month of August of the 15th indiction Menas, the archbishop of Constantinople, died. While his body lay in the holy sanctuary of the Great Church, Eutychios, the *apokrisiarios* of Amaseia, became patriarch.

116. In that month there came from Rome news of victory from Narses, the *cubicularius* and exarch of the Romans. He had fought a battle with Totila, king of the Goths, and had completely defeated him and killed him. His bloodstained clothes were sent to Constantinople.

117. In the month of March of the 1st indiction there occurred a debasement of the coinage. There was a riot and uproar among the poor and it was reported to the emperor. He ordered that the standard of the coinage should continue according to the old practice. AD553

118. In the month of August of the 2nd indiction there **(487)** occurred a tremendous earthquake and many houses, baths and churches suffered and also parts of the walls at Byzantion. During this shock AD554

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knees (486.6): Th adds 'They went as far as Perama, then crossed over and the emperor met them. They then inaugurated the church of the holy martyr Eirene'.

114. Bo 486.8-9; Th 228.13-14 (AD551/2).

near the palace of the Secundianai (486.9): cf 'of the Hebdomon' Th.

115. Bo 486.10-13; Th 228.14-18 (AD551/2), Eccl Hist 113.19-23.

While his body...patriarch (486.11-13): 'Eutychios, the *apokrisiarios* of Amaseia, a monk and presbyter of the monastery at Amaseia, replaced him on the same day, while Menas' body was still lying in the sanctuary' Th, Eccl Hist.

116. Bo 486.14-18; Th 228.18-24 (AD551/2), Ke 659.15-17.

completely defeated him (486.16-17): Th adds 'and captured Rome', cf Ke.

His bloodstained clothes...Constantinople (486.17-18): 'He sent back to Constantinople his bloodstained garments and jewelled cap. These were thrown at the emperor's feet during the *secretum*' Th.

117. Bo 486.19-22.

118. Bo 486.23-487.9; Th 222.25-30 (AD541/2) (=Th a), 229.5-10 (AD553/4) (=Th b), 229.29-230.3 (AD554/5) (=Th c), Gr Chron 8, Eccl Hist 113.25-30, GM 642.8-11, Schreiner I 10, JE 241.1-16, PsD 862 (AD550/1), MS 9.29 (245-6). Th b certainly reflects Ba here; Th a has strong similarities to Ba in the list of destroyed buildings and the fallen spear and to Th b in the same list and in reference to the Golden Gate; Stein, 1949, 828 suggests that the doublet may derive from Malalas; we, however, have consolidated all the references into one.

In the month of August of the 2nd indiction (486.23): 'On 15th August of the 2nd indiction, in the middle of the night, as Sunday was dawning' Th b, cf JE; cf 'On 16th August of the 5th indiction' Th a, Eccl Hist.

tremendous earthquake (487.1): Th a, GM, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist add 'at Constantinople'.

parts of the walls at Byzantion (487.2): 'the wall, especially the part near the Golden Gate' Th a, Th b, JE, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist.

the spear, which the statue in the Forum of Constantine was holding, fell and drove itself into the ground to a depth of three cubits. Many were trapped in the rubble. During this shock other cities suffered, amongst them Nikomedeia, part of which collapsed. Days later people were brought up alive out of the rubble at Nikomedeia. This earthquake lasted 40 days.

AD556 119. In the month of July of the 4th indiction the Samaritans and Jews at Caesarea in Palestine rioted. After uniting together like faction members they attacked the Christians of the city and killed many of them. They attacked and plundered the churches. When the governor of the city went out to help the Christians, the Samaritans attacked and killed him in the praetorium and looted all his possessions. The wife of the governor Stephanos went to Constantinople and approached the emperor. On hearing what had been done by the Samaritans, he was incensed and ordered Amantios, the governor of the East at that time, to investigate the events, including the murder of Stephanos. After receiving imperial messages and going off to Caesarea, Amantios searched for and found those who had committed the murders. He hanged some, **(488)** beheaded others or cut off their right hands, and

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three cubits (487.4-5): Th a, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist add 'the right hand of the statue of the Xerolophos also fell'.
Many were trapped in the rubble (487.5): cf 'Many died, and there was great fear' Th a, Schreiner, Gr Chron, Eccl Hist.
Nikomedeia, part of which collapsed (487.6-7) cf Th b: 'Nikomedeia, metropolis of Bithynia, which was completely overthrown and destroyed.
people...Nikomedeia (487.7-8): JE adds 'some of these came out untouched, others with injuries'.
40 days (487.9): JE adds 'during which the pity of merciful God intervened to summon mankind to the amendment of their lives'; Th b continues, cf JE, 'For a while men were overcome by contrition, went on litanies and frequented churches, but after God's mercy had returned, they lapsed again into worse habits'; JE continues, cf Th b, 'The commemoration of the earthquakes takes place in the great, very wide Campus, seven miles from Constantinople. On the very days on which they occurred, each year, almost the whole city goes out there and carries out many religious ceremonies ('performs a litany' Th b)'. Less certainly Th c also is derived from Malalas, 'In this year, on 11th July of the 3rd indiction, at the commemoration of St Euphemia and the Definition, there was a great earthquake. On the 19th of the same month there was terrible thunder and lightning and a violent south-west wind, as a result of which the cross that stood inside the Rhesion gate fell down'.
119. Bo 487.10-488.3; De insid 48 (173.13-29), Th 230.5-15 (AD555/6), PsD 863 (AD551/2), MS 9.31 (262).
4th indiction (487.10) Th: on false dates implied by other witnesses, see Stein, 1949, 374, note 2.
faction members (487.12): 'a Green-Blue faction' Th, De insid.
the churches (487.14): 'the churches of the Orthodox' De insid.
the governor of the city (487.14): 'Stephanos, the pro-consul, surnamed Syros' De insid, cf 'Stephanos the city prefect' Th.
governor of the East at that time (487.21): '*magister militum per Orientem* at that time, connected with Zemarchos' De insid.

confiscated others' property. There was great fear in the city of Caesarea and the eastern regions.

120. In the month of December in that indiction people died of the plague in various cities.

121. In the month of May of that indiction there occurred a shortage of bread in Constantinople and people were hard pressed for a time. They chanted against the emperor during the City's Anniversary when a Persian ambassador was watching the races with the emperor. The emperor was angry and gave orders to Mousonios, who was city prefect. Some of the prominent members of the Blue faction were arrested and punished. This shortage of bread lasted for three months. A few days later there occurred tremendous thunder and lightning in various cities with the result that many people were injured.

122. In the month of November of the 5th indiction fire appeared in the sky shaped like a spear, extending from the eastern regions to the western. AD556

123. In the month of April in that indiction occurred a tremendous earthquake that caused no damage. AD557

124. In the month of December of the 6th indiction another most tremendous earthquake occurred at midnight. The two walls of Constantinople suffered, both the old one which had been put up by AD557

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120. Bo 488.4-5; Th 230.15-17 (AD555/6).
cities (488.5): Th adds 'especially children'.
121. Bo 488.6-14; Th 230.17-27 (AD555/6).
against the emperor (488.8): Th adds '"Lord, provisions for the city". They cursed the city prefect'; see Rochow, 1983, 470 for Th's additions to this paragraph.
Persian ambassador (488.9): 'Persian ambassadors' Th.
punished (488.11): Th adds 'for they had vexed the emperor because the faction members had shouted against him in the presence of the Persian ambassador'.
The shortage...three months (488.12-13): 'There was plenty of wine and salted meat and everything else, but a shortage of corn and barley' Th.
A few days later (488.13): 'On Thursday 13th July' Th.
injured (488.14): Th adds 'There was heavy rain, so that after the long drought the land was sated'.
122. Bo 488.15-17; Th 230.30-231.1 (AD556/7), GM 642.11-12, PsD 885 (AD573/4).
In the month of November (488.15): Before this Th adds, possibly not from Malalas, 'In this year on 6th November, on the Commemoration of the Dust, there died Timothy, the exarch of the monasteries and abbot of the monastery of Dalmatos. Anthimos, an anchorite of the same monastery, replaced him' Th.
eastern regions (488.16): 'north' Th, GM.
123. Bo 488.18-19; Th 231.1-2 (AD556/7).
In the month...indiction (488.18): 'On Monday 16th April' Th.
124. Bo 488.20-489.10; Th 231.13-232.6 (AD567/8), Eccl Hist 113.31-114.9, GM 642.12-22, PsD 879 (AD567/8).
In the month...indiction (488.20): 'In this year, on Friday 19th October of the 6th indiction, there was a great earthquake just as Saturday was dawning. On 14th December' Th, cf Eccl Hist.

Constantine and (489) the one built by Theodosius, and parts of churches collapsed, especially those on the far side of Hebdomon. The column which was in the Secundianai was brought down, together with its statue. A very large part of the Rhegion collapsed. Many people were killed in the falling buildings. Days later some of those who had been trapped in the rubble were rescued alive. In this shock many places in outlying cities also collapsed. This tremendous threat lasted for ten days. For a time people were conscience-stricken and continued to offer prayers and supplications in the church. The emperor Justinian did not wear a diadem for 30 days.

125. In that year an outlandish tribe of Huns, known as the Avars, came to Constantinople.

126. In those days the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia died in Byzantion. Theokritos became bishop in his place.

127. In the month of February of the 6th indiction deaths occurred in Constantinople from bubonic plague. During this terror the guilds all made silver biers. This tremendous threat from God lasted for six

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Hebdomon (489.2): Th, cf Eccl Hist, adds 'and St Samuel, the Holy Mother of God at Petalas and St Vikentios (Eccl Hist adds 'in the Campus') and many church altars and *kibouria* from the Golden Gate as far as the Rhesion. There was no place or suburban estate which did not suffer damage from the terrible threat of the earthquake. Rhegion suffered so badly that it was unrecognizable (= 489.3-4). The churches of Saints Stratonikos and Kallinikos, both in Rhegion, collapsed to the ground'.

The column...statue (489.3): cf Th, PsD, 'The porphyry column, which stood in front of the palace of Jucundianai, with the statue on top of it, collapsed and was driven eight feet into the ground'; Th adds 'The statue of the emperor Arcadius, which stood to the left of the arch of the Forum Tauri, also fell'.

Days later (489.5): 'even two or three days after' Th.

cities also collapsed (489.6): Th adds 'No man on earth in that generation could remember so great and terrible an earthquake'.

This tremendous threat...days (489.7-8): 'The earth continued to shake night and day through God's benevolence for ten days' Th, cf GM, PsD.

the church (489.9): Th adds 'But after experiencing God's benevolence they lapsed again into worse habits'.

30 days (489.10): '40 days' Th and adds 'and even on holy Christmas Day ('and at the Theophany' adds Eccl Hist) processed to church without it. As a result he stopped the customary Banquet of the Nineteen Couches ('of the Twelve Days' GM) and gave the expense set aside for this to the poor'; cf Eccl Hist, GM.

125. Bo 489.11-12; Th 232.6-14 (AD557/8), Eccl Hist 114.10-13.

Constantinople (489.11): Th adds 'Everyone thronged to gaze at them as they had never before seen such a people. They wore their hair very long at the back, tied with ribbons and plaited. The rest of their clothing was like that of the other Huns. They had come as fugitives from their own country to Scythia and Moesia and sent envoys to Justinian, asking to be admitted'; cf Eccl Hist.

126. Bo 489.13-14.

127. Bo 489.15-18; Th 232.13-16 (AD557/8), GM 642.22-643.3.

bubonic plague...silver biers (489.16-17): 'bubonic plague, particularly

months.

128. In that year the dome of the Great Church was being restored, for it had cracked in several places **(490)** because of the shocks that had occurred through God's benevolence. As the Isaurians were working, suddenly the eastern part of the supporting dome fell and crushed the *kibourion*, together with the holy altar. The remaining part that had stayed in place was also brought down, as was the vault itself. The dome was rebuilt 20 feet higher.

129. In the month of March of the 7th indiction the Huns and the Slavs made an attack on Thrace. They killed many in battle and took some captives, including the *magister militum* Sergius, the son of Bacchus, and Edermas, *major domo* of Kalopodios, making them prisoners. They found parts of the wall of Constantinople had collapsed and, entering there, they raided as far as St Stratonikos. *Everyone fled with their possessions into the city. On being informed of this, the emperor conscripted many and sent them to the Long Wall. They engaged the enemy there and many Romans, especially scholarii, were killed. Then the emperor ordered that the silver kibouria and silver altar tables that were outside the city be removed while the scholae, the protectores, the numeri and the whole senate guarded all the gates* AD559

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among the young, so that the living were too few to bury the dead' Th.
six months (489.18): 'from February to July' Th.
128. Bo 489.19–490.5; Th 232.27–233.3 (AD558/9), Eccl Hist 114.14–22, Gr Chron 11.
In that year (489.19): 'In this year, on Tuesday 7th May, at the fifth hour' Th, cf Eccl Hist.
supporting dome (490.2): Th, Eccl Hist, cf Gr Chron, add 'of the holy sanctuary'; see Mango, 1966, 364–65.
The remaining part...higher (490.3–5): 'The engineers were blamed because, to avoid expense, they had not secured the suspension from beneath but had bored through the piers that supported the dome, for which reason these had not held. Realizing this, the most pious emperor erected new piers to hold the dome, which was built in such a way that it was raised twenty feet higher than the first building' Th, cf Eccl Hist.
129. Bo 490.6–12 up to italics, thereafter Th 233.11–234.12 (AD558/9); Th 233.4–11 (for passage with Bo base text), Ke 677.20–678.14, cf MS 9.33 (269). We have filled the lacuna in Ba to para 133 from Theophanes, who at this point has been using Malalas as his main source. We do not presume that Theophanes gives more than a rough approximation of Malalas' wording and so have marked the change with italics.
the Huns and the Slavs (490.6–7): Th adds 'in great numbers'.
Bacchus (490.8): 'the elder Bacchus' Th (perhaps 'the presbyter Bacchus').
major domo (490.9): cf 'general' Th, Ke; see PLRE III, sv Edermas.
Kalopodios (490.9): Th adds 'the most glorious *cubicularius* and *praepositus*'.
the wall of Constantinople (490.10): 'the Anastasian wall' Th, Ke.
had collapsed (490.11): Th adds 'from the earthquakes'.
as far as St Stratonikos (490.12): 'as far as Drypia, Nymphai and the village of Chiton' Th; at this point Ba breaks off.

of the Theodosian wall. When the emperor saw that the barbarians were staying put, he ordered the patrician Belisarios to march out against them with some other members of the senate. Belisarios took every horse, including those of the emperor, of the hippodrome, of religious establishments and from every ordinary man who had a horse. He armed his troops and led them out to the village of Chiton. He made an entrenched camp and began to capture some of the enemy and kill them. Next he ordered trees to be cut and dragged behind the army. The wind blew up a cloud of dust, which drifted over the barbarians. They, thinking that an enormous force was there, fled and went to the district of St Stratonikos at Dekaton. When they learned from scouts that a great garrison force was at the walls of Constantinople, they went to the region of Tzouroulon, Arkadioupolis and St Alexander of Zoupara and remained encamped there until holy Easter. After the feast of Easter, the emperor went out to Selymbria and everyone from the city went with him to rebuild the Long Wall where the barbarians had entered. The emperor remained there until August. Likewise the barbarians wandered about outside the city until August. Then the emperor ordered double-prowed ships to be built to go to the Danube and oppose the barbarians as they crossed and make war on them. When the barbarians discovered this, they asked through an envoy to be allowed to cross the Danube safely. The emperor sent Justin, his nephew, the curopalates, to conduct them.

130. In this year the emperor began to build the bridge over the river Sangarios. After diverting the river into another bed, he built five imposing arches and so made the river crossable, where previously there had only been a wooden bridge.

131. In this year, on Thursday, 9th September of the 9th indiction, a rumour arose in Constantinople that the emperor had died. For he had returned from Thrace but did not receive anyone. So the people suddenly seized the bread from the bread shops and bakeries, and at about the third hour no bread could be found in the whole city. There was also a downpour of rain that day. The shops were closed and the common talk at the palace was that the emperor had not granted an audience to any senator because he had a headache. For this reason it was believed that he had died. About the ninth hour the senate called a meeting and sent the prefect to have lights lit throughout the city to show that the emperor was well. In this way (235) the city was calmed after the disturbance. After the emperor had recovered, the ex-prefect Eugenios accused George, the curator of the palace of Marina, and Aitherios, curator of the palace of Antiochos, of having intended to make Theodore, son of Peter the magister, emperor, with whom Gerontios, the city prefect, was in accord. When the matter had been investigated and disproved, Eugenios came under displeasure, and his house was confiscated. He sought refuge in the church and was saved.

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130. Th 234.15–18 (AD559/60); LG 323.20–22 (130.13–15), Ke 678.15–18, Sk 100.18–19.

Sangarios (234.16): Ke adds 'that called the five-fold bridge'.

wooden bridge (234.18): Ke, LG, cf Sk, add (perhaps from another source) 'He also built the church of the all holy Mother of God at the Spring'.

131. Th 234.20–235.15 (AD560/1); Ke 678.19–679.4.

In December there was a large fire in Julian's harbour, and many houses were burned as well as churches from the edge of the harbour as far as the quarter of Probus. There was also a big plague at Anazarbos and elsewhere in Cilicia and in Antioch the Great, as well as earthquakes. The orthodox and the supporters of Severus clashed with one another and there were many murders. The emperor dispatched Zemarchos, the comes Orientis, who checked the trouble makers, many of whom were punished by exile, confiscation of property and mutilation.

132. On Wednesday, 12th October of this year, in the 10th indiction, late in the evening, there was a big fire in the quarter of Kaisarios as far as Omphakera, as it is called. All the shops and portals as far as the Forum Tauri were burned. In November, during the races, before the emperor's arrival a riot among the partisans broke out. The Greens attacked the Blues. When the emperor heard, he went up to the kathisma, looked at the fighting and ordered Marinos, the comes excubitorum, with the curator of the estate of Kaisarios (236) to go down and separate the factions. They went off but were unable to disperse them. Many from both factions were killed and many others wounded. The Blues then invaded the Greens' seats, chanting, "Fire this! Fire that! No Green is to be seen here". In return the Greens chanted "Come, come, everybody, everybody!" They went to the Mese, to the residential quarters of the Blues and stoned those they encountered, chanting, "Fire, fire! No Blue is to be seen here". They invaded the residential quarters as Sunday was dawning and stole property. The emperor ordered the Greens to be arrested, and they were punished with many tortures. The Blues sought refuge in the church of the Mother of God at Blachernai. The Greens who stole out sought refuge in St Euphemia at Chalkedon. The prefect ejected them and punished them. Their wives and mothers began to shout in the churches at the emperor that he grant indulgences to the Greens. They were driven off with sticks and the emperor was not reconciled to them (the Greens,) until Christmas.

In February, the emperor ordered that of the men of the seven scholae, those who were stationed at Nikomedeia, Kios, Prousa, Kyzikos, Kotyaion and Dorylaion leave and take up quarters in Thrace, i.e. in Herakleia and the surrounding cities.

In March, the scholae rose up against their comes because of some payments they used to receive which had been abolished; so they attacked him. Theodore Kondocheres, the son of Peter the magister, chanced to be there and by a threatening speech managed to appease them.

In the same year Obaisipolis was captured by the Huns. The emperor sent out his nephew Marcellus, the magister militum, with a large force to rescue both this city and Persis.

In April Anastasioupolis in Thrace was also captured (237) by the same Huns.

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edge of the harbour (235.8-10): cf 'from the Sophiai' Ke.
132. Th 235.26-237.1 (AD561/2); cf Ke 679.5-10.
Obaisipolis (236.25): probably corrupt; cf de Boor who suggests 'the city of Novae'. Perhaps 'Odyssopolis' (Odessa)?
Persis (236.27): probably corrupt; cf de Boor, who suggests 'its surroundings' (reading περιοικίδα for Περσίδα).

133. ...the orthodox faith.

134. In the month of May Zemarchos, the ex-prefect and *curator dominicae domus Placidiae,* was dismissed. Theodoros, nicknamed the Nikomedian, was appointed in his place.

135. In that month the City's Anniversary was not celebrated in the customary way, but was held on the 13th of that month. After the close of the races, as the Greens were leaving and were coming down the colonnade of Moschianos' with an armed guard, suddenly these Greens were insulted by some people from the place known as the House of Appion. The Blue faction attacked the Greens and fighting occurred in various places. The Blues crossed over from Sykai and began to light fires and **(491)** to burn the warehouses along the shore. If anyone tried to put the fires out, he was shot with arrows by members of the Blue faction. They had various exchanges with the workmen there.

Those caught up in the struggle burnt the building known as the House of Andreas which was in the Neorion. Likewise they fought on the Mese. Then they set fire to the House known as that of Barsymias (he at that time was completing his term as prefect). The colonnade opposite was burnt as far as the bronze *Tetrapylon.* The fighting lasted for two days. When the *comes excubitorum* Marinos and Justin, the *gloriosissimus curopalates,* went out with a large military force, they were able with difficulty to restrain both factions.

In that year, when Gerontios was city prefect, many fires occurred in various parts of Constantinople. Members of both factions were arrested, and many were punished, while some were even beheaded. Their detention lasted for 70 days.

136. In the month of June in that indiction Hellenes were arrested and paraded around. Their books were burnt in the *kynegion,* together with pictures and statues of their loathsome gods.

In that month the synodical letter of the pope in Rome was brought.

In that month a faction fight took place in Kyzikos, **(492)** so that many members of both factions fell. During this fighting some of the buildings there were also destroyed.

AD562 137. In the month of August of the 10th indiction there occurred the dedication of the church of the Holy Martyr Theodora, near the

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133. Bo **490.12.**

the orthodox faith (490.12): the last words of a passage, the rest of which falls within the lacuna; it is impossible to suggest what its subject was.

134. Bo **490.13-15**; Th 237.1-4 (AD561/2).

In the month of May (490.13): 'On 3rd May' Th.

Placidiae (490.14): Th adds 'was accused of making many terrible statements against the emperor by George, *curator* of the palace of Marina, and by John the ex-consul, both relatives of the empress Theodora and'; see Stein, 1949, 799 and Rochow, 1983, 471.

135. Bo **490.16-491.17.**

136. Bo **491.18-492.2**; MS 9.33 (271).

Their books...gods (491.19-20): Details of the arrest of pagan priests in MS may derive from Malalas, but there is little similarity of wording; for the dating of this and neighbouring events, see Stein, 1949, 799-800.

137. Bo **492.3-6.**

bridge. At the emperor's command the money dealers put on a display with lavish illuminations.

138. In the month of October of the 11th indiction a faction struggle was caused by the Blues in Byzantion. Fighting took place between them in the place nicknamed Pittakia; swords were drawn and Klerikos, the son of John the *commentariensis*, nicknamed Gylos, lost a hand while fighting. AD562

139. In the month of November a severe drought occurred in Constantinople so that many fights occurred at the cisterns. North winds blew frequently. From the beginning of the month of August the south wind had not blown and the third convoy of ships did not arrive, so that the patriarch Eutychios ordered processions of prayers to Jerusalem.

140. In that month news of victory came from the patrician Narses at Rome, to the effect that he had captured some strong cities of the Goths, that is, Verona and Brescia. He sent the keys of these cities with the spoils.

141. **(493)** In the month of November of the 11th indiction certain persons devised a plot against the emperor Justinian, to kill him as he was sitting in the palace. Those who had devised the plot for the evening attack were Ablabios, son of Meltiades, Markellos the money dealer and Sergius, the nephew of the *curator* Aitherios. Their plan was the following, that as the emperor was sitting in the *triclinium* in the evening they should go in and murder him. They had stationed their own men in various places so that they could create a disturbance when the AD562

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138. Bo 492.7-10; Th 237.6-7 (AD562/3), Ke 679.11-12.
while fighting (492.10): Th adds 'and the emperor punished a great many'.
139. Bo 492.11-16; Th 237.7-12 (AD562/3), cf Ke 679.12-13.
drought occurred (492.11): Th adds 'and water became scarce'.
Jerusalem (492.16): Th adds 'that is, to St Diomedes'.
140. Bo 492.17-20; Th 237.13-15 (AD562/3), Ke 679.13-15.
some (492.18): 'two' Th.
Verona and Brescia (492.19): written as 'Veroia and Vrinkas' Ba, Th, Ke.
141. Bo 493.1-495.5; Th 237.15-238.18 (AD562/3), De insid 49 (173.30-175.18).
In the month of November (493.1): 'In the same month (November), on Saturday 25th, in the evening' Th, cf 'On Saturday at the second lamp' De insid; see Rochow, 1983, 471.
Ablabios, son of Meltiades (493.14): 'Ablabios, from the household of Meltiades, the *melistes*' De insid, cf 'Ablabios, the ex-*melistes*' Th; see Cameron, 1978, 91-2 and note 19.
Markellos, the money dealer (493.7): De insid adds 'from Cilicia who had his workshop near St Eirene the Old and the New, who was from the household of Aitherios the *curator*'; Patzig, 1890/1, 16 suggests that this may be an insertion by De insid, without convincing reasons.
in the *triclinium* (493.8): Th, De insid add 'before the formal dismissal'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16 and Rochow, 1983, 471.
in various places (493.8): 'at the Arma, the office of the *silentiarius*, the Indoi and the Archangelos' De insid, cf Th; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16 and Rochow, 1983, 471.

plot had been carried out. Ablabios had taken money from Markellos, about 50 *litrai* of gold, to join in the attempt. However, through God's good grace, one of those who had devised the plot, Ablabios, son of Meltiades, confided the plan to Eusebios, the *comes foederatorum,* and John, son of Dometiolos; he said, "In the evening we intend to attack the pious emperor while he is seated in the *triclinium".* When the plot had been revealed, Markellos the money dealer was found, on the evening on which he was going to carry out what the plotters had planned, entering the palace carrying a dagger. Likewise Ablabios, who had disclosed the plot, was found with a sword. The plot had been discovered in advance; Markellos was arrested and, having failed in his aim, he drew the dagger which he was wearing and inflicted three wounds on himself, and so died. Sergius, the nephew of Aitherios, **(494)** sought sanctuary in Our Lady Mother of God at Blachernai. Expelled from the precincts on the grounds that he had conspired against the emperor, he was questioned. He made a deposition that Isakios the money dealer, from the household of the patrician Belisarios, also knew about the plot, as did Vitus the money dealer and Paulus, Belisarios' *suboptio.* Both were arrested and turned over to Prokopios, the city prefect. Constantine, the *quaestor,* Julian, the chief secretary, and Zenodoros, the *a secretis,* who took down their answers, sat with Prokopios and

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from Markellos (493.10): De insid and Th add 'the money dealer'.
attempt (493.11): De insid adds 'and at all costs to kill the emperor, together with Markellos and Eusebios'.
Eusebios (493.13): Th adds 'the ex-consul and', cf 'proconsul and' De insid; see PLRE III, sv Eusebios.
John, son of Dometiolos (493.14): 'John the logothete, from the household of Domentziolos' De insid; Th; see Cameron, 1978, 92.
When the plot (493.16): 'When the plan had been made and the plot' De insid.
Markellos was arrested (493.20-21): 'Markellos the money dealer was arrested in the *triclinium*' De insid, cf Th.
having failed in his aim (493.21): De insid, cf Th, adds 'while under arrest'.
he drew the dagger which he was wearing and inflicted (493.21-22) Th: cf 'he committed suicide, inflicting' De insid.
and so died (493.22) Th: cf De insid, which adds 'cutting his own throat'.
the nephew of Aitherios (493.23): De insid, cf Th, adds 'succeeded in escaping and'.
from the household of the patrician Belisarios (494.3): cf 'and Belisarios the most glorious patrician' Th; see Rochow, 1983, 471.
about the plot (494.4): De insid adds 'as Markellos had borrowed gold from him' (perhaps added by De insid; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16).
as did (494.4): 'and' De insid, Th.
suboptio (494.5): *'optio'* De insid, cf *'curator'* Th; see Cameron, 1978, 92, note 21. De insid and Th add 'were implicated too'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16.
arrested (494.6) Th: cf De insid, which adds 'and tortured'.
the city prefect (494.6) Th: cf De insid 'who then held the office of city prefect'.

joined in the examination. They denounced Belisarios the patrician and so he incurred the emperor's anger. Certain others of those who had been named by them fled. On 5th December the emperor had a *silentium et conventus* and ordered all office-holders to attend, including the patriarch Eutychios and certain others from the *scholae*. Receiving them in the *triclinium*, he ordered the men's depositions to be read out and the details of the plot to be revealed to all, I mean the depositions of Sergius, the nephew of Aitherios, Eusebios the money dealer, the *suboptio* Paulus and Vitus. Their depositions were read out and as a result the patrician Belisarios incurred anger. The emperor sent and removed all Belisarios' men; Belisarios did not resist in any way. The *quaestor* Constantine and the secretary Julian were suspected, **(495)** it is said, of having acted in the interest of Aitherios, on the grounds that Aitherios himself knew about the plot. Six days later those who had devised the plot were again questioned by the *comes excubitorum* Marinos and the *magister militum* Constantianus, and Belisarios remained under imperial anger.

142. In that month an edict was published by the emperor in various churches about the Separatists *(Diakrinomenoi)*: After the union one must not speak of a single nature but acknowledge two.

143. In that indiction occurred the dedication of the most holy Great Church for the second time. Thirty feet had been added to the dome compared with the original decision, and they had also added two arches, the northern one and the southern one. On the completion of the roof reconstruction, as Eutychios the patriarch held the Holy Gospels and the crowd stood around, a psalm was sung, "Lift up your gates, you rulers, and be lifted up, you everlasting gates, and the King of Glory shall come in, etc" *(Psalm* 23.7).

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named by them (494.11) De insid, Th: 'named' Bo; see Bury, 1897, 227.
the men's depositions (494.19) Th: cf 'the depositions of all those arrested because of the plot' De insid.
and Vitus (494.18): De insid adds 'the money dealer'.
were read out (494.18): De insid adds, cf Th, 'Belisarios was implicated'.
in any way (494.21): 'but sent them all to the emperor' De insid.
and the *magister militum* (495.5): 'and the patrician and *magister militum*' De insid.
under imperial anger (495.5): De insid adds, cf Th, 'staying at his house, neither suffering confiscation nor exile but remaining in his house'; see Patzig, 1890/1, 16.
142. Bo 495.6-8; cf CP 635.9-684.15 (AD552).
In that month (495.6): This entry appears to be misplaced by Malalas; CP gives the correct context in the Fifth Oecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 553, as well as providing a full text; it is, however, unlikely that so huge a document was derived from Malalas, especially in view of this misdating.
143. Bo 495.9-16; CP 687.12-15 (AD563), Th 238.18-24(AD562/3), Eccl Hist 114.26-31.
In that indiction (495.9): Th, CP, Eccl Hist add 'on 24th December'.
Thirty feet...Glory shall come in etc" (495.11-16): 'The all-night vigil before the dedication took place at St Plato's. Eutychios, the

AD563 144. In the month of January of the 11th indiction, when the chariot-races were being held, the charioteer Julianikos was dragged along in the hippodrome and died.

145. In that month parts of Africa were captured by the Moors. Koutzines, the exarch of this tribe, was used to receiving a quantity of gold from the Romans through each successive governor, since he was the ruler of the tribe of Moors. **(496)** When John, nicknamed Rogathinos, came out and gave him nothing, breaking the former custom, and on the contrary, had him assassinated, Koutzines' sons revolted, to avenge their father's blood. Attacking districts in Africa, they captured some places, killing and plundering. The emperor Justinian sent his nephew Markianos, *the magister militum, to the assistance of Africa with an army to pacify the Moors. They went over to him and Africa gained peace.*

146. In April Prokopios was dismissed from the city prefecture and replaced by Andreas, the ex-logothete. As he came out of the palace through the Chalke, seated in his carriage on his way to the praetorium, the Greens met him at the palace of Lausos. They began to insult him and throw stones at him. This led to a big disturbance of the two factions in the Mese. They broke into the prisons and fighting went on from the tenth hour. The emperor sent out his nephew Justin, the curopalates, who chased them away. But they clashed again about the twelfth hour, and they were arrested and paraded publicly for many days. Those who had fought with swords had their thumbs cut off.

147. On 19th July the patrician Belisarios was received and given back all his honours. Peter the magister arrived from Persia after securing a peace treaty for 17 years as regards Lazica and the eastern regions.

In the same month envoys arrived in Constantinople from Askel, king of the Hermichiones, who dwell inland of the barbarian nation near the Ocean.

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patriarch of Constantinople, set out from there with the litany, accompanied by the emperor. Eutychios ('St Eutychios' Eccl Hist) sat in the carriage ('golden carriage' Eccl Hist) wearing apostolic dress and holding the holy Gospels, while everyone sang the psalm, "Lift up your gates, you rulers"' Th, cf Eccl Hist. This appears to be another independent summary of a rather larger original.

144. Bo 495.17-18.

145. Bo 495.19-496.7 up to italics, thereafter Th 239.4-6 (AD562/3). Ba breaks off at this point. If the chronicle was completed in the remaining pages of the folio, only two pages or 70 lines have been lost. As with the lacuna between paras 129 and 133, we have attempted to indicate Malalas' subject-matter for the remainder of the chronicle by using Theophanes, but we do not presume that this gives more than a rough approximation. The two remaining excerpts from De Insid (paras 150 and 151) will, however, be genuine Malalas.

by the Moors (495.20): Th adds 'who had risen in revolt in Africa in the following manner'.

successive governor (495.21): Th adds 'of Africa'.

146. Th 239.6-17 (AD562/3).

147. Th 239.17-25 (AD562/3).

In August there was a shortage of water, so that the public baths were closed and murders occurred at the fountains.

148. In this year, in October of the 12th indiction, the emperor Justinian, in fulfilment of a vow, visited Myriangeloi, otherwise known as Germia, a city in Galatia.

In November, Arethas the patrician and phylarch of the Saracens, came to Byzantion, since he was obliged to report to the emperor which of his sons, after his death, would obtain his phylarchy, and to discuss the activities of Ambros, son of Alamoundaros, in his territory.

In December a great fire broke out, and the hospice of Sampson was completely gutted, as too were the buildings in front of the quarter of Rufus and also the central hall, near the Great Church (the one called Garsonostasion) and the two monasteries near St Eirene, along with its central hall and part of its narthex.

149. In March of this year, in the 13th indiction, Belisarios the patrician died in Byzantion, and his property accrued to the imperial house of Marina.

On 12th April of the same 13th indiction, Eutychios, patriarch of Constantinople was deposed and banished to Amaseia by Justinian. He was replaced by John, the ex-scholasticus, an apokrisiarios of Antioch the Great and presbyter of the same church.

150. In the reign of Justinian there was paraded a member of the Green faction, who was due to be castrated for raping a girl. The girl was the daughter of Akakios, the imperial *curator*. While he was being paraded, just as he was being taken through the quarter of Pittakia, members of the Blue faction attacked and seized him and took him into the Great Church. There was much disturbance over him and turmoil in the church. The emperor exercised clemency, announcing his instructions to the people through a *silentiarius*. He paraded the members of the Blue faction for two days.

151. While Zemarchos was city prefect a disturbance in the quarter of Mazentiolos occurred in this way. When the prefect Zemarchos sent some of the *commentarienses* to arrest a young man named Kaisarios, the inhabitants of the quarter of Mazentiolos resisted them, and they mutilated many soldiers as well as the *commentarienses* themselves. The fighting lasted for two days, and the emperor Justinian sent even more soldiers and *excubitores*. Many of the *excubitores* and soldiers were killed, and also many of the Green faction died. They continued fighting as far as the Forum, the *Tetrapylon* and the praetorium of the city prefect. The Blue faction did not engage with the Greens, but the fighting was between them and the *excubitores* and soldiers. A clash took place in the Strategion on the same day. The ex-prefect Zemarchos, after twice discharging the office of prefect, was replaced, and in his

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148. Th 240.11-22 (AD563/4), Ke 679.19-23.
149. Th 240.24-30 (AD564/5), Ke 680.1-4.
150. De Insid 50 (175.19-28). The position of this para cannot be placed more precisely than somewhere between paras 141 (De Insid 49) and 151 (De Insid 51), but probably occurs at some point after the end of Ba (para 145).
151. De Insid 51 (175.29-176.19).
Zemarchos (175.29): written as 'Zimarchos' De Insid.

the curopalates.

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of nine years of Justin II's 13-year reign in LM and the presence of material reminiscent of Malalas in Th's account of Justin II. LM's main resemblance to Malalas is in its account of the birth of Christ and the calculation of the *annus mundi,* which may well be based on Malalas, Book 10. Thereafter the work consists only of the figures for the length of sucessive imperial reigns, which correspond with those in Malalas but need not be drawn directly from him. Mommsen, 1897, 488 believed that LM demonstrates that the Chronicle ended in the ninth year of Justin's reign (ie AD 574). It is, however, also possible that LM's reference to an unspecified Justin ruling for nine years is simply a misplaced doublet of Justin I, with the omission of '22 days'. (cf Bo 410.6). Th's 'chronicle material' from Justin II and beyond certainly has a flavour and style reminiscent of Malalas (eg Th 243.4-14, 243.31-244.5, 244.7-12, 246.11-27, 246.31-247.3 (= ninth year of Justin II), 246.5-8, 249.21-250.5, 250.8-13, 251.16-19 etc). Stylistically and thematically all this could well be derived from Malalas but such an assumption is difficult in view of Malalas' claim, in the prologue to Book 1, to have used oral sources from the reign of Zeno. This 'chronicle material' is interspersed with and increasingly replaced by matter drawn from an unidentified Alexandrian source (eg Th 241.6-15, 241.26-242.7, 242. 13-19) and Theophylakt Simokatta (Th 244.12-13, 245.13-26, 246.28-29, 247.3-17, 248.14-249.11, 250.13-23 etc). It is of course impossible to argue that the point at which Th was able to turn to the earliest event in Theophylakt's *History* (at Th 244.12, in the seventh year of Justin's reign) marks the end of Malalas. Nor is there anything in Th's text to reflect a change in chronicle source in the ninth year of Justin. In view of this it would be rash to argue that Th's chronicle source after AD 565 was necessarily Malalas.

The problem is complex, and involves several larger questions: the authorship of Book 18, the editions in which the chronicle may have circulated and the possibility that the extant witnesses may contain a continuation of the original Malalas by one chronicler or more. Apart from the summary account given in the Introduction (p xxiii), a full discussion of this issue will be found in the forthcoming *Studies* volume.