ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ
ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

I

1 Προκόπιος Καισαρεὺς τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραψεν οὓς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς πρὸς βαρβάρους διήνεγκε τούς τε ἑῴους καὶ ἑσπερίους, ὥς πη αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη ὁ μέγας αἰὼν λόγου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ καταπρόηται καὶ παντάπασιν ἐξίτηλα θῆται, ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ᾤετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ξυνοῖσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὁμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
2 ἀνάγκην διάθοιτο. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμησείουσι καὶ ἄλλως ἀγωνιουμένοις ὄνησίν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι οἵα τέ ἐστιν ἡ τῆς ἐμφερούς ἱστορίας ἐπίδειξις, ἀποκαλύπτουσα μὲν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγενημένοις τὰ τῆς ὁμοίας ἀγωνίας ἐχώρησεν, αἰνισσομένη δὲ ὁποίαν τινὰ τελευτὴν τοῖς γε ὡς ἄριστα βουλευομένοις[1] τὰ παρόντα, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἕξει.
3 καί οἱ αὐτῷ ξυνηπίστατο πάντων μάλιστα

[1] *βουλευομένοις* Dindorf · *βουλομένοις* MSS.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
HISTORY OF THE WARS : BOOK I

THE PERSIAN WAR

I

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

δυνατὸς ὢν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβούλῳ ᾑρημένῳ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ σχεδόν τι ἅπασι παραγενέσθαι τοῖς
4 πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. πρέπειν τε ἡγεῖτο ῥητορικῇ μὲν δεινότητα, ποιητικῇ δὲ μυθοποιΐαν,
5 ξυγγραφῇ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ του τῶν οἱ ἐς ἄγαν ἐπιτηδείων τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἕκαστα ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλῃ αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη.

6 Κρεῖσσον δὲ οὐδὲν ἢ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκότων τῷ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς τεκμηριοῦσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται.
7 πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν θαυμαστὰ οἷα, ἢν μή τις τῶν τάδε ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδοίη καὶ τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοίη θαυμαστὰ
8 οἴεσθαι. ὥσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν στρατευομένους ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τοξότας, ἀγχεμάχους δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδιώτας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄττα ὀνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἐθέλουσι νέμειν, ταύτην τε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐς τοῦτον ἐληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον ἥκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαίπωρόν γε καὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπωτάτω τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι
9 δόξαν. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἔννοια γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ τοξεύουσιν, οἷσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὀνομαζομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, οὐχ ἵππος ὑπῆν, οὐ δόρυ, οὐκ

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

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

[1] Cf *Iliad* xi. 385 *τοξόται, λωβητήρ, κέραι ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπῖπα,* the only place where *τοξότης* occurs in Homer.

ἀσπὶς ἤμυνεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυλακτήριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεζοὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἤεσαν, ἀποκεκρύφθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, ἑταίρου[1] του ἐκλεγομένοις ἀσπίδα ἢ στήλῃ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, ἔνθα οὔτε τρεπόμενοι διασώζεσθαι οὔτε φεύγουσι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι οἷοί τε ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλά τι[2] κλέπτειν ἐδόκουν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ γινομένων. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἀταλαιπώρως ἐχρῶντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὥστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαζῷ τὴν νευρὰν εἶτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίεσαν κωφόν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως τοῖς δεχομένοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαύτη μέν τις οὖσα ἡ τοξεία φαίνεται πρότερον. οἱ δέ γε ταυῦν τοξόται ἴασι μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κνημῖδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ. ἧρτηται δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ δόρυ προσαποκρέμαται καὶ βραχεῖά τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἀσπὶς ὀχάνου χωρίς, οἷα τά τε ἀμφὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ <τὸν>[3] αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτειν. ἱππεύονται δὲ ὡς ἄριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτοῖς ὡς τάχιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐντείνειν οἷοί τέ εἰσιν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα καὶ διώκοντάς τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. ἕλκεται δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἡ νευρὰ παρ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὤτων τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης ἀλκῆς ἐμπιπλᾶσα τὸ βέλος, ὥστε τὸν ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὔτε ἀσπίδος ἴσως οὔτε θώρακος

[1] ἑταίρου Maltretus, cod. e : ἑτέρου VP.
[2] τι Maltretus τῶ V, τὸ P
[3] <τὸν> Hoeschel

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

[1] Cf. *Iliad* v 192 [2] Cf *Iliad* viii. 267, xi 371
[3] Cf *Iliad* iv 113. [4] Cf *Iliad* iv. 123.
[5] Cf. *Iliad* xi. 390.

16 ἀποκρούεσθαί τι δυναμένου τῆς ῥύμης. εἰσὶ δὲ
οἳ τούτων ἥκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ
τεθήπασι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπι-
τεχνήσεσι διδόασι πλέον.[1] ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κω-
λύσει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἐν
17 τοῖσδε τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. λελέξεται δὲ
πρῶτον ἀρξαμένοις μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅσα Ῥωμαίοις
ξυνηνέχθη καὶ Μήδοις πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ
δρᾶσαι.

II

1 Ἡνίκα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασι-
λεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτᾶν ἤμελλεν (ἦν γάρ οἱ
παῖς Θεοδόσιος οὔπω τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς),
διηπορεῖτο ἀμφί τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὖ
2 θέσθαι ἄμφω ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων ἐγίνετο γάρ
τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὡς, ἢν μὲν κοινωνόν τινα Θεο-
δοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζηται, αὐτὸς ἂν τὸν
παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχρησάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἴη,
πολέμιον αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασίλειον περιβε-
3 βλημένον ἐπαγαγών, ἢν δὲ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσηται, πολλοὶ μὲν τῆς βασι-
λείας ἐπιβατεύσουσι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας,
ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ
οὐδενὶ τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Θεοδόσιον διαφθείραντες,
ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ξυγγενῆ εἶχεν ὅστις
4 ἂν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἴη. Ὀνώριον γάρ οἱ τὸν
θεῖον ἐπαρκέσειν οὐδαμῇ ἤλπισε, πονηρῶν ἤδη
5 τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ὄντων. οὐδὲν δὲ
ἧσσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσε,

[1] πλέον Maltretus · πλέονα VP.

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

II

WHEN the Roman Emperor Arcadius was at the point of death in Byzantium, having a male child, Theodosius, who was still unweaned, he felt grave fears not only for him but for the government as well, not knowing how he should provide wisely for both. For he perceived that, if he provided a partner in government for Theodosius, he would in fact be destroying his own son by bringing forward against him a foe clothed in the regal power, while if he set him alone over the empire, many would try to mount the throne, taking advantage, as they might be expected to do, of the helplessness of the child These men would rise against the government, and, after destroying Theodosius, would make themselves tyrants without difficulty, since the boy had no kinsman in Byzantium to be his guardian For Arcadius had no hope that the boy's uncle, Honorius, would succour him, inasmuch as the situation in Italy was already troublesome And he was equally disturbed by the attitude of the Medes, fearing lest 408 A D

δεδιότα μὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τῆς τοῦ αὐτο-
κράτορος καταθέοντες ἡλικίας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα
6 Ῥωμαίους δράσωσιν. ἐς ταύτην Ἀρκάδιος τὴν
ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπεπτωκώς, καίπερ οὐ γεγονὼς εἰς
τὰ ἄλλα ἀγχίνους, βουλεύεται βουλὴν ἥτις οἱ τόν
τε παῖδα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώσασθαι εὐπετῶς
ἴσχυσεν, εἴτε κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίων τισίν,
οἷοι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖ παρεδρεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἢ
7 θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης. δια-
θήκης γὰρ διαθεὶς γράμματα, διάδοχον μὲν τῆς
ἡγεμονίας ἀνεῖπε τὸν παῖδα, ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ
κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα,
ᾧ δὴ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐπέσκηψε Θεο-
δοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν σθένει τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ
8 ξυνδιασώσασθαι. Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὧδε τήν τε ἀρχὴν
καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν· Ἰσδι-
γέρδης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ τὸ γράμμα
τοῦτο ἀπενεχθὲν εἶδεν, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τρό-
που μεγαλοφροσύνῃ διαβόητος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα,
ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο θαύματός τε πολλοῦ καὶ λόγου
9 ἀξίαν. τὰς γὰρ Ἀρκαδίου ἐντολὰς ἐν ἀλογίᾳ
οὐδεμιᾷ ποιησάμενος εἰρήνῃ τε ἀφθόνῳ χρώμενος
διαγέγονεν ἐς Ῥωμαίους τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ
10 Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διεσώσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν
πρὸς Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν γράμματα ἔγραψεν,
ἐπίτροπός τε οὐκ ἀπαρνούμενος Θεοδοσίου βασι-
λέως εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον ἐπανατεινόμενος, ἤν τις
αὐτῷ ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐγχειροίη καθίστασθαι.
11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδόσιος μὲν ἀνήρ τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ
ἡλικίας πόρρω ἀφῖκτο, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νοσήσας ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν
γῆν Οὐαραράνης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ

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

When Theodosius had grown to manhood and was in the prime of life, and Isdigerdes had been taken from the world by disease, Vararanes, the Persian 441
King, invaded the Roman domains with a mighty

μεγάλῳ, ἔδρασε δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτος
12 ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ἀνατόλιον τὸν τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸν Θεοδόσιος [ὁ] βασιλεὺς πρεσβευτὴν ἐς Πέρσας μόνον αὐτὸν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας· ὃς ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, ἀποθρώσκει μὲν τοῦ ἵππου μόνος, πεζῇ
13 δὲ βαδίζων ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνην ἦει. καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐαραράνης ἰδὼν τῶν παρόντων ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ προσιὼν εἴη. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι
14 στρατηγὸν ἔφασαν. καταπλαγεὶς οὖν τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς[1] στρέψας τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε, καί οἱ ἅπας ὁ τῶν
15 Περσῶν λεὼς εἵπετο. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τόν τε πρεσβευτὴν ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ εἶδε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνεχώρησεν οὕτως ὥσπερ Ἀνατόλιος αὐτοῦ ἔχρῃζεν, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι μηδέτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ οἰκείῳ ἐν γειτόνων τοῖς τῶν ἑτέρων ὁρίοις ὄντι ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐργάζονται. οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐξειργασμένου ἑκάτεροι τὰ οἰκεῖα ὅπη ἐβούλοντο ἔπρασσον.

III

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Περόζης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ Οὔννων τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος, οὕσπερ λευκοὺς ὀνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὁρίων διέφερε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατὸν ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
2 ἦει. Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος εἰσί τε

[1] αὐτὸς H. οὕτω VP. οὗτος G

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

III

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

καὶ ὀνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπιχωριάζουσιν Οὔννων τισὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὅμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πη αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα ᾤκηνται, ἀλλὰ προσοικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσαις πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ πόλις Γοργὼ ὄνομα πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὁρίων διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς
3 ἀλλήλους εἰώθασιν. οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα Οὐννικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς
4 τινος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται. ταῦτά τοι οὐδέ τινα ἐσβολὴν πεποίηνται πώποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ὅτι μὴ ξὺν τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὔννων οὗτοι λευκοί τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἄμορφοι τὰς
5 ὄψεις εἰσίν. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαιταν ὁμοιότροπον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίου βίον τινὰ ἥπερ ἐκεῖνοι ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἑνὸς ἄρχονται καὶ πολιτείαν ἔννομον ἔχοντες ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας ἀεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως ξυμβάλλουσι,
6 Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδέν τι ἧσσον. οἱ μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἑταιρίζονται ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ τούτων πλείους, οἵπερ αὐτοῖς ξυμπόται μὲν ἐς ἀεὶ γίνονται, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος
7 ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταῦτα οὔσης. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῷ αὐτοὺς ἑταιρισαμένῳ τελευτῆσαι ξυμβαίη, τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας ζῶντας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν τάφον ἐσκομίζεσθαι νόμος.
8 Ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τῷ Περόζῃ πορευομένῳ ξυμπαρῆν πρεσβευτής, ὃς δὴ ἔτυχε πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήνωνος παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ δόκησιν παρε-

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

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

χόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηνται, ἤεσαν δρόμῳ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ὄνπερ ὄρη ἀπότομα πανταχόθεν ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἄγαν
9 καλυπτόμενα δένδροις. ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ὀρῶν προιόντι ὡς πορρωτάτω ὁδὸς μέν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν μέσῳ εὐρεῖα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκουσα, ἔξοδον δὲ τελευτῶσα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα
10 τὸν κύκλον τῶν ὀρῶν ἔληγε. Περόζης μὲν οὖν, δόλου παντὸς ἀφροντιστήσας οὐκ ἐννοῶν τε ὡς ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐδίωκε.
11 τῶν δὲ Οὔννων ὀλίγοι μέν τινες ἔμπροσθεν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις διαλαθόντες κατὰ νώτου ἐγένοντο τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοῦ, οὔπω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἔνδηλοι εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντός τε τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὀπίσω
12 ἀναστρέφειν οἷοί τε ὦσιν. ὥνπερ οἱ Μῆδοι αἰσθόμενοι (ἤδη γὰρ καί τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν) αὐτοὶ μὲν δέει τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρουν παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ διασκοπεῖσθαι ἤν τίς ποτε μηχανὴ ἐς σωτηρίαν
13 φέρουσα εἴη. ὁ δὲ Περόζῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τύχην μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἥκιστα ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξάμενος δὲ μυθοποιίας λεόντά ποτε τράγῳ ἔφασκεν ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένῳ τε καὶ μηκωμένῳ ἐπὶ χώρου τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνῃ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὁρμῆσαι μὲν ὡς ἁρπάσοντα,

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

ἐμπεσεῖν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθεῖαν μάλιστα, ὁδὸν κυκλοτερῆ ἔχουσαν στενήν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην (διέξοδον γὰρ οὐδαμῆ εἶχεν), ἣν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὕπερθεν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι
14 ποδοστράβην ἐσόμενον. ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δέος ἦλθε μή ποτε Μῆδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποίηνται. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ
15 παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Οὖννοι δὲ ἤδη ἑπόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἴσοδον ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, ὅπως μηκέτι οἱ πολέμιοι ὀπίσω
16 ἀπελαύνειν οἷοί τε ὦσι. καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ᾐσθημένοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν
17 κίνδυνον ἐν ἐλπίδι οὐδεμιᾷ τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινάς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ θράσους πέρι ἀλογίστου ὠνείδισεν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν, ἐνδώσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν σωτηρίαν Οὔννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἤν γε αὐτόν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν βούλοιτο, ἅτε δεσπότην γεγενημένου, καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὀμνὺς τὰ πιστὰ δοίη μήποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἔθνος στρατεύσασθαι.
18 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἤκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελ-
19 λόμενα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιητέα εἴη. οἱ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ ὅρκῳ ὅπη οἱ βουλομένῳ ἐστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι,[1] ἐς μέντοι

[1] διοικήσασθαι. Haury conjectures <δεῖν> διοικήσασθαι.

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

τὸ ἕτερον σοφίᾳ περιελθεῖν τὸν πολέμιον. εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς προσκυνεῖν ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ. δεήσειν οὖν αὐτὸν τηρησαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν καιρὸν ξυγγενέσθαι μὲν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ τῷ τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἄρχοντι, τετραμμένον δέ που πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον προσκυνεῖν· ταύτῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν ἀτιμίαν φυγεῖν δύναιτο. Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε καὶ τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἡ ὑποθήκη παρήγγελλεν, ἀκραιφνεῖ δὲ παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐπ' οἴκου ἄσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

IV

Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὔννους τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως ἤθελε. πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἦγε, τῶν παίδων ἕνα μὲν Καβάδην ὄνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν (τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἡβηκὼς ἔτυχε), τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. Ἐφθαλῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον γνόντες ἀχθόμενοί τε οἷς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἠπάτηντο τὸν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἅτε προέμενον Μήδοις τὰ πράγματα. καὶ ὃς αὐτῶν ξὺν γέλωτι ἐπυνθάνετο τί ποτε ἄρα σφῶν προέμενος εἴη, πότερον τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι

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

IV

Not long after this, disregarding the oath he had sworn, he was eager to avenge himself upon the Huns for the insult done him. He therefore straightway gathered together from the whole land all the Persians and their allies, and led them against the Ephthalitae; of all his sons he left behind him only one, Cabades by name, who, as it happened, was just past the age of boyhood; all the others, about thirty in number, he took with him. The Ephthalitae, upon learning of his invasion, were aggrieved at the deception they had suffered at the hands of their enemy, and bitterly reproached their king as having abandoned them to the Medes. He, with a laugh, enquired of them what in the world of theirs he had abandoned, whether their land or their arms or any other part of their possessions. They thereupon retorted that he had abandoned nothing,

τὸν καιρὸν ἔφασαν, οὗ τἄλλα πάντα ἠρτῆσθαι
6 ξυμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὑπαντιάζειν
πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἠξίουν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἔν γε τῷ
παρόντι ἐκώλυεν. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ
ἐφόδῳ ἰσχυρίζετο γεγονέναι σφίσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Πέρ-
σαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες· μένων
7 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ᾗ ἔμελλον
Πέρσαι ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἤθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν
πολλήν τινα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον
εἰργάσατο βαθεῖάν τε καὶ εὔρους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαν,
ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀκραιφνῆ χῶρον ἀπολιπὼν
8 ὅσον ἵππων ὁδῷ ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. καλάμους τε τῇ
τάφρῳ ὕπερθεν ἐπιθεὶς καὶ γῆν ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους
συναμησάμενος, ταύτῃ ἐπιπολῆς ἔκρυψεν, Οὔννων
τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ὀπίσω
ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσι, διὰ χώρου τοῦ χέρσου ἐς
ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαιτέρους ἰέναι,
φυλασσομένους ὅπως μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπί-
9 πτοιεν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασι-
λείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὓς τὸν ὅρκον Περόζης
ὤμοσε πρότερον, ὃν δὴ ἀλογήσας εἶτα ἐπὶ Οὔν-
10 νους ἐστράτευσεν. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν, ἐπεὶ
δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργὼ πόλιν ἔμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς
τῶν κατασκόπων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν
ὁρίοις τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὁδῷ
ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἤδη ἰέναι, αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρα-
τοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἔμεινεν, ὀλίγους δὲ πέμψας

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

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

ὀφθῆναι μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευε μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ὀφθέντας δὲ μόνον εἶτα ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγειν ὀπίσω, ἐν μνήμῃ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ κατώρυχι ἔχοντας, ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα
11 ἵκοιντο. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς διώρυχος ἀγχοτάτω ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλίγους σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντες διέβησαν ἅπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
12 ἀνεμίγνυντο. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λίαν ὑπτίῳ ἐδίωκον, θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἅπαντες, οὐχ οἱ
13 πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι ὄπισθεν εἵποντο· ἅτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν ξὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη, ποιούμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ᾔσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ ὃ δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἰοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς ἵπποις τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐκείνους τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔκτειναν καὶ
14 αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ξυνδιεφθάρησαν. ἐν οἷς καὶ Περόζης ἦν ξὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἅπασι. καὶ αὐτὸν μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεῖσθαί φασι τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ᾔσθῆσθαι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, ὅ οἱ λευκότατόν τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολῇ ἔντιμον ἐξ ὠτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥῖψαι, ὅπως δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὀπίσω φοροίη, ἐπεὶ ἀξιοθέατον ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, οἷον οὔπω πρότερον ἑτέρῳ τῳ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες.
15 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐς φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ', οἶμαι τό τε οὖς αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ξυγκεκόφθαι τῷ πάθει καὶ τὸ
16 μάργαρον ὅπη ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. ὅπερ ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθαλιτῶν ἐν σπουδῇ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν.

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

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

17 Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσιν εἰπεῖν ἄξιον· ἴσως γὰρ ἄν τῳ καὶ οὐ
18 παντάπασιν ἄπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειεν εἶναι. λέγουσιν οὖν Πέρσαι εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ μάργαρον τοῦτο ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐστί, νήχεσθαι δὲ τὸν κτένα τῆς ταύτῃ ἠιόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν· ἀνεωγέναι τε αὐτοῦ ἄμφω τὰ ὄστρακα, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἱστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰκασθῆναι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ
19 παντὸς χρόνου. κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυᾶ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἐραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἕπεσθαι κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῷ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθείη, ἐνταῦθα μέν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἐδωδίμων, εὑρόντα δέ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὅτι τάχιστα, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος
20 αὖθις τοῦ ἐρωμένου ἐμπίπλασθαι. καί ποτε τῶν τινα γριπέων φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιούμενα ἐπιδεῖν, ἀποδειλιάσαντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκνῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἔς τε τὸν βασιλέα Περόζην ἅπαντα τὸν
21 λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν. ἃ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκούσαντι πόθον φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγαν, πολλαῖς τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ θωπείαις τὸν ἀσπαλιέα τοῦτον
22 καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίσιν ἐπᾶραι. ὃν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτουμένῳ δεσπότῃ οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν "Ὦ δέσποτα, ποθεινὰ μὲν ἀν-

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

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

θρώπῳ χρήματα, ποθεινοτέρα δὲ ἡ ψυχή, πάντων
23 μέντοι ἀξιώτατα τέκνα. ὧν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκασθεὶς φύσει ἴσως ἄν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειεν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ
24 μαργάρου σε κύριον θήσεσθαι ἐλπίδα ἔχω. καὶ ἢν μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὔδηλον ὡς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὀλβίοις τὸ ἐνθένδε τετάξομαι. σέ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἅτε βασιλέων βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀποχρήσει, καίπερ οὐδέν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότου εὐεργέτην τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενῆσθαι.
25 εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἁλῶναι, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς
26 θανάτου τοῦ πατρῴου ἀμείψασθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔμμισθος ἔσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀποίσῃ μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὠφελῶν εὖ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῆ εἴσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος γένοιτο μόνη ἡ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθεῖσα."
27 τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὅ τε κτεὶς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ κύων αὐτῷ εἴθιστο ἕπεσθαι, ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητό τινος, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως ἔρημόν ποτε
28 τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἐραστοῦ λάβοι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδείως ἐχόντων ἐντετυχηκέναι ξυνέπεσε καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἁλιεὺς τούς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ἑπομένους τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ εὐθὺ τοῦ κτενὸς σπουδῇ πολλῇ ᾔει, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἔξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἠπείγετο.
29 οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει ἐνταῦθα. ἰδὼν

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

τε αὐτὸν ὁ σαγηνευτής, ἐπεὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἡιόνος οὐ μακρὰν ἔμελλε, τὸ μὲν θήραμα ἠκόντισεν ἐς τὴν γῆν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ
30 ἅλοὺς διεφθάρη οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερου. ἀνελόμενοι δὲ τὸ μάργαρον οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς λελειμμένοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἀπεκόμισαν καὶ τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα
31 πάντα ἐσήγγειλαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ τῇδε, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, Πέρσαι ξυνενεχθῆναί φασιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.
32 Οὕτω μὲν Περόζης τε διεφθάρη καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ Περσῶν στρατιά. εἰ γάρ τις οὐκ ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ἔτυχεν, ὅδε ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
33 ταῖς χερσὶ γέγονε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νόμος τέθειται Πέρσαις μή ποτε σφᾶς ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ ἐλαύνοντας δίωξιν ποιεῖσθαί τινα, ἢν καὶ κατὰ κράτος τοὺς
34 ἐναντίους σφίσι τραπῆναι ξυμβαίη. ὅσοι μέντοι Περόζῃ οὐ ξυστρατεύσαντες ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῶν ἔμειναν, οὗτοι δὴ βασιλέα σφίσι Καβάδην εἵλοντο τὸν νεώτατον Περόζου υἱόν, ὅσπερ τηνικαῦτα
35 περιῆν μόνος. τότε δὴ Ἐφθαλίταις κατήκοοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι, ἕως Καβάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρότατα κρατυνάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς ἀποφέρειν τὸν ἐπέτειον οὐκέτι ἠξίου. ἦρξαν δὲ Περσῶν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο.

V

1 Μετὰ δὲ Καβάδης ἐπὶ τὸ βιαιότερον τῇ ἀρχῇ χρώμενος ἄλλα τε νεώτερα ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εἰσήγε καὶ νόμον ἔγραψεν ἐπὶ κοινὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι Πέρσας· ὅπερ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδαμῇ ἤρε-

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

Thus Perozes was destroyed and the whole Persian army with him For the few who by chance did not fall into the ditch found themselves at the mercy of the enemy. As a result of this experience a law was established among the Persians that, while marching in hostile territory, they should never engage in any pursuit, even if it should happen that the enemy had been driven back by force. Thereupon those who had not marched with Perozes and had remained in their own land chose as their king Cabades, the youngest son of Perozes, who was then the only one surviving. At that time, then, the Persians became subject and tributary to the Ephthalitae, until Cabades had established his power most securely and no longer deemed it necessary to pay the annual tribute to them. And the time these barbarians ruled over the Persians was two years. 484 A D

V

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

σκε. διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσάν τε
2 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον. καὶ
βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσην τὸν Περόζου ἀδελφὸν
εἵλοντο, ἐπειδὴ[1] γόνος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄρρην
Περόζῃ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέλειπτο, Πέρσαις δὲ
οὐ θέμις ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι
ἰδιώτην γένος, ὅτι μὴ ἐξιτήλου παντάπασι γένους
3 τοῦ βασιλείου ὄντος· Βλάσης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν
παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ξυνέλεξε
καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο· τὸν
γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτιννύναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις
4 τοῖς πλείοσιν. ἔνθα δὴ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν
γνῶμαι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν
τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὄνομα μὲν Γουσανα-
στάδης, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα (εἴη δ' ἂν ἐν
Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τοῦτό γε), πρὸς αὐταῖς που
ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς Περσῶν γῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων
ἐν χώρᾳ ἣ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὅμορός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν
μάχαιραν ἐπιδείξας ἣ τῶν ὀνύχων τὰ προὔχοντα
Πέρσαι εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι,[2] μῆκος μὲν ὅσον
δακτύλου ἀνδρός, πάχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον
5 δακτύλου ἔχουσαν "Ταύτην ὁρᾶτε," εἶπε, "τὴν
μάχαιραν, βραχεῖαν παντάπασιν οὖσαν· αὕτη
μέντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οἷά τέ ἐστιν,
ὅπερ εὖ ἴστε ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον, ὦ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι,
μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἀνδρῶν ἐξεργά-
6 ζεσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, παρα-
δηλῶν ὡς, ἢν μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα
7 πράγματα Πέρσαις περιὼν παρέξει. οἱ δὲ κτεῖναι
ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος οὐδ' ὅλως[3] ἔγνωσαν,

[1] ἐπειδὴ Dindorf ἐπεὶ δὲ VP, ἐπεὶ G.
[2] ἀποτέμνεσθαι : ἀποκόπτειν G.
[3] οὐδ' ὅλως V οὐδαμῶς G, οὐδόλως P.

that Persians should have communal intercourse with their women, a measure which by no means pleased the common people Accordingly they rose against 486 A D
him, removed him from the throne, and kept him in prison in chains. They then chose Blases, the brother of Perozes, to be their king, since, as has been said, no male offspring of Perozes was left, and it is not lawful among the Persians for any man by birth a common citizen to be set upon the throne, except in case the royal family be totally extinct Blases, upon receiving the royal power, gathered together the nobles of the Persians and held a conference concerning Cabades, for it was not the wish of the majority to put the man to death. After the expression of many opinions on both sides there came forward a certain man of repute among the Persians, whose name was Gousanastades, and whose office that of "chanaranges" (which would be the Persian term for general); his official province lay on the very frontier of the Persian territory in a district which adjoins the land of the Ephthalitae. Holding up his knife, the kind with which the Persians were accustomed to trim their nails, of about the length of a man's finger, but not one-third as wide as a finger, he said: "You see this knife, how extremely small it is, nevertheless it is able at the present time to accomplish a deed, which, be assured, my dear Persians, a little later two myriads of mail-clad men could not bring to pass" This he said hinting that, if they did not put Cabades to death, he would straightway make trouble for the Persians. But they were altogether unwilling to put to death a man of the royal blood, and decided to confine him

ἀλλ' ἐν φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Λήθης καλεῖν
8 νενομίκασιν. ἦν γάρ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχῃ,
οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
θάνατος τῷ ὠνομακότι ἡ ζημία ἐστί· διὸ δὴ καὶ
τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν.
9 ἅπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου
τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Λήθης φρουρίῳ παραλελύσθαι τὴν
δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
10 Πόλεμός ποτε Πέρσαις τε καὶ Ἀρμενίοις ἀκή-
ρυκτος γέγονεν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐπὶ
Πακουρίου μὲν Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, Ἀρμενίων
δὲ Ἀρσάκου Ἀρσακίδου ἀνδρός. τούτῳ τε τῷ
πολέμῳ μηκυνομένῳ κεκακῶσθαι μὲν ἐς ἄγαν
ἀμφοτέρους ξυνέβη καὶ διαφερόντως[1] τοὺς Ἀρ-
11 μενίους. ἀπιστίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχόμενοι
ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐδέτεροι
εἶχον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πέρσας τετύχηκε πόλεμον
πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τινὰς οὐ πόρρω Ἀρμενίων
12 ᾠκημένους διενεγκεῖν. οἵ τε Ἀρμένιοι ἐν σπουδῇ
ἔχοντες ἐπίδειξιν ἐς Πέρσας τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας
τε καὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσασθαι, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τούτων
δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν γῆν ἔγνωσαν, δηλώσαντες
13 τοῦτο πρότερον Πέρσαις. ἀπροσδόκητοί τε αὐτοὶ
ἐπιπεσόντες σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἡβηδὸν ἔκτειναν.
ὅ τε Πακούριος τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπερησθείς,
πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀρσάκην τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων
τινὰς τά τε πιστὰ οἱ παρασχόμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον
14 μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἀφί-
κετο, τῆς τε ἄλλης αὐτὸν φιλοφροσύνης ἠξίωσε
15 καὶ ἅτε ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ ἔσχε. καὶ
τότε μὲν ὅρκοις δεινοτάτοις τόν τε Ἀρσάκην

[1] καὶ διαφερόντως : διαφερόντως δὲ G

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

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

καταλαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ὁμωμοκὼς ἢ μὴν εὔνους τε καὶ ξυμμάχους Πέρσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, αὐτίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι.

16 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διέβαλον τὸν Ἀρσάκην τινὲς ὡς δὴ πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν βούλοιτο. οἷσπερ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ Πακούριος αὖθις αὐτὸν μετεπέμπετο, ὑπειπὼν ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τι κοινολογεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμελὲς εἴη.

17 καὶ ὃς οὐδέν τι μελλήσας ἐς[1] αὐτὸν ἦλθεν, ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις μαχιμωτάτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ Βασσίκιον ὅσπερ αὐτῷ στρατηγός τε καὶ ξύμβουλος ἦν· ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον

18 ἀφῖκτο. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Πακούριος ἄμφω, τόν τε Ἀρσάκην καὶ Βασσίκιον, πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἠλογηκότε οὕτω δὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἴδοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἀπηρνοῦντό τε καὶ ἀπώμνυον ἐνδελεχέστατα μηδὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς βεβουλεῦσθαι τοιοῦτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Πακούριος

19 αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν μάγων

20 ἀνεπυνθάνετο ὅ τί οἱ ποιητέα ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴη. οἱ δὲ μάγοι τῶν μὲν ἀρνουμένων καὶ οὐ διαρρήδην ἐληλεγμένων καταγινώσκειν οὐδαμῇ ἐδικαίουν, ὑποθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ τινα ἔφραζον, ὅπως ἂν Ἀρσάκης αὐτὸς ἄντικρυς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἀναγκά-

21 ζοιτο. τὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἔδαφος κόπρῳ καλύπτειν ἐκέλευον, ἥμισυ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, θάτερον δὲ ἥμισυ ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ ὁ

22 βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. τότε δὴ οἱ μάγοι τὴν σκηνὴν ὅλην μαγείαις τισὶ καταλαβόντες

[1] ἐς VP ἐπ' G.

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

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

ἐκέλευον τὸν βασιλέα ξὺν τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ τοὺς περι-
πάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπικαλοῦντα τοῖς τε
23 ξυγκειμένοις καὶ ὁμωμοσμένοις λυμήνασθαι. δεῖν
δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ διαλόγῳ παραγενέσθαι. οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν τῶν λόγων μάρτυρες ἁπάντων εἶεν. αὐτίκα
γοῦν ὁ Πακούριος τὸν Ἀρσάκην μεταπεμψάμενος
διαύλους ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐποιεῖτο, παρόντων
σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάγων, καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἕνεκα τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἠλογη-
κὼς εἶτα Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους αὖθις τρίβειν
24 ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς ἐγχειροίη· ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκης, ἕως
μὲν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο οὔ δὴ ὁ χοῦς
ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐπέκειτο, ἀπηρνεῖτό τε καὶ
ὅρκοις τοῖς δεινοτάτοις πιστούμενος ἀνδράποδον
25 ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι Πακουρίου πιστόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
μεταξὺ λέγων ἐς τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ μέσον ἀφῖκτο, ἵνα
δὴ κόπρου τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκ
οἶδα ὅτῳ ἀναγκασθεὶς λόγους μὲν τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ
θρασύτερον ἐξαπιναίως μεταβιβάζει, ἀπειλῶν δὲ
τῷ τε Πακουρίῳ καὶ Πέρσαις οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλὰ
τίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγέλλετο ὕβρεως τῆσδε ἐπει-
26 δὰν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τάχιστα κύριος γένοιτο. καὶ
ταῦτα λέγων τε καὶ νεανιευόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν
περίπατον ὅλον, ἕως ἀναστρέψας ἐς κόπρον αὖθις
τὴν ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἀφίκετο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ
πάλιν ὥσπερ τινὰ παλινῳδίαν ᾄδων ἱκέτης τε ἦν
καὶ οἰκτρούς τινας τῷ Πακουρίῳ προὔφερε λόγους.
27 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς χοῦν αὖθις τὸν[1] Ἀρμενίων ἦλθεν, ἐς
τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἀπεχώρησε. καὶ πολλάκις οὕτω
μεταβληθεὶς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἔκρυψε τῶν οἱ ἀπορ-
28 ῥήτων οὐδέν. τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν μάγοι κατέγνωσαν

[1] τὸν Dindorf : τῶν MSS.

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

αὐτοῦ ἔς τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἠδικηκέναι. Πακούριος δὲ Βασσικίου μὲν τὸ δέρμα ἐκδείρας ἀσκόν τε αὐτὸ πεποιημένος καὶ ἀχύρων ἐμπλησάμενος ὅλον ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς
29 ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. τὸν μέντοι Ἀρσάκην (ἀποκτεῖναι γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἵματος ὄντα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν) ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξε.
30 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ τε Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων καί οἱ ἐπισπομένων[1] ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἰόντι, Πέρσαις ἐπί τι ἔθνος ἰοῦσι βαρβαρικὸν ξυνεστράτευσεν· ὃς δὴ ἀνήρ τε ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, ὁρῶντος Πακουρίου τὰ ποιούμενα, γέγονε καὶ τῆς νίκης
31 αἰτιώτατος Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Πακούριος ὅ τι ἂν βούλοιτο αἰτεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ἰσχυρισάμενος
32 ὅτι δὴ οὐδενὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οἱ οὐδὲν γενέσθαι ἠξίου ἢ ὥστε τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἐν
33 ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ θεραπεῦσαι ᾗ βούλοιτο. τοῦτο τὸν βασιλέα ἠνίασε μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, εἰ λύειν νόμον οὕτω δὴ παλαιὸν ἀναγκάζοιτο,[2] ὅπως μέντοι παντάπασιν ἀληθίζηται, ξυνεχώρει τὴν δέησιν
34 ἐπιτελῆ γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαντος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ, ἠσπάσατο μὲν τὸν Ἀρσάκην, ἄφμω δὲ ἀλλήλοιν περιβαλόντε ἐθρηνησάτην τε ἡδύν τινα θρῆνον καὶ ἀπολοφυραμένω τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην μόλις ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν διαλύειν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας ἑκάτερος
35 ἔσχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἔλουσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρμένιος τὸν Ἀρσάκην

[1] ἐπισπομένων ἐπισπώμενος V, ἐπισπόμενος P.
[2] ἀναγκάζοιτο G pr. m. : ἀναγκάζηται VG corr., ἀναγκάζεται P.

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

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

καὶ τἆλλα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ἐκόσμησε, σχῆμα δὲ αὐτῷ περιθέμενος τὸ βασίλειον ἐπὶ στιβάδος[1]
36 ἀνέκλινεν. ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς παρόντας Ἀρσάκης
37 βασιλικῶς εἱστία ἥπερ εἰώθει τὰ πρότερα. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θοίνῃ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ κύλικι[2] λόγοι ἐλέχθησαν οἵπερ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἱκανῶς ἤρεσκον, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς μέσον ἦλθεν ἅπερ αὐτῷ ἐν ἡδονῇ ἦν· μηκυνομένου τε τοῦ πότου ἄχρι ἐς νύκτα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἥσθησαν, μόλις δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀπαλλαγέντες διελύθησαν,
38 καταβεβρεγμένοι τῇ εὐπαθείᾳ. τότε δὴ λέγουσι τὸν Ἀρσάκην εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡμέραν τὴν ἡδίστην διατελέσας ἐν ταύτῃ τε ξυγγενόμενος τῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἑκών γε
39 εἶναι ὑποσταίη τὰ φλαῦρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντα μαχαίρᾳ ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι[3] ἥνπερ ἐν τῇ θοίνῃ ἐξεπίτηδες κεκλοφὼς ἔτυχεν, οὕτω τε
40 αὐτὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων συγγραφὴ λέγει ταύτῃ, ἥπερ ἐρρήθη, κεχωρηκέναι, καὶ τὸν νόμον τότε ἀμφὶ τῷ τῆς Λήθης φρουρίῳ λελύσθαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἰτέον.

VI

1 Καθειρχθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἐθεράπευεν ἡ γυνὴ ἐσιοῦσά[4] τε παρ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζουσα· ἣν δὴ ὁ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν[5] ἤρξατο· ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπής.

[1] στιβάδος παστάδος G [2] ἐπὶ κύλικι: ἐπικυλίκιει V
[3] διαχειρίσασθαι VP corr.. διαχειρήσασθαι G, χρήσασθαι P pr m , διαχρήσασθαι Hoeschel in marg.
[4] ἐσιοῦσα P ἐπιοῦσα VG [5] πειρᾶν ἐρᾶν Theophylactus.

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

VI

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

2 ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνὴν ξυνελθὼν ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἄρχων ἠράσθη τε αὐτῆς
3 ἔρωτα ἐξαίσιον οἷον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ξυνεχώρει παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τὰς εἰσόδους ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπη ἂν αὐτῇ βουλομένῃ εἴη, καὶ αὖθις ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν ἱσταμένου. ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σεόσης ὄνομα, Καβάδῃ
4 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος, ὃς ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο διατριβὴν εἶχε, καιροφυλακῶν εἴ πως αὐτὸν ἔνδο-
5 θεν[1] ἐξελέσθαι δυνήσεται. διά τε τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐσήμαινεν ὡς ἵπποι τέ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ
6 μακρὰν ἄποθεν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. καί ποτε νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τὴν γυναῖκα Καβάδης ἐσθῆτα μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν οἰκείαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ[2] αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀντ'
7 αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι, οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθητο. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου. κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὕτη ἐπέκειτο τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι· ταὐτά τοι οὔτε κωλύειν οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν.
8 ἅμα τε ἡμέρᾳ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱματίοις ἰδόντες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένοι τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ᾤοντο Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. ἥ τε δόκησις αὕτη ἐν ἡμέραις συχναῖς ἤκμαζεν,
9 ἕως Καβάδης πόρρω που τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ξυνενεχθέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐς φῶς ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἦλθε, καὶ ὅντινα αὐτὴν τρόπον

[1] ἔνδοθεν P. ἐνθένδεν VG.
[2] τὰ δὲ V. τὰ δ' G, αὐτὴν δὲ τὰ P.

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

ἐκόλασαν, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσι Πέρσαι ἀλλήλοις· διὸ δὴ αὐτὰ λέγειν ἀφίημι.

10 Καβάδης δὲ λαθὼν ἅπαντας ξὺν τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐς Οὔννους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναῖκα ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμετὴν δίδωσιν, οὕτω τε στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἅτε κηδεστῇ
11 ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ
12 ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἔνθα ὁ Γουσαναστάδης τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, εἶπε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ὡς χαναράγγην καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων ὑπουργεῖν
13 βούλοιτο. εἰπόντι τέ οἱ μετέμελεν ἤδη τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ νόμος αὐτὸν ἐσῄει, ὃς δὴ οὐκ ἐᾷ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ τιμὴ ἑκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει.
14 ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἵκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαναράγγῃ οὐ ξυγγενὴς ὤν, τόν τε νόμον ἀναγκάζηται λύειν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται.
15 ταῦτα δέ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ξυνέβη τις τύχη ὥστε μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἥκων, νεανίας ἀνήρ, ξυγγενής τε ὢν τῷ Γουσαναστάδῃ
16 καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. ὃς δὴ δεσπότην τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύνησε πρῶτος, ἐδεῖτό τέ οἱ ἅτε δούλῳ ὅ
17 τι βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι. Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημόν τε

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

Cabades, in company with Seoses, completely escaped detection, and reached the Ephthalitae Huns, there the king gave him his daughter in marriage, and then, since Cabades was now his son-in-law, he put under his command a very formidable army for a campaign against the Persians. This army the Persians were quite unwilling to encounter, and they made haste to flee in every direction And when Cabades reached the territory where Gousanastades exercised his authority, he stated to some of his friends that he would appoint as chanaranges the first man of the Persians who should on that day come into his presence and offer his services. But even as he said this, he repented his speech, for there came to his mind a law of the Persians which ordains that offices among the Persians shall not be conferred upon others than those to whom each particular honour belongs by right of birth For he feared lest someone should come to him first who was not a kinsman of the present chanaranges, and that he would be compelled to set aside the law in order to keep his word. Even as he was considering this matter, chance brought it about that, without dishonouring the law, he could still keep his word. For the first man who came to him happened to be Adergoudounbades, a young man who was a relative of Gousanastades and an especially capable warrior. He addressed Cabades as "Lord," and was the first to do obeisance to him as king, and besought him to use him as a slave for any service whatever. So 488 A D
Cabades made his way into the royal palace without

Βλάσην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἐξετύφλωσε, τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθασιν, ἔλαιον ἕψοντες καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ζέον ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὔτι μύοντας ἐπιχέοντες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδηρᾶν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτῃ τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρίοντες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἄρξαντα Περσῶν
18 ἐνιαυτοὺς δύο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Γουσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἀδεργουδουνβάδην ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχῆς, τὸν δὲ Σεόσην ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνεῖπε. δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχαῖς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ
19 στρατιώταις ἅπασιν ἐφεστῶτα. ταύτην ὁ Σεόσης τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτός τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις ἔσχεν· οὔτε γὰρ πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερόν τινι γέγονε· τήν τε βασιλείαν ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἀγχίνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἧσσον.

VII

1 Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Ἐφθαλιτῶν βασιλεῖ ὤφειλεν, ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ἀποτινύναι οἱ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ᾔτει ταῦτά οἱ δανεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισὶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἴ γέ οἱ ταῦτα ποιητέα εἴη.
2 οἵπερ αὐτὸν τὸ συμβόλαιον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἴων. ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπέφαινον εἶναι βεβαιοτέραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οἰκείοις ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας τὴν φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὓς δὴ ἐς ἀλλή-

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

VII

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

λους ξυγκρούειν ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσιν ἄμεινον
3 εἶναι. διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἔγνω
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν
αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ
αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς λησάμενος ἐς
Ἄμιδαν πόλιν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένην ἐκ τοῦ
αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἧς δὴ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορ-
4 κίαν καθίστατο. Ἀμιδηνοὶ δὲ στρατιωτῶν μέν,
ἅτε ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν, οὐ παρ-
όντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντά-
πασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα
προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ
τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον.
5 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Σύροις ἀνὴρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος
ὄνομα, ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἤσκητο.
οὗτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδιήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμίδης
ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, πολλοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις αὑτὸν
καθεῖρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέ-
6 βειαν μελετᾶν δύνηται. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτῃ
ἄνθρωποι ὑπουργοῦντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτοις τισὶ
περιέβαλον, οὐ ξυνημμένοις μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς
πεπηγόσιν ἀλλήλων, ὥστε ὁρᾶν τε τοὺς προσ-
7 ιόντας καὶ ξυγγίνεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι. καὶ
στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτήναντο βραχὺ ὕπερθεν, ὅσον
ὄμβρους τε καὶ νιφετοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα
οὗτος [ὁ] ἀνὴρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῆστο, πνίγει μὲν
ἢ ψύχει ὡς ἥκιστα εἴκων, σπέρμασι δέ τισιν
ἀποζῶν, οἷσπερ οὐ καθ' ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου
8 πολλοῦ σιτίζεσθαι εἰώθει. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν

relations as much as possible It was for this reason, and for no just cause, that Cabades decided to make an expedition against the Romans. First he invaded the land of the Armenians, moving with such rapidity as to anticipate the news of his coming, and, after plundering the greater part of it in a rapid campaign, he unexpectedly arrived at the city of Amida, which is situated in Mesopotamia, and, although the season was winter, he invested the town Now the citizens of Amida had no soldiers at hand, seeing that it was a time of peace and prosperity, and in other respects were utterly unprepared; nevertheless they were quite unwilling to yield to the enemy, and shewed an unexpected fortitude in holding out against dangers and hardships. 502 A.D.

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

Ἰάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐντεινάμενοι βάλλειν ἤθελον. πᾶσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γεγονυῖαι τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμῇ
9 εἶχον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἰδών τε ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ ξὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλιπάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἔγκλημα. ὁ δὲ ἀφῆκέ τε λόγῳ ἑνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ
10 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευεν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσειν, καί τι καὶ νεανιευσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς
11 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχήσει ὁ δέ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδεῖτο χαρίζεσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ καταφεύγοντες παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν[1] ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδου τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοῦν πανταχόθεν ξυρρέοντες ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο· περιβόητος γὰρ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταῦτα μὲν ὧδέ πη ἔσχε
12 Καβάδης δὲ Ἄμιδαν πολιορκῶν κριὸν τὴν μηχανὴν πανταχόσε τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἀεὶ δοκοῖς τισιν ἐγκαρσίαις ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἕως
13 ταύτῃ ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τεῖχος ἔγνω. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβαλὼν καθελεῖν τι τοῦ περιβόλου ἢ[2] κατασεῖσαι ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ

[1] δέησιν VP. αἴτησιν G. [2] ἢ: καὶ V.

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

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

[1] Cf Thuc II 76, 4

οἰκοδομία τοῖς δειμαμένοις τὸ παλαιὸν εἴργαστο.
14 τούτου δὲ Καβάδης ἀποτυχών, λόφον τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῇ πόλει ἐποίει μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντα τοῦ τείχους τὸ μῆκος, οἵ τε πολιορκούμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατώρυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὗπερ ἐγεγόνει σχήματος ἔμενεν οὐδενὶ αἴ-
15 σθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρασσομένου. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὥσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἀναβαίνοντες ἔν τε τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ διενοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὁμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέοντος ἐμπεσὼν ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου σχεδόν τι
16 ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. Καβάδης δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίαν
17 ἐπήγγειλε. τότε δὴ οἱ πολιορκούμενοι, ἅτε τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφροντιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρβάρους[1] ξὺν γέλωτι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτώθαζον.
18 καί τινες ἑταῖραι ἀνελκύσασαι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα Καβάδῃ ἄγχιστά που ἑστηκότι ἐδείκνυον ὅσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανῆναι ἀνδράσιν
19 οὐ θέμις. ὅπερ κατιδόντες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκώλυον, ξυμβαλεῖν ἰσχυριζόμενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ Ἀμιδηνοὶ τά τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτόμενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δείξουσιν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

[1] τοὺς βαρβάρους Maltretus · τοῦ βαρβάρου VP, τοῦ βαβάρου G.

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

20 Ἡμέραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολὴν ὑπονόμου παλαιοῦ εἶδεν οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν
21 συχναῖς νύκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἥκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδῃ ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ ὃς τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ νυκτὶ κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καί τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνη-
22 νέχθη τύχη τρόπῳ τοιῷδε τὸν πύργον, ὃς δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἀγχοτάτω ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ σωφρονέστατοι ἔλαχον, οὕσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νενομίκασι τούτους ἑορτήν τινα τῷ θεῷ[1] ἄγειν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνῃ τῇ
23 ἡμέρᾳ τετύχηκεν. ἐπεί τε ἡ νὺξ ἐπεγένετο, ἅπαντες, ἅτε κόπῳ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ὁμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰθισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὕπνον τινὰ ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾷον ἐκάθευδον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
24 ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ᾐσθάνοντο. Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ' ὀλίγους[2] γενόμενοι ἐς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδοντας ἔτι εὑρόντες, ἔκτειναν
25 ἅπαντας. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Καβάδης ἔγνω, τὰς κλίμακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἄγχιστα τοῦ πύργου
26 προσῆγεν ἡμέρα δὲ ἦν ἤδη. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασσον, αἰσθό-
27 μενοι τοῦ κακοῦ, κατὰ τάχος ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα. ὠθισμῷ τε πολλῷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀμφότεροι ἐς

[1] τῷ θεῷ G · om VP.
[2] κατ' ὀλίγους P : κατὰ λόγους VG.

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

[1] Cf. Book VII, xxvi. 4

struggled to crowd back the other, and already the townsmen were gaining the advantage, killing many of those who had mounted the wall, and throwing back the men on the ladders, and they came very near to averting the danger. But Cabades drew his sword and, terrifying the Persians constantly with it, rushed in person to the ladders and would not let them draw back, and death was the punishment for those who dared turn to leave. As a result of this the Persians by their numbers gained the upper hand and overcame their antagonists in the fight. So the city was captured by storm on the eightieth day after the beginning of the siege. There followed a great massacre of the townspeople, until one of the citizens—an old man and a priest—approached Cabades as he was riding into the city, and said that it was not a kingly act to slaughter captives. Then Cabades, still moved with passion, replied: "But why did you decide to fight against me?" And the old man answered quickly. "Because God willed to give Amida into thy hand not so much because of our decision as of thy valour." Cabades was pleased by this speech, and permitted no further slaughter, but he bade the Persians plunder the property and make slaves of the survivors, and he directed them to choose out for himself all the notables among them. Jan 11 503 A.D

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

34 οἴκου ἀπήλαυνεν. ἐς τούτους δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ πρεπούσῃ· χρόνου γὰρ ὀλίγου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆ-
35 κεν ἰέναι, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτόν, ὅ τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια· φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείους ἐς ἔτη ἑπτὰ ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον πολλοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὥστε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων πολλὴν γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

VIII

1 Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολιορκεῖσθαι μαθὼν Ἄμιδαν στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκὲς ἔπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἑκάστων, στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἅπασιν ἐφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεόβινδός τε, Ὀλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ βεβασιλευκότος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον,
2 τῆς ἑῴας δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὤν· καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἀρχηγὸς Κέλερ (μάγιστρον Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασιν)· ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιός τε ὁ Φρὺξ καὶ Ὑπάτιος ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς· οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες[1] στρα-
3 τηγοὶ ἦσαν. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστῖνος, ὃς δὴ ὕστερον Ἀναστασίου τελευτήσαντος ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ Πατρικιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδί,

[1] τέσσαρες : δὴ G.

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

VIII

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

[1] Cf. Thuc. i 128. [2] A division of no fixed number.

ὃς ὅπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτυράννησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδισκλός τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γότθων τῶν οὐκ ἐπισπομένων Θευδερίχῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἰόντι, γενναίω τε ὑπερφυῶς ἄμφω καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρω, ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἄριστοι εἵποντο. 4 στράτευμα γὰρ τοιοῦτό φασιν οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ῥωμαίοις ξυστῆναι. οὗτοι μέντοι ἅπαντες οὐκ ἐς ταὐτὸ ἀγηγερμένοι οὐδὲ στράτευμα ἓν ποιησάμενοι ἦεσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις ἐξηγεῖτο 5 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χορηγὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αἰγύπτιος ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίοις ἐπιφανής τε καὶ δραστήριος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνεῖπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσία εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ᾗ βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι.

6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὗτος χρόνῳ τε ξυνελέγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ εὗρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἔφοδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀνεχώρησαν[1] ξὺν 7 πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ. τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἀμίδῃ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἤθελε· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐσκομίσασθαι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔμαθον· ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν χώραν ἐσβολὴν ποιήσασθαι ἐν 8 σπουδῇ εἶχον. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ

[1] ἀνεχώρησαν . ἦλθον V

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

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

ἦεσαν, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδευόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν (ἄγχιστα γάρ που ἐτύγχανεν ὢν) ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅρια κατὰ
9 τάχος ἐλθὼν ὑπηντίαζεν. οὕπω μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν ᾤοντο στράτευμα βραχύ
10 τι ἐνταῦθα εἶναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρζάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὅπερ Ἀμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ οὔπω ἐνταῦθα ἀφῖκτο.
11 Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ἐπύθετο, ἀπολιπὼν τὸ στρατόπεδον ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἅπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει.
12 ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον οἱ πολέμιοι ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἷλον.[1] ἔνθεν τε[2] κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸ ἄλλο
13 στράτευμα ἦεσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ὑπάτιον Ἐφθαλίταις ἐντυχόντες ὀκτακοσίοις οἳ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἔμπροσθεν ἦεσαν, σχεδόν τι
14 ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ πεπυσμένοι, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ ἐχρῶντο. τὰ γοῦν ὅπλα καταθέμενοι ἄριστον σφίσιν ἡτοίμαζον. ἤδη γὰρ
15 τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνταῦθα ἦγε. ῥύαξ δέ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα

[1] εἷλον P · ἀνεῖλον VG
[2] ἔνθεν τε V ἐνθένδέ τε G, ἐνθένδε P.

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

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

καθαίρειν ἤρξαντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον.
16 τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πνίγει καὶ λοῦσθαι ἠξίουν,
ταύτῃ τε ταραχθὲν τὸ τοῦ ῥύακος ὕδωρ πρόσω
ἐχώρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ξυμ-
πεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος
17 ἤει· κατιδών τε συγκεχυμένον τὸ τοῦ ῥύακος
ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβαλὼν τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπα-
ρασκεύους τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος
ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐ-
τοῖς ἑστιωμένοις τε καὶ ἀνόπλοις οὖσιν ἐπέστη-
18 σαν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες[1] τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς
ἀλκὴν μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἔβλεπον, ἔφευγον δὲ
ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν κατα-
λαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον, οἱ δὲ ἀνιόντες εἰς τὸ ὄρος
ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ἐρρίπτουν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρη-
19 μνῶδες ξὺν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ. ὅθεν δὴ
οὐδένα σεσῶσθαί φασι, Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὑπά-
τιος κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐφόδου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν.
ἔπειτα δὲ Καβάδης, Οὔννων πολεμίων ἐς γῆν τὴν
αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' οἶκου
ἀνεχώρησε, πόλεμόν τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος
20 τοῦτο ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον διέφερεν. ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων ἦλθε,
λόγου μέντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἔδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτο-
κράτωρ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἴσοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὄντες ἀντεστάτουν
τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ
21 αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. Κέλερ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπο-
μένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβὰς ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς
22 τὴν Ἀρζανηνὴν ἐποιήσατο. ἔστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς

[1] οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες G · οὐκ ἐπενεγκόντες V, οὐχ ὑπενεγκόντες P

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

Aug., 503 A.D.

οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἳ δὴ λησάμενοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ἐπανῆλθον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. δι' ὀλίγου τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὕτη ἐγένετο.

IX

1 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον ὡς βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Ἀμιδαν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ βίᾳ μὲν ἑλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, καίπερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, λιμῷ δὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἔμελλον· πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολι-
2 ορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλελοίπει. ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ προσεδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ χειμῶνι ἀχθομένους ἑώρων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὑπετόπαζον, τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλ-
3 λάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. οἵ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς δεινοῖς γένοιντο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔκρυπτον, δόκησιν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἴη, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν
4 τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ ἀναχωρεῖν ἤθελον. γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδώσουσι Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἑκάτεροί τε ἄσμενοι τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίουν, τά τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ

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

IX

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

Γλώνου υἱὸς Ἀμιδαν Ῥωμαίοις παρέδωκε. Γλώνης γὰρ ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

5 Οὔπω μὲν στρατοπεδευσαμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων, Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως ὄντων οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, τῶν τις ἀγροίκων, ὅσπερ[1] εἰώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιὼν λάθρα ὄρνις τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὡραίων πολλὰ τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν Γλώνην οἱ ἐς χεῖρας παραδώσειν ξὺν Πέρσαις διακοσίοις ὑπέσχετο, ἢν τινος ἀμοιβῆς ἐλπίδα
6 λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴη. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἦν βουλομένῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἔσεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ ὃς τά τε ἱμάτια δεινῶς διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἐοικὼς ἐς τὴν πόλιν
7 εἰσῆλθε. παρά τε τὸν Γλώνην ἥκων τάς τε τρίχας τίλλων, "Ἐτύγχανον μέν, ὦ δέσποτα," εἶπεν, "ἅπαντά σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τἀγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι (καὶ γάρ που ἐς <τὰ>[2] ταύτῃ χωρία κατ' ὀλίγους περιιόντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἀγροίκους βιάζονται) πληγάς τέ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσετρίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀφελόμενοι οἱ λῃσταὶ ᾧχοντο, οἷς δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσας τε δεδιέναι καὶ τοὺς γεωργοὺς βιάζεσθαι
8 νόμος. ἀλλ' ὅπως, ὦ δέσποτα, σαυτῷ τε καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμύνῃς. ἦν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγετήσων ἴῃς, θήραμά σοι οὐ φαῦλον ἔσται. κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἢ τέτταρας οἱ
9 κατάρατοι περιιόντες λωποδυτοῦσιν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ἀναπεισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Γλώνης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπυνθάνετο πόσους ποτὲ Πέρσας οἴεταί οἱ
10 ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ πεντήκοντα

[1] ὅσπερ Haury ὥσπερ MSS. [2] <τὰ> Dindorf

Romans For Glones himself had already died in the following manner

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

μὲν ἀποχρήσειν οἱ μάλιστα ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείοσί ποτε ἢ κατὰ πέντε ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἐντύχοιεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ξυμβῆναι οὐδέν τι χεῖρον καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἱππέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τὸν ἄνθρωπον σφίσιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ ἄμεινον ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἢν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιόντας Ῥωμαίους ἰδὼν ἀπαγγείλῃ, οὕτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον Πέρσας. εὖ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλώνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο. παρά τε τὸν στρατηγὸν Πατρίκιον ἥκων ἅπαντα ἔφραζε· καὶ ὃς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο καὶ στρατιώτας χιλίους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔπεμψεν. οὓς δὴ ἀμφὶ κώμην Θιλασάμων σταδίους τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσαν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἔκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπέστελλεν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. καὶ τῷ Γλώνῃ ἕτοιμον εἰπὼν τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδή τε διέβησαν τὸν χῶρον οὗ προλοχίζοντες[1] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκάθηντο,[2] Γλώνην τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν. οὕσπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰόντας κατεῖδον Πέρσαι,

[1] οὗ προλοχίζοντες Haury οὗ προλοχίζεσθαι VG, οὕσπερ ἐλλοχίζοντες P

[2] ἐκάθηντο VG ἐκάθηντο καὶ αὐτῶν πρόσω ἐγένοντο P,

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

κατεπλάγησάν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ εἴχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οἱοί τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νώτου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε πη ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ
17 ἐδύναντο. ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο, τῷ τε πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι ἠσσήθησάν τε καὶ ξὺν
18 τῷ Γλώνῃ ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τοῦ Γλώνου υἱὸς ἔμαθε, περιαλγήσας τε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεώνου νεὼν ἔκαυσεν, ἁγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ
19 Γλώνης κατέλυε. καίτοι ἄλλην τινὰ οἰκοδομίαν οὔτε Γλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπῳ ἔν γε Ἀμίδῃ ἢ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.
20 Οὕτω μὲν Ἀμιδαν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα δόντες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἑάλω. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο, ἥ τε αὐτῶν ὀλιγωρία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτερὸν τῆς
21 διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λελειμμένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων τὸν ὅμιλον λογισάμενοι, ἑπτὰ μάλιστα ἡμερῶν ηὕρισκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελεῖφθαι, καίπερ Γλώνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν πολλοῦ χρόνου
22 ἐνδιδόντος τὰ σιτία Πέρσαις. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, ξὺν αὐτοῖς μείνασιν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν χορηγεῖν ἔγνω-

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

Thus the Romans by giving the money recovered 501 A D
Amida two years after it had been captured by the enemy And when they got into the city, their own negligence and the hardships under which the Persians had maintained themselves were discovered For upon reckoning the amount of grain left there and the number of barbarians who had gone out, they found that rations for about seven days were left in the city, although Glones and his son had been for a long time doling out provisions to the Persians more sparingly than they were needed For to the Romans who had remained with them in the city, as I have stated above, they had decided to dispense nothing at all from the time when their

σαν, ἐξ ὅτου οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἳ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀήθεις τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὐ θεμιτῶν ἁψάμενοι πάντων,
23 εἶτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ᾔσθοντο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίσι, παρὸν δορυαλώτους Πέρσας τε τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλώνου τὸν υἱὸν σὺν τῇ πόλει ἑλεῖν, οἱ δὲ τὰ Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκόντες αἴσχός τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἄμιδαν ἀργυρώνητον πρὸς
24 Περσῶν ἔλαβον. ὕστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τοῦ πρὸς Οὔννους πολέμου σφίσι μηκυνομένου, ἐς σπονδὰς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνίασιν, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένοντο, Κέλερός τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησαμένων, ἐπ' οἴκου τε ἀμφότεροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.
25 οὕτω μέν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενος ὁ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τόδε ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ξυνενεχθέντα ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

X

1 Τὸ Κιλίκων ὄρος ὁ Ταῦρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γῆν, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανούς τε καὶ Ἴβηρας, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἔθνη αὐτόνομά τε καὶ Πέρσαις κατήκοα ταύτῃ ᾤκηνται.
2 ἐξικνεῖται γὰρ ἐς χώραν πολλήν, προιόντι δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐς μέγα τι χρῆμα εὔρους τε καὶ

enemy began the siege, and so these men at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and laid hold on every forbidden thing, and at the last they even tasted each other's blood. So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their lack of self-control, because they had shown themselves wanting in obedience to them, when it was possible to capture as prisoners of war such a multitude of Persians and the son of Glones and the city itself, while they had in consequence attached to themselves signal disgrace by carrying Roman money to the enemy, and had taken Amida from the Persians by purchasing it with silver. After this the Persians, since 506 A.D.
their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes, both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace. Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians, and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the events touching the Caspian Gates.

X

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

3 ὕψους διήκει. ὑπερβάντι δὲ τοὺς Ἰβήρων ὅρους
ἀτραπός τίς ἐστιν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ, ἐπὶ
4 σταδίους πεντήκοντα ἐξικνουμένη. αὕτη δὲ ἡ
ἀτραπὸς ἐς ἀπότομόν τινα καὶ ὅλως ἄβατον τε-
λευτᾷ χῶρον. δίοδος γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαί-
νεται, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ὥσπερ τινὰ χειροποίητον
πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεῦρεν, ἣ Κασπία ἐκ
5 παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε πεδία τέ ἐστιν
ἱππήλατα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα,
καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτός τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία.
6 οὗ δὴ τὰ Οὔννων ἔθνη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα ἵδρυται
7 ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκοντα λίμνην. οὗτοι ἦν
μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἧς ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην ἴωσιν ἐς τὰ
Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤθη, ἀκραιφνέσι τε τοῖς
ἵπποις ἴασι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὐδαμῇ χρώμενοι
οὐδὲ κρημνώδεσιν ἐντυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς
πεντήκοντα σταδίοις ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ εἰς τοὺς
8 Ἰβηρίους ὅρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. ἐπ'
ἄλλας δέ τινας ἐξόδους ἰόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ
παραγίνονται καὶ ἵπποις οὐκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς
αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περι-
ιέναι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταύτας κρημνώδεις.
9 ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε,
πύλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ
φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. ὃ δὴ ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ
προιόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὔννος
μὲν γένος, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ
10 φίλος. οὗτος Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἔς τε γῆρας
ἀφῖκτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ
τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματά οἱ δοθῆναι ᾔτει, ἐφ' ᾧ
τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ἐν-

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

11 δώσει Ῥωμαίοις. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἀναστάσιος (δρᾶν
γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως οὐδὲν οὔτε ἠπίστατο οὔτε
εἰώθει) λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώτας ἐνταῦθα
ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν
ἁπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν γειτόνων ἔχοντι ἔθνος
Ῥωμαίοις κατήκοον, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς
ἐς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας πολλὴν ὡμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον
12 τοῦτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ προσίετο. Ἀμβαζούκης μὲν
οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάδης
δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας
ἔσχεν
13 Ἀναστάσιός τε βασιλεύς, ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ
αἱ πρὸς Καβάδην σπονδαί, πόλιν ἐδείματο ἐν
χωρίῳ Δάρας ὀχυράν τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ λόγου
14 ἀξίαν, αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη
πόλεως μὲν Νισίβιδος σταδίους ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέ-
οντας, χώρας δὲ ἣ τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν
15 διορίζει ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα. Πέρσαι δὲ
κωλύειν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν σπουδὴν ἔχοντες οὐδαμῇ
ἴσχυον ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον τὸν Οὐννικὸν
16 πιεζόμενοι. ἐπειδή τε αὐτὸν τάχιστα Καβάδης
κατέλυσε, πέμψας παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ᾐτιᾶτο πόλιν
αὐτοὺς οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἄγχιστά που τῶν σφετέ-
ρων ὁρίων, ἀπειρημένον τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις τε
17 καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυγκειμένοις τὰ πρότερα. τότε μὲν
οὖν Ἀναστάσιος τὰ μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ φιλίαν τε
τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενος καὶ χρήμασιν οὐ
φαύλοις δωρούμενος, παρακρούεσθαί τε καὶ τὴν
18 αἰτίαν ἐκλύειν ἤθελε. καὶ πόλιν δὲ ἄλλην ταύτῃ
ὁμοίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχοτάτω

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

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

[1] Cf Book I. i 15.

ἐδείματο τῶν Περσαρμενίας ὁρίων, ἣ κώμη μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, πόλεως δὲ ἀξίωμα μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄνομα πρὸς Θεοδοσίου βασιλέως λαβοῦσα
19 ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει. ἀλλ' Ἀναστάσιος τείχει αὐτὴν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν πράγματα Πέρσαις οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἑτέρας παρέσχετο· ἐπιτειχίσματα γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ γέγονεν ἄμφω.

XI

1 Ἀναστασίου δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Ἰουστῖνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἀπεληλαμένων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀναστασίου ξυγγενῶν ἁπάντων, καίπερ πολλῶν τε καὶ λίαν ἐπιφανῶν ὄντων.
2 τότε δὴ μέριμνά τις Καβάδῃ ἐγένετο μή τι Πέρσαι νεωτερίσωσιν ἐς τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀντιλογίας χωρὶς ἐς τῶν παίδων τινὰ παραπέμψαι τὴν ἀρχὴν
3 ἔμελλε. τῶν γάρ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον Καόσην τῆς μὲν ἡλικίας ἕνεκα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νόμος ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ Καβάδην οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκεν. ἐβιάζετο δὲ τήν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἡ τοῦ
4 πατρὸς γνώμη. Ζάμην δέ, ὃς τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐφέρετο, τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν τὸν ἕτερον ἐκκεκομμένον ἐκώλυεν ὁ νόμος. ἑτερόφθαλμον γὰρ ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ λώβῃ ἐχόμενον οὐ θέμις Πέρσαις βασιλέα καθίστασθαι.
5 Χοσρόην δέ, ὃς αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπεβέδου ἀδελφῆς ἐγεγόνει, ὑπερηγάπα μὲν ὁ πατήρ, ὁρῶν δὲ Πέρσας

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

XI

And when a little later Anastasius died, Justinus received the empire, forcing aside all the kinsmen of Anastasius, although they were numerous and also very distinguished. Then indeed a sort of anxiety came over Cabades, lest the Persians should make some attempt to overthrow his house as soon as he should end his life, for it was certain that he would not pass on the kingdom to any one of his sons without opposition. For while the law called to the throne the eldest of his children, Caoses by reason of his age, he was by no means pleasing to Cabades, and the father's judgment did violence to the law of nature and of custom as well. And Zames, who was second in age, having had one of his eyes struck out, was prevented by the law. For it is not lawful for a one-eyed man or one having any other deformity to become king over the Persians. But Chosroes, who was born to him by the sister of Aspebedes, the father loved exceedingly; seeing, however, that all the Persians, practically speaking, felt an extravagant Aug. 1 518 A.D.

[1] Modern Erzeroum

οχεδόν τι εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας τεθηπότας τὴν Ζώμου
ἀνδρείαν (ἦν γὰρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια) καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην ἀρετὴν σέβοντας, ἔδεισε μὴ Χοσρόῃ
ἐπαναστάντες ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν
6 βασιλείαν ἐργάσωνται ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἄριστον
εἶναι τόν τε πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας
διαλῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις, ἐφ' ᾧ Χοσρόης παῖς ἐσποιη-
τὸς Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ γένοιτο· οὕτω γάρ οἱ
μόνως τὸ ὀχυρὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διασώσασθαι.[1]
διὸ δὴ πρέσβεις τε ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ γράμματα ἐς
7 Βυζάντιον Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ
ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Οὐ δίκαια μὲν πεπονθέναι πρὸς
Ῥωμαίων ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ
ἐγκλήματα πάντα ἀφεῖναι παντελῶς ἔγνωκα,
ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὡς οὗτοι ἂν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
νικῷεν, οἵ γε, προσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου, εἶτα
ἐλασσούμενοι ἑκόντες εἶναι τῶν φίλων ἡσσῶν-
8 ται. χάριν μέντοι αἰτοῦμαί σε ὑπὲρ τούτων τινά,
ἣ ἂν οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρου
ὑπήκοον ἅπαν ἔς τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς συνδέουσα καὶ
τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς εὔνοιαν, ἐς κόρον δή
που τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καταστήσασθαι
9 ἱκανὴ εἴη. λέγω δὲ ὅπως ἂν Χοσρόην τὸν ἐμόν,
ὅς μοι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχος ἔσται, εἰσποιητὸν
παῖδα ποιήσαιο."
10 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα Ἰουστῖνος βασιλεὺς
εἶδεν, αὐτός τε περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο καὶ Ἰουστινι-
ανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὃς δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν
11 βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. καὶ κατὰ
τάχος ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠπειγέσθην τὴν ἐσποίησιν

[1] διασώσεσθαι Herwerden.

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

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

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

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

αὕτη δὲ ἄντικρυς ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθὺς ἡ πρεσβεία τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ Χοσρόην τοῦτον, ὅστις
18 ποτέ ἐστι, κληρονόμον εἰσποιεῖν βούλεται. οὑτωσὶ γάρ μοι περὶ τούτων διαλογίζεσθε·[1] φύσει τοῖς παισὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων ὀφείλεται, οἵ τε νόμοι τῷ διαλλάσσοντι ἀλλήλοις ἀεὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μαχόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις ξυνίασί τε καὶ ξυνομολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις κυρίους ἀποφαίνουσι τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι τοῦ [τοῦ] πατρὸς κλήρου. ὥστε τὰ πρῶτα ἑλομένοις ὑμῖν πάντα λελείψεται τὰ λοιπὰ ξυγχωρεῖν."
19 Πρόκλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοῦς τούς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο
20 καὶ τὸ πρακτέον ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Καβάδης γράμματα πρὸς Ἰουστῖνον βασιλέα πέμψας, ἄνδρας τε αὐτὸν στεῖλαι δοκίμους ἠξίου, ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται, καὶ γράμμασι τὸν τρόπον σημῆναι καθ' ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσποίησιν
21 θέσθαι βουλομένῳ εἴη. καὶ τότε δὴ Πρόκλος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν Περσῶν πεῖραν διέβαλλε, μέλειν τε αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρίζετο ὅπως δὴ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀσφαλέ-
22 στατα προσποιήσωνται. καὶ γνώμην ἀπέφαινε τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα περαίνεσθαι, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτῇ στέλλεσθαι, οὓς δὴ δεήσει πυνθανομένῳ τῷ Καβάδῃ καθ' ὅ τι δεῖ[2] τὴν ἐσποίησιν Χοσρόῃ

[1] διαλογίζεσθε edd.: διαλογίζεσθαι VPW, διαλογίζεσθαι ἔπεισι G.
[2] δεῖ P. δὴ VG.

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

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

γενέσθαι, διαρρήδην ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι δεῖ[1] ὡς βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, δηλῶν[2] ὅτι οὐ γράμμασιν οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παῖδας <ἐς>ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' 23 ὅπλων σκευῇ. οὕτω τοίνυν τοὺς πρέσβεις Ἰουστῖνος βασιλεὺς ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστους ἔψεσθαι σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ὑποσχόμενος, οἳ τά τε ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῷ 24 Χοσρόῃ ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσονται γράμμασί τε Καβάδην κατὰ ταὐτὸ ἠμείψατο. στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων Ὑπάτιος, Ἀναστασίου τοῦ πρώην βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῦς, πατρίκιός τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἕω τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων, καὶ Ῥουφῖνος ὁ Σιλβανοῦ παῖς, ἔν τε πατρικίοις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος καὶ Καβάδῃ ἐκ πατέρων αὐτῶν[3] γνώ- 25 ριμος· ἐκ Περσῶν δὲ ἀνὴρ δυνατώτατός τε καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος, ὄνομα μὲν Σεόσης, ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνης δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ Με- 26 βόδης, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἔχων ἀρχήν. οἳ δὴ ἐς χῶρόν τινα ξυνιόντες ὃς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει, ἀλλήλοις τε ξυγγινόμενοι ἔπρασσον ὅπως τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι 27 καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ εὖ θήσονται. ἧκε δὲ καὶ Χοσρόης ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃς δὴ πόλεως Νισίβιδος διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ μάλιστα, ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἑκατέροις δοκῇ ὡς ἄρι- 28 στα ἔχειν, αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλοιτο. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοι λόγοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σφίσι διαφόρων ἐλέγοντο, καὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν

[1] δεῖ Haury · δὴ MSS [2] δηλῶν ὅτι VG δηλονότι PW.
[3] αὐτῶν Haury : αὐτῷ VGH, αὐτοῦ P.

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

[1] *i.e.* "by force"

Κολχίδα ἣ νῦν Λαζικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται Σεόσης ἔλεγε Περσῶν κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οὖσαν βιασα-
29 μένους λόγῳ οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν. ταῦτα Ῥωμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ καὶ Λαζικὴ πρὸς Περσῶν ἀντιλέγοιτο ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐσποίησιν ἔφασκον δεῖν γενέσθαι Χοσρόῃ οὕτως ὥσπερ βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, οὐκ ἀνεκτὰ
30 Πέρσαις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἑκάτεροι οὖν διαλυθέντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ Χοσρόης ἄπρακτος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, περιώδυνός τε ὢν τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐχόμενος τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβρεως τίσασθαι.

31 Μετὰ δὲ Μεβόδης μὲν τὸν Σεόσην διέβαλλε Καβάδῃ, ὡς δὴ ἐξεπίτηδες, οὗ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένον πρὸς τοῦ δεσπότου, τὸν Λαζικῆς λόγον προθείη, τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκκρούων Ὑπατίῳ τε κοινολογησάμενος πρότερον, ὃς δὴ βασιλεῖ τῷ οἰκείῳ εὐνοικῶς ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων τήν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν Χοσρόου ἐσποίησιν ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ οὐκ ἐᾷη γενέσθαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κατηγοροῦντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὸν Σεόσην
32 ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. Περσῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ ξύμπασα φθόνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμῳ ξυνειλεγμένοι ἐδίκαζον. τῇ τε γὰρ ἀρχῇ οὐ ξυνειθισμένῃ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἤχθοντο καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ
33 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαλεπῶς εἶχον. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Σεόσης χρημάτων μὲν ἀδωρότατος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελητὴς ἀκριβέστατος, ἀλαζονείας δὲ νόσῳ ἐχόμενος οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. ξυμφυὲς μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσι τοῦτό γε· ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεόσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ᾤοντο

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

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

ὑπερφυῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαι.
31 ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ταῦτά τε ἅπερ μοι προδεδήλωται καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βουλομένῳ εἴη ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν ἢ περι-
35 στέλλειν τὰ Περσῶν νόμιμα καινά τε γὰρ αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἔναγχος τὴν γυναῖκα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένον τοῖς Περσῶν νόμοις γῇ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα.
36 οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατέγνωσαν, Καβάδης δὲ ὥσπερ μὲν ξυναλγοῦντι ἅτε φίλῳ τῷ Σεόσῃ ἐφκει, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν
37 οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοι ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλύειν τοὺς Περσῶν νόμους οὐκ ἐβούλετο, καίπερ ζωάγρια τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὀφείλων, ἐπεί οἱ Σεόσης αἰτιώτατος γέγονε βιῶναί τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εἶναι. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Σεόσης καταγνωσθεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο.
38 ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύτησεν. ἕτερος γάρ τις ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνης οὐδεὶς γέγονε. καὶ Ῥουφῖνος δὲ Ὑπάτιον ἐς
39 βασιλέα διέβαλλε. διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε παρέλυσε τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς πικρότατα αἰκισάμενος οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διαβολῇ τὸ παράπαν εὗρε, κακὸν μέντοι οὐδὲν Ὑπάτιον ἄλλο εἰργάσατο.

XII

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

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

XII

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

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

δὲ Πρόβος ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε, Πέτρον στρατηγὸν σὺν Οὔννοις τισὶν ἐς Λαζικὴν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε Γουργένῃ ὅση δύναμις ξυμμαχήσοντα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καβάδης στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐπί τε Γουργένην καὶ Ἴβηρας ἔπεμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, οὐαρίζην μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα, Βόην δὲ ὄνομα. ὅ τε Γουργένης ἐλάσσων ὀφθεὶς ἢ φέρειν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐπεί οἱ τὰ ἐκ Ῥωμαίων οὐχ ἱκανὰ ἦν, ξὺν Ἰβήρων τοῖς λογίμοις ἅπασιν ἐς Λαζικὴν ἔφυγε,[1] τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ξὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπαγόμενος, ὧν δὴ Περάνιος ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις γενόμενοι ἔμενον, ταῖς τε δυσχωρίαις φραξάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίσταντο. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπρασσον, τοῦ πράγματος σφίσι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατοῦντος.

Ἔπειτα δὲ οἵ τε Ἴβηρες ἐς Βυζάντιον παρεγένοντο καὶ Πέτρος ἐς βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς Λαζοῖς οὐ βουλομένοις ξυμφυλάσσειν τὴν χώραν ἠξίου, στράτευμά τε καὶ Εἰρηναῖον ἄρχοντα πέμψας. ἔστι δὲ φρούρια ἐν Λαζοῖς δύο εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων, ὧν ἡ φυλακὴ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπιμελὴς ἦν, καίπερ ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἐχομένοις, ἐπεὶ οὔτε σῖτος ἐνταῦθα οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίνεται. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἑτέρωθεν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οἷόν τέ ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ φερόντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐλύμοις μέντοι τισὶν

[1] ἔφυγε edd. φεύγει MSS

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

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

[1] Cf. Book VIII. xiii. 15.

XIII

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστῖνος βασι-
λέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀνει-
πὼν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐς μόνον Ἰουστι-
2 νιανὸν ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν. οὗτος Ἰουστινιανὸς
ἐκέλευε Βελισάριον δείμασθαι φρούριον ἐν χωρίῳ
Μίνδουος, ὃ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστι τοῖς Περσῶν ὁρίοις,
3 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Νίσιβιν ἰόντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν σπουδῇ
πολλῇ τὰ βασιλεῖ δόξαντα ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει, τό τε
ὀχύρωμα ἐς ὕψος ἤδη πολυανθρωπίᾳ τεχνιτῶν
4 ἤρετο. Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπεῖπον μὴ οἰκοδομήσασθαι
περαιτέρω μηδέν, οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
ἔργοις διακωλυταὶ ἀπειλοῦντες οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν
5 ἔσεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἤκουσεν (οὐ γὰρ
οἷός τε ἦν Βελισάριος Πέρσας ἐνθένδε τῷ παρόντι
στρατῷ ἀποκρούεσθαι), ἄλλην τε στρατιὰν ἐπήγ-
γελλεν αὐτόσε ἰέναι καὶ Κούτζην τε καὶ Βούζην,
οἳ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχον τότε. τούτω
δὲ ἀδελφὰ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἦστην, νέω δὲ ἄμφω
καὶ οὐ ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας
6 ἰόντε. ἑκάτεροι μὲν οὖν ξυλλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν
οἰκοδομίαν ἀθρόοι ἦεσαν,[1] Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτὴν
παντὶ σθένει διακωλύσοντες, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς
7 τεκταινομένοις ἐπαμυνοῦντες. μάχης δὲ καρ-
τερᾶς γενομένης ἡσσῶνται Ῥωμαῖοι, φόνος τε
αὐτῶν πολὺς γέγονε, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν οἱ
8 πολέμιοι. ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ Κούτζης. οὓς δὴ
οἱ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἀπαγαγόντες,
δήσαντές τε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐν σπηλαίῳ
καθεῖρξαν, καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν οἰκοδομίαν

[1] ἦεσαν Braun · ἦσαν MSS

XIII

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

Apr 1, Aug 1,

[1] Lebanon.

οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀμυνομένου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον.

9 Ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς στρατηγὸν τῆς ἕω Βελισάριον καταστησάμενος, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ στρατιὰν λόγου
10 πολλοῦ ἀξίαν ἀγείρας ἐς Δάρας ἦλθε. καί οἱ Ἑρμογένης ξυνδιακοσμήσων τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, ὃς Βιταλιανῷ παρήδρευε πρότερον ἡνίκα
11 βασιλεῖ Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμιος ἦν. καὶ Ῥουφῖνον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὃν δὴ ἐν Ἱεραπόλει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευε. λόγοι γὰρ ἤδη πολλοὶ ἀμφοτέροις ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγίνοντο.
12 ἄφνω δέ τις Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Ἑρμογένει ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς Πέρσαι ἐσβάλλειν ἐπίδοξοί εἰσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, πόλιν Δάρας αἱρήσειν ἐν
13 σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύοντο ὧδε. τῆς πύλης ἣ πόλεως Νισίβιδος καταντικρὺ κεῖται οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον λίθου βολήν, τάφρον βαθεῖάν τινα ὤρυξαν, διεξόδους πολλὰς ἔχουσαν. οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας μέντοι ἡ τάφρος ἥδε ὀρώρυκτο, ἀλλὰ
14 τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέσον βραχεῖά τις ἐγεγόνει εὐθεῖα, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ αὐτῆς ὀρθαὶ κεραῖαι πεποίηντο δύο, ἔς τε τὰ πέρατα ταῖν ὀρθαῖν κεραίαιν αὖθις τὰς τάφρους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
15 εὐθείας ἐξῆγον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἦλθον, ἔν τε Ἀμμώδιος χωρίῳ, πόλεως Δάρας μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπέχοντι,
16 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἄλλοι

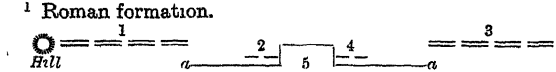
one defended it any longer, they razed what had been built to the ground

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

July, 530

τε ἦσαν καὶ Πιτυάξης καὶ Βαρεσμανᾶς ἑτερόφθαλμος. στρατηγὸς δὲ εἷς ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρσης ἀνήρ, μιρράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι), Περόζης δὲ ὄνομα.
17 ὃς δὴ αὐτίκα παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμψας τὸ βαλανεῖον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι· λοῦσθαι γάρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένῳ εἶναι.
18 διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καρτερώτατα ἐξηρτύοντο, ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ μαχούμενοι.
19 Ἅμα τε ἠλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ σφᾶς προιόντας ὁρῶντες ἐτάξαντο ὧδε εὐθείας μὲν τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ἔνερθεν ἦν τῆς ὀρθῆς κεραίας μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ὃς ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, Βούζης εἶχε ξὺν ἱππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ
20 Φάρας Ἔρουλος ξὺν ὁμογενέσι τριακοσίοις· ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τάφρου ἐκτὸς κατὰ τὴν γωνίαν ἣν ἥ τε ὀρθὴ κεραία καὶ ἡ ἐνθένδε εὐθεῖα ἐποίει, Σουνίκας τε ἦν καὶ Ἀιγάν, Μασσαγέται γένος, ξὺν ἱππεῦσιν ἑξακοσίοις, ὅπως, ἦν οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν τραπεῖεν, αὐτοὶ πλάγιοι κατὰ τάχος ἰόντες κατὰ νώτου τε τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἀμύνειν εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτετά-
21 χατο· τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐθείας τὰ ἔσχατα ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ εἶχον, ὧν Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Νικήτου ἦρχε καὶ Κύριλλός τε καὶ Μάρκελλος· ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γερμανὸς καὶ Δωρόθεος· ἐς γωνίαν δὲ τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἱππεῖς ἐτάξαντο ἑξακόσιοι, ὧν Σίμμας τε καὶ

[1] Roman formation.



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

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

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a—a, trench.

1 Bouzes and Pharas 2 Sunicas and Aigan
3 John, Cyril, Marcellus, Germanus, and Dorotheus
4 Simmas and Ascan 5 Belisarius and Hermogenes

Ἀσκὰν Μασσαγέται ἦρχον, ἵνα, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην τρεπομένων, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, αὐτοὶ ἐνθένδε ἐξανιστάμενοι κατὰ νώτου τῶν
22 Περσῶν ἴωσι. πανταχῇ δὲ τῆς τάφρου οἵ τε τῶν ἱππέων κατάλογοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἵστατο ὧν δὴ ὄπισθεν οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον καὶ Ἑρμογένην
23 κατὰ μέσους εἱστήκεσαν ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ δισμυρίους ξυνιόντες ἐτάξαντο, Περσῶν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς μυριάδες μὲν τέσσαρες ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἦσαν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἅπαντες μετωπηδὸν ἵσταντο, ὡς βαθύτατον τῆς
24 φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. χρόνον μὲν οὖν πολὺν μάχης ἐς ἀλλήλους οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζουσί τε τὴν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν Πέρσαι ἐῴκεσαν καὶ ὅ τι χρήσονται τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορουμένοις.
25 Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν μοῖρά τις τῶν ἱππέων οἳ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχον, ἀποσχισθέντες τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βούζην
26 τε καὶ Φάραν ἐπῆλθον. οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπεχώρησαν Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, κύκλωσιν, οἶμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ δείσαντες.. μετὰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥρ-
27 μησαν. οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ αὖθις οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Βούζην καὶ Φάραν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐτάξαντο.
28 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Περσῶν ἑπτὰ ἔπεσον, ὧν δὴ τῶν σωμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
29 ἡσυχάζοντες ἐν τάξει ἑκάτεροι ἔμενον. εἷς δὲ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης νεανίας, ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τὸν ἵππον ἐλάσας, προὐκαλεῖτο ἅπαντας

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

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

30 εἴ τίς οἱ βούλοιτο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. καὶ τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον ἐτόλμα οὐδείς,
Ἀνδρέας δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκείοις, οὐ
στρατιώτης μὲν οὐδέ τι ἀσκήσας τῶν κατὰ τὸν
πόλεμον πώποτε, παιδοτρίβης δὲ καὶ παλαίστρᾳ
31 τινὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐφεστηκώς. διὸ δὴ καὶ τῷ
στρατῷ εἵπετο, ἅτε τοῦ Βούζου σώματος ἐν βαλα-
νείῳ ἐπιμελούμενος, γένος δὲ Βυζάντιος ἦν. οὗτος
ἐθάρσησε μόνος, οὔτε Βούζου οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν
ἐπαγγείλαντος, αὐτόματος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς μονο-
μαχίαν ἐπεξιέναι. φθάσας δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον
ἔτι περισκοπούμενον ὅπη ὁρμήσεται, παρὰ μαζὸν
32 τὸν δεξιὸν τῷ δόρατι παίει. ὁ δὲ πληγὴν ἀν-
δρὸς ἰσχυροῦ λίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς
ἔδαφος πίπτει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀνδρέας μαχαίρᾳ τινὶ
βραχείᾳ ὥσπερ ἱερεῖον ὑπτίως κείμενον ἔθυσε,
κραυγή τε ὑπερφυὴς ἔκ τε τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ
33 τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἤρθη. Πέρσαι δὲ τῷ
γεγονότι περιαλγήσαντες ἕτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν
πρᾶξιν ἱππέα καθῆκαν, ἀνδρεῖον μὲν καὶ μεγέθους
σώματος πέρι εὖ ἥκοντα, οὐ νεανίαν δέ, ἀλλὰ καί
34 τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν πολιὸν ὄντα. ὃς
δὴ παρὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἐπιών, ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν μάστιγα σείων ἢ παίειν τὸν
ἵππον εἰώθει, Ῥωμαίων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς μάχην
35 ἐκάλει. οὐδενὸς δέ οἱ ἐπεξιόντος, Ἀνδρέας αὖθις
ἅπαντας λαθὼν ἐς μέσον ἦλθε, καίπερ αὐτῷ πρὸς
36 τοῦ Ἑρμογένους ἀπειρημένον. ἄμφω γοῦν τοῖς
δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι
ὥρμησαν, καὶ τά τε δόρατα τοῖς θώραξιν ἐρει-

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

σθέντα δεινῶς ἀπεκρούσθη οἵ τε ἵπποι ἐς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλοις συγκρούσαντες ἔπεσόν τε
37 αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπέβαλον. τὼ δὲ ἄνδρε τούτω ἄγχιστά πη πεσόντε ἀλλήλοιν ἐξανίστασθαι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἄμφω ἠπειγέσθην, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πέρσης τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἅτε οἱ τοῦ μεγέθους ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὐκ εὐπετῶς εἶχεν, Ἀνδρέας δὲ προτερήσας (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡ κατὰ τὴν παλαίστραν μελέτη ἐδίδου) τῷ τε γόνατι ἐξανιστάμενον αὐτὸν ἔτυψε καὶ αὖθις εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος
38 πεσόντα ἔκτεινε. κραυγή τε ἐκ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἤρθη· καὶ οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀμμώδιος τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι παιανίσαντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγέ-
39 νοντο ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζεν. οὕτω τε ἀμφότεροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσαντο.

XIV

1 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσαις μὲν στρατιῶται μύριοι ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον, Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸς Μιρράνην ἔγραψαν τάδε, "Πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ὡμολόγηται παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἷς τι καὶ κατὰ [τὸ]
2 βραχὺ λογισμοῦ μέτεστιν. ὥστε ἤν τις διαλυτὴς αὐτῆς γένοιτο, τῶν κακῶν αἰτιώτατος ἂν οὐ τοῖς πέλας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμογενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ εἴη. στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ἄριστος οὗτος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν, ὃς δὴ ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην διατίθεσθαι ἱκανὸς πέφυκε.
3 σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστώτων Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμον ἐπάγειν ἡμῖν αἰτίαν οὐκ

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

XIV

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

ἔχοντα ἔγνωκας, καίπερ ἑκατέρου μὲν βασιλέως εἰρηναῖα βουλευομένου, πρέσβεων δὲ παρόντων ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἤδη, οἳ δὴ τὰ διάφορα τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλίᾳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν διαλύσουσιν, ἢν μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐκ τῆς σῆς ἐφόδου ξυμβαῖνον ταύτην
4 ἡμῖν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἰσχύσῃ ἀλλ' ἄπαγε ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη, μηδὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐμποδὼν ἵστασο, μή ποτε Πέρσαις, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἴης τῶν ξυμβησομένων
5 δεινῶν αἴτιος" ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Μιρράνης ἀπενεχθέντα τὰ γράμματα εἶδεν, ἀμείβεται ὧδε, "Ἐποίησα ἂν τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀναπεισθείς, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαίων ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, οἷς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι πρόχειρόν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελεῖν χαλεπώτατόν τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος, ἄλλως τε ἢν καὶ ὅρκοις τισὶ
6 κυρώσητε τὰ ξυγκείμενα. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπειπόντες ἀπάτην, ἐν ὅπλοις ἠναγκάσμεθα παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥκειν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸ λοιπὸν οἴεσθε ἢ πολεμητέα ὑμῖν ἐς Πέρσας εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τεθνάναι ἢ καταγηράσκειν δεήσει, ἕως ἔργῳ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς θήσεσθε." τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Μιρράνης
7 ἀντέγραψεν. αὖθις δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἔγραψαν ὧδε, "Οὐ πάντα χρή, ὦ βέλτιστε Μιρράνη, τῇ ἀλαζονείᾳ χαρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς πέλας ἐπιφέρειν
8 ὀνείδη τὰ μηδαμόθεν προσήκοντα. Ῥουφῖνον γὰρ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἥκοντα οὐκ ἄποθεν εἶναι ἡμεῖς τε εἴπομεν ξὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν
9 εἶσῃ. γλιχομένοις δὲ ὑμῖν πολεμίων ἔργων ἀντι-

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

ταξόμεθα ξὺν θεῷ, ὃν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ξυλλήψεσθαι ἴσμεν, ἡγμένον μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ τῇ Περσῶν νεμεσήσαντα καὶ οἷς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλουμένοις ἡμῖν εἶτα ἀντιτείνειν ἐγνώκατε. ἀντιταξόμεθα δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα παρ' ἑκατέρων ἀπ' ἄκρων σημείων ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀναψάμενοι." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Μιρράνης δὲ καὶ αὖθις ἀμείβεται ὧδε, "Οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ θεῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθιστάμεθα, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥξομεν, οὕσπερ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσας ἐς Δάρας ἐσβιβάσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. ἀλλά μοι τό τε βαλανεῖον καὶ ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γινέσθω." ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἀναλεξάμενοι παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν.

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Πέρσας ἅπαντας περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ξυγκαλέσας Μιρράνης ἔλεξε τοιάδε, "Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν ὡς οὐ λόγοις τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἀλλ' ἀρετῇ τε οἰκείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους αἰδοῖ θαρσεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰώθασι Πέρσαι. ὁρῶν δὲ ὑμᾶς διαλογιζομένους τί δήποτε οὐ συνειθισμένον Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον ἄνευ θορύβων τε καὶ ἀταξίας εἰς μάχην ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ ξὺν κόσμῳ τινὶ ἔναγχος οὐδαμόθεν σφίσι προσήκοντι Πέρσας ἐπιόντας ὑπέστησαν, τοῦδε εἵνεκα παραίνεσιν ποιεῖσθαί τινα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔγνωκα, ὅπως μὴ δόξῃ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ χρωμένοις ὑμῖν σφαλῆναι συμβαίη. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίους ἀμείνους τὰ πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς τι ἢ ἐμπειρίας κεκτῆσθαι

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

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

πλέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα ὄντες ἐτύγχανον· οἵ γε οὕτω Πέρσας δεδίασιν ὥστε οὐδὲ τάφρου χωρὶς ἐς
16 τὴν φάλαγγα καθίστασθαι τετολμήκασιν. οὐδὲ ξὺν ταύτῃ μάχης τινὸς ἦρξαν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς ἤλθομεν, ἄσμενοί τε καὶ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος τὰ πράγματα σφίσι κεχωρηκέναι οἰόμενοι
17 ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐχώρησαν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ξυντεταράχθαι τετύχηκεν, οὔπω εἰς κίνδυνον πολέμου ἐλθοῦσιν. ἢν δέ γε ἡ μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γένηται, ὀρρωδία τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειρία[1] περιλαβοῦσα ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τὴν συνήθη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσουσι.
18 τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων τοιαῦτά ἐστιν· ὑμᾶς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, τοῦ βασιλέων βασιλέως ἡ κρίσις
19 εἰσίτω. ἢν γὰρ μὴ ἐπαξίως τῆς Περσῶν ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ
20 εὐκλεὴς περιστήσεται." οὕτω μὲν Μιρράνης παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀγείραντες παρεκελεύ-
21 σαντο ὧδε, "Ὡς μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι Πέρσαι οὐδὲ κρείσσους ἢ θνήσκειν ἐπίστασθε δή που, μάχῃ τῇ προτέρᾳ σταθμώμενοι· ὡς δὲ τῇ τε ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ σώματος ἰσχύϊ περιόντες αὐτῶν, μόνῳ ἡττᾶσθε τῷ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἀπειθέστεροι εἶναι,
22 οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. ὅπερ ἐπανορθοῦν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ὑμῖν πάρεστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα σπουδῇ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, γνώμη δὲ

[1] ἀπειρία GP : ἀπορία V

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

τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ ἰατρὸς
23 γένοιτο· ὥστε ἢν τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατακούειν ᾖ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀναδήσεσθε τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλῳ τῳ ἢ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀκόσμῳ θαρσοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥκουσι.
24 σφαλέντες δὲ καὶ νῦν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐλπίδος ὁμοίως τῇ προλαβούσῃ ξυμβολῇ ἀπαλλάξουσι. καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ᾧ μάλιστα δεδίττονται,
25 ὑμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον. τὸ γὰρ πεζὸν ἅπαν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅμιλός ἐστιν ἀγροίκων οἰκτρῶν, οἳ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐπ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἔρχονται ἢ τείχός τε διορύττειν καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας σκυλεύειν καὶ
26 τἄλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ δὴ ὅπλα μὲν οἷς ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνοχλοῖεν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσι, τοὺς δὲ θυρεοὺς τοιούτους τὸ μέγεθος προβέβληνται μόνον ὅπως αὐτοὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων
27 ἥκιστα βάλλωνται. οὐκοῦν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ κινδύνῳ[1] γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μόνον Πέρσας νικήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπονοίας κολάσετε, ὡς μήποτε αὖθις εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατεύσονται."
28 Ταύτην Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης τὴν παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ Πέρσας ὁδῷ ἰόντας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ
29 τάχος τοὺς στρατιώτας διέταξαν. καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι παρ' αὐτοὺς ἥκοντες μετωπηδὸν ἔστησαν. οὐχ ἅπαντας μέντοι Πέρσας ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντίους τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ
30 ἄλλους ὄπισθεν μένειν εἴασεν. οἱ δὴ τοὺς μαχομένους ἐκδεχόμενοι ἔμελλον ἀκμῆτες ἐπιθήσεσθαι

[1] κινδύνῳ VG· πολέμῳ P

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

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

τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπως ἀεὶ ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἅπαντες
31 μάχωνται. μόνον δὲ τὸν τῶν ἀθανάτων λεγομένων
λόχον ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἕως αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, ἐκέλευεν.
32 αὐτός τε κατὰ μέσον τοῦ μετώπου ταξάμενος,
Πιτυάξην μὲν τοῖς ἐν δεξιᾷ, Βαρεσμανᾶν δὲ
τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἀριστερὸν κέρας ἐπέστησεν. οὕτω μὲν
ἀμφότεροι ἐτετάχατο. Φάρας δὲ Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ
33 Ἑρμογένει παραστὰς εἶπεν, "Οὐδέν μοι δοκῶ ἐν-
ταῦθα ξὺν τοῖς Ἐρούλοις μένων τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐργάσασθαι μέγα· ἢν δὲ κρυπτόμενοι ἐς τὸ κάταν-
τες τοῦτο, εἶτα, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται
Πέρσαι, διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ λόφου ἀναβαίνοντες ἐκ τοῦ
αἰφνιδίου κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν ἴωμεν ὄπισθεν βάλ-
λοντες, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, δρά-
σομεν." ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ
Βελισάριον ἤρεσκε, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει.
34 Μάχης δὲ ἄχρι ἐς ἡμέραν μέσην οὐδέτεροι
ἦρχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τάχιστα ἡ μεσημβρία παρῴ-
χηκεν, ἔργου οἱ βάρβαροι εἴχοντο, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἐς
τοῦτον τῆς ἡμέρας τὸν καιρὸν τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἀπο-
θέμενοι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν σιτίοις ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν
χρῆσθαι μόνον εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ πρὸ τῆς
μεσημβρίας, ὥστε οὔποτε ᾤοντο αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως
35 ἀνθέξειν, ἢν πεινῶσιν ἐπιθῶνται. τὰ μὲν οὖν
πρῶτα τοξεύμασιν ἐχρῶντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι,
καί τινα τὰ βέλη τῷ πλήθει ἀχλὺν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἐποίει, ἔκ τε ἀμφοτέρων πολλοὶ ἔπιπτον, πολλῷ
δὲ συχνότερα τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων βέλη ἐφέρετο.
36 ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ ἀεὶ ἀκμῆτες ἐμάχοντο, αἴ-
σθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα
παρεχόμενοι, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἔλασ-

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

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

σον εἶχον. πνεῦμα γὰρ ἐνθένδε ἐπίφορον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιπεσὸν οὐ λίαν αὐτῶν τὰ
37 τοξεύματα ἐνεργεῖν εἴα ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα ἑκατέρους τὰ βέλη ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῖς τε δόρασιν ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκ χειρὸς ἐγεγόνει. Ῥωμαίων δὲ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν
38 μάλιστα ἔκαμνε. Καδισηνοὶ γάρ, οἳ ταύτῃ ξὺν τῷ Πιτυάξῃ ἐμάχοντο, πολλοὶ ἐπιβεβοηθηκότες ἐξαπιναίως ἐτρέψαντό τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐγκείμενοι ἰσχυρότατα συχνοὺς
39 ἔκτεινον. ὃ δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σουνίκᾳ τε καὶ Ἀιγάν, δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν. πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ τριακόσιοι ξὺν τῷ Φάρᾳ Ἔρουλοι ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενοι, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἔς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς
40 Καδισηνοὺς ἐπεδείκνυντο. οἳ δὴ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σουνίκαν πλαγίους ἤδη ἀνιόντας ἐπ'
41 αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν οἱ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, γέγονε φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων
42 πολύς. καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐχ ἧσσους ἢ τρισχίλιοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα μόλις καταφυγόντες
43 ἐσώθησαν. Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ παρατάξει ἑκάτεροι ἔστησαν ἀντίοι ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

44 Μιρράνης δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους λεγομένους ἅπαντας ἐς μέρος τὸ ἀριστερὸν λάθρα ἔπεμψεν. οὓς δὴ κατιδόντες Βελισάριός τε καὶ Ἑρμογένης, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σουνίκαν τε καὶ Ἀιγὰν ἑξακοσίους ἐς γωνίαν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐκέλευον ἰέναι, οὗ δὴ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σίμμᾳ τε

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

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

καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἵσταντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὄπισθεν τῶν
45 Βελισαρίῳ ἑπομένων πολλοὺς ἔστησαν. Πέρσαι
μὲν οὖν οἱ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερὸν εἶχον Βαρεσμανᾶ
ἡγουμένου σφίσι ξὺν τοῖς ἀθανάτοις ἐς τοὺς κατ'
αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίους δρόμῳ ἐσέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὐχ
46 ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἔστε
δὴ οἵ τε ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν
ὄπισθεν ἦσαν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς διώ-
47 κοντας ἤεσαν. ἅτε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐγκάρσιοι
ἰόντες, διεῖλον αὐτῶν δίχα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ
τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐποιήσαντο. ἐν
τοῖς καὶ τὸν τοῦ Βαρεσμανᾶ τὸ σημεῖον φέροντα
ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃν δὴ ὁ Σουνίκας τῷ δόρατι
48 ἐπελθὼν παίει. ἤδη τε Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώ-
τοις διώκοντες, αἰσθόμενοι οὗ ἦσαν κακοῦ, στρέ-
ψαντές τε τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὴν δίωξιν καταπαύ-
σαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμφί-
49 βολοι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο. ξυνέντες
γὰρ τῶν ποιουμένων οἱ φεύγοντες ἀνέστρεφον
αὖθις. οἵ τε γοῦν ἄλλοι Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ τῶν
ἀθανάτων λόχος, κεκλιμένον τε τὸ σημεῖον
ἰδόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίους ξὺν τῷ Βαρεσμανᾷ ὥρμησαν.
50 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὑπηντίαζον. καὶ πρῶτος[1] Σουνίκας
τὸν Βαρεσμανᾶν ἔκτεινέ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς
τὸ ἔδαφος ἔρριψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος μέγα
οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλκῆς μὲν οὐκέτι
ἐμέμνηντο, ἀκοσμίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ ἐχόμενοι ἔφευγον.
51 καὶ αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι κύκλωσίν τινα ποιησάμενοι
πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἔκτειναν οὕτω τε τὰ

[1] πρῶτος GP πρῶτον V

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

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

XV

1 Καβάδης δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐς Ἀρμενίαν τὴν
Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον ἔπεμψε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα
τοῦτο Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Σουνιτῶν ἦσαν, οἳ δὴ
Ἀλανοῖς εἰσιν ὅμοροι. Οὖννοί τε αὐτοῖς οἱ
Σάβειροι καλούμενοι τρισχίλιοι ξυνῆσαν, μαχιμώ-
2 τατον ἔθνος. στρατηγὸς δὲ Μερμερόης, Πέρσης
ἀνήρ, ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ Θεοδο-
σιουπόλεως τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ διεῖχον, ἐνστρατο-
πεδευσάμενοί τε ἔμενον ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ

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

XV

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

3 χώρᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐξηρτύοντο. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωρόθεος ὤν, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρος. Σίττας δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ
4 ἐφειστήκει. οἳ δὴ στράτευμα πολεμίων γνόντες ἐν Περσαρμενίοις ἀγείρεσθαι, δορυφόρους δύο εὐθὺς ἔπεμψαν ἐφ' ᾧ διασκοπήσαντες ἅπασαν σφίσι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν ἐσαγγείλωσιν.
5 ἄμφω τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενοι καὶ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοήσαντες
6 ἀπηλλάσσοντο. ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἔς τι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων Οὔννοις πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι[1] ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὑφ' ὧν ἄτερος μέν, Δάγαρις ὄνομα, δεθεὶς ἐζωγρήθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἴσχυσε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγειλεν.
7 οἱ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσαντες, τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέ-
8 στησαν. οἵ τε βάρβαροι τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καταπλαγέντες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι κτείναντές τε συχνοὺς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον λησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον.
9 Μερμερόης τε ξύμπασαν ἀγείρας τὴν στρατιὰν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ Σάταλαν πόλιν. οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ Ὀκτάβῃ ἡσύχαζον, ὅπερ τῆς πόλεως ἕξ τε
10 καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει. Σίττας μὲν οὖν χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενος ὄπισθεν τῶν τινος λόφων ἐκρύπτετο, οἷοι πολλοὶ Σάταλαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν

[1] ἀπροσδόκητοι Haury · ἀπροσδοκήτοις MSS

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

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

11 πεδίῳ κειμένην κυκλοῦσι. Δωρόθεον δὲ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε μένειν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑφίστασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι οὐδαμῇ ᾤοντο, οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τρισμυρίους ὄντας, αὐτοὶ μόλις ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ ἐξικνούμενοι.
12 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαί τινα ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον. ἄφνω δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν ἐξ ὑψηλοῦ ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας, καὶ αὐτῶν ξυμμετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ἥκιστα ἔχοντες, ἅτε κονιορτοῦ ὥρᾳ θέρους πολλοῦ ἐγκειμένου, πολλῷ τε πλείους ᾤοντο εἶναι καὶ τῆς κυκλώσεως κατὰ τάχος ἀφέμενοι ἐς ὀλίγον
13 τινὰ χῶρον αὐτοὺς ξυναγαγεῖν ἠπείγοντο. φθάσαντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διελόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ξυμμορίας δύο ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέθεντο, ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἅπας εἶδεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, ἐθάρσησάν τε καὶ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ξυρρέοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρη-
14 σαν. μέσους δὲ αὐτοὺς καταστησάμενοι εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. πλήθει μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν πολεμίων οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπεραίροντες ἔτι ἀντεῖχον, ἥ τε
15 μάχη καρτερὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἦν. ἀγχιστρόφους δὲ τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι, ἐπεὶ ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα Φλωρέντιος Θρᾷξ, καταλόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων, εἰς μέσους ὁρμήσας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον ἁρπάσας, ἐπικλίνας τε αὐτὸ

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

16 ὡς μάλιστα, ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καταληφθείς τε καὶ κρεουργηθεὶς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, τῆς δὲ νίκης Ῥωμαίοις αἰτιώτατος γέγονεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ σημεῖον οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἑώρων, ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ ὀρρωδίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡσύχαζον,
17 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τῇ τε ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ βαρβάρους τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἔν τε τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐκεῖνα πεπονθέναι ἅπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβεβληκότας ἀπράκτους τε καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἠσσημένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι.
18 Τότε καὶ Περσῶν χωρία ἐν Περσαρμενίοις Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, φρούριόν τε τὸ Βῶλον καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον καλούμενον, ὅθεν δὴ τὸν χρυσὸν Πέρσαι
19 ὀρύσσοντες βασιλεῖ φέρουσιν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον καταστρεψάμενοι τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οἳ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυντο· ἅπερ αὐτίκα ὄντινα ἐπράχθη τρόπον λελέξεται.
20 Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίας χωρίων[1] ἐς Περσαρμενίαν ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστιν, ἔς τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἔθνη διήκων, ὥσπερ μοι ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κατάντης μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀεὶ προιοῦσα ἡ ὁδὸς γίνεται, καὶ ὄρη ἀποκρέμαται λίαν ἀπότομα νεφέλαις τε
21 καὶ χιόσι κεκαλυμμένα τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, ἔνθεν

[1] χωρίων VP : ὁρίων G

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

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

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

[1] Cf. Book I. x 2

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

26 Ὑπερβάντι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ὅρια φάραγξ ἐστὶ βαθεῖά τε καὶ λίαν κρημνώδης, μέχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκουσα. ἐνταῦθα χωρία τε πολυανθρωποτάτα ἔστι καὶ ἄμπελός τε καὶ ἡ ἄλλη
27 ὀπώρα διαρκῶς φύεται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ φάραγξ αὕτη ὑποτελὴς τυγχάνει οὖσα, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ Περσαρμενίων ὅροι ἐκδέχονται, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μέταλλόν ἐστιν ὅπερ Καβάδου δόντος
28 ἐπετρόπευε τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Συμεώνης ὄνομα. οὗτος ὁ Συμεώνης, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφοτέρους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζοντας εἶδε, Καβάδην τῆς τῶν χρη-
29 μάτων προσόδου ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω. διὸ δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοὺς οὐδετέροις τὸν ἐκ τοῦ μετάλλου χρυσὸν ἀποφέρειν ἠξίου.
30 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔπραττον, ἀποχρῆν σφίσιν ἡγούμενοι ἀπολωλέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐνθένδε φοράν, Πέρσαι δὲ οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένους ἀντιστατούσης τῆς δυσχωρίας βιάζεσθαι.
31 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος, οἳ Βελισαρίῳ καὶ Σίττᾳ ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται, ξὺν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτόμολοι ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἦκον, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ναρσῆς ὁ βασιλέως ταμίας ἐδέξατο (Περσαρμένιος γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς γένος ἐτύγχανε) χρήμασί τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖται μεγάλοις.
32 ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Ἰσαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφός, ἔμαθε, Ῥωμαίοις λάθρα ἐς λόγους ἐλθὼν Βῶλον αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἄγχιστά πη ὂν τῶν

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

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

[1] Cf Book I. xii. 21.

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

XVI

1 Οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. Πέρσαι δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν Δάρας ἡσσημένοι τῇ μάχῃ οὐδ' ὣς ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἕως Ῥουφῖνος, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὄψιν τὴν Καβάδου ἦλθεν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, "Ἐπεμψέ με, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐς γῆν τὴν αὐτοῦ
2 ἐν ὅπλοις ἦλθον. καίτοι βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἐς τόσον ξυνέσεως ἥκοντι ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην πρυτανεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἂν πρέποι ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εὖ καθεστώτων ταραχὴν οὐ δέον αὐτῷ
3 τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας προστρίβεσθαι. οἷς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εὔελπις ὢν ἐνθάδε ἀφῖγμαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν ἀμφοτέροις τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ
4 εἴη." Ῥουφῖνος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Καβάδης δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε, "Ὦ παῖ Σιλβανοῦ, μηδαμῶς ἀντιστρέφειν τὰς αἰτίας πειρῶ, πάντων ἐξεπιστάμενος μάλιστα ταραχῆς ἁπάσης αἰτιωτάτους γεγονέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς. πύλας γὰρ τὰς Κασπίας ἡμεῖς ἔσχομεν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθῷ, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους, ἐπεὶ Ἀναστάσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, παρὸν αὐτὰς

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

XVI

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

χρήμασιν ὠνεῖσθαι, οὐκ ἤθελεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνταῦθα ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων προίεσθαι ἀναγ-
5 κάζηται. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡμεῖς στρατιὰν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἐκτρέφοντες δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τό γε κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους μέρος ἀδῄωτον τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν, ξὺν πολλῇ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τὰ
6 ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὸν ὑμῖν τοῦτό γε, καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην Δάρας ἐπιτείχισμα Πέρσαις πεποίησθε, καίπερ διαρρήδην ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀπειρημένον ἅσπερ Ἀνατόλιος πρὸς Πέρσας ἔθετο· καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ δυοῖν στρατοπέδοιν ἀνάγκη πόνοις τε καὶ δαπάνῃ κεκακῶσθαι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, τὸ μέν, ὅπως μὴ Μασσαγέται τὴν ἀμφοτέρων γῆν ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἀδεῶς δύνωνται, τὸ δέ, ὅπως ἂν τὰς
7 ὑμετέρας ἐπιδρομὰς ἀναστέλλοιμεν. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔναγχος μεμφομένων ἡμῶν, δυοῖν τε τὸ ἕτερον ἀξιούντων παρ᾽ ὑμῶν γίγνεσθαι, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν ἐς πύλας τὰς Κασπίας στρατὸν στέλλεσθαι, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύεσθαι, τῶν μὲν λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν οὐ προσίεσθε, κακῷ δὲ μείζονι κρατύνασθαι τὴν ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιβουλὴν ἔγνωτε, εἴ τι μεμνήμεθα τῆς ἐν Μίνδουος οἰκοδομίας· καὶ νῦν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἐλετὰ μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, αἱρετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα, ἢ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς τιθεμένοις, ἢ
8 ἀπ᾽ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν ἰοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα καταθήσουσι πρότερον Πέρσαι, πρὶν δὴ αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ τὰς πύλας δικαίως τε καὶ ὀρθῶς ξυμφυλάξουσιν, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσουσι."

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

[1] Cf. Book I xiii 2.

9 τοσαῦτα Καβάδης εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπε-
πέμψατο, παραδηλώσας ὡς οἱ βουλομένῳ εἴη
χρήματά τε πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ
10 πολέμου καταλύειν αἰτίας. ἅπερ Ῥουφῖνος ἐς
Βυζάντιον ἥκων βασιλεῖ ἤγγειλεν. οὐ δὴ οὐ
πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὁ
χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰου-
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι.

XVII

1 Ἅμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ στράτευμα Περσῶν
Ἀζαρέθου ἡγουμένου ἐσέβαλεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν
γῆν ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχίλιοί τε καὶ μύριοι,
ἱππεῖς ἅπαντες. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ
Σακκίκης ξυνῆν, πάμπολύν τινα ὅμιλον Σαρα-
2 κηνῶν ἔχων. αὕτη τε Πέρσαις ἡ ἐσβολὴ οὐ
καθάπερ εἰώθει ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἐς τὴν Μεσο-
ποταμίαν ἐσέβαλλον ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ'
ἐς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνήν, ταυῦν δὲ καλου-
μένην Εὐφρατησίαν, ὅθεν δὴ οὐ πώποτε Πέρσαι
πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
3 ἐστράτευσαν. ὅτου δὲ ἕνεκα Μεσοποταμία τε
ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐς ταύτην
ἐφόδου ἀπέσχοντο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.
4 Ὄρος οὐ λίαν ἀπότομον ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐστί,
Θεοδοσιουπόλεως μὲν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα
σταδίοις διέχον, τετραμμένον δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς
βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. καὶ πηγαὶ δύο ἐνθένδε ἐξίασι,
ποταμοὺς δύο ποιοῦσαι αὐτίκα, Εὐφράτην μὲν
5 ἡ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα Τίγρην ὄνομα. τούτοιν

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

XVII

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

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

ἄτερος μέν, ὁ Τίγρης, οὔτε περιόδοις τισὶ χρώμενος οὔτε ὑδάτων ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπιγινο-
6 μένων, εὐθὺ Ἀμίδης πόλεως κάτεισι. καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον προιὼν χωρεῖ ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν χώραν. ὁ δὲ δὴ Εὐφράτης φέρεται μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπί τινα χῶρον ὀλίγον, εὐθὺς δὲ προιὼν ἀφανίζεται, οὐχ ὑπόγειος μέντοι γινόμενος, ἀλλά τί οἱ ξυμβαῖνον θαυμάσιον οἷον· ὑπὲρ γὰρ
7 τοῦ ὕδατος τέλμα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαθὺ γίνεται, μῆκος μὲν ὅσον ἐπὶ σταδίους πεντήκοντα, εὖρος δὲ εἴκοσι· καὶ καλάμων φύεται πολύ τι χρῆμα
8 ἐν τῷ πηλῷ τούτῳ. ἐς τόσον δὲ σκληρός τις ὁ χοῦς ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν ὥστε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δοκεῖν ἢ ἤπειρον εἶναι. ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοίνυν ξυμβαίνει οὐδὲν δεδιότας πεζούς τε καὶ
9 ἱππέας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἅμαξαι παρίασιν ἐνθένδε πολλαὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἰσχύουσι κινεῖν τι ἢ ἐξελέγχειν τοῦ
10 τέλματος. καίουσι δὲ τοὺς καλάμους οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, τοῦ μὴ τὰς ὁδοὺς πρὸς αὐτῶν εἴργεσθαι, καί ποτε πνεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος μέχρι ἐς τὰ τῶν ῥιζῶν ἔσχατα τὸ πῦρ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τετύχηκε, καὶ τὸ
11 ὕδωρ ἐν χωρίῳ ὀλίγῳ φανῆναι· χρόνου δὲ ὁ χοῦς αὖθις οὐ πολλοῦ ξυμφυεὶς ἀπέδωκε τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν. ἐνθένδε τε ὁ ποταμὸς πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν, οὗ δὴ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἦν, ἔνθεν λέγουσι τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἰφιγένειαν ξύν τε Ὀρέστῃ καὶ Πυλάδῃ φυγεῖν τὸ
12 τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα φέρουσαν. ὁ γὰρ ἄλλος νεώς, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἐστιν ἐν πόλει Κομάνῃ,

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

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

13 Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Ταύρων Ὀρέστης ξὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, ξυνέπεσεν αὐτῷ νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ πυνθανομένῳ χρῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖόν φασιν οὐ πρότερον λωφήσειν αὐτῷ τὸ κακόν, πρὶν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ναὸν δείμασθαι ἐν χώρῳ τοιούτῳ οἷον δὴ τὸν ἐν Ταύροις ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐνταῦθά τε ἀποκείρασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ κόμην καὶ
14 αὐτῇ ὁμωνύμως καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν. διὸ δὴ Ὀρέστην περιιόντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ἐν Πόντῳ γενέσθαι, κατιδεῖν τε ὄρος ὃ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀπότομον ἀπεκρέματο, ἔρρει τε ἔνερθεν παρὰ τὰς τοῦ
15 ὄρους ἐσχατιὰς ποταμὸς Ἶρις. ὑποτοπήσαντα οὖν τὸν Ὀρέστην τότε τοῦτόν οἱ τὸν χῶρον δηλοῦν τὸ μαντεῖον, πόλιν τε ἐνταῦθα λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεὼν δείμασθαι, τήν τε κόμην ἀποθριξάμενον ὁμωνύμως αὐτῇ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν ἣ δὴ Κόμανα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται.
16 τούτων τε Ὀρέστῃ ἐξειργασμένων οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὴν νόσον ἀκμάζειν. αἰσθόμενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως ταῦτα τῷ μαντείῳ ποιοίη, ἅπαντα αὖθις περιιόντα διασκοπεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρόν τινα ἐν Καππαδόκαις εὑ-
17 ρεῖν τῷ ἐν Ταύροις τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερέστατον. ὅνπερ καὶ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἰδὼν ἠγάσθην τε ὑπερφυῶς καί μοι ἐδόκουν ἐν Ταύροις εἶναι. τό τε γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἐκείνῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἔοικεν, ἐπεὶ κἀνταῦθα ὁ Ταῦρός ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Σάρος
18 τῷ ταύτῃ Εὐφράτῃ εἰκάζεται. πόλιν τε οὖν ἀξιοθέατον ᾠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα Ὀρέστης καὶ νεὼς δύο, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, τὸν δὲ

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

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

ἄλλον τῇ ἀδελφῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ, οὓς δὴ Χριστιανοὶ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποίηνται, τῆς οἰκοδομίας οὐδὲν τὸ
19 παράπαν μεταβαλόντες. αὕτη καλεῖται καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσῆ Κόμανα, τῆς Ὀρέστου κόμης ἐπώνυμος οὖσα, ἣν δὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἀποκειρά-
20 μενον διαφυγεῖν τὸ ἀρρώστημα. τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄλλην τινὰ νόσον ἢ τὴν μανίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγεῖν, ἥπερ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἐπειδὴ τὴν μητέρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτεινεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

21 Ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ταύροις Ἀρμενίων καὶ χώρας τῆς Κελεσηνῆς ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης ἐν δεξιᾷ ῥέων γῆν τε πολλὴν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ποταμῶν οἱ ἄλλων τε ἀναμιγνυμένων καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσίνου ὃς δὴ ἐκ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων πολὺς φέρεται, μέγας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγενημένος ἐς τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Λευκοσύρους, νῦν δὲ Ἀρμενίους μικροὺς καλουμένους χωρεῖ, ὧν δὴ πόλις πρώτη
22 Μελιτηνὴ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξία ἐστί. τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν τά τε Σαμόσατα παραρρεῖ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία μέχρι ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν γῆν, οὗ δὴ ἀλλήλοιν ἄμφω τὼ ποταμὼ ἀναμιγνυμένω ἐς ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἀποκέ-
23 κριται. χώρα γοῦν ἡ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐστι πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνὴ ἐκλήθη, ταυῦν δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστιν ἐπώνυμος. ἡ δὲ τούτου ἐντός, ἣ δὴ αὐτοῦ τε μέση καὶ Τίγρητός ἐστι, Μεσοποταμία, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὀνομάζεται· μοῖρα μέντοι αὐτῆς οὐ τούτῳ μόνον τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ
24 καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπικαλεῖται. ἥ τε γὰρ ἄχρις Ἀμίδης πόλεως Ἀρμενία πρὸς ἐνίων ὠνόμασται, Ἐδεσσά τε ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χωρίοις Ὀσροηνὴ

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

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

[1] "Euphratesia"; cf section 2

τοῦ Ὀσρόου[1] ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνταῦθα βεβασιλευκότος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἡνίκα Πέρ-
25 σαις οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἔνσπονδοι ἦσαν. Πέρσαι οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων Νίσιβίν τε πόλιν καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα Μεσοποταμίας χωρία ἔλαβον, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύειν ἔμελλον, χώραν μὲν τὴν ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιούμενοι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄνυδρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔρημον οὖσαν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀγειρόμενοι, ἅτε ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τε καὶ πολεμίᾳ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ἀγχοτάτω οὔσῃ, ἐνθένδε τὰς ἐσβολὰς ἀεὶ ἐποι-
26 οῦντο. Ἡνίκα δὲ ἡσσηθεὶς ὁ Μιρράνης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ
27 Περσῶν ἤθη ἀφίκετο, ποινῆς ἔτυχε πρὸς βασι-λέως Καβάδου πικρᾶς. κόσμον γὰρ ἀφεῖλετο αὐτὸν ὃν δὴ ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν εἰώθει, ἔκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργάρων πεποιημένον. ἀξίωμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Πέρσαις μέγα μετά γε τὴν
28 βασιλέως τιμήν ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε δακτυλίῳ χρυσῷ οὔτε ζώνῃ οὔτε περόνῃ χρῆσθαι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν θέμις, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἀξιωθέντι.
29 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Καβάδης ἐν βουλῇ εἶχεν ὅντινα τρόπον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύοι. Μιρράνου γὰρ σφαλέντος οὕτως ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
30 οὐδενὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν εἶχε. καί οἱ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀπο-ρουμένῳ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασι-λεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν "Οὐ πάντα, ὦ δέσποτα,

[1] τοῦ Ὀσρόου Haury · τε ὀσρόου VP, τ'ερόου G.

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

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

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

[1] Ch. xiv. 28–54

χρεών ἐστι πιστεύειν τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους οἴεσθαι δεῖν κατορθοῦν ἅπαντας. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοῦτό γε οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπειον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀξύμφορος αὕτη μάλιστα τοῖς αὐτῇ ἐχομένοις ἡ ἔννοιά
31 ἐστι. τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἐλπίσαντας τἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι σφαλέντας ποτέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἡ ἐλπὶς οὐ δέον ἡγησαμένη τοῦ προσήκοντος μᾶλ-
32 λον ἠνίασε. διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἄνθρωποι οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται, κἂν τῷ παντὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπεραίρειν αὐχῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπάτῃ τε καὶ μηχαναῖς τισι περιελθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν.
33 οἷς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ τὰ τῆς νίκης χωρεῖ. νῦν οὖν μήτε οἷς Μιρράνης ἠτύχησεν οὕτω περιώδυνος, ὦ βασιλέων βασιλεῦ, γίνου, μήτε αὖθις ἀποπειράσασθαι βού-
34 λου τῆς τύχης. Μεσοποταμίας γὰρ καὶ τῆς Ὀσροηνῆς καλουμένης χώρας, ἅτε τῶν σῶν ὁρίων ἄγχιστα οὔσης, αἵ τε πόλεις ὀχυρώταταί εἰσι πασῶν μάλιστα καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οἷον οὐ πώποτε πρότερον τανῦν ἔχουσιν, ὥστε ἡμῖν αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀγωνίας γενήσεται, ἐν μέντοι τῇ χώρᾳ, ἣ ἑκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τυγχάνει οὖσα, καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἐχομένῃ Συρίᾳ οὔτε πόλεως ὀχύρωμα οὔτε στράτευμα
35 λόγου ἄξιόν ἐστι. ταῦτα γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἐς ταύτας ἐσταλμένων Σαρακηνῶν
36 ἤκουσα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἶναί φασι, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ πρώτην πόλεων ἁπασῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑῴοις Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν· ἡ δὴ ἀφύλακτός τε καὶ στρα-
37 τιωτῶν ἔρημός ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς τῷ

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

ταύτης δήμῳ ὅτι μὴ πανηγύρεών τε καὶ τρυφῆς μέλει καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτροις ἀεὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
38 φιλονεικίας. ὥστε ἢν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωμεν, τήν τε πόλιν αἱρήσειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς καὶ μηδενὶ ἐντυχόντας πολεμίων στρατῷ εἶτα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη, οὕπω πεπυσμένων τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῶν ἐν Μεσο-
39 ποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν. ὕδατος δὲ ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίας πέρι μηδέν σε εἰσίτω· ἐγὼ γὰρ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσομαι ὅπη ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι."

40 Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Καβάδης οὔτε ἀντιτείνειν οὔτε ἀπιστεῖν εἶχεν. ἦν γὰρ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ξυνετώτατός τε καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας εὖ ἥκων, Πέρσαις τε πιστὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον ἐς γόνυ ἐλθεῖν τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐποίησε πράγ-
41 ματα. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ληιζόμενος τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, ἠγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, καίων τε τὰς ἐν ποσὶν οἰκοδομίας καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ πολλὰς ἀεὶ μυριάδας ἀνδραποδίζων, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀποκτείνων οὐδενὶ[1] λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων
42 μεγάλων. ἀπήντα δέ οἱ τῶν πάντων οὐδείς. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐξαπιναίως τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείως, ὥστε ὁ μὲν ἤδη ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ξὺν τῇ λείᾳ πάσῃ ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί τε καὶ στρατιῶται πυνθάνεσθαί τε τὰ ξυμπεσόντα καὶ
43 ἀγείρεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤρχοντο. ἦν δέ που αὐτὸν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τύχῃ τινὶ ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀπαρα-

[1] οὐδενὶ VG · ἑνὶ P.

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

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

σκεύοις τε οὖσι καὶ οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις ἐπιπεσὼν τοῖς διώκουσιν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἔτρεπέ τε καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καί ποτε τοὺς διώκοντας στρατιώτας ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐζώγρησεν ἅπαν-
44 τας Τιμόστρατος δὲ ἦν ὁ Ῥουφίνου ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Λουκᾶ παῖς, οὓς δὴ ἀπέδοτο ὕστερον, πλοῦτον αὐτῶν οὐ φαῦλον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα
45 περιβαλλόμενος. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν χαλεπώτατός τε καὶ δεινότατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ γέγονε Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος πάντων μάλιστα. αἴτιον δὲ ἦν ὅτι Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν βασιλέως ἀξίωμα ἔχων ἁπάντων μόνος τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχε, παντί τε τῷ στρατῷ οἷός τε ἦν ἀεὶ τὴν ἔφοδον ποιεῖσθαι ὅπη βούλοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς·
46 οὐδεὶς δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, οὓς δοῦκας καλοῦσιν, οὔτε Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδων ἡγούμενος, οἳ φύλαρχοι ἐπικαλοῦνται, ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανῶς εἶχεν· ἐν χώρᾳ γὰρ ἑκάστῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις
47 οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐτετάχατο. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς φυλαῖς ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέθαν τὸν Γαβαλᾶ παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, ὃς τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίοις Σαρακηνῶν ἦρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως αὐτῷ περιθέμενος, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἔν γε Ῥωμαίοις
48 γεγονὸς πώποτε. Ἀλαμούνδαρος μέντοι οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔφθειρεν, Ἀρέθα ἐν πάσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ ἀγωνίᾳ ἢ ἀτυχοῦντος ὡς μάλιστα ἢ καταπροδιδόντος ὡς τάχιστα. οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἴσμεν ταύτῃ τε ξυνέβη Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐπὶ μήκιστον τὴν ἐφάαν ληίζεσθαι πᾶσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μακροβιώτατος ἀτεχνῶς γέγονε.

pursuers while still unprepared and not in battle array, and would rout and destroy them with no trouble, and on one occasion he made prisoners of all the soldiers who were pursuing him together with their officers. These officers were Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John, the son of Lucas, whom he gave up indeed later, thereby gaining for himself no mean or trivial wealth And, in a word, this man proved himself the most difficult and dangerous enemy of all to the Romans The reason was this, that Alamoundaras, holding the position of king, ruled alone over all the Saracens in Persia, and he was always able to make his inroad with the whole army wherever he wished in the Roman domain, and neither any commander of Roman troops, whom they call "duces," nor any leader of the Saracens allied with the Romans, who are called "phylarchs," was strong enough with his men to array himself against Alamoundaras; for the troops stationed in the different districts were not a match in battle for the enemy For this reason the Emperor 531 A
Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans had never before been done However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him In this way it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time, for he lived to a very advanced age

XVIII

1 Τούτου οὖν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἡσθεὶς Καβάδης ἄνδρας πεντακισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἀπολεξάμενος Ἀζαρέθην αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα Πέρσην ἐπέστησε διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ σφίσιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον τῆς πορείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι
2 ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, γῆν τε πορευθέντες τινὰ ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ἄφνω ἐς τῶν Κομμαγηνῶν καλουμένων
3 τὴν χώραν παρὰ δόξαν ἐσέβαλλον. αὕτη τε πρώτη ἐνθένδε Περσῶν ἐσβολὴ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς ἀκοῇ ἢ τρόπῳ τῳ ἄλλῳ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ
4 κατέπληξεν. ἃ δὴ ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος ἔμαθε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διηπορεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἔγνω. φυλακήν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν πόλει ἑκάστῃ καταστησάμενος, ὅπως μὴ Καβάδης τε καὶ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν εὑρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας χωρία, αὐτὸς τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαζεν, Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες σπουδῇ
5 πολλῇ πρόσω ἐχώρουν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς δισμυρίους μάλιστα πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππέας ξυνῄει, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἴσαυροι οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ
6 δισχίλιοι ἦσαν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἱππέων μὲν ἅπαντες ἦσαν οἳ τὰ πρότερα τὴν ἐν Δάρας μάχην πρός τε Πέρσας καὶ Μιρράνην διήνεγκαν, πεζῶν δὲ τῶν τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως, Πέτρος
7 ὄνομα. τοῖς μέντοι Ἰσαύροις Λογγῖνός τε καὶ Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀρέ-

XVIII

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

θας αὐτοῖς ξὺν τῷ Σαρακηνῶν στρατεύματι ἦλθεν.
8 ἐπεί τε ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
9 ἐν χωρίῳ Γαββουλῶν εἶναι ἐπύθοντο, δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις Χαλκίδος διέχοντι. ὃ δὴ γνόντες Ἀλαμούνδαρός τε καὶ Ἀζαρέθης τόν τε κίνδυνον κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἐχώρουν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' οἴκου αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. αὐτοί τε γοῦν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνον καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς
10 ὄπισθεν εἵπετο. ἔν τε τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς νύκτα ἑκάστην ηὐλίζοντο, ἀεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ
11 ἐπιγινομένῃ νυκτὶ ἔμενον. Βελισάριος γὰρ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁδόν τινα πλείω πορεύεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα οὐδαμῇ εἴα, ἐπεί οἱ οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποχρῆν ᾤετο σφίσι Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας, εἶτα ἐνθένδε οὕτω δὴ ἀποκεχω-
12 ρηκότας, ἀπράκτους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζεσθαι. διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτῷ λάθρα ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, ἐκάκιζε μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐς ὄψιν οὐδείς.

13 Τελευτῶντες δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἠιόνι ηὐλίσαντο ἡ δὲ πόλεως Καλλινίκου ἀντιπέρας ἐστίν. ἐνθένδε γὰρ διὰ χώρας πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον, οὕτω τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
14 οὐ γὰρ ἔτι διενοοῦντο ἰέναι ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθης ἐχόμενοι. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ διανυκτερεύσαντες ἐν πόλει Σούρων ἐνθένδε τε ἐξαναστάντες, καταλαμβάνουσι συσκευαζομένους ἤδη
15 ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. ἑορτὴ δὲ ἡ Πασ-

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

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

χαλία ἐπέκειτο ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιγενησομένῃ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἣν δὴ σέβονται Χριστιανοὶ πασῶν μάλιστα, ἡμέρᾳ τε τῇ ταύτης προτέρᾳ σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἀπεχόμενοι οὐ διημερεύειν νενομίκασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ
16 καὶ πόρρω που νήστεις τῶν νυκτῶν ἰέναι. τότε οὖν ἅπαντας Βελισάριος ὀργῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁρῶν, ταύτης τε ἀποστῆσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων (ταῦτα γάρ οἱ καὶ Ἑρμογένης ἐγίνωσκεν ἄρτι ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ βασιλέως ἥκων) τοὺς παραγενομένους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε
17 "Ποῖ φέρεσθε, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, ἢ τί πεπονθότες κίνδυνον αἱρεῖσθαι ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθε; μίαν εἶναι νίκην ἀκίβδηλον οἴονται ἄνθρωποι τὸ μηδὲν δεινὸν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν, ὅπερ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι δέδωκεν ἥ τε
18 τύχη καὶ ἡμῶν τὸ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δέος. οὐκοῦν [ἢ] ἀπόνασθαι τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἄμεινον ἢ παρελθόντα ταῦτα ζητεῖν. Πέρσαι γὰρ πολλαῖς μὲν ἐλπίσιν ἠγμένοι ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν, πάντων δὲ τανῦν ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηνται.
19 ὥστε ἢν οὐχ ἑκόντας αὐτοὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι μὲν τῆς ἐς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν γνώμης, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ ἰέναι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάσωμεν, νενικηκότες μὲν πλέον
20 τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἕξομεν. τί γὰρ ἄν τις τόν γε φεύγοντα τρέποι; σφαλέντες δὲ ἴσως τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης στερησόμεθα νίκης, οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφαιρεθέντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ταύτην προέμενοι, καὶ τῇ βασιλέως γῇ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκκεῖσθαι τῶν

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

21 ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς τὸ λοιπὸν δώσομεν. καίτοι καὶ
τοῦτο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὡς τῶν ἀναγκαίων,
οὐ τῶν αὐθαιρέτων κινδύνων ξυναίρεσθαι ὁ θεὸς
22 ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς
μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἂν ὅπη τραπεῖεν ἀνδραγαθίζε-
σθαι οὐχ ἑκουσίοις ξυμβήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ
ἐναντιώματα ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τετύχηκεν εἶναι·
23 πεζῇ τε γὰρ βαδίζοντες πολλοὶ ἥκουσι καὶ
νήστεις ἅπαντες τυγχάνομεν ὄντες. ἀφίημι γὰρ
λέγειν ὥς τινες οὔπω καὶ νῦν πάρεισι." Βελισά-
ριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν.

24 Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς ἐς αὐτὸν ὕβριζον[1] οὐ σιγῇ τινι
οὐδὲ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ ἐς ὄψιν ξὺν
κραυγῇ ἥκοντες μαλθακόν τε καὶ τῆς προθυμίας
διαλυτὴν ἐκάλουν, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὲς
ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἡμάρτανον, ταύτῃ τὸ εὔτολ-
25 μον ἐνδεικνύμενοι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναισχύντῳ
καταπλαγεὶς Βελισάριος ἀντιστρέψας τὴν παραί-
νεσιν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἤδη ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐφῆκει καὶ διατάσσοντι ἐς παράταξιν, ἔφασκέ τε
ὡς οὐκ εἰδείη μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι προ-
θυμίαν τὰ πρότερα, νῦν δὲ θαρσεῖν τε καὶ ξὺν
ἐλπίδι τῇ ἀμείνονι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι.
26 καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα μετωπηδὸν ποιησάμενος διέ-
ταξεν ὧδε. ἐς κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν πρὸς τῷ
ποταμῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἔστησεν, ἐς δὲ τὸ
δεξιόν, ᾗ δὴ ὁ χῶρος ἀνάντης ἦν, Ἀρέθαν τε καὶ
τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν
τοῖς ἱππεῦσι κατὰ μέσον εἱστήκει. οὕτω μὲν
27 Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτάξαντο. Ἀζαρέθης δὲ ἐπεὶ ξυνιόντας
ἐς παράταξιν τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε, τοιάδε παρε-

[1] ὕβριζον Suidas · ὑβρίζων MSS.

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

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

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

[1] ἀνταλλάξασθαι VG ἀνταλλάξεσθαι P.
[2] ἦν Haury : ἧει MSS.

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

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

θακῶν τε καὶ οὐ λίαν ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα θώρακι ἴσως ἢ κράνει ἢ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἐντυχόντα Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἀπεκαυλίζετό τε καὶ λυπεῖν τὸν
34 προσπίπτοντα οὐδαμῆ εἶχε. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὰ [τε] τοξεύματα βραδύτερα μὲν ἐς ἀεί ἐστιν, ἅτε δὲ ἐκ τόξων σκληρῶν τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ δεινῶς ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα, προσθείη δὲ ἄν τις καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ Πέρσαι οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν εὐπετῶς σίνονται, ὅπλου
35 οὐδενὸς ἐμποδὼν αὐτῶν γινομένου τῇ ῥύμῃ ἤδη μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας αἱ δύο παρῳχήκεσαν μοῖραι, καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι ἀγχώμαλος ἦν. τότε δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες ὅσοι δὴ ἄριστοι ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ἐσήλαυνον ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, οὗ δὴ Ἀρέθας τε καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἐτετά-
36 χατο. οἱ δὲ οὕτω τὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες δίχα ἐγένοντο, ὥστε καὶ δόξαν ἀπήνεγκαν ὅτι δὴ Πέρσαις τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προὔδοσαν. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑποστάντες αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν
37 ἅπαντες ὥρμηντο. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι διαρρήξαντες οὕτω τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, κατὰ νώτου εὐθὺς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου ἐγένοντο. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κεκμηκότες ἤδη τῇ τε ὁδῷ καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς μάχης νήστεις τε ἅπαντες ἐς τόδε τῆς ἡμέρας ὄντες, καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἑκατέρωθεν ἐνοχλούμενοι, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φεύγοντες ἀνὰ κράτος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νήσους ἄγχιστά που οὔσας ἐχώρησαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἔργα θαυμαστά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξια τοὺς
38 πολεμίους εἰργάσαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσκὰν ἦν, ὃς δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων, κρεουργηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μόλις ἔπεσε, λόγον

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

αὐτοῦ πολὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπολιπών. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄλλοι ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, οἵ τε Ἴσαυροι ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἀνταί-
39 ρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις τολμήσαντες. ἀπειρίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου πολλῇ εἴχοντο, ἐπεὶ ἄρτι τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστη-
40 σαν, ἀγνῶτα σφίσι τὰ πρότερα ὄντα. καίτοι μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοὶ ἔναγχος ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀγνοίᾳ πολέμου ὀργῶντες Βελισαρίῳ τότε τὴν δειλίαν ὠνείδιζον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Ἴσαυροι ἅπαντες, ἀλλὰ Λυκάονες οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν.

41 Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα μείνας, τέως μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀσκὰν ἀντέχοντας ἐώρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἠμύ-
42 νατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ὅπη ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις φυγῶν ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τὴν φάλαγγα ἦλθεν, οἳ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔτι ἐμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτυχον φυγόντες οἱ πλεῖ-
43 στοι. ἔνθα δὴ αὐτός τε τὸν ἵππον ἀφῆκε καὶ πάντας αὐτὸ δρᾶν τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐκέλευε, πεζούς τε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι.
44 Περσῶν δὲ ὅσοι τοῖς φεύγουσιν εἵποντο, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπανῆκον, ἔς τε τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὥρμηντο. οἱ δὲ τὰ νῶτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τρέψαντες, ὅπως μή τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κύκλωσις γένοιτο, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς

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

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

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

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

ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου καθῆσθαι, κοφίνους δέ οἱ πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθά πη εἶναι, καὶ παρεῖναι μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὃς δὴ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξός ἐστι, παριέναι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο ἐς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ὄψιν κατ' ἄνδρα ἕνα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον βέλος ἓν ἐς τὰς ταρπὰς ῥιπτεῖν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὰς μὲν τῇ βασιλέως σφραγῖδι κατασεσημασμένας φυλάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Πέρσας ἐπανίοι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστον ἐκ τῶν
53 ἀρρίχων ἓν ἀναιρεῖσθαι[1] βέλος ἀριθμοῦντες οὖν τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἀνῄρηται, οἷς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη, ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκ ἐπανηκόντων στρατιωτῶν, ταύτῃ τε ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτή-
54 κασιν ἔνδηλοι γίνονται οὕτω μὲν οὖν Πέρσαις ὁ νόμος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἐς ὄψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦλθεν, ἀνεπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ ὁ Καβάδης εἴ τι χωρίον παραστησάμενος Ῥωμαικὸν ἥκοι, ἐπεὶ ξὺν τῷ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ὡς Ἀντιόχειαν καταστρεψόμενος ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀζαρέθης χωρίον μὲν ἑλεῖν οὐδὲν ἔφασκε, Ῥωμαίους δὲ καὶ Βελισάριον μάχῃ
55 νενικηκέναι. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν παριέναι τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ἐκέλευε στράτευμα, ἔκ τε τῶν ταρπῶν βέλος ἕκαστος ἀνῃρεῖτο ᾗπερ εἰώθει.
56 πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων βελῶν ὠνείδιζέ τε τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις τὸ λοιπὸν εἶχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα τῷ Ἀζαρέθῃ.

[1] ἀναιρεῖσθαι Christ. ἀφαιρεῖσθαι MSS

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

XIX

1 Ἔννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ὁμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν πονηρῷ ἑταιρίσασθαι. ὅπη δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἵδε ᾤκηνται καὶ καθ' ὅ τι αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίοις ξυνοίσειν
2 βασιλεὺς ἤλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὅρια πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν
3 Ἐρυθρὰν καλουμένην διήκει. αὕτη δὲ ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλις Αἰλὰς καλουμένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτης ἠιόνι ἐστίν, ἔνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐς ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐσπλέοντι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὄρη τὰ Αἰγυπτίων πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ χώρα ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἥ τε γῆ αὕτη τῷ ἐσπλέοντι ἑκατέρωθεν ὁρατὴ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς
4 τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλουμένην νῆσον, Αἰλᾶ πόλεως σταδίους οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ χιλίους διέχουσαν. ἔνθα
5 Ἑβραῖοι αὐτόνομοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκηντο, ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος κατήκοοι Ῥωμαίων γεγένηνται. πέλαγος δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γῆν μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτῃ ἐσπλέοντες οὐκέτι ὁρῶσιν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐώνυμον
6 νυκτὸς ἀεὶ ἐπιγινομένης ὁρμίζονται. ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βράχους αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
7 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ὅρμοι δέ εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὐ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων

XIX

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

πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστιν ὅπη παρατύχοι ὁρμίζεσθαι.

Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἠιόνα εὐθὺς μὲν ὄρους τοὺς
8 Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχουσιν, οἳ
9 ἐν τῷ φοινικῶνι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται. ἔστι δὲ ὁ φοινικὼν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν κατατείνων πολλήν, ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ
10 φοίνικες φύονται μόνοι. τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῶνι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατε-
11 στήσατο. ἀδῄωτόν τε τὴν χώραν διεφύλαξε τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἀρχομένοις βαρβάροις καὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερός τε ἀεὶ Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ διαφερόντως δρα-
12 στήριος. τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τὸν φοινικῶνα βασιλεὺς ἔχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων οὐδ'
13 ὁπωστιοῦν δυνατά ἐστι. γῆ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων παντελῶς ἔρημος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἄνυδρος ἐν μέσῳ οὖσα ἐς δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διήκει, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγου ὁτουοῦν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικὼν οὐδαμῇ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὄνομα δώρου ὅ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἔδωκε μόνον καὶ βασιλεὺς εὖ εἰδὼς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ
14 φοινικῶνι ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἐχόμενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν, οἳ δὴ Μαδδηνοὶ καλοῦνται, Ὁμηριτῶν κατήκοοι
15 ὄντες. οἱ δὲ Ὁμηρῖται οὗτοι ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα ᾤκηνται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἠιόνι ὑπέρ τε αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρω-
16 ποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἱδρῦσθαί φασι. μεθ' οὓς δὴ τὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐστιν. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν πέρι λεγέτω ἕκαστος ὥς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἐστίν.

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

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

[1] The coast described here is that of Arabia.

17 Ὁμηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντι-
πέρας ἠπείρῳ Αἰθίοπες οἰκοῦσιν, οἳ Αὐξωμῖται
ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασίλεια ἐστιν
18 ἐν πόλει Αὐξώμιδι. καὶ θάλασσα ἡ ἐν μέσῳ
ἐστὶν ἀνέμου μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος ἐς
πέντε ἡμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουν διήκει.
19 ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νενομίκασιν,
ἐπεὶ βράχος ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμῇ ἐστιν· αὕτη πρὸς
ἑνίων ἡ θάλασσα Ἐρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ
ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλέοντι ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἠιόνα καὶ
20 Αἰλὰν πόλιν Ἀραβικὸς ὠνόμασται κόλπος. χώρα
γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὁρίων
Ἀραβία τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ
βασίλεια ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις τῇ
21 πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν
τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν ὅρμος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν
22 ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλεῖν Βουλικὰς ὀνομάζεται. δια-
πλεύσαντες δὲ ἀεὶ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν
ἐς τῶν Ἀδουλιτῶν τὸν λιμένα. Ἄδουλις δὲ ἡ
πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ εἴκοσι σταδίων
διέχει (τοσούτῳ γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσ-
σιος εἶναι), πόλεως δὲ Αὐξώμιδος ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν
δώδεκα.

23 Πλοῖα μέντοι ὅσα ἔν τε Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
θαλάσσῃ ἐστὶν οὐ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ὥπερ αἱ ἄλλαι
νῆες πεποίηνται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσσῃ οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ
ὀτῳοῦν χρίονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερὲς
ἰόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ σανίδες ξυμπεπήγασιν, ἀλλὰ
24 βρόχοις τισὶ ξυνδέδενται. αἴτιον δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ
οἱ πολλοὶ οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὖσαι
καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἕλκουσαι (τεκμήριον
δέ· ταῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Αἰλᾶ πλεούσαις

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

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

ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἡρμοσμέναις, οὔποτε τοιοῦτον ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα
25 ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδοὶ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὠνεῖσθαι τούτων τι οἱοί τέ
26 εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἅπασι διαρρήδην ἀπειρημένον. θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἁλόντι ἡ ζημία ἐστί. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσσῃ καὶ χώρᾳ ἣ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερά ἐστι ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
27 Ἐκ δὲ Αὐξώμιδος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ὅρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὗ δὴ πόλις ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη καλουμένη οἰκεῖται, τριάκοντα ὁδὸς ἡμε-
28 ρῶν ἐστιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἵδρυται καὶ Βλέμυές τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ᾤκηνται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἑπτὰ ἑτέρων
29 ἐπίπροσθεν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν· ἡνίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλητιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ὁ φόρος λόγου ἄξιος ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, ἐπεὶ στενὴν μάλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι (πέτραι γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ὑψηλαὶ λίαν ἀνέχουσαι τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι), στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυτο, ὥνπερ ταῖς δαπάναις ὑπερφυῶς ἄχθεσθαι συνέβαινε τὸ δημόσιον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὄασιν ᾠκημένοι τὰ πρότερα ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα ἐς ἀεὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστῆναι μὲν ἐξ

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

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

[1] Rather the "Arabian Gulf."

ἠθῶν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἱδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσί τε μεγάλαις καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμείνονι ἥσπερ τὰ πρότερα ᾤκηντο. οὕτω γὰρ ᾤετο αὐτούς τε οὐκέτι τά γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὄασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἅτε οἰκείας οὔσης, ἀποκρούσεσθαι[1] Βλέμυάς τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους. ἐπεί τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, τήν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίηντο ἧπερ ὁ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τάς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ξύμπασαν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως ἔσχον. τότε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμυσιν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ' ᾧ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων λῃσωνται. ὅπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδέν τι ἧσσον καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἅπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανὴ διασώσασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν ὅτι μὴ δέει τῶν ἀμυνομένων στρατιωτῶν. καίτοι καὶ νῆσόν τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νείλῳ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὑρὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτῃ δειμάμενος ὀχυρώτατον, κοινούς τινας ἐνταῦθα νεώς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ τούτοις δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἱερεῖς ἑκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἱδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν σφίσιν οἰόμενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἵ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τούς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὕσπερ

[1] ἀποκρούσεσθαι Braun ἀποκρούεσθαι MSS.

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

Ἕλληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τήν τε Ἶσιν τόν τε Ὄσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστά γε τὸν Πρία-
36 πον. οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς
37 αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω. Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἄτε ηὐτομολη-κότος ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐμνήσθην, τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρα-τιωτῶν ἄρχων τά τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

XX

1 Ὑπὸ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε Ἑλλη-σθεαῖος ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεύς, Χριστιανός τε ὢν καὶ δόξης τῆσδε ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελούμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὁμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ ἔγνω πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὄντας, πολλοὺς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἣν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἑλληνικὴν οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι, ἐπιβουλῇ μέτρον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Χριστιανοὺς χρῆσθαι, στόλον τε νηῶν καὶ στράτευμα ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τόν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄλλον τε αὐτόθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστησάμενος, Ὁμηρίτην μὲν γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Ἐσιμιφαῖον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξας Αἰθίοψι φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ' οἴκου
2 ἀνεχώρησε. τούτου τοῦ Αἰθιόπων στρατοῦ δοῦλοί τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν

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

XX

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

[1] Cf. ch. xv 31

εἶχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ ἔπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενοι ἔμενον ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς Ὁμηριτῶν χώρας ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστιν.

3 Οὗτος ὁ λεὼς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν Ἐσιμιφαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτὸν μὲν ἔν τινι τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων καθεῖρξαν, ἕτερον δὲ Ὁμηρίταις βασιλέα κατε-
4 στήσαντο, Ἄβραμον ὄνομα. ὁ δὲ Ἄβραμος οὗτος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δοῦλος δὲ Ῥωμαίου ἀνδρὸς ἐν πόλει Αἰθιόπων Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασ-
5 σαν ἐργασίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχοντος. ἃ δὴ Ἑλλησθεαῖος μαθὼν τίσασθαί τε Ἄβραμον ὁμοῦ τοῖς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστᾶσι τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμιφαῖον ἀδικίας ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων, στράτευμά τε τρισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα τῶν τινα ξυγγενῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ
6 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. οὗτος ὁ στρατὸς οὐκέτι ἐθέλοντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἐπανιέναι ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῷ Ἀβράμῳ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἔς τε ξυμβολὴν καταστάντες τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ τε τῶν πολεμίων
7 στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαῖος ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἳ δὴ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολύ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ' οἴκου εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. δείσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς
8 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄβραμον οὐκέτι ἐστράτευσεν. Ἑλλησθεαίου δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Ἄβραμος ὡμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν Αἰθιόπων βασιλείαν παραλαβόντι, οὕτω τε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκρατύνατο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο

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

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

9 Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς [ὁ] βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοψι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἐσιμιφαίου δὲ ἐν Ὁμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουλιανὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἄμφω Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὁμόγνωμον Πέρσαις πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθίοπες μὲν ὠνούμενοί τε τὴν μέταξαν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοί τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένωνται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθήσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεγκεῖν (αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ μέταξα ἐξ ἧς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, ταυῦν δὲ σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν), Ὁμηρῖται δὲ ὅπως Καισὸν τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδδηνοῖς καταστήσωνται καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὁμηριτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν
10 Περσῶν γῆν. (ὁ δὲ Καισὸς οὗτος γένους μὲν ἦν τοῦ φυλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δέ τινα Ἐσιμιφαίου ξυγγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν ἔφευγεν ἡ δὴ ἔρημος ἀνθρώπων
11 παντάπασίν ἐστιν.) ἑκάτερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἴτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτοῖν τὰ ὡμολογη-
12 μένα οὐδέτερος. τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοψι τὴν μέταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀεὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἔμποροι πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅρμοις γινόμενοι οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα αἱ τῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆες καταίρουσιν, ἅτε χώραν προσοικοῦντες τὴν ὅμορον, ἅπαντα ὠνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὁμηρίταις χαλεπὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι χώραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημόν

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

[1] In Latin *serica*, as coming from the Chinese (Seres)

τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὁδὸν κατατείνουσαν ἐπ'
13 ἀνθρώπους πολλῷ μαχιμωτέρους ἰέναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ
Ἄβραμος ὕστερον, ὅτε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀσφαλέ-
στατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ
βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐσβάλ-
λειν, ἅπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὀπίσω
εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ
Ὁμηριτῶν ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρησεν.

XXI

1 Ἑρμογένης δὲ τότε, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ πρὸς
τῷ Εὐφράτῃ μάχη ἐγένετο, παρὰ Καβάδην ἐπὶ
πρεσβείᾳ ἦκων, ἐπέραινεν οὐδὲν τῆς εἰρήνης
πέρι ἧς ἕνεκα ἦλθεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν οἰδαίνοντα ἔτι
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὗρε· διὸ δὴ ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε.
2 καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετά-
πεμπτος ἦλθε περιῃρημένος ἣν εἶχεν ἀρχήν, ἐφ'
3 ᾧ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους στρατεύσειε. Σίττας δέ, Ἰου-
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδογμένον, ὡς φυλάξων
4 τὴν ἑῴαν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ Πέρσαι αὖθις
στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν, Χαναράγγου
τε καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου καὶ Μερμερόου ἡγουμένων
5 σφίσιν, ἐσέβαλον. ἐπεί τε αὐτοῖς ἐτόλμα οὐδεὶς
ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, Μαρτυρόπολιν ἐγκαθεζόμενοι
ἐπολιόρκουν, οὗ δὴ Βούζης τε καὶ Βέσσας τεταγ-
6 μένοι ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἔτυχον. αὕτη δὲ κεῖται
μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ χώρᾳ, πόλεως
Ἀμίδης τεσσαράκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις
διέχουσα πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον· πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ

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

XXI

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

Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστιν, ὃς τήν τε Ῥωμαίων
7 γῆν καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι τῷ
περιβόλῳ προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι
κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείως ὑφίσταντο, οὐ
8 διὰ πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνθέξειν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. ὅ τε γὰρ
περίβολος ἐπιμαχώτατος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
καὶ πολιορκίᾳ Περσῶν ῥᾷστα ἁλώσιμος, αὐτοί
τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐ διαρκῶς εἶχον, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
μηχανὰς οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἀξιόχρεων καθ' ὅ τι ἀμύ-
9 νονται. Σίττας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς
χωρίον μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἦλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως
ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχον, ἐς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ
ἐπόλμων ἰέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι
10 ἔμενον. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὖθις
ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἥκων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
τοιόνδε τι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.
11 Κατασκόπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔν τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ
Πέρσαις δημοσίᾳ σιτίζεσθαι νόμος, οἳ δὴ λάθρα
ἰέναι παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰώθασιν ὅπως περι-
σκοπήσαντες ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὰ πρασσόμενα
12 εἶτα ἐπανιόντες τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐσαγγείλωσι. τού-
των πολλοὶ μὲν εὐνοίᾳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, χρῆσθαι ἐς
τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
13 τοῖς ἐναντίοις προίενται τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τότε
οὖν ἐκ Περσῶν κατάσκοπός τις ἐς Ῥωμαίους
σταλεὶς ἐς ὄψιν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἦκων,
ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐξεῖπεν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πρασ-
σόμενα καὶ ὡς γένος Μασσαγετῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥω-
μαίων πονηρῷ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν
ἤθη ἐξίασιν, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν

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

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

ἰόντες τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἕτοιμοί εἰσιν ἀναμί-
14 γνυσθαι· ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, πεῖράν τε ἤδη
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀληθείας πέρι ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχων,
χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἀδροῖς τισι χαρισάμενος πείθει
ἔς τε τὸ Περσῶν στρατόπεδον ἰέναι ὃ δὴ Μαρτυρο-
πολίτας ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις
ἀγγεῖλαι ὅτι δὴ οἱ Μασσαγέται οὗτοι χρήμασιν
ἀναπεισθέντες τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ μέλλουσιν
15 ὅσον οὔπω ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥξειν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα
ἐποίει, ἔς τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον ἀφικό-
μενος τῷ τε Χαναράγγῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπήγ-
γελλε στράτευμα Οὔννων πολεμίων σφίσιν οὐκ ἐς
16 μακρὰν ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίξεσθαι. οἱ δὲ
ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν, κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐπὶ
τοῖς παροῦσι διηποροῦντο.

17 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνέβη πονήρως τῷ Καβάδῃ
νοσῆσαι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ Περσῶν ἕνα τῶν[1] οἱ ἐν
τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδειοτάτων[2] καλέσας, Μεβόδην
ὄνομα, ἐκοινολογεῖτο ἀμφί τε τῷ Χοσρόῃ καὶ τῇ
βασιλείᾳ, δεδιέναι τε Πέρσας ἔφασκε μή τι τῶν
αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἀλογῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔξου-
18 σιν. ὁ δέ οἱ τῆς γνώμης τὴν δήλωσιν ἐν γράμ-
μασιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἠξίου, θαρσοῦντα ὡς οὐ μή ποτε
19 αὐτὴν ὑπεριδεῖν τολμήσωσι Πέρσαι. Καβάδης
μὲν οὖν ἄντικρυς διετίθετο βασιλέα Χοσρόην
Πέρσαις καθίστασθαι. τὸ δὲ γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης
αὐτὸς ἔγραφε, καὶ ὁ Καβάδης αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώ-
20 πων ἠφάνιστο. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ νόμιμα πάντα ἐπὶ
τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ταφῇ ἐγεγόνει, ὁ μὲν Καόσης

[1] *τῶν* Haury · *τὸν* MSS
[2] *ἐπιτηδειοτάτων* Haury . *ἐπιτηδειότατον* MSS.

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

At this juncture it came about that Cabades became seriously ill, and he called to him one of the Persians who were in closest intimacy with him, Mebodes by name, and conversed with him concerning Chosroes and the kingdom, and said he feared the Persians would make a serious attempt to disregard some of the things which had been decided upon by him But Mebodes asked him to leave the declaration of his purpose in writing, and bade him be confident that the Persians would never dare to disregard it So Cabades set it down plainly that Chosroes should become king over the Persians The document was written by Mebodes himself, and Cabades immediately passed from among men. And Sept 13, when everything had been performed as prescribed by law in the burial of the king, then Caoses,

τῷ νόμῳ θαρσῶν ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ δὲ Μεβόδης ἐκώλυε, φάσκων οὐδένα χρῆναι αὐτόματον ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ ψήφῳ
21 Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων. καὶ ὃς ἐπέτρεπε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γνῶσιν, οὐδὲν
22 ἐνθένδε ἔσεσθαί οἱ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες οἱ Περσῶν λόγιμοι ἐς τοῦτο ἀγηγερμένοι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν γράμμα ὁ Μεβόδης ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν Καβάδου ἀμφὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐδήλου γνώμην, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῆς Καβάδου ἀρετῆς ἅπαντες βασιλέα Πέρσαις αὐτίκα Χοσρόην ἀνεῖπον.
23 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Μαρτυροπόλει Σίττας τε καὶ Ἑρμόγενης ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δειμαίνοντες, ἀμύνειν γὰρ κινδυνευούσῃ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἔπεμψάν τινας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἳ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε
24 "Λελήθατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε τῷ Περσῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἑκατέρᾳ ἐμποδὼν οὐ δέον γινόμενοι. πρέσβεις γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι τανῦν πάρεισιν, ἐφ' ᾧ παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἰόντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται· ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα ἐξανιστάμενοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ξυγχωρεῖτε τοῖς πρέσβεσι πράσσειν ἢ ἑκα-
25 τέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλει. ἕτοιμοι γάρ ἐσμεν ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμήρους διδόναι ἄνδρας δοκίμους, ὡς δὴ ἔργῳ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιτελῆ ἔσται." Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις τοσ-
26 αῦτα εἶπον. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκων, ὃς δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευ-

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

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

τηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελλε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβάδου βασιλέα καταστῆναι Πέρσαις,
27 ταύτῃ τε τὰ πράγματα ᾠῤῥῆσθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν, ἅτε καὶ τὴν Οὔννων ἔφοδον δείσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἕνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα· Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθύωρον τὴν ἀναχώρη-
28 σιν ἐποιήσαντο. οἵ τε Οὖννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ εὗρον, δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες.

XXII

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

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

XXII

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

οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν, καίπερ αὐτὸς τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον δικαιῶν πρὸς Ῥω-
4 μαίων ἀπολαβεῖν. ἕλκει δὲ λίτρας τὸ κεντηνάριον ἑκατόν, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ὠνόμασται. κέντον γὰρ τὰ
5 ἑκατὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τοῦτο δέ οἱ δίδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον ἠξίου, ὡς μήτε πόλιν Δάρας Ῥωμαῖοι καθελεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται μήτε φυλακτηρίου τοῦ ἐν
6 πύλαις Κασπίαις μεταλαχεῖν Πέρσαις. οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπῄνουν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐνδιδόναι οὐκ ἔφασκον οἱοί τε εἶναι, ἢν μὴ βασι-
7 λέως ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς πύθωνται πρότερον. ἔδοξε τοίνυν Ῥουφῖνον μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἕως αὐτὸς ἐπανίῃ, μένειν. καὶ χρόνος ἡμερῶν ἑβδομήκοντα Ῥουφίνῳ
8 ξυνέκειτο ἐς τὴν ἄφιξιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος βασιλεῖ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅσα Χοσρόῃ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ δοκοῦντα εἴη, ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα σφίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνίστασθαι.

9 Ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ φήμη τις οὐκ ἀληθὴς ἥκουσα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἤγγελλεν ὀργισθέντα Ῥουφῖνον κτεῖναι. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθείς τε καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἥδη ἐχόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ᾔει. Ῥουφῖνος δέ οἱ μεταξὺ ἐπανήκων ἐνέτυχε πόλεως Νισίβιδος
10 οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοί τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο καί, ἐπεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιοῦν ἔμελλον, τὰ χρήματα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα ἐκό-
11 μιζον. ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια ξυγκεχωρηκότι μετέμελεν ἤδη, γράμματά

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

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

[1] Cf chap. xvi 7.

τε ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγοντα τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔγραφε
12 μηδαμῶς αὐτὰ προΐεσθαι Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ Χοσρόης
τὰς σπονδὰς θέσθαι οὐκέτι ἠξίου, καὶ τότε Ῥου-
φίνῳ ἔννοιά τις ἐγένετο ὡς ταχύτερα ἢ ἀσφαλέ-
στερα βουλευσάμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσῶν τὰ
13 χρήματα ἐσκομίσειεν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος
καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, κείμενός τε πρηνὴς Χοσρόην
ἱκέτευε τά τε χρήματα σφίσι ξυμπέμψαι καὶ μὴ
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους εὐθὺς στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐς χρόνον
14 τινὰ ἕτερον τὸν πόλεμον ἀποτίθεσθαι. Χοσρόης
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευεν ἐξανίστασθαι, ἅπαντά
οἱ ταῦτα χαριεῖσθαι ὑποσχόμενος οἵ τε γοῦν
πρέσβεις ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς Δάρας ἦλθον, καὶ
ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε.
15 Καὶ τότε μὲν Ῥουφῖνον οἱ ξυμπρεσβευταὶ δι'
ὑποψίας τε αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσχον καὶ ἐς
βασιλέα διέβαλλον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δή οἱ
ἅπαντα ὁ Χοσρόης ὅσα ἔχρῃζεν αὐτοῦ ἀναπει-
16 σθεὶς ξυνεχώρησεν. ἔδρασε μέντοι αὐτὸν διὰ
ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ
ὕστερον Ῥουφῖνός τε αὐτὸς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὖθις
παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐστέλλοντο, ἔς τε τὰς σπονδὰς
αὐτίκα ἀλλήλοις ξυνέβησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἑκάτεροι ἀπο-
δώσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἀμφότεροι χωρία ἐν τῷδε τῷ
πολέμῳ ἀλλήλους ἀφείλοντο, καὶ μηκέτι στρα-
τιωτῶν τις ἀρχὴ ἐν Δάρας εἴη· τοῖς τε Ἴβηρσιν
ἐδέδοκτο ἐν γνώμῃ εἶναι ἢ μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βυ-
ζαντίῳ, ἢ ἐς σφῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανιέναι. ἦσαν
δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ μένοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπανιόντες ἐς

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

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

17 τὰ πάτρια ἤθη. οὕτω τοίνυν τήν τε ἀπέραντον
καλουμένην εἰρήνην ἐσπείσαντο, ἔκτον ἤδη ἔτος
18 τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔχοντος. καὶ Ῥω-
μαῖοι μὲν τό τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βῶλον τὸ φρούριον
ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι Πέρσαις ἔδοσαν, Πέρσαι δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Λαζικῆς φρούρια.[1] καὶ Δάγαριν δὲ
Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδοσαν Πέρσαι, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον
19 κεκομισμένοι οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. οὗτος ὁ Δάγαρις
χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις Οὔννους ἐς γῆν τὴν
Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας μάχαις νικήσας ἐξήλα-
σεν. ἦν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια.
τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σπονδὰς τρόπῳ τῷ
εἰρημένῳ ἀμφότεροι ἐκρατύναντο.

XXIII

1 Εὐθὺς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἑκατέρῳ ἐπιβουλὴν γενέσθαι
ξυνηνέχθη πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων· ὄντινα μέντοι τρό-
πον αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἄτα-
κτός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων
2 ἐραστὴς ἄτοπος. διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀεὶ ἔμπλεως
ταραχῆς τε καὶ θορύβων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
3 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἰτιώτατος. ἀχθόμενοι οὖν
αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ[2] ὅσοι ἐν Πέρσαις δραστήριοι ἦσαν,
ἕτερον σφίσι βασιλέα καταστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Κα-
4 βάδου οἰκίας ἐν βουλῇ εἶχον. καὶ (ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
πολύς τις πόθος τῆς Ζάμου ἀρχῆς ἣν δὴ ὁ νόμος
αἰτίᾳ τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λώβης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρ-
ρήθη, ἐκώλυε) λογισάμενοι ηὕρισκον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς
ἄμεινον εἶναι Καβάδην μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ

[1] φρούρια GPH · χωρία V. [2] ἀρχῇ VP : ταραχῇ G.

homes Thus, then, they concluded the so-called "endless peace," when the Emperor Justinian was already in the sixth year of his reign And the Romans gave the Persians Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum together with the money, and the Persians gave the Romans the strongholds of Lazica The Persians also returned Dagaris to the Romans, and received in return for him another man of no mean station. This Dagaris in later times often conquered the Huns in battle when they had invaded the land of the Romans, and drove them out; for he was an exceptionally able warrior Thus both sides in the manner described made secure the treaty between them 532 A.D.

XXIII

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

τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμον ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι,[1] Ζάμην δέ, ἅτε τῷ παιδὶ ἐπίτροπον ὄντα, διοικεῖσθαι ὅπη βούλοιτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα. γενόμενοί τε παρὰ τὸν Ζάμην τό τε βούλευμα ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνῆγον. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἡ βουλὴ ἤρεσκεν, ἐς καιρὸν τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐπιθήσεσθαι διενοοῦντο. ἔκπυστος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν βασιλέα γεγενημένη τὰ πρασσόμενα διεκώλυσε. Ζάμην τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ζάμου ἀδελφοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν γόνῳ παντὶ ἄρσενι ἔκτεινε, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν δοκίμων ὅσους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἢ ἄρξαι ἢ μεταλαχεῖν τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τετύχηκεν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσπεβέδης ἦν ὁ τῆς Χοσρόου μητρὸς ἀδελφός.

Καβάδην μέντοι τὸν Ζάμου υἱὸν αὐτὸς μὲν κτείνειν οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν. ἔτι γὰρ ὑπὸ χαναράγγῃ τῷ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδῃ ἐτρέφετο. αὐτῷ δὲ χαναράγγῃ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ὄνπερ ἐθρέψατο ἐπέστελλε διαχρήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστεῖν ἐδικαίου οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἶχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν χαναράγγης, ἐπεὶ τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ἤκουσε, περιαλγήσας τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκοινολογεῖτο τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Καβάδου τίτθῃ ὅσα οἱ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστείλειε. δακρύσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς λαβομένη, ἔχρῃζε τέχνῃ μηδεμιᾷ Καβάδην κτεῖναι. βουλευσάμενοι οὖν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσαντο κρυπτόμενον μὲν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὸν παῖδα ἐκτρέφειν, τῷ δὲ Χοσρόῃ κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι ὡς οἱ ὁ Καβάδης ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθείη. καὶ τῷ τε βασιλεῖ κατὰ

[1] καταστήσασθαι Wahler · καταστήσεσθαι MSS.

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

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

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

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

[1] Cf. Book II. xvii.

ὅπως οἱ ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου
16 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἔσται. μιᾷ μὲν οὖν
τῆς στρατιᾶς μοίρᾳ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτόν, ὡς τὸ
εἰκός, ἐξηγήσεσθαι, ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνδιδόναι τῶν
αὐτοῦ δούλων ἴσα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ
τιμῇ ἔχειν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ χαναράγγῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς
17 ἕνεκα. δεῖν τοίνυν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ[1]
κατὰ τάχος οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, ὅπως αὐτῷ κοινο-
λογησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπιστέλλοι ὅσα ξυνοίσειν
τῇ στρατιᾷ μέλλοι, τοὺς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὄπισθε
18 κελεύειν ὁδῷ ἰέναι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ χαναράγγης
ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, περιχαρὴς γεγονὼς τῇ ἐς
αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ μακράν τε ἀπολελειμ-
μένος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, αὐτίκα τὰ ἐντεταλμένα
19 ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ ταύτῃ ἀντέχειν τῷ
πόνῳ οὐδαμῇ ἔχων (ἦν γάρ τις γέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ
μάλιστα) τόν τε χαλινὸν μεθεὶς τοῦ ἵππου
ἐκπίπτει καί οἱ τὸ ἐν τῷ σκέλει ὀστέον ἐρράγη·
διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐνταῦθα θεραπευομένῳ
ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ἔς τε τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ
20 ἥκοντι ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε. καὶ αὐτῷ Χοσρόης ἔφασκε
ξυστρατεύειν σφίσιν οὕτως ἔχοντι τοῦ ποδὸς
ἀδύνατα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἔς τι τῶν
ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων ἰόντα τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἰα-
21 τρῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐνταῦθα τυχεῖν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ
Χοσρόης τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον
ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὄπισθεν εἵποντο
οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλον,
ἄνδρα ἐν Πέρσαις ἀήττητον στρατηγὸν ὄντα τε
καὶ λεγόμενον, ὅσπερ ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἔθνη βαρβάρων

[1] ἀποπορείᾳ P · ἀποπορία V, ἀπορία G, cf II x. 24

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

στρατεύσας ἅπαντα Καβάδῃ βασιλεῖ παρεστή-
22 σατο. τοῦ δὲ Ἀδεργουδουνβάδου ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἀφανισθέντος, Οὐαρράμης ὁ παῖς τὸ τοῦ χαναράγ-
23 γου ἀξίωμα ἔσχε. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
εἴτε Καβάδης αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ Ζάμου υἱός, εἴτε τις
ἄλλος ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Καβάδου ὀνόματος ἐς
Βυζάντιον ἦλθε· Καβάδῃ μέντοι βασιλεῖ τὴν
24 ὄψιν ἐμφερέστατος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς
βασιλεὺς ἀμφιγνοῶν μέν, ἅτε δὴ Καβάδου
βασιλέως υἱωνόν, ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐν
τιμῇ ἔσχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Πέρσας τοὺς Χοσρόῃ
ἐπαναστάντας ἐγένετο ὧδε.

25 Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Μεβόδην ὁ Χοσρόης
διεχρήσατο ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. τῶν τι σπουδαίων
διαχειρίζων, παρόντι τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐπέταττε
τὸν Μεβόδην καλεῖν· ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῷ Μεβόδῃ ὁ
Ζαβεργάνης διάφορος ὤν· ὃς δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν
ἀφικόμενος εὗρισκε μὲν στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτῷ
ἑπομένους διέποντα, ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν ὡς
26 τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς καλοίη. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα
μάλα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διάθηται, ἕψεσθαι
ὡμολόγει, ὁ δὲ τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχθει ἡγμένος ἀπήγ-
γελλε Χοσρόῃ ὡς οὐ βούλοιτο Μεβόδης ἐν τῷ
παρόντι ἥκειν, φάσκων οἵ τινα ἀσχολίαν εἶναι.
27 θυμῷ τοίνυν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος, στείλας τῶν οἱ
ἑπομένων τινὰ παρὰ τὸν τρίποδα τὸν Μεβόδην
ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. ὅ τι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, αὐτίκα
28 δηλώσω. τρίπους σιδηροῦς πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων
ἑσαεὶ ἕστηκεν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τις τῶν Περσῶν
πύθηται ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι,
τούτῳ δὲ[1] οὔτε πη ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγεῖν θέμις οὔτε

[1] δὲ MSS.: Haury suggests δή, Christ brackets.

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

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

ἀλλχαόσε ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦτον καθημένῳ τὸν τρίποδα τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψῆφον, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦντος.
29 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεβόδης ἐν σχήματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθητο ἡμέρας πολλάς, ἕως τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγείλαντος λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν. ἐς τοῦτό τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐς Χοσρόην εὐεργεσίας ἐχώρησεν.

XXIV

1 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐνέπεσεν, ἣ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακὸν μέγα τῷ τε δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ
2 τοιῷδε. οἱ δῆμοι ἐν πόλει ἑκάστῃ ἔς τε Βενέτους ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διῄρηντο, οὐ πολὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τούτων τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν βάθρων ἕνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασι, τά τε χρήματα δαπανῶσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς πικροτάτοις προίενται καὶ θνήσκειν οὐκ ἀπα-
3 ξιοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ· μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοί τε ὡς, ἢν καὶ περιέσωνται τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λελείψεται αὐτοῖς ἀπαχθῆναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, αἰκιζομένοις δὲ τὰ ἔσχατα εἶτα ἀπολω-
4 λέναι. φύεται μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεύτητον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα, οὔτε κήδει οὔτε ξυγγενείᾳ οὔτε

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

XXIV

At this same time an insurrection broke out unexpectedly in Byzantium among the populace, and, contrary to expectation, it proved to be a very serious affair, and ended in great harm to the people and to the senate, as the following account will show In every city the population has been divided for a long time past into the Blue and the Green factions; but within comparatively recent times it has come about that, for the sake of these names and the seats which the rival factions occupy in watching the games, they spend their money and abandon their bodies to the most cruel tortures, and even do not think it unworthy to die a most shameful death. And they fight against their opponents knowing not for what end they imperil themselves, but knowing well that, even if they overcome their enemy in the fight, the conclusion of the matter for them will be to be carried off straightway to the prison, and finally, after suffering extreme torture, to be destroyed. So there grows up in them against their fellow men a hostility which has no cause, and at no time does it cease or disappear, for it gives Jan 1, 532

φιλίας θεσμῷ εἶκον, ἣν καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον οἱ ἐς τὰ χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶεν.
5 μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε θείων οὔτε ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἤν τέ τι ἀσέβημα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ὑφ' ὁτουοῦν ἁμαρτάνηται ἤν τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζωνται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζοντες ἴσως κἀν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποιοῦνται, ἤν γε αὐτοῖς κεῖσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ μέλλῃ· οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς συστασιώτας καλοῦσι.
6 μεταλαγχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἄγους τούτου καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑπόμεναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι, καίπερ οὔτε εἰς τὰ θέατρα τὸ παράπαν ἰοῦσαι οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ αἰτίῳ ἠγμέναι· ὥστε οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλο τι ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἰπεῖν ἢ ψυχῆς νόσημα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἑκάστῳ ὧδέ πη ἔχει.
7 Τότε δὲ ἡ ἀρχή, ἢ τῷ δήμῳ ἐφειστήκει ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινας τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπῆγε. ξυμφρονήσαντες δὲ καὶ σπεισάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι τούς τε ἀγομένους ἁρπάζουσι καὶ ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφιᾶσιν ἅπαντας ὅσοι στάσεως ἢ ἑτέρου του ἁλόντες
8 ἀτοπήματος ἐδέδεντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται, ὅσοι τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἕπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἴ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν

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

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

ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἔφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ
9 ἐπεφέρετο, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίοις γεγενημένῃ. καὶ
τὸ ἱερὸν ἡ Σοφία τό τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεύξιππος
καὶ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων
ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως λεγόμενον οἶκον καυθέντα
ἐφθάρη, ἐπὶ τούτοις τε ἄμφω αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ
μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἥ Κωνσταντίνου
ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι
10 πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ
συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἔνιοι καθεί-
ξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ξύμ-
βολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκα,
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις
ἐκείνη προσαγορεύεται.

11 Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος Ἰωάννης ἦν ὁ
Καππαδόκης, Τριβουνιανὸς δέ, Πάμφυλος γένος,
βασιλεῖ πάρεδρος· κοιαίστωρα τοῦτον καλοῦσι
12 Ῥωμαῖοι. τούτοιν ἄτερος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν
τῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδείας ἀνήκοος ἦν. οὐ γὰρ
ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι
μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταῦτα κακὰ κακῶς [γράψαι]·[1]
φύσεως δὲ ἰσχύι πάντων γέγονε δυνατώτατος ὧν
13 ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. γνῶναί τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἱκανώ-
τατος ἦν καὶ λύσιν τοῖς ἀπόροις εὑρεῖν. πονηρό-
τατος δὲ γεγονὼς ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων τῇ τῆς
φύσεως δυνάμει ἐς τοῦτο ἐχρῆτο, καὶ οὔτε θεοῦ
λόγος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν αἰδώς τις ἐσῄει,
ἀλλὰ βίους τε αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἀπολ-
λύναι κέρδους ἕνεκα καὶ πόλεις ὅλας καθελεῖν ἐπι-

[1] [γράψαι] bracketed by Herwerden, cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 189.

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

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

[1] *i.e.* "Conquer."

14 μελὲς ἦν. χρόνου γοῦν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινὰ ἐκλελάκτικεν ὅρου οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἄχρι μὲν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν λιζόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας, μέθῃ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργοις ἀσελγέσιν
15 ἠσχολημένος· κατέχειν δὲ ἑαυτὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε βρώματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἔμετον ἤσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς ἀεὶ ἕτοιμος, προίεσθαι δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἑτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης
16 μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἐχρῆτο καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἄκρον ἀφίκετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἧσσον, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακὼς οἷός τε ἦν κέρδους ἀεὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἑκάστῃ τοὺς μὲν ἀνῄρει, τοὺς δὲ ἔγραφεν, ἀπεμπολῶν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἑκάτερον.
17 Ἕως μὲν οὖν ὁ δῆμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χρώμασιν ὀνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν ὧν οὗτοι ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμάρτανον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον καὶ περιιόντες ἐζήτουν ἐφ' ᾧ κτείνωσι. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἑταιρίζεσθαι τὸν δῆμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω
18 τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα παρέλυσε. καὶ Φωκᾶν μέν, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἔπαρχον τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα· Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοιαίστωρος ἀρχὴν ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἔκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνώριμον ἐν πατρικίοις ὄντα καὶ ἄλλως

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

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

19 δόκιμον. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἧσσον ἡ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς[1] ἤκμαζε. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρᾳ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ὑπατίῳ τε καὶ Πομπηίῳ τοῖς Ἀναστασίου τοῦ βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφιδοῖς οἴκαδε ὡς τάχιστα ἐπέσκηπτεν ἰέναι, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐς σῶμα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὑποτοπήσας εἴτε καὶ
20 αὐτοὺς ἡ πεπρωμένη ἐς τοῦτο ἤγεν. οἱ δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἔφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἐς τοσόνδε
21 κίνδυνον ἥκοντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. οὕτω γοῦν οἴκαδε τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω ἐκομιζέσθην καί, τέως μὲν νὺξ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχαζέτην.

22 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἔκπυστα ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐγένετο ὡς ἀμφοτέρω ἀπηλλαγήτην τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λεὼς ἅπας, βασιλέα τε Ὑπάτιον ἀνηγόρευον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παραληψόμενον τὰ πράγ-
23 ματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἦγον. ἡ δὲ Ὑπατίου γυνὴ Μαρία, ξυνετή τε οὖσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἶχετο μὲν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ οὐ μεθίει, ἐβόα δὲ ὀλολυγῇ τε χρωμένη καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἅπασιν ἐγκελευομένη, ὡς αὐτὸν τὴν
24 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὁμίλου, αὐτή τε οὐχ ἑκοῦσα μεθῆκε τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεὼς οὔτι ἑκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἥκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν

[1] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς PV · καὶ ἐς αὐτὸν G

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

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

τόνδε ὁρμώμενον τόν τε πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν καὶ
31 τὰ ἄλλα διοικήσασθαι ᾗ ἄμεινον ἔξει." Ὠριγένης
μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ
ὅμιλος ποιεῖν, ὀξύτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ
τὸ παραυτίκα ᾤοντο ξύμφορον εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ
ἥκιστά γε Ὑπάτιος (χρῆν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς)
τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι.
τινὲς δέ φασιν ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἥκειν,
βασιλεῖ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντα
32 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ἦσαν, πό-
τερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς φυγὴν
τρεπομένοις ἄμεινον ἔσται. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ
33 ἐλέγοντο ἐς ἑκάτερα φέροντες καὶ Θεοδώρα
δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα ἐν
ἀνδράσι μὴ χρῆναι τολμᾶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκνοῦσι
νεανιεύεσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἶμαι καιρὸν ἥκιστα
ἐφεῖναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ
34 νομιστέον. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἐς κίνδυνον
τὸν μέγιστον ἥκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶναι δοκεῖ
35 ἄριστον ἢ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ὡς ἄριστα θέσθαι. ἡγοῦ-
μαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἔγωγε, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν,
ἣν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγηται, ἀξύμφορον εἶναι.
ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἥκοντι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ
νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότι
36 τὸ φυγάδι εἶναι οὐκ ἀνεκτόν. μὴ γὰρ ἂν γενοίμην
τῆς ἁλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μηδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμέραν
ἐκείνην βιῴην, ἐν ᾗ με δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες
οὐ προσεροῦσιν. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαί σοι βου-
λομένῳ ἐστίν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα.

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

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

37 χρήματα <γάρ>[1] τε πολλὰ ἔστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ θάλασσα μὲν ἐκείνη, πλοῖα δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβήσεταί σοι ἥδιστα ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γάρ τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἀρέσκει λόγος, ὡς καλὸν ἐντά-
38 φιον ἡ βασιλεία ἐστί." τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος εἰπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν[2] ἐπεγένετο καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἤ ἂν ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατοὶ γένοιντο, ἤν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
39 πολεμήσων ἴοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες, οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλὴν ἐτετάχατο, οὔτε τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοικῶς εἶχον οὔτε ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ
40 τὸ μέλλον ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπη ἐκβήσεται πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μούνδῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὧν ἄτερος μέν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τήν τε ἄλλην θεραπείαν δυνατήν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν πλῆθος ἔν τε ἀγῶσι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις
41 τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένον. Μοῦνδος δέ, Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος, τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνεκύρησε βαρβάρους Ἐρούλους ἐπαγαγόμενος κατά τινα χρείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἥκειν.
42 Ὑπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτίκα οὗ δὴ βασιλέα καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ ἐς τὸν βασίλειον θρόνον, ὅθεν ἀεὶ βασιλεὺς εἰώθει τόν τε ἱππικὸν
43 καὶ γυμνικὸν θεᾶσθαι ἀγῶνα. ἐκ δὲ παλατίου Μοῦνδος μὲν διὰ πύλης ἐξῄει, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ κοχλίας ἀπὸ τῆς καθόδου κυκλοτεροῦς οὔσης ὠνόμασται.

[1] <γάρ> Haury · om. MSS [2] πᾶσιν GP: παροῦσιν V.

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

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

44 Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὐθὺ αὐτοῦ τε
Ὑπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαινεν,
ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸ πλησίον οἴκημα ἦλθεν οὗ δὴ στρατιω-
τῶν φρουρὰ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστιν, ἐβόα τοῖς στρα-
τιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγνύναι οἱ τὴν θύραν
45 ὡς τάχιστα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἴοι. δεδογμέ-
νον δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἕως
αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νικῴη, ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπαίειν
46 δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελι-
σάριος ὡς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἰσχυρίζετο σφίσι
47 τὰ πράγματα. νεωτερίζειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν τοὺς
στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίου φρουρὰν ἔχουσιν.
ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην
48 Χαλκῆν καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα προπύλαια ἰέναι. ὁ δὲ
δὴ μόλις καὶ οὔτε κινδύνων οὔτε πόνων μεγάλων
χωρὶς δι' ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων
49 διεξιὼν ἐς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀναβαίνει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ
τὴν Βενέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἣ τοῦ βασιλέως
θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστιν, ἐβούλευσε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον
αὐτὸν Ὑπάτιον ἰέναι, βραχείας δὲ οὔσης ἐνταῦθα
πυλίδος ἣ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐντὸς
Ὑπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, κατωρρώδησε
μή οἱ ἐν στενῷ πονουμένῳ ὁ δῆμος ξυνεπιθέμενος
αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἑπομένους ἅπαντας διαφθείραν-
τες ῥᾷόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρή-
50 σωσι. λογισάμενος οὖν ὡς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον
ἰτέον ἐστίν, οἳ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἑστήκεσαν,
πλήθει τε ἄμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας ὑπ'
ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξίφος
ἀράμενος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις κατὰ ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν

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

ἐπαγγείλας, δρόμῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦει.
51 ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε δὴ ἐν ὁμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει
ἱστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἶδον τεθωρακισ-
μένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπί τε ἀνδρίᾳ
καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρίᾳ ἔχοντας, καὶ τοῖς
ξίφεσιν οὐδεμιᾷ φειδοῖ παίοντας, ἐς φυγὴν
52 ὥρμηντο. κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
γεγενημένης, πλησίον που ἑστηκὼς Μοῦνδος
καὶ βουλόμενος ἔργου ἔχεσθαι (ἦν γάρ τις τολ-
μητὴς καὶ δραστήριος), ἀπορούμενος δὲ ᾗ χρήσεται
τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτεκμήρατο ὡς Βελισάριος
ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἴη, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον διὰ τῆς
53 εἰσόδου ἣ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. τότε δὴ
ἑκατέρωθεν οἱ Ὑπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος
πλησσόμενοι διεφθείροντο ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ
λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει καὶ φόνος ἦν ἤδη τοῦ δήμου
πολύς, Βοραΐδης τε καὶ Ἰοῦστος, Ἰουστινιανοῦ
βασιλέως ἀνεψιοί, χεῖρας αὐτοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀνταί-
ρειν τολμῶντος, καθεῖλόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου
Ὑπάτιον καὶ αὐτὸν ἐσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἅμα
54 Πομπηίῳ παρέδωκαν. θνήσκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου
πλέον ἢ τρισμύριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς
δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἶναι.
55 ἐνταῦθα Πομπήιος μὲν ἐδάκρυέ τε καὶ ἄξια ἐλέου
ἐφθέγγετο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἀνὴρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ
κακῶν τοιούτων ἥκιστα ἔμπειρος· Ὑπάτιος δὲ
αὐτὸν πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὐκ
56 ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολουμένους ὀδύρεσθαι. ἀρχήν τε γὰρ
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ
κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον
ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται τῇ

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

ὑστεραίᾳ ἑκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκαν τὰ
57 σώματα. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ
δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν
ἐκ βουλῆς ἁπάντων οἳ δὴ τὴν γνώμην ξὺν αὐτοῖς
58 ἔθεντο. ἔπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ
τοῖς Ὑπατίου καὶ Πομπηίου παισὶ τά τε ἀξιώ-
ματα οἷς πρότερον ἐχρῶντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων ὅσοις τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς οὐκ ἔτυχε
δωρησάμενος. ἐς τόδε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις
ἐτελεύτα.

XXV

1 Τριβουνιανὸς δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὕτω
παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς
2 κατέστησαν ἄμφω. ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιανὸς μὲν ἔτη
πολλὰ ἐπιβιοὺς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἄλλο
οὐδὲν ἄχαρι πρὸς οὐδενὸς παθών. ἦν γὰρ αἱμύλος
τε καὶ τἄλλα ἡδὺς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ
νόσημα ἐπισκιάσαι ἱκανώτατος τῆς παιδείας
3 περιουσίᾳ. Ἰωάννης δὲ (πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις
βαρύς τε ὁμοίως καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγάς τε τοῖς
προσπίπτουσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα
ἁπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληιζόμενος) δέκατον ἔτος
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς
ἐς τὴν δίαιταν παρανομίας ἐξέτισε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
4 Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἤχθετο αὐτῷ πάντων
μάλιστα. καὶ ὃς τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκὼς οἷς
ἡμάρτανε, θωπείᾳ μὲν αὐτὴν ἢ χάριτι μετελθεῖν
ὡς ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλ-

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

XXV

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

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

λεν, οὔτε τὴν τύχην ἐρυθριῶν οὔτε τὴν στοργὴν
αἰσχυνόμενος ἥνπερ ἐς αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν
5 ἐξαισίαν οἵαν. αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ βασιλὶς τῶν
ποιουμένων κτεῖναι μὲν διενοεῖτο τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
μηχανῇ δὲ οὐδεμιᾷ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ
6 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποιεῖτο πολύν. γνοὺς
δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐς αὐτὸν γνώμην
7 ἐν δείμασι μεγάλοις ἐγίνετο. ἐπειδάν τε ὡς
καθευδήσων ἐς τὸν κοιτῶνα ἴοι, τῶν τινα βαρ-
βάρων ἐπιστήσεσθαί οἱ ὡς ἀπολοῦντα ὑπώπτευεν
ἐς νύκτα ἑκάστην, ὑπερκύπτων τε ἀεὶ ἐκ τοῦ
δωματίου καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους περισκοπῶν ἄυπνος
ἔμενε, καίπερ ἑταιρισάμενος δορυφόρων τε καὶ
ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάδας πολλάς, οὐ γεγονὸς ὑπάρ-
8 χων τινὶ πρότερον τοῦτό γε ἀλλ' ἐπιλελη-
σμένος ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων
δειμάτων ἁπάντων, ὅλεθρος αὖθις κοινῇ τε καὶ
ἰδίᾳ πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἐγίνετο. καὶ φαρμακεῦσι
μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ὠμίλει, μαντείαις δὲ ἀσεβέσιν ἐς
ἀεὶ χρώμενος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ τερατευο-
μέναις ἀρχήν, ἀεροβατῶν τε καταφανὴς ἦν καὶ
9 μετέωρος ἀρθεὶς ταῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐλπίσι. τῆς
μέντοι πονηρίας αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δίαιταν
10 παρανομίας οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐλώφα οὔτε ὑπέληγε. καί
τις αὐτῷ θεοῦ λόγος τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ εἴ που εἰς ἱερὸν ὡς εὐξόμενός τε καὶ δια-
νυκτερεύσων ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς
Χριστιανῶν ἤθεσιν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον
ἐνδιδυσκόμενος ἱερεῖ πρέπον τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης
ἣν νῦν Ἑλληνικὴν καλεῖν νενομίκασι, λόγους
οὐχ ὁσίους τινὰς οὕσπερ ἐμεμελετήκει ἀπεστο-
μάτιζεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, ὅπως οἱ

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

ἥ τε βασιλέως διάνοια ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑποχειρία εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶν γενοιτο ἀπαθὴς πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

11 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰταλίαν καταστρεψάμενος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ξὺν Ἀντωνίνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας
12 στρατεύσειε. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔντιμός τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦν, μόνος δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ πολλῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν εἴχετο, κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἔχθος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἵλκε, Βελισάριος δὲ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν μάλιστα ἔτυχεν· ἐπ' αὐτῷ τε γενομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίδος αὖθις ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσε, τὴν
13 γυναῖκα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀπολιπών. Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ (ἦν γὰρ ἱκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἀμήχανα) χαριεῖσθαι τῇ βασιλίδι βουλευσαμένη ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ θυγάτηρ Εὐφημία, δόξαν μὲν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ πολλὴν ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λίαν εὐάλωτος, ἦν δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπερηγάπα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει πατήρ.
14 ταύτην ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τιθασσεύουσα ἐς ἡμέρας συχνὰς προσποιήσασθαί τε ἅτε φίλην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἴσχυσε καὶ τῶν αὐτῇ ἀπορρήτων μετα-
15 διδόναι οὐκ ἀπηξίου. καί ποτε αὐτῆς οἱ μόνης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ παρούσης ὀδύρεσθαι τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐπλάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ Βελισάριος εὐρυτέραν ποιησάμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πλείονι μέτρῳ ἢ πρότερον οὖσα ἐτύγχανε, βασιλεῖς τε δορυαλώτους δύο καὶ πλούτου τοσοῦτόν τι χρῆμα ἐς Βυ-

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

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

[1] Book VI xxv 30.

ζάντιον ἀγαγών, ἀχαρίστου Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔτυχε· τά τε ἄλλα ὡς οὐ δικαίαν οὖσαν τὴν πολιτείαν
16 διέβαλλε. περιχαρὴς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ γενομένη ἡ Εὐφημία (δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ παρούσῃ ἀρχῇ ἤχθετο) "Καὶ τοῦδε μέντοι, ὦ φιλτάτη," ἔφη, "ὑμεῖς αἴτιοι, ὅτι δὴ παρὸν ὑμῖν
17 τῇ δυνάμει οὐ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι." ὑπολαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνίνα "Οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν, ὦ θύγατερ," εἶπεν, "ἐν στρατοπέδῳ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν, ἢν μὴ τοῦ ἔργου ξυνεπιλάβωνται ἡμῖν τῶν ἔνδον τινές· ἀλλ' εἴπερ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἤθελε, ῥᾷστα ἂν ἐς τήνδε τὴν πρᾶξιν καθιστάμενοι ὅσα ἦν τῷ
18 θεῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπράσσομεν." ἀκούσασα ταῦτα Εὐφημία προθύμως μὲν ὑπέσχετο ἐπιτελῆ ἔσεσθαι, ἀπαλλαγεῖσα δὲ ἐνθένδε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐπὶ τὸν
19 πατέρα εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε. καὶ ὃς τῷ λόγῳ ἡσθεὶς (ταύτην γάρ οἱ ὁδὸν ἔς τε τὰ μαντεῖα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπετόπαζε φέρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν) εὐθὺς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὡμολόγησε, πράσσειν τε τὴν παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ὅπως τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς λόγους τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ αὐτὸς ξυμμίξῃ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη.
20 μαθοῦσα δὲ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν Ἰωάννου γνώμην καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐννοίας ἐθέλουσα, νῦν μὲν ἔφη οἱ ξυγγενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἀξύμφορον εἶναι, μή τις ὑποψία μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένη διακωλῦσαι τὰ πρασσόμενα ἱκανὴ εἴη· μέλλειν δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν ἕω
21 παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγεῖσα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ γένηται (ὃ δὴ Ῥουφινιαναὶ μὲν ὀνομάζεται, Βελισαρίου δὲ ἴδιον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν), ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς

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

ἀσπασόμενόν τε καὶ προπέμψοντα ἥκειν, καὶ τούς τε λόγους περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα εὖ τε τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμέρα τακτὴ ἐπὶ
22 τῇ πράξει διώριστο. ἥ τε βασιλὶς τὸν πάντα λόγον παρὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης ἀκούσασα ἐπῄνει μὲν τὰ βεβουλευμένα, ἐγκελευομένη δὲ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνῆγεν.
23 Ἐπειδή τε ἡ κυρία παρῆν, ἀσπασαμένη μὲν ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τὴν βασιλίδα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηλλάσσετο, ἔν τε Ῥουφινιαναῖς ἐγένετο, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω ὁδοῦ ἀρξομένη, οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης
24 τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελέσων ἐς νύκτα ἦλθεν. ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι πρασσόμενα, Ναρσῆν τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Μάρκελλον τὸν τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἄρχοντα ἐς Ῥουφινιανὰς ξὺν στρατιώταις πολλοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ διερευνησάμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἢν τὸν Ἰωάννην πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχειροῦντα εὑρήσωσι, κτεί-
25 ναντες εὐθὺς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπανήξουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἐστέλλοντο. φασὶ δὲ βασιλέα τῶν ποιουμένων αἰσθόμενον τῶν τινα Ἰωάννῃ ἐπιτηδείων παρ' αὐτὸν πέμψαι, ἀπεροῦντα
26 αὐτῷ μηδαμῇ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ἐντυχεῖν λάθρα. Ἰωάννης δὲ (χρῆν γὰρ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τὴν βασιλέως ὑποθήκην ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀμφὶ νύκτα μέσην τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ξυνέμιξεν αἱμασιᾶς πού τινος ἄγχιστα, ἧς δὴ ὄπισθεν καθίσασα ἐτύγχανε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν τε καὶ Μάρκελλον, ὅπως τῶν
27 λεγομένων ἀκούσειαν. ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης μὲν ἀφυλάκτῳ στόματι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὡμολόγει

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

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

τε καὶ ὅρκοις δεινοτάτοις ἀπισχυρίζετο, Ναρσῆς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέστη-
28 σαν. θορύβου δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένου οἱ τοῦ Ἰωάννου δορυφόροι (ἄγχιστα γάρ πη ἑστήκεσαν)
29 παρ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τις Μάρκελλον, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, ξίφει ἔπληξεν, οὕτω τε Ἰωάννης διαφυγεῖν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἴσχυσεν ἔς
30 τε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐλθεῖν παρὰ βασιλέα ἐθάρσησεν, οἶμαι ἄν, οὐδὲν ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι· νῦν δὲ καταφυγὼν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν δέδωκε τῇ βασιλίδι κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι.

31 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἐπάρχων ἰδιώτης γενόμενος ἐς ἕτερον ἐνθένδε ἀναστὰς ἐκομίσθη, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ Κυζίκου πόλεως ἵδρυται,—Ἀρτάκην καλοῦσι Κυζικηνοὶ τὸ προάστειον. ἐνταῦθα ἱερέως οὔ τι ἐκούσιος περιβέβληται σχῆμα, οὐκ ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτε-
32 ρον νενομίκασιν. ὁ δὲ ἱερουργεῖν ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ὡς μή ποτε αὐτῷ ἐμπόδιον εἴη ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς αὖθις ἰέναι· τῶν γὰρ ἐλπίδων μεθίεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα εὐθὺς
33 γέγονεν. ὧν δὴ αὐτῷ μοῖραν βασιλεὺς πολλὴν
34 ἠφίει· ἔτι γὰρ τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν φειδοῖ εἴχετο. ἐνταῦθα παρῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἀφροντιστήσαντι μὲν κινδύνων ἁπάντων, χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένῳ μεγάλα, ὅσα τε αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανε κρύψας καὶ ὅσα βασιλέως γνώμῃ παρ' αὐτῷ ἔμεινε, τρυφᾶν τε κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἡγεῖσθαι λογισμῷ σώφρονι εὐδαί-
35 μονα εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ

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

Thus, then, from being prefect he became a private citizen, and rising from that sanctuary he was conveyed to another, which is situated in the suburb of the city of Cyzicus called by the Cyzicenes Artace. There he donned the garb of a priest, much against his will, not a bishop's gown however, but that of a presbyter, as they are called. But he was quite unwilling to perform the office of a priest lest at some time it should be a hindrance to his entering again into office; for he was by no means ready to relinquish his hopes. All his property was immediately confiscated to the public treasury, but a large proportion of this the emperor remitted to him, for he was still inclined to spare him. There it was possible for John to live, disregarding all dangers and enjoying great wealth, both that which he himself had concealed and that which by the decision of the emperor remained with him, and to indulge in luxury at his pleasure, and, if he had reasoned wisely, to consider his present lot a happy one For this reason all the Romans were exceedingly May, 541

ἀνθρώπῳ ἀτεχνῶς ἤχθοντο, ὅτι δὴ πονηρότατος γεγονὼς δαιμόνων[1] ἁπάντων, βίον παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
36 εὐδαιμονέστερον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, οἶμαι, οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἐς τοῦτο τὴν τίσιν Ἰωάννῃ ἀποκεκρίσθαι, ἐπὶ μέγα τε αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν
37 ἐξηρτύετο. ἐγίνετο δὲ ὧδε.
Ἦν τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα, χαλεπὸς ἅπασι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Ἰωάννου οὐδέν τι ἧσσον· τοῦτον Κυζικηνοὶ βασιλεῖ διαβάλλοντες
38 ἐς δίκην ἐκάλουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤνυον, δυνάμει αὐτοὺς περιελθόντος Εὐσεβίου πολλῇ, ξυμφρονήσαντες νεανίαι τινὲς ἐν τῇ Κυζίκου ἀγορᾷ κτείνου-
39 σιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης τῷ Εὐσεβίῳ διάφορος γεγονὼς μάλιστα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
40 ὑποψία ἐς αὐτὸν ἦλθε. στέλλονται τοίνυν ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρες διερευνησόμενοι τὸ μίασμα τοῦτο· οἳ δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην πρῶτα μὲν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖρξαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄνδρα ἔπαρχον μὲν δυνατὸν οὕτω γενόμενον, ἐς πατρικίους δὲ ἀναγραφέντα καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον, οὗ μεῖζον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ, ἔστησάν τε γυμνόν, ἄτε λῃστήν τινα ἢ λωποδύτην, καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νώτου πολ-
41 λὰς εἰπεῖν τὰ βεβιωμένα ἠνάγκαζον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν Εὐσεβίου φόνου αἴτιος Ἰωάννης οὐ λίαν ἐξελήλεγκτο, ἐῴκει μέντοι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη ποινὰς
42 αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης[2] ἐσπραττομένη. ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελόμενοι γυμνὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασαν, ἱμάτιον ἕν, καὶ τοῦτο τραχὺ[3]

[1] δαιμόνων VP : ἀνθρώπων G.
[2] οἰκουμένης VGP corr. οἰκονομίας P pr. m.
[3] τραχὺ P. παχὺ VG.

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

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

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

XXVI

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

5 Ἐν δὲ πόλει Δάρας τοιόνδε τι ξυνέβη γενέσθαι. Ἰωάννης τις ἦν ἐνταῦθα ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος πεζῶν· οὗτος οὐχ ἁπάντων οἱ ξυμφρονούντων στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγων τινῶν, τυραννίδι ἐπιθέ-
6 μενος τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν. ἔν τε παλατίῳ καθήμενος ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκρατύνετο
7 ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ. καὶ εἰ μὴ Πέρσας ἔχεσθαι εἰρήνης ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη,[1] ἀνήκεστα ἂν ἐνθένδε Ῥωμαίοις ἐγεγόνει κακά. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσε φθάσασα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἡ ξύμ-
8 βασις. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τετάρτῃ ξυμφρονήσαντες στρατιῶται γνώμῃ Μάμαντός τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἱερέως καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν δοκίμων τινὸς πολιτῶν, ἐς τὸ παλάτιον μεσημβρίας ἀκμαζούσης ἀνέβησαν, κρύψας ἕκαστος
9 ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ ξιφίδιον καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ θύρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων εὑρόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα ἐσβάντες τοῦ τυράννου ἥπτοντο· τινὲς δέ φασιν οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸ πρώτους εἰργάσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἔτι μελλόντων τε ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ καὶ κατωρρωδηκότων τὸν κίνδυνον, τῶν τινα ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντα ἐσπηδῆσαί τε ξὺν τῇ κοπίδι καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐντυχόντα
10 ἀπροσδοκήτως παῖσαι. καὶ τὸν οὐ πληγέντα μὲν καιρίαν πληγήν, ξὺν θορύβῳ δὲ πολλῷ φεύγοντα, ἐς τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐμ-
11 πεσεῖν ἄφνω. οὕτω τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοὺς ἁψαμένους πῦρ μὲν αὐτίκα τῷ παλατίῳ ὑφάψαντας καῦσαι, ὡς μή τις ἐλπὶς ἐνθένδε ἀπολειφθείη τοῖς τὰ νεώτερα πράγματα πράσσουσιν,

[1] ξυνέβη VP συνέπεσεν G

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

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

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

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK II

THE PERSIAN WAR (*Continued*)

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ

I

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν
ὡς καὶ Ἰταλίαν Βελισάριος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ
προσποιεῖν ἤρξατο, οὐκέτι κατέχειν οἷός τε ἦν
τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σκήψεις ἐπινοεῖν ἤθελεν ὅπως
δὴ λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεῖ τὰς σπονδὰς λύσειεν.
2 ὑπὲρ ὧν κοινολογησάμενος Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ ἐκέ-
3 λευεν αὐτὸν ξυμπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. ὁ
δὲ Ἀρέθᾳ ἐπικαλέσας ὅτι αὐτὸν περὶ γῆς ὁρίων
βιάζοιτο, ἐς χεῖράς τε αὐτῷ ἐν σπονδαῖς ἦλθε
καὶ γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σκήψει
4 καταθεῖν ἤρξατο. ἔφασκέ τε ὡς αὐτὸς οὐ λύει
τὰς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων σπονδάς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν
5 ἐς ταύτας οὐδέτεροι ἐσεγράψαντο. καὶ ἦν δὲ
οὕτως. οὐ γάρ τις πώποτε Σαρακηνῶν λόγος
ἐν σπονδαῖς γέγονεν, ἅτε ξυνεχομένων τῷ Περσῶν
6 τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι. αὕτη δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἣ
δὴ πρὸς ἑκατέρων τότε Σαρακηνῶν ἀντελέγετο,
Στρᾶτα μὲν κέκληται, Παλμύρας δὲ πόλεως πρὸς
νότου ἄνεμον τέτραπται, δένδρου μὲν ἤ τι τῶν

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK II

THE PERSIAN WAR (*Continued*)

I

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

[1] That is, the Saracens subject to the Romans and those subject to the Persians

ἐν τοῖς λῃίοις ἀγαθῶν οὐδαμῇ φέρουσα (ἡλιόκαυστος γὰρ ὑπερφυῶς ἐστι), προβάτων δέ τισιν
7 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνειμένη νομαῖς. Ἀρέθας μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι τὸν χῶρον, τῷ τε ὀνόματι τεκμηριούμενος οὗ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ἄνωθεν ἔτυχε (Στρᾶτα γὰρ ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὁδὸς τῇ Λατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ) καὶ μαρτυρίαις παλαιο-
8 τάτων ἀνδρῶν χρώμενος. Ἀλαμούνδαρος δὲ φιλονεικεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου, μισθοὺς δέ οἱ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα νομοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔφασκε τοὺς τὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένους διδόναι.
9 διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Στρατηγίῳ τε πατρικίῳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν ἄρχοντι, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετῷ καὶ εὐπατρίδῃ, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Σούμμῳ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἡγησαμένῳ, τὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἐπέτρεψε
10 δίαιταν. ὁ δὲ Σοῦμμος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἦν, ὃς ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐς Αἰθίοπάς τε καὶ Ὁμηρίτας
11 ἐπρέσβευσε. καὶ αὐτοῖν ἄτερος μέν, Σοῦμμος, μὴ χρῆναι Ῥωμαίους καταπροίεσθαι τὴν χώραν ἠξίου, Στρατήγιος δὲ βασιλέως ἐδεῖτο μὴ χώρας τινὸς ἕνεκα βραχείας τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἀγόνου τε καὶ ἀκάρπου παντάπασιν οὔσης, Πέρσαις πολεμησείουσι σκήψεις τοῦ πολέμου χαρίζεσθαι· βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς ταῦτα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ χρόνος πολὺς ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη.
12 Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς ἔφασκε, πολλὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐς οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδειξαμένου, οἷς δὴ ἑταιρίζεσθαι Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐνε-

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

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

13 χείρησε Σοῦμμον γὰρ ἔναγχος ἐπὶ διαίτῃ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτὸν ἥκοντα ἐπαγγελίαις αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ' ᾧ προσχωρήσει Ῥωμαίοις, γράμματά τε προίσχετο ἃ δὴ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς
14 βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. καὶ πρὸς Οὔννων δέ τινας ἰσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι, ἐγκελευομένην αὐτοῖς ἐσβαλεῖν τε ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δή οἱ τοὺς Οὔννους αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν ἐγχειρίσαι
15 ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντας. ταῦτα μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντί οἱ ἀληθίζεσθαι ξυνέβαινεν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.[1]

II

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐίττιγις, ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος, ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένος, πρέσβεις δύο παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν, ἀναπείσοντας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Λιγούρους ἱερεῖς, χρήμασιν ἀδροῖς ἐς ταύ-
2 την ἠγμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, δόκησίν τε καὶ ὄνομα ἐπισκόπου περιβεβλημένος οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος αὐτῷ
3 ὑπηρετῶν εἵπετο. ὁδῷ τε ἰόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρία ἑταιρίζονταί τινα ἐνθένδε Σύρας τε

[1] εἰπεῖν GPW . λέγειν V

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

II

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

καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς ἑρμηνέα σφίσιν ἐσόμενον, ἅπαντάς τε Ῥωμαίους λαθόντες ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἀφίκοντο. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν σπονδαῖς καθεστῶτες οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ταύτῃ[1] ἐφύλασσον.
4 Χοσρόου τε ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε "Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πρέσβεις τῶν αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα ξυμφόρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυμβαίνει ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστασθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ Οὐίττιγις ὁ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε τοὺς λόγους ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ποιησομένους ἀρχῆς· καὶ αὐτὸν νόμιζε παρόντα σοι τανῦν
5 φθέγγεσθαι τάδε. εἴ τίς σε, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ξυνελὼν φαίη τήν τε σὴν βασιλείαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
6 Ἰουστινιανῷ προέσθαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ νεωτεροποιός τε ὢν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἐρῶν, μένειν τε οὐ δυνάμενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσι, γῆν μὲν ἅπασαν ξυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησεν, ἐκάστην δὲ ἀρχὴν περι-
7 βαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχεν. εἶτα (οὐδὲ γὰρ Πέρσαις[2] κατὰ μόνας ἐγχειρεῖν ἴσχυεν οὐδὲ Περσῶν οἱ ἀντιστατούντων οἷός τε ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἰέναι) σὲ μὲν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης παραπετάσματι ἐξαπατᾶν ἔγνω, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βιαζόμενος μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ
8 τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ἑταιρίζεσθαι. Βανδίλων μὲν οὖν ἤδη καθελὼν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους καταστρεψάμενος, Γότθων αὐτῷ φιλίας ὀνόματι ἐκποδὼν ἱσταμένων, χρήματά τε μεγάλα καὶ
9 σώματα πολλὰ ἐπαγόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥκει. ἔνδηλος δέ ἐστιν, ἢν καὶ Γότθους παντάπασιν ἐξελεῖν δύνηται, ὡς ξὺν ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς ἤδη δεδου-

[1] ταύτῃ GPW αὐτοῖ V. [2] πέρσαις GW, πέρσας VP.

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

λωμένοις ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσει, οὔτε τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐννοῶν ὄνομα οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων
10 ἐρυθριῶν. ἕως οὖν ἔτι σοι λείπεταί τις[1] σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ κακὸν περαιτέρω μηδὲν μήτε αὐτὸς πάθῃς, ἀλλ' ὅρα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ὅσα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ξυμβήσεται Πέρσαις, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εὖνοι μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἶεν, δυνάμει δὲ κρείσσους γενόμενοι οὐδὲν μελλήσουσι τὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἔχθος ἐνδείκνυ-
11 σθαι. ἐν δέοντι τοίνυν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ χρῆσαι, μὴ παυσαμένην ἐπιζητήσῃς. λωφήσασα γὰρ ἡ τῶν καιρῶν ἀκμὴ ἐπανιέναι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκεν. ἄμεινον δὲ προτερήσαντα ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι ἢ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερηκότα τὰ πάντων αἰσχρότατα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν."

12 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν, εὖ τέ οἱ παραινεῖν Οὐίττιγις ἔδοξε καὶ λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, λογίζεσθαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δυσμενῶν μάλιστα οἱ λόγοι ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιντο.
13 ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἐς τὸ πεισθῆναι αὐτόμολος ἦλθεν. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν λόγους ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἔδρασεν ἅπερ μοι αὐτίκα
14 μάλα λελέξεται. καίτοι τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα, ἅπερ ἂν εἰκότως βασιλεῖ γενναίῳ ἐγκώμια εἴη, ὅτι δὴ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ μείζω τε ποιῆσαι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανε-
15 στέραν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Κύρῳ ἄν τις

[1] τις VPW τῆς G.

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

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

ἐπενέγκοι τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐδαμῆ εἴωθε ξυνοικίζεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὰς σπονδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο.

III

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι τοιόνδε ξυνέβη. Συμεώνης ἐκεῖνος, ὁ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδούς, Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πείθει, ἔτι τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, κώμαις αὐτόν τισιν
2 ἀνδρῶν Ἀρμενίων δωρήσασθαι. κύριός τε τῶν χωρίων γενόμενος πρὸς τῶν αὐτὰ πάλαι κεκτη-
3 μένων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς θνήσκει. ἐξειργασμένου δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ τοῦ φόνου αὐτουργοὶ[1] φεύγουσιν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη. ἀδελφὼ δὲ ἦστην δύο Περόζου παῖδε. βασιλεύς τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας τάς τε κώμας Ἀμαζάσπῃ παραδίδωσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφιδῷ καὶ
4 ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόν. τοῦτον τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην, προιόντος τοῦ χρόνου, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τις ἐπιτηδείων διέβαλλεν, Ἀκάκιος ὄνομα, κακουργεῖν τε ἐς Ἀρμενίους καὶ βούλεσθαι Πέρσαις ἐνδοῦναι Θεοδοσιούπολίν τε
5 καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα πολίσματα. ταῦτα εἰπὼν γνώμῃ βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τὸν Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε, καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν
6 αὐτός. πονηρὸς δὲ ὢν φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὅ τι τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἤθη ἐνδείξοιτο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς

[1] αὐτουργοὶ VG ἀρχηγοὶ P.

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

III

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

7 ἀρχομένους ὠμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. τά τε γὰρ χρήματα ἐληίζετο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ καὶ φόρου αὐτοῖς ἀπαγωγὴν οὔποτε οὖσαν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμένιοι δέ (φέρειν γὰρ οὐκέτι αὐτὸν οἷοί τε ἦσαν) κτείνουσί τε ξυμφρονήσαντες τὸν Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Φαράγγιον καταφεύγουσι.

8 Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Σίττας διέτριβεν, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένοντο αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπον-
9 δαί. ὃς δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἐλθὼν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὀκνηρῶς ἦει, τιθασσεύειν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερα ἤθη ἀντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἠπείγετο, πείθειν βασιλέα ὑποσχόμενος ἀφεῖναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καινὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.
10 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς τῆς μελλήσεως πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, ἡγμένος ταῖς Ἀδολίου διαβολαῖς τοῦ Ἀκακίου παιδός, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ὁ Σίττας
11 τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποσχέσεσι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναπείθειν τε καὶ ἑταιρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τινας ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ῥᾴων τε καὶ ἀπονωτέρα ἡ ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπι-
12 κράτησις γένοιτο. καί οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀσπετιανῶν καλουμένων γένος, μέγα τε ὂν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον,
13 προσχωρεῖν ἤθελε. πέμψαντές τε παρὰ τὸν Σίτταν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐδέοντο διδόναι τὰ πιστὰ σφίσιν, ὅτι δή, ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἀπολιπόντες ἥξωσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων παράταξιν, κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι,[1] τὰ σφέτερα
14 αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄσμενός τε γράψας ἐν βιβλιδίῳ καθάπερ ἐδέοντο τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε, καὶ τὸ γράμμα κατασημηνάμενος ἐς αὐτοὺς

[1] μείνωσι VP : μείνωσιν G, μενοῦσι Herwerden.

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

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

[1] Cf. Book I xxii 4

15 ἔπεμψε. θαρσῶν τε ὡς δι' αὐτῶν ἀμαχητὶ τοῦ
πολέμου κρατήσει, τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς χωρίον
Οἰνοχαλάκων ἦει, ἔνθα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἑστρα-
16 τοπεδεῦσθαι ξυνέβαινε. τύχῃ δέ τινι οἱ τὸ
βιβλίον ἔχοντες ἑτέρᾳ ἰόντες ὁδῷ Ἀσπετιανοῖς
17 ἐντυχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν. μοῖρα μέντοι τοῦ
Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτῶν ἐντυ-
χόντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τε τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ὡς πο-
18 λεμίοις ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ αὐτὸς Σίττας ἐν σπηλαίῳ
που παῖδάς τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λαβὼν
ἔκτεινεν, ἢ τὸ γεγονὸς οὐ ξυνιεὶς ἢ δι' ὀργῆς
Ἀσπετιανοὺς ἔχων, ὅτι οἱ καθάπερ ξυνέκειτο οὐ
προσεχώρουν.
19 Οἱ δὲ θυμῷ ἤδη ἐχόμενοι ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἅπασιν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο. ἅτε δὲ ἐν
δυσχωρίαις χαλεπαῖς τε καὶ κρημνώδεσιν ἑκά-
τεροι ὄντες οὐκ ἐν ἑνὶ χώρῳ ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ
διασκεδαννύμενοι ἔν τε ὑπωρείαις καὶ φάραγξι.
τετύχηκεν οὖν τῶν τε Ἀρμενίων ὀλίγους τινὰς
καὶ Σίτταν τῶν ἑπομένων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔχοντα
ἀλλήλων πη ἄγχιστα ἰέναι, φάραγγος σφίσι τινὸς
20 μεταξὺ οὔσης. ἱππεῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἑκάτεροι. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Σίττας, ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπισπομένων,[1] ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐναντίους τὴν φάραγγα διαβὰς ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρμένιοι
δὲ ὀπίσω ὑποχωρήσαντες ἔστησαν, καὶ ὁ Σίττας
21 οὐκέτι ἐδίωκεν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. ἄφνω δέ τις
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, Ἔρουλος γένος, δίωξιν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιημένος ἐνθένδε τε ξὺν
θυμῷ ἀπελαύνων, παρὰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Σίτταν
ἦλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Σίττας ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὸ
δόρυ ἐρείσας· ὃ δὴ ὁ τοῦ Ἐρούλου ἵππος ἐπι-

[1] ἐπισπομένων Hoeschel · ἐπισπωμένων VG, ἐπεισπομένων P.

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

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

22 πεσὼν ξὺν πολλῇ ῥύμῃ κατέαξε τόν τε στρατηγὸν τοῦτο ἠνίασεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων ἰδὼν ἔγνω τε καὶ Σίτταν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ξυνέβαινε γάρ οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος οὐκ εἶναι. διὸ δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἔλαθε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν
23 ἐνταῦθα ἥκων. Σίττας μὲν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου λέγοντος ἤκουσε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, οἱ ἀποκαυλισθὲν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔκειτο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τὴν φάραγγα διαβαίνειν
24 εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνον, καί τις αὐτὸν καταλαβὼν ἐν τῇ φάραγγι ξίφει ἐς ἄκραν κεφαλὴν ἔτυψε πληγῇ ἐγκαρσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ μὲν βρέγμα ὅλον ἀφεῖλετο,
25 τοῦ δὲ ὀστέου ὁ σίδηρος οὐδαμῇ ἥψατο καὶ ὁ μὲν Σίττας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πρόσω ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρσακίδης ὄπισθεν ἐπιπεσὼν καὶ παίσας τῷ δόρατι ἔκτεινεν.
26 οὕτω τε ὁ Σίττας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, ἀναξίως τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ πεπραγμένων, ἀνὴρ τό τε σῶμα ἐς ἄγαν καλὸς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, στρατηγός τε ἄριστος τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν οὐδενὸς
27 ἧσσων. τινὲς δέ φασι τὸν Σίτταν οὐ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνα, λίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα, τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαχρήσασθαι.

28 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σίττα Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι· ὃς ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστά που ἐγένετο, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τε καταλλάξειν Ἀρμενίους ὑποσχόμενος ἅπαντας καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθεῖν ἀξιῶν τῶν

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

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

29 δοκίμων τινάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι οὔτε πιστεύειν τῷ Βούζῃ εἶχον οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἤθελον. ἦν δέ τις αὐτῷ μάλιστα φίλος ἀνὴρ Ἀρσακίδης, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Ἀρταβάνου πατήρ, ὃς δὴ τῷ Βούζῃ τότε ἅτε φίλῳ θαρσήσας ξύν τε Βασσάκῃ τῷ κηδεστῇ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθεν· οἳ δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ αὐλισθέντες ἔνθα τῷ Βούζῃ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντυχεῖν ἔμελλον, ᾔσθοντο ἐς κύκλωσιν πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἥκοντες.
30 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰωάννην Βασσάκης ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐλιπάρει δρασμοῦ ἔχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πείθειν οὐκ εἶχε, μόνον ἐνταῦθα καταλιπών, ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι λαθὼν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ
31 ὀπίσω αὖθις ἀπήλαυνε Βούζης τε τὸν Ἰωάννην μόνον εὑρὼν ἔκτεινε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὔτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐς Ῥωμαίους Ἀρμένιοι ξυμβάσεως πέρι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες οὔτε βασιλέα τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπεραίρειν οἷοί τε ὄντες παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἦλθον, Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, δραστη-
32 ρίου ἀνδρός. ὧν τότε οἱ πρῶτοι Χοσρόῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε "Εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐκείνου Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονοι ὃς δὴ οὔτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, ἡνίκα ὑπὸ Πάρθοις ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανὴς
33 γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν οὐδενὸς ἧσσον. πάρεσμεν δὲ τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες δοῦλοί τε καὶ δραπέται γεγενημένοι, οὐχ ἑκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἠναγκασμένοι ὡς μάλιστα, τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ ὑπὸ σῆς,
34 ὦ βασιλεῦ, γνώμης· εἴπερ ὁ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῖς

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

ἀδικεῖν βουλομένοις διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἂν φέροιτο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἔργων δικαίως. εἰρήσεται δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν ὅπως δὴ ἅπασι παρακολουθεῖν
35 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυνήσεσθε Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐξέστη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἑκών γε εἶναι, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μέλλοντες πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τά τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς οὐδαμῇ ἔσονται.
36 καὶ διεσωσάμεθα τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἕως ὑμεῖς ταύτας πεποίησθε τὰς διαβοήτους σπονδάς, ἃς δὴ κοινόν τινα ὄλεθρον καλῶν τις, οἰόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι.
37 φίλων τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμίων τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφροντιστήσας, ἅπαντα ξυνέχεέ τε καὶ ξυνετάραξε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ὁ σός, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν φίλος,
38 ἔργῳ δὲ δυσμενής. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εἴσῃ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τοὺς ἑσπερίους οἷός τε ᾖ παντάπασι καταστρέψασθαι τί γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἀπειρημένων οὐκ ἔπραξεν; ἢ τί οὐκ
39 ἐκίνησε τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων, οὐχ ἡμῖν μὲν φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔταξεν οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν, καὶ Τζάνους τοὺς ὁμόρους ἡμῖν αὐτονόμους ὄντας δεδούλωται, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ τῶν ἀθλίων Λαζῶν ἄρχοντα Ῥωμαῖον ἐπέστησε; πρᾶγμα οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων ξυμβαῖνον οὔτε λόγῳ ῥᾴδιον ἑρμη-
40 νεύεσθαι. οὐ Βοσπορίταις μὲν τοῖς Οὔννων κατηκόοις στρατηγοὺς ἔπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσεποιήσατο οὐδὲν' αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἀρχάς, ὧν καὶ ἀνήκοοι τὸ παράπαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγχανον
41 ὄντες; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὁμηρίτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν

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

τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται καὶ τὸν φοινικῶνα
42 προστίθησι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ἀφίεμεν γὰρ
λέγειν τὰ Λιβύων τε καὶ Ἰταλῶν πάθη. ἡ γῆ
τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρόν ἐστιν
43 αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. ὁ
δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν
ὠκεανὸν διερευνᾶται μυχούς, ἄλλην αὐτῷ τινα
44 οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενος. τί οὖν
ἔτι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέλλεις; τί δὲ τὴν κάκιστα
ἀπολουμένην εἰρήνην αἰσχύνῃ, ὅπως δηλαδή σε
ὑστάτην ποιήσηται βρῶσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων;
45 εἰ μέν ἐστί σοι βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν ὁποῖός τις ἂν
Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐς τοὺς αὐτῷ εἴκοντας γένοιτο,
ἐγγύθεν σοι τὸ παράδειγμα παρ' ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν
46 ἐστι καὶ τῶν ταλαιπώρων Λαζῶν· εἰ δέ, ὅπως
ποτὲ εἴωθε τοῖς τε ἀγνῶσι καὶ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἠδικη-
κόσι χρῆσθαι, Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ
47 Μαυρουσίους διαλογίζου. τό τε δὴ κεφάλαιον
οὔπω λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἀλαμούνδαρον μὲν ἐν
σπονδαῖς τὸν σόν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, δοῦλον
ἀπάτῃ τε περιελθεῖν καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστῆσαι
τῆς σῆς ἔργον πεποίηται, Οὔννους δὲ τοὺς οὐδα-
μόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἔναγχος
ἑταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔσχε; καίτοι
πρᾶξις ἀτοπωτέρα ταύτης οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ
48 παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἤσθετο, οἶμαι, εἰς
πέρας αὐτῷ ὅσον οὔπω ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἑσπε-
ρίων καταστροφήν, τοὺς ἑῴους ἤδη μετελθεῖν
ὑμᾶς ἐγκεχείρηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον ἀπολέλειπται
49 αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα τὸ Περσῶν κράτος. ἡ μὲν οὖν
εἰρήνη τὸ ἐκείνου μέρος ἤδη σοι λέλυται, καὶ
σπονδαῖς αὐτὸς πέρας ταῖς ἀπεράντοις ἐπέθηκε,

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

50 λύουσι γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐχ οἳ ἂν ἐν ὅπλοις
γένοιντο πρῶτοι, ἀλλ᾽ οἳ ἂν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐν
51 σπονδαῖς τοῖς πέλας ἁλοῖεν. τὸ γὰρ ἔγκλημα
τῷ ἐγκεχειρηκότι, κἂν ἀπῇ τὸ κατορθοῦν, πέ-
πρακται. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος χωρήσει παντί
που δῆλον. οὐ γὰρ οἱ τὰς αἰτίας τῷ πολέμῳ
παρασχόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τοὺς παρασχομένους αὐτὰς
ἀμυνόμενοι, κρατεῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων εἰώθασιν.
52 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ
ἀγὼν ἔσται. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν
πλείστους πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑσχατιαῖς
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν, οἵπερ
αὐτοῖς ἄριστοι ἦσαν, τὸν ἕτερον μὲν Σίτταν
κτείναντες ἥκομεν, Βελισάριον δὲ οὔποτε Ἰου-
στινιανὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ὄψεται. οὗπερ ἐκεῖνος ὀλι-
γωρήσας μεμένηκε πρὸς ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς,
53 αὐτὸς ἔχων τὸ Ἰταλῶν κράτος. ὥστε σοι ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἰόντι ἀπαντήσει τῶν πάντων
οὐδείς, ἕξεις δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοίᾳ τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
καὶ χωρίων ἐμπειρίᾳ πολλῇ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ
54 ἐξηγουμένους." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἤκουσεν,
ἥσθη τε καὶ ξυγκαλέσας εἴ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν
ἦν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκεν ἅ τε Οὐίττιγις ἔγραψε
καὶ ὅσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφί τε τῷ πρακτέῳ
55 βουλὴν προὔθηκεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέχθησαν μὲν
γνῶμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα φέρουσαι, τέλος δὲ
πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ Ῥω-
56 μαίους ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἦν γὰρ τοῦ ἔτους μετόπω-
ρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασι-
57 λέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. οὐ μέντοι
Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτο ὑπώπτευον, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσας λύ-
σειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς

For they break the peace, not who may be first in arms, but they who may be caught plotting against their neighbours in time of peace For the crime has been committed by him who attempts it, even though success be lacking Now as for the course which the war will follow, this is surely clear to everyone For it is not those who furnish causes for war, but those who defend themselves against those who furnish them, who are accustomed always to conquer their enemies Nay more, the contest will not be evenly matched for us even in point of strength. For, as it happens, the majority of the Roman soldiers are at the end of the world, and as for the two generals who were the best they had, we come here having slain the one, Sittas, and Belisarius will never again be seen by Justinian. For disregarding his master, he has remained in the West, holding the power of Italy himself. So that when thou goest against the enemy, no one at all will confront thee, and thou wilt have us leading the army with good will, as is natural, and with a thorough knowledge of the country." When Chosroes heard this he was pleased, and calling together all who were of noble blood among the Persians, he disclosed to all of them what Vittigis had written and what the Armenians had said, and laid before them the question as to what should be done Then many opinions were expressed inclining to either side, but finally it was decided that they must open hostilities against the Romans at the beginning of spring. For it was the late autumn season, in the thirteenth year of the 589
reign of the Emperor Justinian The Romans, however, did not suspect this, nor did they think that the Persians would ever break the so-called endless

ᾠοντο, καίπερ Χοσρόην ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπιφέρειν ταῦτα ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην.

IV

1 Τότε καὶ ὁ κομήτης ἀστὴρ ἐφάνη, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅσον εὐμήκης ἀνὴρ μάλιστα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ μείζων καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πέρας πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον, ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἦν,
2 αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὄπισθεν εἵπετο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν αἰγοκέρῳ ἦν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότῃ. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ μέν τινες ἐκάλουν ξιφίαν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπιμήκης τε ἦν καὶ λίαν ὀξεῖαν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν, οἱ δὲ πωγωνίαν, ἡμέρας τε πλείους ἢ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφάνη.
3 οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σοφοὶ ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἥκιστα ὁμολογοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλα προὔλεγον πρὸς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἀστέρος σημαίνεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα γενέσθαι ξυνηνέχθη γράφων δίδωμι ἑκάστῳ τοῖς ἀποβε-
4 βηκόσι τεκμηριοῦσθαι ᾗ βούλοιτο. μέγα μὲν εὐθὺς στράτευμα Οὐννικόν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ἐπέσκηψαν, γεγονὸς μὲν πολλάκις ἤδη, τοσαῦτα δὲ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ ἢ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὸν πώποτε τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ κόλπου γὰρ τοῦ Ἰονίου οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς ἐληίσαντο
5 μέχρι ἐς τὰ Βυζαντίων προάστεια. καὶ φρούρια μὲν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς εἷλον, πόλιν δὲ τὴν Κασσάνδρειαν κατεστρέψαντο βίᾳ (ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ[1] Ποτίδαιαν ἐκάλουν, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι)

[1] παλαιοὶ · πάντες G

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

IV

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

6 οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πρότερον. καὶ τά τε χρήματα ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτων τε μυριάδας δυοκαίδεκα ἀπαγόμενοι[1] ἐπ' οἴκου ἅπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐναντιώματος ἀπαντήσαντος.
7 χρόνῳ τε τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα γενό-
8 μενοι ἀνήκεστα ἐς Ῥωμαίους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. οἳ δὴ καὶ ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τειχομαχήσαντες, βιασάμενοί τε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ῥοθίου τὸν περίβολον ὑπερβάντες ὃς πρὸς κόλπῳ τῷ μέλανι καλουμένῳ ἐστίν, οὕτω τε ἐντὸς τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες, ἔκτειναν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν
9 σχεδὸν ἅπαντας. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ τε καὶ Ἀβύδου πορθμόν, λησάμενοί τε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία καὶ αὖθις ἐς Χερρόνησον ἀναστρέψαντες, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.
10 ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τε εἰσβολῇ τούς τε Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς λησάμενοι, τειχομαχεῖν μὲν ἐνεχείρησαν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι φρουρῶν καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων διερευνώμενοι τὰς περιόδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴν ἀτραπὸν εὗρον
11 ἣ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. οὕτω τε σχεδὸν ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας πλὴν Πελοποννησίων
12 διεργασάμενοι ἀπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὰς σπονδὰς λύσαντες ἔργα Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἑῴους εἰργάσαντο ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δηλώσω.
13 Βελισάριος [ἐπεὶ] τῶν Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν βασιλέα Οὐίττιγιν καθελὼν ζῶντα ἐς

[1] ἀπαγόμενοι Maltretus. ἐπαγόμενοι MSS.

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

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

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

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

μούνδαρον δεικνύναι τὸν σὸν γῆν ἔναγχος καταδραμόντα τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔργα ἐν σπουδαῖς διαπεπρᾶχθαι ἀνήκεστα, χωρίων ἁλώσεις, χρημάτων ἁρπαγάς, ἀνθρώπων φόνους τε καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν σε οὐκ
22 αἰτιᾶσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι δεήσει. τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἠδικηκότων ἐγκλήματα αἱ πράξεις, οὐχ αἱ διάνοιαι, δηλοῦσι τοῖς πέλας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἔχεσθαι καὶ ὧς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγνώκαμεν, σὲ δὲ πολεμησείοντα ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούομεν ἀναπλάττειν αἰτίας
23 οὐδαμόθεν ἡμῖν προσηκούσας. εἰκότως οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ παρόντα περιστέλλειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες καὶ σφόδρα ἐγκειμένας ἀποσείονται τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους αἰτίας, οὓς δὲ ὁ τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀρέσκει θεσμός, καὶ τὰς οὐκ οὔσας ἐφίενται πορίζεσθαι
24 σκήψεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεῦσι, πρέπειν ἂν
25 δόξειε. σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀφέμενος σκόπει μὲν τὸ μέτρον τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπολουμένων καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη τῶν ξυμπεσουμένων τὴν αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιος, λογίζου δὲ τοὺς ὅρκους, οὓς δὴ ὀμοσάμενός[1] τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κομισάμενος, εἶτα ἀτιμάσας οὐ δέον τέχναις τισὶν ἢ σοφίσμασι παραγαγεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναιο· τὸ γὰρ θεῖον κρεῖσσον ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι πέφυκε πρὸς
26 πάντων ἀνθρώπων." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὔτε τι ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν ἠνάγκαζεν.

[1] δὴ ὀμοσάμενός VG διομοσάμενος P.

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

V

1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν χειμὼν ἤδη ὑπέληγε, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε, τήν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυεν. ἦει δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
2 Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίων φρούριον ἔσχατον ὃ Κιρκήσιον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐχυρὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄν, ἐπεὶ Ἀβόρρας μὲν ποταμὸς μέγας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχων τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμίγνυται, τὸ δὲ φρούριον τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτῇ που τῇ γωνίᾳ κεῖται
3 ἣν δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἡ μίξις ποιεῖται. καὶ τεῖχος δὲ ἄλλο μακρὸν[1] τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκτὸς χώραν τὴν μεταξὺ ποταμοῦ ἑκατέρου ἀπολαμβάνον τρίγωνον
4 ἐνταῦθα ἀμφὶ τὸ Κιρκήσιον ἐπιτελεῖ σχῆμα. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρουρίου ἐθέλων οὕτω δὴ ἐχυροῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σύρους τε καὶ Κίλικας ἰέναι, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπίπροσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδόν τι ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτου τὴν ὄχθην ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβίᾳ ἐπιτυγχάνει· ἣν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει,
5 ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔδωκεν. ἦν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδονάθου γυνή, τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος, οἳ Ῥω-
6 μαίοις ἔνσπονδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦσαν. οὗτος [ὁ]

[1] μακρὸν VP μικρὸν G.

V

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

Ὀδονάθος ἀνεσώσατο Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἑῴαν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Μήδοις γεγενημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν
7 τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο. Χοσρόης δὲ τότε ἄγχιστά που τῆς Ζηνοβίας ἦκων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον οὔτε ἀξιόλογον ἔμαθεν εἶναι καὶ τὴν χώραν κατενόησεν ἀοίκητόν τε καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν, δείσας μή τίς οἱ[1] χρόνος ἐνταῦθα τριβεὶς πράξεσι μεγάλαις ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ ἐμπόδιος εἴη, ἀπεπειράσατο μὲν ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν προὐχώρει, πρόσω κατὰ τάχος τὸν στρατὸν ἤλαυνεν.
8 Ὁδόν τε αὖθις τοσαύτην ἀνύσας ἀφίκετο ἐς
9 πόλιν Σούρων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, ἧς δὴ ἀγχοτάτω γενόμενος ἔστη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ ξυνέβη ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκάθητο χρεμετίσαι τε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸ ἔδαφος κρούειν. ὃ δὴ οἱ μάγοι ξυμβαλόντες ἁλώσεσθαι τὸ χωρίον
10 ἀπέφαινον. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ὡς τειχομαχήσων τὸ στράτευμα
11 ἐπῆγεν. ἐτύγχανε δέ τις ὄνομα μὲν Ἀρσάκης, Ἀρμένιος δὲ γένος, τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, ὃς τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀναβιβάσας, ἐνθένδε τε μαχόμενος ἰσχυρότατα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κτείνας, τοξεύματι
12 βληθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν τότε (ἦν γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ) ὡς αὖθις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τειχομαχήσοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀπογνόντες, ἅτε τετελευτηκότος σφίσι τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἱκέται διενοοῦντο Χοσρόου γενέ-
13 σθαι· τῇ οὖν ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον δεησόμενόν τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐξαιτη-

[1] τίς οἱ V(?) πως ὁ P.

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

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

σόμενον ἔπεμψαν, ὃς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινας ἐπαγόμενος ὄρνις τε φέροντας καὶ οἶνον καὶ καθαροὺς ἄρτους, παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος καθῆκεν αὐτὸν καὶ δεδακρυμένος ἱκέτευε φείδεσθαι ἀνθρώπων οἰκτρῶν καὶ πόλεως Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀτιμοτάτης, Πέρσαις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὔτε τὰ πρότερα γεγενημένης οὔτε ὕστερόν ποτε ἐσομένης· λύτρα τέ οἱ τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς δώσειν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεως ἥσπερ οἰκοῦσιν ἐπαξίως
14 ὑπέσχετο. Χοσρόης δὲ Σουρηνοῖς μὲν χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ πρῶτοι περιπεπτωκότες Ῥωμαίων ἁπάντων οὔτε τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο ἐθελούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταίρειν οἱ ὅπλα τολμήσαντες πολύν τινα δοκίμων Περσῶν ὅμιλον ἔκτειναν.
15 τὴν μέντοι ὀργὴν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀκριβῶς ἔκρυψεν, ὅπως τὴν κόλασιν ἐς Σουρηνοὺς ποιησάμενος φοβερόν τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτὸν καὶ ἄμαχόν τινα καταστήσηται. οὕτω γάρ οἱ προσχωρήσειν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ὑπετόπαζε
16 τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ γενησομένους. διὸ δὴ ξύν τε φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐξανέστησε, καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος παρείχετό τινα δόκησιν ὡς ἀμφὶ τοῖς Σουρηνῶν λύτροις αὐτίκα κοινολογησόμενος Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμοις εὖ τὴν δέησιν
17 διαθήσεται. οὕτω τε ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀπεπέμψατο οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς αἴσθησιν ἔχοντα, καί οἱ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων τινὰς παραπομποὺς ἐσομένους δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ
18 ξυνέπεμψεν. οὓς δὴ λάθρα ἐκέλευε μὲν ἰέναι ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρηγοροῦντας καί

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

τισιν ἀγαθαῖς ἐπαίροντας ἐλπίσιν, ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἅπαντας χαίροντάς τε καὶ
19 οὐδὲν δεδιότας τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθῆναι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ οἱ φύλακες ἀνακλίναντες τὴν πυλίδα τῇ πόλει αὐτοὺς δέχεσθαι μέλλωσι, λίθον τινὰ ἢ ξύλον τοῦ τε οὐδοῦ καὶ τῆς θύρας μεταξὺ ῥίψαντες οὐ ξυγχωρεῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι βουλομένοις χρόνον δή τινα ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι· οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν στρατὸν ἕψεσθαι

20 Ταῦτα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐντειλάμενος ἐν παρασκευῇ τὸν στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο, δρόμῳ τε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅταν αὐτὸς
21 σημήνῃ ἐκέλευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀσπασάμενοι ἐκτὸς ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ Σουρηνοὶ περιχαρῆ γεγονότα τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶντες ξὺν τιμῇ τε πολλῇ προπεμπόμενον πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἀφροντιστήσαντες δυσκόλων ἁπάντων τήν τε πυλίδα ὅλην ἀνέῳγον καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις κροτοῦντές τε καὶ πολλὰ εὐφημοῦντες
22 ἐδέξαντο. ἐπεί τε ἅπαντες εἴσω ἐγένοντο, τὴν μὲν πυλίδα ὡς ἐπιθήσοντες οἱ φύλακες ὤθουν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι λίθον ὃς αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο ἐν
23 μέσῳ ἐρρίπτουν. οἵ τε φύλακες ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠθοῦντές τε καὶ βιαζόμενοι ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῇ πυλίδι
24 ἐς τὸν οὐδὸν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀνοιγνύναι αὐτὴν αὖθις ἐτόλμων, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὴν ἔχεσθαι ᾔσθοντο. τινὲς δὲ οὐ λίθον, ἀλλὰ ξύλον Πέρσας ἐς τὴν πυλίδα φασὶν ἐμβε-
25 βλῆσθαι. οὕτω δὲ Σουρηνῶν σχεδόν τι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ᾐσθημένων, παρῆν τε τῷ παντὶ ὁ

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

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

Χοσρόης στρατῷ καὶ τὴν πυλίδα οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἀνεπέτασαν, δι' ὀλίγου τε κατὰ
26 κράτος ἦλω εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος τάς τε οἰκίας ἐλῃσατο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενος λόγῳ πυρπολήσας τε ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖ-
27 λεν. οὕτω τε τὸν[1] Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅπῃ ποτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολιπὼν εἴη.
28 Μετὰ δέ, εἴτε φιλανθρωπίᾳ εἴτε φιλοχρηματίᾳ ἐχόμενος, ἢ γυναικὶ χαριζόμενος ἦν δὴ ἐνθένδε δορυάλωτον ἐξελών, Εὐφημίαν ὄνομα, γυναῖκα γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἔρωτα ἐξαίσιον αὐτῆς ἐρασθείς (ἦν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς μάλιστα) δρᾶν τι
29 ἀγαθὸν ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς ἔγνω. πέμψας οὖν ἐς Σεργιούπολιν, τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον, ἣ Σεργίου ἐπιφανοῦς ἁγίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, πόλεως τῆς ἁλούσης ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσα, κειμένη δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ καλουμένῳ πεδίῳ, Κάνδιδον τὸν ταύτῃ ἐπίσκοπον κεντηναρίοιν δυοῖν δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ὄντας ὠνεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰχμα-
30 λώτους ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δέ (χρήματα γάρ οἱ οὐκ ἔφασκεν εἶναι) τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄντικρυς ἀνεδύετο. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης ἠξίου ἐν βιβλιδίῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀφέντα τοῦ δώσειν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ τὰ χρήματα οὕτω δὴ ὀλίγων χρημάτων πρίασθαι
31 ἀνδράποδα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος. Κάνδιδος δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ὡμολόγησεν ἐνιαυτοῦ δώσειν, ὅρκους δεινοτάτους ὁμω-

[1] οὕτω τε τὸν PH οὔτε τὸν V, τόν τε G.

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

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

μοκώς, ζημίαν δέ οἱ αὐτῷ διώρισε ταύτην, ἣν μὴ διδοίη χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ τὰ χρήματα, διπλάσια μὲν αὐτὰ δώσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἱερέα μηκέτι
32 εἶναι, ἅτε τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἠλογηκότα. ταῦτα Κάνδιδος ἐν γραμματείῳ γράψας τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς
33 ἅπαντας ἔλαβεν. ὧν ὀλίγοι μέν τινες διεβίωσαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀντέχειν τῇ ξυμπεσούσῃ ταλαιπωρίᾳ οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον διεφθάρησαν. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος Χοσρόης πρόσω ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα.

VI

1 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν τῆς ἕω τὴν στρατηγίδα διελὼν δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου ἀπολιπὼν ὄνομα ὃς ξύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν ὁρίων τῷ Βούζῃ ἐπιτρέψας, ὃν δὴ ἁπάσης ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς ἑῴας ἀρχῆς, ἕως Βελισάριος ἐξ
2 Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε. διὸ δὴ ὁ Βούζης ἅπαντα τὸν στρατὸν ἑπόμενον ἔχων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱεραπόλεως[1] ἔμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα Σουρηνοῖς ἔμαθε, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς
3 Ἱεραπολιτῶν πρώτους ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Οἷς μὲν ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστιν, ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος καθίστασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, οἷς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων πολλῷ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι καταδεεστέροις

[1] Ἱεραπόλεως Dindorf ἱερᾶς πόλεως MSS

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

VI

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

ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, μηχαναῖς τισι τοὺς πολεμίους περιελθεῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀντιτασσομένοις ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα προὔπτον ἰέναι.
4 ἡλίκος μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὁ Χοσρόου στρατὸς ἀκούετε δήπου. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πολιορκίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἐξελεῖν βούληται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν πόλεμον διενέγκωμεν, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείψειν εἰκός, Πέρσας δὲ ἅπαντα[1] ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐδενὸς
5 ἀντιστατοῦντος κομίζεσθαι. ταύτῃ τε τῆς πολιορκίας μηκυνομένης, οὐδὲ ἀρκέσειν τὸν περίβολον ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλαῖς οἶμαι, ὃν δὴ ἐπιμαχώτατον πολλαχόσε τετύχηκεν εἶναι, καί
6 τι Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀνηκέστων ξυμβήσεσθαι. ἦν δέ γε μοίρᾳ μέν τινι τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξωμεν τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπωρείας καταλάβωσιν, ἐνθένδε καταθέοντες πῃ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, πῃ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἕνεκα στελλομένους, ἀναγκάσουσι Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα λύσαντα τὴν προσεδρείαν, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν δι' ὀλίγου ποιήσασθαι, οὔτε τὰς προσβολὰς ἀδεέστερον ἐπάγειν τῷ περιβόλῳ παντελῶς ἔχοντα οὔτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων στρατῷ τοσούτῳ πορίζεσθαι."
7 τοσαῦτα ὁ Βούζης εἰπὼν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ξύμφορα ἔδοξεν, ἔπραξε δὲ τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν. ἀπολέξας γὰρ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ δόκιμον ἦν,
8 ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὔτε τις τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει Ῥωμαίων οὔτε ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς μαθεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

[1] ἅπαντα P ἅπαντας VG.

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

9 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πυθόμενος τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, Γερμανὸν μὲν εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὑτοῦ ξὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τριακοσίους ἑπομένους ἔχοντα ἔπεμψε, στρατὸν δέ οἱ οὐκ ἐς
10 μακρὰν ὑπέσχετο πολὺν ἕψεσθαι. ἔς τε Ἀντιόχειαν ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφικόμενος περιῆλθε τὸν περίβολον ἅπαντα κύκλῳ, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐχυρὰ μὲν ὄντα τὰ πολλὰ ηὕρισκε (τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ποταμὸς Ὀρόντης παραρρεῖ ξύμπαντα τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ἄπορα ἐργαζόμενος, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ἀνεχόμενα ἐσβατὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν), ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος, ἣν δὴ Ὀροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι νενομίκασιν, ἐπιμαχώτατον κατενόησεν ὂν τὸ κατ'
11 αὐτὴν τεῖχος. πέτρα γὰρ τυγχάνει τις ἐνταῦθά πη οὖσα, εὖρους μὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ὕψος δὲ ὀλίγῳ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐλασσουμένη.
12 ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἢ τὴν πέτραν ἀποτεμνομένους βαθύν τινα βόθρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐργάζεσθαι, μή τις ἐνθένδε ἀναβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἴοι, ἢ πύργον μέγαν τινὰ δειμαμένους ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομίαν ἐνάψαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει.
13 ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν ἀρχιτέκτοσι ποιητέα τούτων ἐδόκει οὐδέτερα εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ βραχεῖ ἐπιτελῆ ἔσεσθαι οὕτως ἐγκειμένης τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου, ἀρχόμενοί τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ οὐκ ἐς πέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξικνούμενοι οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνδείξονται ὅπη ποτὲ τοῦ
14 τείχους σφίσι πολεμητέα εἴη. Γερμανὸς δὲ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἐννοίας σφαλείς, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στρατὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου καραδοκῶν ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἶχεν.
15 ἐπεὶ δὲ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ οὔτε τις ἐκ

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

βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφίκετο οὔτε ὅτι ἀφίξεται ἐπίδοξος ἦν, ἐς δέος ἦλθε μὴ ὁ Χοσρόης πυθόμενος βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, προυργιαίτερον ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ποιήσηται Ἀντιόχειάν τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐξελεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων
16 ἀφέμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι. ταῦτα καὶ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι βουλήν τε ὑπὲρ τούτων πεποιημένοις ξυμφορώτατον [1] ἔδοξεν εἶναι χρήματα προεμένοις Χοσρόῃ κίνδυνον τὸν παρόντα διαφυγεῖν.

17 Μέγαν τοίνυν, τὸν Βεροίας ἐπίσκοπον, ἄνδρα ξυνετόν (ἐπιχωριάζων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανε τότε) Χοσρόου δεησόμενον πέμπουσιν, ὃς δὴ ἐνθένδε σταλεὶς καταλαμβάνει τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν Ἱερα-
18 πόλεως [2] οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν. Χοσρόῃ τε ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει ἀνθρώπους οἰκτεῖραι οἳ οὔτε τι ἐς αὐτὸν ἥμαρτον οὔτε τῇ Περσῶν στρα-
19 τιᾷ οἷοί τε ἀντιτείνειν εἰσί. πρέπειν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ βασιλεῖ πάντων ἥκιστα τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσι καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιτάσσεσθαι ἐπεμβαίνειν τε καὶ βιάζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν δρωμένων βασιλικόν τι οὐδὲ γενναῖον αὐτῷ ἐργασθείη, ὅτι δὴ οὐ παρασχόμενος τῷ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ βουλῆς τινα χρόνον, ὥστε ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνασθαι, ὅπη ἂν ἑκατέρῳ δοκοίη, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ συνθήκης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἔλθοι, οὕπω τοῦ σφετέρου βασιλέως ἐπισταμένου τὰ

[1] ξυμφορώτατον VG ἀναγκαιότατον P
[2] ἱεραπόλεως VG . ἱερᾶς πόλεως PH.

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

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

παρόντα σφίσι. ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας λόγῳ ξυνετῷ τὸν τρόπον ῥυθμίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδαμῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ πρότερον ἤρθη. Σύρους τε οὖν ἠπείλησε καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Κίλικας πάντας, καί οἱ τὸν Μέγαν ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐς τὴν Ἱεράπολιν[1] ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. οὗ δὴ ἀφικόμενός τε καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τόν τε περίβολον ὀχυρὸν ὄντα εἶδε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἔμαθε φυλακτήριον διαρκῶς ἔχειν, χρήματα τοὺς Ἱεραπολίτας ᾔτει, Παῦλον ἑρμηνέα παρ' αὐτοὺς πέμψας. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὗτος ἐτέθραπτό τε ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς γραμματιστοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐφοίτησεν, ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖος γένος τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι. οἱ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δειμαίνοντες, χώραν περιβεβλημένῳ πολλὴν μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀδῄωτον ἔχειν ἐθέλοντες, ὡμολόγησαν ἀργύρου σταθμὰ δισχίλια δώσειν. τότε δὴ Μέγας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑῴων ἁπάντων Χοσρόην ἱκετεύων οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ὡμολόγησε δέκα τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια λήψεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.

VII

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὅ τε Μέγας ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἤλαυνε καὶ ὁ Χοσρόης τὰ λύτρα λαβὼν ἐς Βέροιαν

[1] Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf. *ἱερὰν πόλιν* VGP, *ἱερὰν πύλην* superscr. H

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

VII

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

2 ἦει. Βέροια δὲ Ἀντιοχείας μὲν καὶ Ἱεραπόλεως μεταξὺ κεῖται, δυοῖν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ
3 ἑκατέρας διέχει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέγας ἅτε ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πορευόμενος ὀξύτερον ἦει, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν στρατὸς μοῖραν ἀεὶ τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἤνυε.
4 τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ
5 Βεροίας προάστειον ἦλθον. καὶ χρήματα Χοσρόης τοὺς Βεροιαίους τὸν Παῦλον στείλας εὐθὺς ἔπραττεν, οὐχ ὅσα πρὸς τῶν Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἔλαβε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διπλάσια, ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῖς[1]
6 ἐπιμαχώτατον ὂν πολλαχῇ εἶδε. Βεροιαῖοι δέ (θαρρεῖν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον) ξὺν προθυμίᾳ μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο ἅπαντα δώσειν, δισχίλια δὲ δόντες ἀργύρου σταθμά, τὰ λειπόμενα
7 διδόναι οὐκ ἔφασαν οἷοί τε εἶναι. ἐγκειμένου τε σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα Χοσρόου, νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἅπαντες ὃ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἐστὶ κατέφυγον ξὺν τοῖς [ἄλλοις][2] στρατιώταις, οἳ δὴ
8 ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐστέλλοντο μὲν πρὸς Χοσρόου ἐς τὴν πόλιν τινὲς ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ χρήματα λήψονται, οἱ δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένας μὲν τὰς πύλας ἁπάσας εὗρον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἔχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐσήγγελ-
9 λον. καὶ ὃς τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἐπιθέντας ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀνόδου ἐκέλευεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα
10 ἐποίουν. οὐδενός τε σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰς μὲν πύλας κατ'
11 ἐξουσίαν ἀνέῳγον, ἐδέχοντο δὲ τῇ πόλει τόν τε στρατὸν ἅπαντα καὶ Χοσρόην αὐτόν. θυμῷ τε

[1] αὐτοῖς VG . αὐτῆς PH.
[2] ἄλλοις VG om PH

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

πολλῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤδη ἐχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου
δέοντος ἐνέπρησε πᾶσαν. ἐς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
12 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. ἐν-
ταῦθα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται καρτερῶς
ἀμυνόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἔκτεινον, τῷ δὲ
Χοσρόῃ εὐτύχημα μέγα τῷ τῶν πολιορκουμένων
ἀξυνέτῳ γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, οἳ δὴ οὐ μόνοι ἐς τὸ
φρούριον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ξύν τε τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ζῴοις
τοῖς ἄλλοις κατέφυγον, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ
13 καταστρατηγηθέντες ἐς κίνδυνον ἦλθον. μιᾶς γὰρ
οὔσης ἐνταῦθα πηγῆς, ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ
ζῴων ἑτέρων οὐ δέον αὐτὴν ἐκπεπωκότων, ἀπο-
ξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη τὸ ὕδωρ. Βεροιαίοις μὲν τὰ
πράγματα ὧδέ πη εἶχεν.
14 Ὁ δὲ Μέγας εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἀφικόμενος ἀγ-
γείλας τε ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Χοσρόην ξυνέκειτο, ἔργῳ
15 ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔπειθεν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Ῥου-
φίνου καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμ-
ματέα πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην στείλας. ἀσηκρήτις
καλοῦσι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦτο Ῥωμαῖοι· σήκρητα γὰρ
16 καλεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα νενομίκασιν. οἳ δὴ ἐς Ἀντιό-
χειαν ἀφικόμενοι ἔμενον. Ἰουλιανός τε, τῶν πρέσ-
βεων ἄτερος, διαρρήδην ἀπεῖπεν ἅπασι χρήματα
μὴ διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδὲ τὰς βασιλέως
ὠνεῖσθαι πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Γερμανῷ διέβαλλε
τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐφραίμιον, ἅτε τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐνδοῦναι
17 τὴν πόλιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντα. διὸ δὴ Μέγας
ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἐφραίμιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ἀν-
τιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, δείσας τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον ἐς
18 Κίλικας ἦλθεν. οὗ δὴ καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀφίκετο οὐ

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

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

[1] "Secretary of secrets."

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

19 Μέγας δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς Βέροιαν ἥκων περιώδυνός τε τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος ᾐτιᾶτο Χοσρόην εἰργάσθαι Βεροιαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν μὲν ἐς Ἀντιόχειαν ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς στείλειε, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἠδικηκότων τά τε χρήματα ἐλήισατο καὶ ἠνάγκασε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ φρουρίῳ καθεῖρξαι, οὕτω τε τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσας ἐς τὸ
20 ἔδαφος οὐ δέον καθεῖλε. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπεκρίνατο ὧδε "Τούτων μέντοι, ὦ ἑταῖρε, αὐτὸς αἴτιος, ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρῖψαι οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ
21 τούτου γε ὑστερήσας τανῦν ἀφῖξαι. τῶν δὲ σῶν πολιτῶν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τί ἄν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὦ βέλτιστε, μακρολογοίη; οἵ γε τακτὸν ἡμῖν ὡμολογηκότες ἀργύριον δώσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, οὔπω καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν οἴονται δεῖν τὰ ξυγκείμενα, ἀλλ' ἀνέδην οὕτω χωρίου ἰσχύι θαρσήσαντες περιορῶσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένους ἐς φρουρίου πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὁρᾷς
22 δήπου, καθίστασθαι. οὓς γε δὴ ἔγωγε ξὺν θεοῖς ἐλπίδα ἔχω ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τίσασθαι,[1] καὶ Περσῶν τῶν μοι οὐ δέον πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους ἀπολωλότων τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τοὺς αἰτίους ἐπι-
23 τελέσειν." ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ Μέγας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε "Εἰ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώποις οἰκτροῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμοτάτοις ταῦτα ἐπικαλεῖς,[2] σκοπήσειεν ἄν τις, ἀνάγκη μηδὲν

[1] *τίσασθαι* MSS *τίσεσθαι* Herwerden
[2] *ἐπικαλεῖς* Hoeschel *ἐπικαλεῖ* MSS

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

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

ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν· τῇ γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κρατεῖν ἔπεσθαι
24 πέφυκεν· ἢν δέ τῳ ἐξῇ τἆλλα ἀποσεισαμένῳ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἑλέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμῖν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖν ἔχοις· ὅπως δὲ ἅπαντα ἀκούσῃ
25 πρᾴως. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ἅπερ Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπήγγελλες, δηλώσων ἐστάλην, ἑβδομαῖός σοι ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων (οὗ τί ἂν γενέσθαι δύναιτο θᾶσσον;) ταῦτά σοι ἐξειργασμένα ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμὴν εὗρον.
26 οἱ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἤδη τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἐκστάντες, εἶτα ἐς τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα καθίστανται μόνου, κρείσσους, οἶμαι, γεγενημένοι ἢ σοί τι τὸ λοιπὸν
27 τῶν χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκτινύναι τι τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπῳ ἂν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ
28 γένοιτο. πάλαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀνόματα· ἐν οἷς καὶ τόδε ἐστίν, ἀγνωμοσύνης κεχωρίσθαι
29 ἀσθένειαν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τρόπου ἀκολασίᾳ ἐς τὸ ἀντιτείνειν χωροῦσα μισεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἴωθεν, ἡ δὲ τῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας ἀδυνάτῳ ἐς ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκφερομένη ἐλεεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν.
30 ἔασον τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κληρωσαμένους τὰ χείριστα τοῦτο γοῦν φέρεσθαι παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν τῶν ξυμπεπτωκότων
31 ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους [1] γενέσθαι. καὶ χρήματα μέν σοι ὅσα λαβὼν ἔχεις διαρκεῖν οἴου, μὴ τῷ σῷ

[1] *αὐτοὺς αἰτίους* Haury . *αὐτοῖς αἰτίοις* (*αἰτίας* H) MSS.

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

ταῦτα σταθμώμενος ἀξιώματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βεροι-
32 αίων σκοπῶν δύναμιν. περαιτέρω δὲ ἡμᾶς βιάζου
μηδέν, μή ποτε δόξῃς οἷς ἐγκεχείρηκας ἀδύνατος
εἶναι· τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον ἀεὶ τῷ ἀμηχάνῳ
τετίμηται· τὸ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἐγχειρεῖν
33 κράτιστον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μοι ἀπολελογήσθω
ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε. ἢν δέ
γε τοῖς ταλαιπώροις ξυγγενέσθαι δυνατὸς εἴην,
ἔχοιμι ἄν τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν νῦν με λεληθότων
34 εἰπεῖν." τοσαῦτα τὸν Μέγαν εἰπόντα ὁ Χοσρόης
ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι. ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα
γενόμενος καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ
μαθὼν ἅπαντα, δεδακρυμένος τε παρὰ Χοσρόην
αὖθις ἀφίκετο καὶ πρηνὴς κείμενος οὐδὲν μὲν
Βεροιαίοις ἰσχυρίζετο ἀπολελεῖφθαι τῶν πάντων
χρημάτων, μόνα δέ οἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκέτευε
35 χαριεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα. ταῖς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀλο-
φύρσεσιν ὁ Χοσρόης ἠγμένος τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ
ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ διομοσάμενος ἅπασι τοῖς ἐν ἀκρο-
36 πόλει τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε. Βεροιαῖοι δὲ παρὰ
τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἐλθόντες, ἀπέλιπόν τε τὴν
ἀκρόπολιν ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν καὶ ἀπιόντες ᾤχοντο
37 ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐβούλετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν
ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτοῖς τινες εἵποντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι
ἐθελούσιοι παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτόμολοι ἦλθον, ἐπι-
καλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τὰς συντάξεις χρόνου μακροῦ
σφίσι τὸ δημόσιον ὤφλε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ὕστερον
ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἐχώρησαν.

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

VIII

1 Χοσρόης δέ (καὶ γάρ οἱ Μέγας χρήματα
ἔφασκεν οὐδαμῆ πεπεικέναι Ἀντιοχέας φέρειν)
2 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤει. Ἀντιοχέων δέ
τινες μὲν ἐνθένθε ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξαναστάντες
ἔφευγον ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο. ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο
διενοοῦντο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες, εἰ μὴ μεταξὺ
ἥκοντες οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες,
Θεόκτιστός τε καὶ Μολάτζης, ξὺν ἑξακισχιλίοις
ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίσι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιρρώσαντες διεκώ-
3 λυσαν. οὗ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ Περσῶν
στράτευμα ἦλθεν ἐνταῦθά τε διεσκηνημένοι
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες πρός τε Ὀρόντῃ τῷ
4 ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοῦ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. Χοσρόης
τε Παῦλον παρὰ τὸν περίβολον στείλας τοὺς
Ἀντιοχέας χρήματα ἤτει, δέκα χρυσοῦ κεντη-
ναρίων ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ἐνθένδε,[1] ἔνδηλός τε ἦν
καὶ τούτων ἐλάσσω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ληψό-
5 μενος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἥκοντες παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην
οἱ πρέσβεις, εἰπόντες τε ἀμφὶ τῇ διαλύσει τῆς
εἰρήνης πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀκούσαντες
6 ἀνεχώρησαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιο-
χέων ὁ δῆμος (εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένοι,
ἀλλὰ γελοίοις τε καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἱκανῶς ἔχονται)
πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ὕβριζόν τε ἀπὸ τῶν
7 ἐπάλξεων καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι ἀκόσμῳ ἐτώθαζον· καὶ
Παῦλον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγγὺς ἥκοντα παραινοῦντά

[1] Haury suggests *ἐνθένδε <ὁμολογῶν>*.

VIII

June, 540 A.D.

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

[1] Cf. Book I xxii. 4.

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

8 Τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπαγαγὼν ἅπαντας Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλῃ προσβάλλειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν προσέβαλλε. ταύτῃ γάρ, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ἐπιμαχώτα-
9 τος ὁ περίβολος ἦν. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι (στενοτάτη γὰρ ἡ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα ἐφ' ἧς ἱστάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλον) ἐπενόησαν τάδε. δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνδέοντες μεταξὺ τῶν πύργων ἐκρέμων, οὕτω τε πολλῷ εὐρυτέρας δὴ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἐποίουν, ὅπως ἔτι πλείους ἐνθένδε ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας οἷοί τε
10 ὦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενοι πανταχόθεν τὰ τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἔπεμπον, ἄλλως
11 τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἄκρας ὑπερβολήν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἠμύνοντο δυνάμει πάσῃ, οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δήμου εὐτολμότατοι νεανίαι
12 πολλοί. ἐδόκουν δὲ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἐνταῦθα ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τοῖς πολεμίοις καθίστασθαι. ἡ γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρεῖά τις καὶ ὑψηλὴ οὖσα καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περιβόλῳ καθάπερ ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐποίει.
13 καὶ εἴ μέν τις ἐθάρσησε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἔξω τε γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην προτερήσας καταλαβεῖν ἐνθένδε <τε> τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, οὐκ ἄν

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

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

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

τῇ πόλει, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι.
18 ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἤεσαν· εἶτα πρὸς τῶν ἵππων ὠθούμενοι ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔπιπτον.
19 οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐν ποσὶν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν φειδόμενοι ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὕπερθεν τῶν κειμένων ἅπαντες ἤλαυνον, γέγονέ τε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αὐτάς.
20 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, κλίμακας ἐπιθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀνέβαινον. ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καταβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ διασκοπουμένοις τε καὶ ἀπορουμένοις ἐῴκεσαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, προλοχίζεσθαι τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνέδραις τισὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπο-
21 τοπάζοντες. τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας εὐθὺς κατιόντι [λοιπὸν] ἀοίκητος χώρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστόν ἐστι. πέτραι τε λίαν ὑψηλαὶ
22 ἀνέχουσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τόποι κρημνώδεις. ἔνιοι δέ φασι Χοσρόου γνώμῃ γεγονέναι τὴν μέλλησιν
23 Πέρσαις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τήν τε δυσχωρίαν κατενόησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φεύγοντας εἶδεν, ἔδεισε μή τινι ἀνάγκῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναστρέψαντες πράγματα σφίσι παράσχωνται, ἐμπόδιοί τε γένωνται, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, πόλιν ἑλεῖν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν καὶ πρώτην Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἕω πασῶν πόλεων, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ

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

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

24 ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. οὗ δή, περὶ ἐλάσσονος τἄλλα
ποιούμενος ἅπαντα, ἤθελε τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρα-
τιώταις καιρὸν ἐνδιδόναι, ὥστε κατ' ἐξουσίαν τῇ
φυγῇ χρῆσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τοῖς
φεύγουσι Πέρσαι σημαίνοντες ἐνεκελεύοντο φεύ-
25 γειν ὡς τάχιστα. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται Ῥω-
μαίων ξὺν τοῖς [ἄλλοις] ἄρχουσιν ἀπιόντες
ᾤχοντο ἅπαντες διὰ πύλης ἣ ἐπὶ Δάφνην ἄγει τὸ
26 τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον ταύτης γὰρ μόνης,
τῶν ἄλλων κατειλημμένων, ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι·
τοῦ δὲ δήμου ὀλίγοι τινὲς ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις
27 διέφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέρσαι ἅπαντας τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίων στρατιώτας εἶδον πρόσω χωρήσαντας,
καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει
28 ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων
νεανίαι πολλοὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες τὰ πρῶτα
καθυπέρτεροι ἔδοξαν τῇ ξυμβολῇ εἶναι. ἦσαν δὲ
αὐτῶν τινες μὲν ὁπλῖται, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι γυμνοὶ
29 καὶ λίθων βολαῖς χρώμενοι μόναις. ὡσάμενοι δὲ
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπαιάνιζόν τε καὶ Ἰουστινιανὸν
βασιλέα καλλίνικον, ἅτε νενικηκότες, ἀνέκραγον.
30 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν
ἄκραν καθήμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐθέλων τι εἰπεῖν
μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις ἀρχόντων, ὁ
Ζαβεργάνης, οἰόμενος ξυμβάσεως πέρι βούλεσθαι
τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς λόγους ἰέναι, ἐς ὄψιν τε τῷ
31 βασιλεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἦλθε καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε "Οὐχὶ
ταὐτά[1] μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ δέσποτα, Ῥωμαίοις ἀμφὶ
τῇ τούτων σωτηρίᾳ γινώσκειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ
πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς τὴν βασι-
λείαν τὴν σὴν καὶ ἡσσημένοι τολμῶσί τε τὰ

[1] ταὐτὰ Maltretus. ταῦτα MSS.

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

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

ἀμήχανα καὶ δρῶσι τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὥσπερ δεδιότες μή τις αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοὶ φιλανθρωπίας λελείψεται λόγος· σὺ δὲ τούς τε σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας ἐλεεῖν βούλει, καὶ φείδε-
32 σθαι τῶν οὐδαμῇ ἐθελόντων ἐσπούδακας. οἱ δὲ προλοχίσαντες ἐν ἁλούσῃ πόλει τοὺς νενικηκότας ἐνέδραις τισὶ διαφθείρουσι, καίπερ ἁπάντων
33 αὐτοῖς πάλαι πεφευγότων στρατιωτῶν." ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας, τῶν ἀρίστων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν, οἳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπανήκοντες
34 οὐδὲν ξυμβῆναι φλαῦρον ἀπήγγελλον. ἤδη γὰρ Ἀντιοχέας Πέρσαι βιασάμενοι πλήθει ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ γέγονε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολύς. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φειδόμενοι τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν
35 ἅπαντας ἠβηδὸν ἔκτεινον. τότε φασὶ γυναῖκας τῶν <ἐν> Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐπιφανῶν δύο γενέσθαι μὲν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου, αἰσθομένας δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενήσονται (πανταχόσε γὰρ ἤδη περιιόντες καθεωρῶντο) δρόμῳ μὲν παρὰ [τὸν] ποταμὸν Ὀρόντην ἐλθεῖν, φοβουμένας δὲ μή τι σφᾶς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσωσι Πέρσαι, ταῖς τε καλύπτραις ἐγκαλυψαμένας τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥεῦμα ἐμπεσούσας ἀφανισθῆναι. οὕτω πᾶσα κακοῦ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἰδέα ἔσχεν.

IX

1 Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον οἶομαι εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀκραιφνῆ τἀγαθὰ ὁ θεός,

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

IX

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

ἀλλὰ κεραννύων αὐτὰ τοῖς κακοῖς εἶτα τοῖς
2 ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται. καὶ δι' αὐτὸ οὐδὲ τὸ γελᾶν
ἄκλαυστον ἔχομεν, παραπέπηγε δέ τις ἀεὶ τοῖς
μὲν εὐτυχήμασι συμφορά, ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς λύπη,
οὐκ ἐῶσαί τινα γνησίας ποτὲ τῆς δεδομένης
3 εὐημερίας ἀπόνασθαι. πόλιν γὰρ τήνδε, ἀξιο-
λογωτάτην ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ
οὖσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπονώτατα μὲν ἐλεῖν
ἴσχυσα, τοῦ· θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδιάσαντος ἡμῖν, ὡς
4 ὁρᾶτε δήπου, τὴν νίκην. φόνον μέντοι ἀνθρώπων
ὁρῶντί μοι τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, αἵματί τε πολλῷ
βεβαπτισμένον τὸ τρόπαιον, οὐδεμία τῆς ἀπὸ[1]
5 τῆς πράξεως ἡδονῆς γέγονεν αἴσθησις. καὶ τῶνδε
οἱ ταλαίπωροι Ἀντιοχεῖς αἴτιοι, οἵ γε τειχο-
μαχοῦντας μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τε γεγόνασι Πέρσας
ἀπώσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ νενικηκότας ἤδη καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ
τὴν πόλιν ἑλόντας θράσει θανατῶντες ἀλογίστῳ
6 ζυγομαχεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Περσῶν
δόκιμοι πολλὰ ἐνοχλοῦντες σαγηνεῦσαί τέ με τὴν
πόλιν ἠξίουν καὶ ξύμπαντας διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἡλω-
κότας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον εἰς τὴν
ὑπαγωγὴν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁρμᾶν, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα
σώζοιντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς ἡλωκόσιν οὐχ
7 ὅσιον." τοσαῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τερατευόμενός τε
καὶ διαθρυπτόμενος τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἶπεν, οὐκ
ἔλαθε μέντοι αὐτοὺς ὅτου ἕνεκα τὸν καιρὸν
φεύγουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοίη.
8 Ἦν γὰρ δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων τὰ
μὲν οὐκ ὄντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρύψασθαι,

[1] τῆς ἀπὸ affert Dindorf MS *a* τὸ ἀπὸ VG, τις ἀπὸ P.

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

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

καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἐξημάρτανε τὰς αἰτίας τοῖς ἠδικημένοις ἐπενεγκεῖν· ἔτι δὲ ὁμολογῆσαι μὲν ἕτοιμος ἅπαντα καὶ ὅρκῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν πιστώσασθαι, λίαν δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος αὐτῷ ξυγκειμένων τε καὶ ὁμωμοσμένων ἑτοιμότερος ἐς λήθην ἀφῖχθαι,[1] καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἕνεκεν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἄγος καθεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἄοκνος, τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ σχηματίζεσθαι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπειρος, ἀφοσιοῦσθαί
9 τε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὃς[2] καὶ Σουρηνούς, πρότερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἠδικηκότας, δόλῳ τε περιελθὼν καὶ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσας τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκα κοσμίαν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἁλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως εἶδεν ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πρός του τῶν βαρβάρων ἑλκομένην ξὺν πολλῇ βίᾳ, παιδίον δὲ ὅπερ αὐτῇ ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ <ἦν>[3] ἀπαλλαγὲν ἀφεῖναι μὲν οὐ βουλομένην, ἕλκουσαν δὲ θατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐμπεπτωκὸς εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐπεί οἱ ξυντρέχειν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν τοῦτον δὴ τὸν βίαιον δρόμον, τὸν οἰκεῖον κάν-
10 ταῦθα ἐνδέδεικται τρόπον. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν στενάξαντα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δόκησίν τε ὡς εἴη δεδακρυμένος παρεχόμενον τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ, εὔξασθαι τὸν θεὸν τίσασθαι τὸν τῶν γεγονότων
11 κακῶν αἴτιον. Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα παραδηλοῦν ἤθελεν, ἐξεπιστάμενος
12 ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἁπάντων εἴη. τοσαύτῃ χρώμενος φύσεως ἀτοπίᾳ Χοσρόης βασιλεύς τε

[1] ἀφῖχθαι P · ἀφίχθαι V, ἐλθεῖν G [2] ὃς P ὡς VG.
[3] <ἦν> Haury om. MSS

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

Περσῶν γέγονε (Ζάμου τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τοῦ δαιμονίου πηρώσαντος, ὅσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐφέρετο μετά γε τὸν Καόσην, ὅνπερ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐμίσει Καβάδης) καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπαναστάντων ἐκράτησε, κακά τε
13 Ῥωμαίους ὅσα ἐβούλευσεν εὐπετῶς ἔδρασε βουλομένη γάρ τινα μέγαν ἀεὶ ποιεῖν ἡ τύχη πράσσει τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ δόξαντα, οὐδενὸς τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς βουλήσεως ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασκοπουμένη ἀξίωμα οὔτε ὅπως μὴ γένηταί τι τῶν οὐ δεόντων λογιζομένη, οὐδὲ ὅτι βλασφημήσουσιν ἐς αὐτὴν διὰ ταῦτα πολλοί, τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τῆς χάριτος τετυχηκότος χλευάζοντες, οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ποιουμένη, ἢν τὸ δόξαν αὐτῇ περαίνοιτο μόνον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὅπη τῷ θεῷ φίλον ἐχέτω.

14 Χοσρόης δὲ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς περιόντας ζωγρεῖν καὶ ἀνδραποδίζειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ληίζεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας
15 κατέβαινεν, ὅπερ ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα κειμήλια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Χοσρόης εὗρεν, ὥστε τῆς λείας ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰ κειμήλια ταῦτα λαβὼν πλούτου
16 τι μέγεθος περιβεβλημένος ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ μάρμαρά τε πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐνθένδε ἀφελὼν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε κατατίθεσθαι, ὅπως
17 καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη κομίσωνται. ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρῆσαι

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

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

Πέρσαις ἐπέστελλε.[1] καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐδέοντο τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέχεσθαι μόνης, ἧς τὰ
18 λύτρα κεκομισμένος διαρκῶς εἴη. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκεχωρηκὼς τἄλλα καίειν ἐκέλευε πάντα, ὀλίγους τέ τινας αὐτόθι ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρήσοντας, αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησεν οὗ καὶ πρότερον διεσκηνημένοι ἐτύγχανον.

X

1 Τούτου τοῦ πάθους χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον τέρας ὁ θεὸς ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοις ἐσήμηνε τὰ ἐσόμενα. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν, οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἵδρυνται, τὰ σημεῖα πρότερον ἑστῶτα πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου στραφέντα πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἔστησαν, ἐς τάξιν τε αὖθις ἐπανῆκον τὴν προτέραν οὐδενὸς
2 ἁψαμένου. ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἄγχιστά πη παροῦσι καὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης ἔδειξαν, ἔτι τῶν σημείων κραδαινομένων. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνήρ, Ταϊανὸς ὄνομα, ξυνετὸς μάλιστα, ἐκ Μοψουεστίας
3 ὁρμώμενος. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἔγνωσαν οἱ τὸ τέρας τοῦτο ἰδόντες ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ ἑσπερίου ἐπὶ τὸν ἑῷον τὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἀφίξεται κράτος, ὅπως δηλαδὴ διαφυγεῖν μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ δύνωνται οὕσπερ ἔδει ταῦτα ἅπερ ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν.
4 Ἐγὼ δὲ ἰλιγγιῶ πάθος τοσοῦτον γράφων τε καὶ παραπέμπων ἐς μνήμην τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ,

[1] ἐπέστελλε VP ἐκέλευε G.

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

X

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

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

καὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι τί ποτε ἄρα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἴη πράγματα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἢ χωρίου του ἐπαίρειν εἰς ὕψος, αὖθις δὲ ῥιπτεῖν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφανίζειν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἡμῖν φαινομένης αἰτίας. αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἅπαντα κατὰ λόγον ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, ὃς δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τότε ὑπέστη ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσιωτάτου καταφερομένην ἰδεῖν, ἧς τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι παντάπασιν ἔσχεν.

6 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλείφθη μόνη, πόνῳ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ Περσῶν οἷς
7 τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκειτο τοῦτο. ἐλείφθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Κεραταῖον οἰκίαι πολλαί, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνθρώπων τινός, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἔκειντό που πρὸς ἐσχάτοις τῆς πόλεως, ἑτέρας αὐταῖς οὐδεμιᾶς τινος οἰκοδομίας ξυναπτομένης, τὸ πῦρ
8 <ἐς>[1] αὐτὰς ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. ἐνέπρησάν τε καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ βάρβαροι, πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅπερ Ἰουλιανῷ ἀνεῖται ἁγίῳ, καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν αἳ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἱερὸν
9 τοῦτο τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι. τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα καταλῦσαι ξυνέπεσε. τοῦ μέντοι περιβόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι.

10 Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἥκοντες αὖθις παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε, "Εἰ μὴ πρὸς παρόντα σέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ᾠόμεθα Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὅπλοις ἥκειν, ἀτιμάσαντα μὲν τοὺς διομωμοσμένους σοι ἔναγχος ὅρκους, ὃ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἁπάντων ὕστατόν τε καὶ ὀχυρώ-

[1] <ἐς> Haury ἐπ' Maltretus, om MSS

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

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

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

τατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐς ἀλλήλους πίστεώς τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐνέχυρον, διαλύσαντα δὲ τὰς σπονδάς, ὧν ἡ ἐλπὶς ἀπολέλειπται μόνη τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ κακοπραγίαν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ βιο-
11 τεύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴποι τις ἂν εἶναι ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν δίαιταν ἐς τὴν
12 τῶν θηρίων μεταβεβλῆσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μηδαμῆ σπένδεσθαι τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀπέραντα λελείψεται πάντως,[1] πόλεμος δὲ ὁ πέρας οὐκ ἔχων ἐξοικίζειν τῆς φύσεως τοὺς αὐτῷ χρωμένους ἐς ἀεὶ πέφυκε.
13 τί δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος πρὸς τὸν σὸν ἀδελφὸν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον γέγραφας ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη τοῦ λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς αἴτιος; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ὁμολογῶν κακόν τι παμμέγεθες εἶναι τὴν τῶν σπονδῶν
14 λύσιν; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν, οὐ δικαίως τανῦν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥκεις· εἰ δέ τι τοιοῦτόν τ' ἀδελφῷ[2] τῷ σῷ εἰργάσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοὶ μέχρι τούτου γε καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω διαπεπράχθω τὸ ἔγκλημα, ὅπως αὐτὸς κρείσσων εἶναι δοκῇς.[3] ὁ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς ἐλασσούμενος,
15 οὗτος ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀμείνοσι νικῴη δικαίως. καίτοι ἡμεῖς ἐξεπιστάμεθα Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα μηδεπώποτε τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐληλυθέναι, καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα μὴ τοιαῦτα ἐργάσασθαι Ῥωμαίους κακά, ἐξ ὧν Πέρσαις μὲν ὄνησις οὐδεμία ἔσται, σὺ δὲ τοῦτο κερδανεῖς μόνον, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα τοὺς ἄρτι σοι σπεισαμένους οὐ δέον εἰργάσθαι." οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις τοσαῦτα εἶπον.
16 Χοσρόης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἰσχυρίζετο μὲν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως λελύσθαι·

[1] *πάντως* VGP corr. . *πάνταs* P pr. m
[2] *τ' ἀδελφῷ* VG : *τῷ ἀδελφῷ* P
[3] *δοκῇs* Dindorf : *δοκεῖs* MSS

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

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

καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ἅσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέσχετο, τὰς μέν τινας καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ξυμπεπλασμένας·[1] μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιωτάτας ἠξίου δεικνύναι πρός τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον καὶ Οὔννους αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς
17 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. ἄνδρα μέντοι Ῥωμαῖον ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν ἐσβεβληκέναι ἢ πολέμια ἔργα
18 ἐνδείξασθαι οὔτε λέγειν εἶχεν οὔτε δεικνύναι. οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις πῇ μὲν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνέφερον, ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν ὑπουργηκότων τινάς, πῇ δὲ ὡς οὐχ οὕτω γεγονότων ἐπελαμ-
19 βάνοντο τῶν εἰρημένων. τέλος δὲ χρήματα μέν οἱ πολλὰ ὁ Χοσρόης ἠξίου διδόναι Ῥωμαίους, παρῄνει δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μόνον παρεχομένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν πάντα
20 αἰῶνα κρατύνασθαι. τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινομένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλισκομένοις ἐκ τοῦ
21 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνδαπανᾶσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι. δεῖν τοίνυν Ῥωμαίους τακτόν τι φέρειν ἐπέτειον Πέρσαις. "Οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς," ἔφη, "τὴν εἰρήνην Πέρσαι βέβαιον ἕξουσι, τάς τε Κασπίας αὐτοὶ φυλάσσοντες πύλας καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἀχθόμενοι διὰ πόλιν Δάρας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔμμισθοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς
22 ἀεὶ ἔσονται." "Οὐκοῦν," οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν, "ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσαι βούλονται Ῥωμαίους ἐς
23 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔχειν." "Οὔκ, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτας οἰκείους," ὁ Χοσρόης εἶπεν, "ἕξουσι τὸ λοιπὸν Πέρσας Ῥωμαῖοι, μισθὸν τῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦντες ῥητόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Οὔννων τισὶ

[1] ξυμπεπλεγμένας H.

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

[1] Cf Book II i. 13; iii 47

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

XI

1 Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσαν ἦλθεν, ἐνταῦθά τε Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα οὔτε εὑρὼν[2] οὔτε λυμηνάμενος ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ[3] τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὕδατι μόνος, θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἱστισιν ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο, πολλά τε
2 ἐπιθειάσας ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν. ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιθυμίαν οἱ ἔφασκέ τινα εἶναι τὴν Ἀπαμέων πόλιν ἐν γειτόνων οὖσαν οὐκ ἄλλου
3 του ἕνεκα ἢ ἱστορίας θεάσασθαι. ξυνεχώρουν τε οὐχ ἑκούσιοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι

[1] ἀποπορείαν VG · ἀποπορίαν P, ἀπορίαν H
[2] εὑρών · Haury suggests αἱρῶν [3] ἐκ VH om. G, ἔν τε P.

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

XI

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

[1] Cf Book I xxii 4

αὐτὸν θεασάμενόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀργύρου
χιλίας κομισάμενον ἐνθένδε λίτρας, οὐδέν τι ἄλλο
4 λυμηνάμενον ἀπελαύνειν ὀπίσω. ἔνδηλος δὲ ἦν
ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς τε πρέσβεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις
ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν τοῦδε ἕνεκα στέλλοιτο
μόνον, ὅπως δή τινος σκήψεως οὐκ ἀξιολόγου
λαβόμενος αὐτήν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνῃ χώραν
λῃσήσεται. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη, τὸ
5 Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. ἔνθα δὴ τό τε ἄλσος ἐν
θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων
6 πηγάς· ἄμφω γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἐστι. καὶ
θύσας ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
λυμηνάμενος, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ τὸ
ἱερὸν καύσας ξὺν ἑτέραις τισὶν οἰκίαις ἐξ αἰτίας
7 τοιᾶσδε. Πέρσης ἀνὴρ ἵππῳ ὀχούμενος, ἔν τε
τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ δόκιμος καὶ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ
γνώριμος, ἐς χῶρον κρημνώδη ἀμφὶ τὸν λεγόμενον
Τρητὸν ἦλθε ξὺν ἑτέροις τισίν, οὗ δὴ τοῦ ἀρχαγ-
γέλου Μιχαὴλ νεώς ἐστιν, Εὐάριδος ἔργον.
8 οὗτος ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα Ἀντιοχέων νεανίαν πεζόν τε
καὶ μόνον κρυπτόμενον ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν[1] ἐδίωκε τῶν
ἑτέρων χωρίς. ἦν δὲ κρεοπώλης ὁ νεανίας,
9 Ἀείμαχος ὄνομα. ὃς ἐπειδὴ καταλαμβάνεσθαι
ἔμελλεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λίθῳ τὸν
διώκοντα βάλλει, ἐπιτυγχάνει τε τοῦ μετώπου ἐς
τὴν παρὰ τὸ οὖς μήνιγγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος
εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκινάκην σπα-
10 σάμενος κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. σκυλεύσας τε αὐτοῦ
κατ' ἐξουσίαν τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅπαντα
καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐτύγχανεν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐπί τε τὸν
11 ἵππον ἀναθορὼν πρόσω ἤλαυνεν. εἴτε δὲ τύχῃ

[1] ἰδὼν VGP corr · εὑρὼν P pr. m.

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

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

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

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

νέχθη λόγου τε καὶ πίστεως κρεῖσσον ἐν-
ταῦθα γενέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ὁ ἱερεὺς
φέρων ἐδείκνυεν, ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ σέλας πυρὸς
ἐπεφέρετο καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέρος
18 φωτὶ πολλῷ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατελάμπετο. βαδί-
ζόντος τε τοῦ ἱερέως πανταχῇ τοῦ νεὼ συμπροήει
τὸ σέλας, φυλάσσον ἀεὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς
19 ὀροφῆς χώραν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀπαμέων δῆμος
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θαύματος ἡδονῆς ἐθαμβεῖτό τε καὶ
ἐγεγήθει καὶ ἔκλαιεν, ἤδη τε ἅπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς
20 σωτηρίας τὸ θαρσεῖν εἶχον. ὁ δὲ Θωμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ
περιῆλθε τὸν νεὼν ἅπαντα, καταθέμενος ἐν τῇ
θήκῃ τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ
σέλας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέπαυτο. μαθὼν δὲ τὸν
τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως
ἥκειν, σπουδῇ πολλῇ παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην ἀφίκετο.
21 καὶ ὃς <ἐπεὶ>[1] ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως εἰ βου-
λομένοις τοῖς Ἀπαμεῦσιν εἴη ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου
ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ἀπεκρίνατο
Θωμᾶς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτο ἐς ἔννοιαν
22 ἥκειν "Οὐκοῦν" ἔφη ὁ Χοσρόης "δέξασθέ με
τῇ πόλει ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ πάσαις ἀναπεπτα-
23 μέναις ταῖς πύλαις." ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν "Ἐπ' αὐτὸ
γὰρ δὴ παρακαλέσων τοῦτο ἀφῖγμαι" ὁ μὲν οὖν
στρατὸς ἅπας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο διεσκηνημένοι
πρὸ[2] τοῦ περιβόλου,

24 Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης ἄνδρας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρίστων
διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήλασεν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ γέγονεν εἴσω πυλῶν, ἐπελάθετο ἑκών γε
εἶναι τῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκειμένων,
καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκέλευε δοῦναι οὐ χίλια μόνον

[1] <ἐπεὶ> Haury. [2] πρὸ Maltretus MS. e πρὸς P.

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

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

ἀργύρου σταθμὰ οὐδὲ τούτων δεκαπλάσια, ἀλλὰ <καὶ> τὰ κειμήλια ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχε κείμενα, χρυσᾶ τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶ ξύμπαντα, μεγάλα ὑπερ-
25 φυῶς ὄντα. οἶμαι δ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀνδραποδίσασθαί τε καὶ λησάσθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀποκνῆσαι, εἰ μή τι θεῖον αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς
26 διεκώλυσεν. οὕτως αὐτὸν ἥ τε φιλοχρηματία ἐξέπλησσε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ τῆς
27 δόξης ἐπιθυμία. κλέος γάρ οἱ μέγα τοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς ᾤετο εἶναι, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ποιούμενος εἰ σπονδάς τε καὶ ξυνθήκας ἠλογηκὼς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐργάζεται.
28 ταύτην τε Χοσρόου δηλώσει τὴν γνώμην ἅ τε ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐνεχείρησε τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὰ ξυγκείμενα, καὶ ἃ Καλλινικησίους ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔδρασεν, ἅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθε λελέξεται λόγοις. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
29 Ἀπάμειαν διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κειμήλια ὁ Χοσρόης ξύμπαντα εἶλε καὶ αὐτὸν μεθύοντα ἤδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ ὁ Θωμᾶς εἶδε, τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ξὺν τῇ θήκῃ ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνέφγέ τε τὴν θήκην καὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐνδεικνύμενος "Ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ" ἔφη "ταῦτά μοι ἀπολέλειπται
30 μόνα ἐκ πάντων χρημάτων. θήκην μὲν οὖν τήνδε (χρυσῷ τε γὰρ κεκαλλώπισται καὶ λίθοις ἐντίμοις) φθόνος οὐδεὶς λαβόντα σε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔχειν, τουτὶ δὲ τὸ ξύλον, σωτήριόν τε ἡμῖν καὶ τίμιόν ἐστι, τοῦτο, ἱκετεύω σε καὶ δέομαι, δός μοι." ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ξυνεχώρει δὲ Χοσρόης καὶ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει.
31 Μετὰ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πολλῇ χρώμενος τόν τε δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον ἀναβαίνειν ἐκέλευε καὶ

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

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

[1] Cf Book II xxi 30–32.

τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα σφίσιν.
32 οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβὰς θεατὴς γενέσθαι τῶν
ποιουμένων ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠκηκόει
πολλῷ πρότερον Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα χρώματος
τοῦ Βενέτου, ὃ δὴ κυάνεόν ἐστιν, ἐκτόπως ἐρᾶν,
ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ κάνταῦθα ἰέναι βουλόμενος
33 ἤθελε τῷ πρασίνῳ τὴν νίκην ἁρμόσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν
ἡνίοχοι ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο,
τύχῃ δέ τις τῷ τὰ Βένετα ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ ἐγένετο
34 παρελάσαντι ἐπίπροσθεν ἰέναι. εἵπετο δὲ αὐτῷ
κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἁματροχιὰς ὁ τὸ πράσινον ἀμπε-
35 χόμενος χρῶμα. ὅπερ ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ Χοσρόης γε-
γονέναι οἰόμενος, ἠγανάκτει τε καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ
ἀνεβόα τὸν Καίσαρα προτερῆσαι τῶν ἄλλων οὐ
δέον, ἐκέλευέ τε τοὺς προτέρους ἰόντας ἵππους
ἐπέχεσθαι, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν κατόπισθεν γενόμενοι
ἀγωνίζωνται· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο ὥσπερ
ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευε, νικᾶν οὕτως ὅ τε Χοσρόης καὶ
36 μέρος τὸ πράσινον ἔδοξεν. ἐνταῦθα τῶν τις Ἀπα-
μέων Χοσρόῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων ᾐτιᾶτο Πέρσην ἄνδρα
ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντα τὴν παῖδα
37 οὖσαν παρθένον βιάζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας
καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευε.
καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν ἤδη, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι αὐτὸν
38 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέστελλε. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ δῆμος
παντὶ σθένει ἀνέκραγον ἐξαίσιον οἷον, πρὸς
τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαιτού-
μενοι. Χοσρόης δὲ ὡμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν
ἄνδρα ἀφήσειν, λάθρα δὲ ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὐ πολ-
λῷ ὕστερον ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε διαπεπραγμένος
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν.

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

[1] This term was applied to the "Blue Faction" in Byzantium and elsewhere.

XII

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκετο, Βεροίας πόλεως τέτρασι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις διέχουσαν, αὖθις ἐς λήθην τινὰ τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἦλθε, στρατοπεδευσάμενός τε τοῦ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἔπεμψε Παῦλον ἀπειλήσοντα Χαλκιδεῦσι πολιορκίᾳ τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσειν, εἰ μὴ τήν τε σωτηρίαν ὤνιον κτήσονται τὰ λύτρα διδόντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅσους ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ξὺν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐκδοῖεν σφίσι. 2 Χαλκιδεῖς δὲ ἐς δέος μέγα πρὸς ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐμπεπτωκότες στρατιώτας μὲν ἀπώμοσαν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιδημεῖν σφίσι, καίπερ ἄλλους τε καὶ Ἀδόναχον τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντα κρύψαντες ἐν οἰκίσκοις τισίν, ὅπως μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔνδηλοι ὦσι· χρυσοῦ δὲ κεντηνάρια δύο συλλέξαντες μόλις, ἐπεὶ πόλιν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμονα ᾤκουν, τῷ τε Χοσρόῃ ζωάγρια δόντες τήν τε πόλιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διεσώσαντο.

3 Ἐνθένδε οὐκέτι ὁ Χοσρόης ἐβούλετο τὴν ἀποπορείαν ᾗπερ ἐληλύθει ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ' Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβῆναι καὶ χρήματα ὅτι πλεῖ-
4 στα ἐκ Μεσοποταμίας ληίζεσθαι γέφυραν οὖν ζεύξας ἀμφὶ Ὀββάνης τὸ χωρίον, ὅπερ τοῦ ἐν Βαρβαλισσῷ φρουρίου τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχει, αὐτός τε διέβη καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαβαίνειν ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπειπὼν μὲν τὴν γέφυραν τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ λύσεσθαι, τάξας δὲ
5 καὶ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρόν. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆν

XII

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

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

[1] Cf Book I. xxii 4.

ἡ κυρία, τινὰς μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολελεῖφθαι μή πω διαβάντας ξυνέβαινεν, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑπολογισάμενος ἔπεμψε τοὺς τὴν γέφυραν διαλύσοντας. οἵ τε ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη ἀνέβαινον.

Τότε δὴ φιλοτιμία τις Χοσρόην ἐσῆλθε πόλιν Ἔδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. ἐνῆγε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο Χριστιανῶν λόγος καὶ ἔδακνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, ὅτι δὴ ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἰσχυρίζοντο εἶναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Αὔγαρος ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἐδέσσης τοπάρχης (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ ἔθνος βασιλεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκάλουν). ὁ δὲ Αὔγαρος οὗτος ξυνετώτατος ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλος. ἔνσπονδος γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ ἐς λόγους ἤκων οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸν τῆς ξυνέσεως τῷ περιόντι ἐξέπληξεν ὥστε οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι Αὔγουστος τῆς ξυνουσίας ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐθὺς διάπυρος ἐραστής, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐντύχοι, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε. χρόνος οὖν αὐτῷ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ συχνὸς τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἐτρίβη. καί ποτε ἐς ἤθη πάτρια ἐθέλων ἰέναι πείθειν τε τὸν Αὔγουστον μεθεῖναι αὐτὸν ὡς ἥκιστα ἔχων, ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐστάλη μὲν ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία· μελέτην γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα κατεσπουδασμένην τινὰ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. περιιὼν δὲ χώραν πολλὴν συχνὰ τῶν ἐκείνῃ θηρίων ζῶντα ἐθήρα, καὶ χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ξυναμησάμενος ἔφερεν ἐκ χώρας ἑκάστης· οὕτω τε ἐπανῆκεν εἰς

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

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

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

At a later time when Augarus was well advanced

ἥκων νόσῳ ποδάγρας χαλεπῆς τινος ὑπερφυῶς ἥλω. ταῖς γοῦν ὀδύναις ἀχθόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀκινησίᾳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγεν, ἐκ πάσης τε γῆς ξυνέλεγε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὺς
21 ἅπαντας. ὧν δὴ ὕστερον (οὐ γάρ οἱ ἄκεσίν τινα τοῦ κακοῦ ἐξευρεῖν ἴσχυον) ἀπέστη τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχα-
22 νίαν ἐμπεσὼν τύχας τὰς παρούσας ὠδύρετο. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι ὢν τοῖς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώποις ὡμίλει, τῷ τε μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἁμαρτεῖν πώποτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἐξεργάζεσθαι διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύ-
23 μενος ὅτι δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς εἴη νεκρούς τε γὰρ καλῶν ἐξανίστη ὥσπερ ἐξ ὕπνου καὶ πηροῖς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω τεχθεῖσιν ἀνέῳγε, σώματός τε ὅλου λεύκας ἐκάθηρε καὶ ποδῶν πήρωσιν ἔλυσε, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἰατροῖς πάθη
24 ἀνίατα ὠνομασμένα ἐστί. ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων Αὔγαρος τῶν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἐς τὴν Ἔδεσσαν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἀκούσας, ἐθάρσησέ τε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν γράψας ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγνωμόνων ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ξυμ-
25 βιοτεύειν. ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὁ Χριστὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὸν Αὔγαρον, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀφίξεται ἄντικρυς ἀπολέγων,[1] τὴν δὲ ὑγίειαν τῷ
26 γράμματι ὑποσχόμενος. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐπειπεῖν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάροις ἁλώσιμος ἔσται. τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον οἱ μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἱστορίαν ξυγγράψαντες οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν· οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδέ πη αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν· Ἐδεσσηνοὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ξὺν

[1] ἀπολέγων Scaliger · ἀπολεύων P, ἀπονεύων Dindorf

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

τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εὑρέσθαι φασίν, ὥστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάγραπτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντ' ἄλλου του φυλακτηρίου ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποίηνται
27 πύλαις. γέγονε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Μήδοις χρόνῳ τινὶ ὕστερον, οὐχ ἁλοῦσα μέντοι, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
28 ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αὔγαρος ἔλαβε, κακῶν μὲν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀπαθὴς γέγονε, συχνὸν δὲ τῇ ὑγιείᾳ ἐπιβιοὺς χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν· ὅστις δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ἀνοσιώτατος γεγονὼς ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐξήμαρτε καὶ τὴν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων δεδιὼς τίσιν προσεχώρησεν ἑκούσιος
29 Πέρσαις. χρόνῳ τε πολλῷ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ ὕστερον ἀνελόντες τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς σφίσιν ἐνδημοῦντας φρουροὺς ἐνέδοσαν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. * * * αὐτῷ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμελές ἐστι, τεκμαιρόμενος οἷς ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις γέγονεν, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς
30 καθήκουσι λόγοις δηλώσω. καί μοί ποτε ἔννοια γέγονεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἔγραψεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἄνθρωποι ἦλθον, φυλάξαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάλωτον ἐθέλει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μήποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινὰ σκῆψιν διδοίη. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλον, ταύτῃ ἐχέτω τε καὶ λεγέσθω.
31 Χοσρόῃ δὲ τότε προὔργου διὰ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν εἶναι Ἔδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς Βάτνην ἀφίκετο, πόλισμα μὲν βραχὺ καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς ἄξιον, ἡμέρας δὲ ὁδῷ Ἐδέσσης διέχον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσατο, ὄρθρου δὲ βαθέος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν

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

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

[1] Nine MS lines are missing at this point

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

XIII

1 Τότε καὶ γράμματα Χοσρόῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰου-
στινιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ἐπιτελέσειν ὁμολογῶν τά τε
αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγ-
2 κείμενα. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα
εἶδε, τούς τε ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε καὶ συνεσκευάζετο ἐς
τὴν ἄφοδον,[1] τούς τε Ἀντιοχέων αἰχμαλώτους
3 ἀποδίδοσθαι ἅπαντας ἤθελεν. ὅπερ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ
ἐπειδὴ ἔμαθον, προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς
κρείσσω. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς ὃς οὐ τὰ λύτρα ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ φέρων ὑπὲρ τούτων δὴ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
4 κατὰ λόγον τῆς οὐσίας κατέθετο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἷς καὶ
μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ λόγον ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο. αἵ τε
γὰρ ἑταῖραι τὸν κόσμον ἀφελοῦσαι, ὅσος αὐταῖς
ἐν τῷ σώματι ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν, καὶ εἴ τῳ
γεωργῷ ἐπίπλων ἢ ἀργυρίου σπανίζοντι ὄνος ἢ

[1] ἄφοδον P ἔφοδον H.

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

XIII

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

[1] Cf. Book II x 24.

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

8 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Κωνσταντινιέων χρήματα δι-
δόντων ἐδέξατο, καίπερ φάσκων οἱ ἐκ πατέρων
προσήκειν τὴν πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Καβάδης
Ἀμίδαν εἶλεν, Ἔδεσσάν τε καὶ Κωνσταντίναν
9 ἐξελεῖν ἤθελεν. ἀλλ' Ἐδέσσης μὲν ἀγχοῦ γενό-
μενος τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἴ οἱ ἁλώσιμος ἡ
πόλις ἔσται, δείξας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ χωρίον
10 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἁλώσεσθαι οὐ-
δεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔλεγον, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ τὴν
δεξιὰν αὐτῇ χεῖρα προτείνας, οὐχ ἁλώσεως ταύτῃ
οὐδὲ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν χαλεποῦ ξύμβολον, ἀλλὰ
11 σωτηρίας διδοίη. καὶ ὃς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐπεί-
θετό τε καὶ ἐπῆγεν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίναν τὸ στρά-
12 τευμα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐνστρατοπεδεύε-
σθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς πολιορκήσων ἐπέ-
13 στελλεν. ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίνης ἱερεὺς τότε
Βαράδοτος, ἀνὴρ δίκαιός τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἐς τὰ μά-
λιστα φίλος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς ὅ τι βού-
λοιτο ἀεὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων· οὗ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον
ἰδὼν ἄν τις εὐθὺς εἴκασεν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδελε-

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

But when, likewise, the citizens of Constantina offered money, he accepted it, although he asserted that the city belonged to him from his fathers For at the time when Cabades took Amida, he wished 503 A D also to capture Edessa and Constantina But when he came near to Edessa he enquired of the Magi whether it would be possible for him to capture the city, pointing out the place to them with his right hand. But they said that the city would not be captured by him by any device, judging by the fact that in stretching out his right hand to it he was not giving thereby the sign of capture or of any other grievous thing, but of salvation And when Cabades heard this, he was convinced and led his army on to Constantina And upon arriving there, he issued orders to the whole army to encamp for a siege Now the priest of Constantina was at that time Baradotus, a just man and especially beloved of God, and his prayers for this reason were always effectual for whatever he wished; and even seeing his face one would have straightway surmised that

14 χέστατα κεχαρισμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴη. οὗτος ὁ
Βαράδοτος τηνικαῦτα παρὰ τὸν Καβάδην ἐλθὼν
οἶνόν τε ἤνεγκε καὶ ἰσχάδας καὶ μέλι καὶ κα-
θαροὺς ἄρτους, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐδεῖτο μὴ ἀπόπειρᾶσθαι
πόλεως ἣ οὔτε λόγου ἀξία ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς
Ῥωμαίων ἀπημέληται λίαν, οὔτε στρατιωτῶν
φρουρὰν ἔχουσα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκήτορας μόνους, ἀνθρώπους οἰκ-
15 τρούς. ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπε· Καβάδης δὲ αὐτῷ
τήν τε πόλιν χαριεῖσθαι ὡμολόγησε καὶ τοῖς
σιτίοις ἐδωρήσατο αὐτὸν ἅπασιν ὅσα οἱ τῷ
στρατοπέδῳ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαστο, μεγά-
λοις ὑπερφυῶς οὖσιν· οὕτω τε ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ
γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκ πα-
τέρων οἱ προσήκειν ἠξίου τὴν πόλιν.
16 Ἐς Δάρας τε ἀφικόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθί-
στατο. ἔνδοθεν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Μαρτῖνος ὁ
στρατηγός (καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὢν ἔτυχε) τὰ ἐς ἀντί-
17 στασιν ἐξηρτύοντο. δύο δὲ ἡ πόλις τείχεσι περι-
βέβληται, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθέατον
ἀτεχνῶς ἐστιν (ἐς ὕψος γὰρ διήκει πύργος μὲν
ἕκαστος ποδῶν ἑκατόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τεῖχος ἑξή-
κοντα), τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς πολλῷ μὲν ἔλασσον συμβαίνει
εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ ἐχυρόν τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιόν
18 ἐστι. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ χωρίον εὖρος οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ
πεντήκοντα ἔχει ποδῶν· ἐνταῦθα εἰώθασι Δα-
ρηνοὶ τούς τε βόας καὶ τἆλλα ζῷα πολεμίων
19 σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων ἐμβάλλεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
πρῶτα ὁ Χοσρόης προσβολὴν ποιησάμενος ἐς τὰ
πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ περιβόλου πλήθει τε βελῶν
βιασάμενος, τὰς πύλας τείχους τοῦ βραχέος
20 ἐνέπρησεν. ἐντὸς μέντοι γενέσθαι οὐδεὶς τῶν

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

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

βαρβάρων ἐτόλμησεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατώρυχα ποιεῖσθαι λάθρα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως ἔγνω. ταύτῃ γὰρ μόνον ὀρύσσεσθαι ἡ γῆ οἵα τέ ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπὶ πέτρας τοῖς
21 δειμαμένοις πεποίηται. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου ἀρξάμενοι ὤρυσσον. ἧς δὴ βαθείας κομιδῆ οὔσης, οὔτε καθεωρῶντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε αὐτοῖς τινα αἴσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου
22 παρείχοντο. ἤδη μὲν οὖν ὑπέδυσαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ἐκτὸς τείχους, ἔμελλον δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἑκατέρου περιβόλου γινόμενοι ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον καὶ τὸ μέγα τεῖχος ἀμείψαντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν, ἀλλ' (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἔδει Πέρσαις ἁλῶναι) εἷς ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατοπέδου ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσην ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου μόνος ἀφίκετο, εἴτε ἄνθρωπος ὢν εἴτε τι ἄλλο ἀνθρώπου κρεῖσσον, δόξαν τε τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρείχετο ὅτι δὴ τὰ βέλη ξυλλέγοι ἅπερ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους Ῥωμαῖοι ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀφῆ-
23 καν. ταῦτά τε ποιῶν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος ἐρεσχελεῖν τε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ ξὺν γέλωτι τωθάζειν ἐδόκει. εἶτα φράσας αὐτοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐγρηγορέναι πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιμε-
24 λεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα σημήνας ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τείχους ἑκατέρου θορύβῳ
25 πολλῷ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐκέλευον σκάπτειν. καὶ Πέρσαι μέντοι οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασσόμενα οὐδέν
26 τι ἧσσον ἔργου εἴχοντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὀρθήν τινα ἔνερθεν ποιουμένων ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς

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

πόλεως τεῖχος, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων [τε][1] Θεοδώρου γνώμῃ, ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός, ἐγκαρσίαν τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐργαζομένων καὶ βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσαν, ξυνέβη Πέρσας κατὰ μέσον τοῦν περιβόλοιν γεγενημένους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατώρυχα. 27 καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πρώτους Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτειναν, οἱ δὲ ὄπισθεν φυγόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. διώκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ 28 Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν. ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ὁ Χοσρόης ἀποτυχὼν ἐλεῖν τε τὴν πόλιν μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐλπίσας, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, χίλιά τε κεκομισμένος ἀργύρου σταθμὰ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἐχώρει. 29 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔμαθεν, οὐκέτι τὰ ξυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν ἤθελεν, ἐπικαλῶν Χοσρόῃ ὅτι δὴ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐξελεῖν ἐνεχείρησε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέβη, καὶ τὸ θέρος μὲν ἐτελεύτα.

XIV

1 Ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης πόλιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις δειμάμενος ἐν χώρῳ[2] Κτησιφῶντος πόλεως διέχοντι ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, Ἀντιόχειάν τε τὴν Χοσρόου αὐτὴν ἐπωνόμασε καὶ Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐνταῦθα ξυνῴκισεν ἅπαντας, οἷς δὴ βαλανεῖόν τε καὶ ἱπποδρόμιον κατεσκεύαζε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις 2 τρυφαῖς ἄνεῖσθαι ἐποίει. τούς τε γὰρ ἡνιόχους

[1] [τε] bracketed by Dindorf [2] χώρῳ Maltretus χώρα MS.

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

XIV

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

καὶ τοὺς τῶν μουσικῶν ἔργων τεχνίτας ἔκ τε
'Αντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ρωμαικῶν πόλεων
3 ξὺν αὐτῷ ἦγεν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ δημοσίᾳ
τοὺς 'Αντιοχέας τούτους ἐπιμελεστέρως ἢ κατὰ
αἰχμαλώτους ἐσίτιζεν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ
βασιλικοὺς καλεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ὥστε τῶν ἀρχόντων
4 οὐδενὶ ὑποχειρίους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ μόνῳ. εἰ δέ
τις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ρωμαίων δραπέτης γεγονὼς
ἐς 'Αντιόχειαν τὴν Χοσρόου διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε,
καί τις αὐτὸν[1] ξυγγενὴ τῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων
ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκέτι ἐξῆν τῷ κεκτημένῳ τὸν αἰχμά-
λωτον τοῦτον ἀπάγειν, οὐδ' ἤν τις τῶν λίαν ἐν
Πέρσαις δοκίμων ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξανδραποδίσας
τυγχάνοι.
5 'Αντιοχεῦσι μέντοι τὸ ξυμβὰν ἐπὶ 'Αναστασίου
βασιλεύοντος τέρας ἐς τοῦτο ἀποβὰν ἐτελεύτησε.
τότε γὰρ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ Δάφνῃ τῷ προαστείῳ
ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιπεσόντος, τῶν κυπαρίσσων
αἳ ταύτῃ ὑψηλαὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἦσαν ἐκ ῥιζῶν τῶν
ἐσχάτων ἀνατραπεῖσαι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔπεσον, ἅσπερ
6 ὁ νόμος ἐκτέμνεσθαι οὐδαμῆ εἴα. ὀλίγῳ μὲν οὖν
ὕστερον, ἡνίκα 'Ιουστῖνος 'Ρωμαίων ἦρχε, σει-
σμός τις ἐπιγενόμενος ἐξαίσιος λίαν τήν τε πόλιν
κατέσεισε πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τά τε
πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε,
καὶ λέγονται τότε τριάκοντα μυριάδες 'Αντιοχέων
7 ἀπολωλέναι. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἁλώσει ξύμπασα
ἡ πόλις, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, διέφθαρται. τὸ μὲν
οὖν 'Αντιοχέων πάθος τῇδε ἐχώρησε.
8 Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐξ 'Ιταλίας
μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν διαχειμάσαντα ἐν

[1] αὐτὸν Hoeschel αὐτῶν P

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

Thus, then, the portent which had come to the citizens of Antioch in the reign of Anastasius reached this final fulfilment for them. For at that time a violent wind suddenly fell upon the suburb of Daphne, and some of the cypresses which were there of extraordinary height were overturned from the extremities of their roots and fell to the earth—trees which the law forbade absolutely to be cut down Accordingly, a little later, when 526 A.D.
Justinus was ruling over the Romans, the place was visited by an exceedingly violent earthquake, which shook down the whole city and straightway brought to the ground the most and the finest of the buildings, and it is said that at that time three hundred thousand of the population of Antioch perished. And finally in this capture the whole city, as has been said, was destroyed Such, then, was the calamity which befell the men of Antioch

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

Βυζαντίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπί τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν ἄρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἥκοντας, ὧν δὴ ἕνα Βαλεριανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων
9 ἐκέλευε. Μαρτῖνος γὰρ ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἑῴαν σταλείς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χοσρόης αὐτόν,
10 ὡς προδεδήλωται, ἐς Δάρας εὗρε. τῶν δὲ Γότθων Οὐίττιγις μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐπὶ Χοσρόην σὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστρά-
11 τευσαν. τότε τῶν Οὐιττίγιδος πρέσβεων ἄτερος μέν, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὀνόματος ἐπεβάτευεν, ἐν τοῖς Περσῶν ἤθεσι θνήσκει, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος
12 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. ὅστις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑρμηνεὺς εἵπετο ἀνεχώρησεν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὰ Κωνσταντίνης ὅρια ξυλλαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖρξεν, ὅσπερ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἅπαντα ἀναπυνθα-
13 νομένῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐξήνεγκε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε. Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις κατὰ τάχος ἦει, προτερῆσαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων πρίν τινα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐσβολὴν αὖθις ποιήσεται ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν.

XV

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπὶ Κολχίδα τὸν στρατὸν ἦγε, Λαζῶν αὐτὸν ἐπαγομένων ἐξ αἰτίας
2 τοιᾶσδε. Λαζοὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ᾤκουν, Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὄντες, οὐ μέντοι ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, οὐδέ τι ἄλλο ἐπαγγέλλουσιν

the winter in Byzantium, the emperor sent him as general against Chosroes and the Persians at the 541
opening of spring, together with the officers who had come with him from Italy, one of whom, Valerianus, he commanded to lead the troops in Armenia For Martinus had been sent immediately to the East, and for this reason Chosroes found him at Daras, as has been stated above. And among the Goths, Vittigis remained in Byzantium, but all the rest marched with Belisarius against Chosroes At that time one of the envoys of Vittigis, he who was assuming the name of bishop, died in the land of Persia, and the other one remained there. And the man who followed them as interpreter withdrew to the land of the Romans, and John, who was commanding the troops in Mesopotamia, arrested him near the boundaries of Constantina, and bringing him into the city confined him in a prison, there the man in answer to his enquiries related everything which had been done Such, then, was the course of these events. And Belisarius and his followers went in haste, since he was eager to anticipate Chosroes' making any second invasion into the land of the Romans.

XV

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

αὐτοῖς ἐπακούοντες, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτήσειε, ξύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ διαδεξομένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ῥωμαίων
3 βασιλεὺς ἔπεμπε. τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ὅρια ξὺν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσεν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ Οὖννοι πολέμιοι ἐξ ὅρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁμόρου σφίσιν ὄντος, διὰ Λαζικῆς πορευόμενοι
4 ἐσβάλλωσιν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων. ἐφύλασσον δὲ οὔτε αὐτοὶ χρήματα ἢ στρατιὰν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δεχόμενοι οὔτε Ῥωμαίοις πη ξυστρατεύοντες, ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
5 ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐν πόντῳ ᾠκημένους ἐργαζόμενοι. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε ἅλας οὔτε σῖτον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσι, δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας καὶ ἀνδράποδα παρεχόμενοι τὰ σφίσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκομίζοντο.
6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Γουργένει τῷ Ἰβήρων βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ἐπιχωριάζειν Λαζοῖς ἤρξαντο, οἷς δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἦλθοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Πέτρῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εὐπετῶς
7 ἔχοντι. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος οὗτος ὥρμητο μὲν ἐξ Ἀρζανηνῆς, ἣ ἐκτὸς Νυμφίου ποταμοῦ ἐστι, Περσῶν κατήκοος ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα, πρὸς Ἰουστίνου δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἠνδραπόδιστο, ἡνίκα Ἰουστῖνος μετὰ τὴν Ἀμίδης ἅλωσιν ξὺν τῷ Κέλερος στρατῷ ἐσέβαλλεν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. φιλανθρωπίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ χρωμένου τοῦ κεκτημένου
8 ἐς αὐτὸν ἐς γραμματιστοῦ ἐφοίτησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ἰουστίνου γραμματεὺς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀναστασίου τετελευτηκότος Ἰουστῖνος τὴν βασι-

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

[1] Cf. Book I xii. 4 ff [2] Cf. Book I. viii. 21–22

λείαν παρέλαβε Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Πέτρος στρατηγὸς γεγονὼς ἔς τε φιλοχρηματίαν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἀβελτερίᾳ πολλῇ ἐς ἅπαντας ἐχρῆτο.

9 Ὕστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄλλους τε ἐς Λαζικὴν ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψε καὶ Ἰωάννην ὃν Τζίβον ἐκάλουν, ἄνδρα ἐξ ἀφανῶν μὲν καὶ ἀδόξων ἀρχὴν γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγίαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι πονηρότατός τε ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἀδίκους[1] ἱκανώτατος ἐξευρεῖν. ὃς δὴ ἅπαντα ἔσφηλέ τε καὶ συνετάραξε τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Λαζῶν πράγ-
10 ματα. οὗτος καὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πόλιν ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Πέτραν ὄνομα, ἐν Λαζοῖς δείμασθαι· ἐνταῦθά τε ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθήμενος ἦγέ τε καὶ ἔφερε τὰ Λαζῶν πράγματα.
11 τούς τε γὰρ ἅλας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φορτία Λαζοῖς ἀναγκαῖα ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐξῆν, ἢ ἄλλοθι ἐνθένδε ὠνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέτρᾳ[2] ξυστησάμενος τὸ δὴ καλούμενον μονοπώλιον αὐτὸς κάπηλός τε καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐργασίας ἐπιστάτης ἐγίγνετο, ἅπαντα ὠνούμενός τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος Κόλχοις, οὐχ ἧπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' ἧπερ ἐξῆν.
12 ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχθοντο ἐπιχωριάζοντι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰωθὸς πρότερον τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ. ἃ δὴ οὐκέτι φέρειν οἷοί τε ὄντες Πέρσαις τε καὶ Χοσρόῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν,

[1] ἀδίκους VGP corr ἀδίκων P pr m.
[2] Πέτρᾳ Hoeschel πέτραις MSS.

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

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

πρέσβεις τε αὐτίκα τοὺς ταῦτα διαπραξομένους
13 κρύφα Ῥωμαίων παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψαν. οἷς δὴ
εἴρητο τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβοῦσιν ὅτι γε
οὔποτε Λαζοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκδώσει Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτω
δὴ αὐτὸν ξὺν τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἐς τὴν χώραν
ἐπαγαγέσθαι.[1]
14 Ἀφικόμενοι τοίνυν ἐς Πέρσας οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ
Χοσρόῃ λάθρα ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε
"Εἴ τινας καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τῶν
μὲν οἰκείων ἀποστάντας ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον, ἀν-
δράσι δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀγνῶσι προσκεχωρηκότας
οὐ δέον αὖθις εὖ ποιοῦσα ἡ τύχη ὡς μάλιστα
ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὶν ἐπανήγαγεν ἐπιτηδείους,
τοιούτους δή τινας καὶ Λαζούς, ὦ μέγιστε βασι-
15 λεῦ, νόμιζε εἶναι. Κόλχοι γὰρ Πέρσαις σύμ-
μαχοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες πολλά τε εἰργάσαντο
αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον· ὧν δὴ ἐν γράμ-
μασι μνημεῖα πολλὰ ἡμεῖς τε ἔχομεν κἀν τοῖς
βασιλείοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν διασώζεται.
16. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις
τετύχηκεν εἴτε παρ' ὑμῶν ἀμεληθεῖσιν εἴτε ἄλλου
του ἕνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἔχομέν τι σαφὲς περὶ τούτων
17 εἰδέναι) Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδοις γενέσθαι. καὶ νῦν
ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ Λαζικῆς βασιλεὺς δίδομεν Πέρσαις
ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὅ τι βούλοι-
18 σθε χρῆσθαι. δεόμεθα δὲ ὑμῶν οὑτωσὶ σκοπεῖ-
σθαι περὶ ἡμῶν· εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων
πεπονθότες δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἐχόμενοι
κεχωρήκαμεν εἰς ὑμᾶς, τήνδε ἡμῶν εὐθὺς ἀπο-
σείσασθε τὴν ἱκετείαν, οὐδὲ ὑμῖν ποτε πιστοὺς

[1] ἐπαγαγέσθαι Haury : παραγαγέσθαι VG, ἀπαγαγέσθαι P.

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

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

ἔσεσθαι Κόλχους οἰόμενοι (φιλίας γὰρ διαλελυμένης ὁ τρόπος τῆς μετ' ἐκείνην πρὸς ἑτέρους
19 καθισταμένης ἔλεγχος γίγνεται)· εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φίλοι Ῥωμαίων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνδράποδα γεγονότες πιστά, ἔργα πεπόνθαμεν πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τετυραννηκότων ἀνόσια, δέξασθε μὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθε ξυμμάχους, κτήσασθε δὲ δούλους οἷς φίλοις ἐχρῆσθε, μισήσατε δὲ τυραννίδα πικρὰν οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐν γειτόνων ἐγηγερμένην, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄξια πράσσοντες ἣν περιστέλλειν ἀεὶ
20 πάτριον Πέρσαις. οὐ γὰρ ὁ μηδὲν αὐτὸς ἀδικῶν δίκαιος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικουμένους
21 ἔχων ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ῥύεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔνια δὲ εἰπεῖν ὧν τετολμήκασιν οἱ κατάρατοι Ῥωμαῖοι καθ' ἡμῶν ἄξιον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ τὸ σχῆμα μόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπόντες, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφῄρηνται, καὶ κάθηται βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑπηρέτου μοίρᾳ, τὸν
22 ἐπιτάττοντα στρατηγὸν δεδιώς· στρατιᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπέστησαν πλῆθος, οὐχ ὅπως τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλούντων φρουρήσουσιν[1] (οὐ γὰρ οὐδέ τις τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμᾶς πλήν γε δὴ Ῥωμαίων ἠνώχλησεν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθείρξαντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων γενήσονται.
23 λογισάμενοι δὲ συντομωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἡμῖν ὑπαρχόντων ἀφαίρεσιν, ὅρα, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
24 ἐς ὁποίαν τινὰ ἔννοιαν ἦλθον· τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἃ μὲν περιττὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι τετύχηκεν, ἀναγκάζουσιν οὐχ ἑκόντας ὠνεῖσθαι Λαζούς, ὅσα

[1] φρουρήσουσιν VG φρουρήσωσιν P.

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

δὲ αὐτοῖς χρησιμώτατα φέρειν Λαζικὴ πέφυκεν, οἵδε[1] ἀξιοῦσι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ' ἡμῶν πρίασθαι, τιμῆς ἑκατέρωθι γνώμῃ τῶν κρατούντων ὁριζο-
25 μένης. οὕτω τε ξὺν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἅπαν ἀφαιροῦνται τὸ χρυσίον ἡμᾶς, ὀνόματι μὲν τῷ τῆς ἐμπορίας εὐπρεπεῖ χρώμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα βιαζόμενοι. ἐφέστηκέ τε ἡμῖν ἄρχων κάπηλος, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπορίαν ἐργασίαν τινὰ
26 τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ πεποιημένος. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀποστάσεως αἰτία τοιαύτη τις οὖσα τὸ δίκαιον ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει· ὅσα δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα ἔσται δεχομένοις τὴν Λαζῶν δέησιν
27 αὐτίκα ἐροῦμεν. τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ βασιλείαν ἀρχαιοτάτην προσθήσετε, μηκυνόμενόν τε ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἕξετε τὸ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀξίωμα, μετεῖναι δὲ τῆς Ῥωμαίων θαλάσσης ὑμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυμβήσεται χώρας, ἐν ᾗ πλοῖά σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ναυπηγουμένῳ βατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παλάτιον ἔσται. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐναντίωμα οὐδὲν
28 ἐστι. προσθείη δ' ἄν τις ὡς καὶ ληίζεσθαι τοὺς ὁμόρους βαρβάρους τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶν
29 ἔτος ἐφ' ὑμῖν κείσεται. ὄρεσι γὰρ τοῖς Καυκασίοις ἐπιτείχισμα μέχρι τοῦδε γεγονέναι τὴν Λαζῶν χώραν πάντως που καὶ ὑμεῖς ξυνεπί-
30 στασθε. ἡγουμένου τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου, προσόντος δὲ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος, τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς λόγους προσέσθαι[2] οὐδεμιᾶς ἂν εὐβουλίας οἰόμεθα εἶναι." τοσαῦτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἶπον.
31 Χοσρόης δὲ τοῖς λόγοις ἡσθεὶς ἀμύνειν τε

[1] οἵδε · οἱ δὲ VG corr P, οὐδὲ G pr. m.
[2] προσέσθαι Maltretus . προέσθαι MSS.

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

And Chosroes, delighted by their words, promised

Λαζοῖς ὡμολόγησε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπυνθάνετο εἴ οἱ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἰέναι
32 δυνατὰ εἴη. πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόντων ἔφασκεν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ πρότερα δύσοδον ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τὴν χώραν εἶναι, κρημνώδη τε ὑπερφυῶς οὖσαν καὶ δένδροις συχνοῖς τε καὶ
33 ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον συνεχομένην. οἱ δέ οἱ ἰσχυρίζοντο παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τὴν ἐκείνῃ[1] ὁδὸν εὐπετῆ ἔσεσθαι, τέμνουσι μὲν τὰ δένδρα, ἐς δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν τὰς δυσχωρίας αὐτὰ
34 ἐμβαλλομένοις. καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡμολόγουν τῆς τε ὁδοῦ ἡγεμόνες καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Πέρσαις
35 ἔσεσθαι πρόπονοι. ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπηρμένος τῇ ὑποθήκῃ στρατιάν τε πολλὴν ἤγειρε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξηρτύετο, οὔτε τὸ βούλευμα ἐς Πέρσας ἐξενεγκών, πλήν γε δὴ οἷς τὰ ἀπόρρητα κοινολογεῖσθαι μόνοις εἰώθει, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐπαγγείλας ὅπως τὰ πρασσόμενα μηδενὶ φράσωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλετο, ὡς τὰ τῇδε καταστησόμενος πράγματα· ἔθνος γὰρ Οὐννικὸν ἐνταῦθά πη ἐπισκῆψαι τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπεφήμιζεν.

XVI

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος Βελισάριος ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἤγειρε, καί τινας ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμπεν.
2 αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάσαι

[1] ἐκείνῃ P. ἐκείνην VG.

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

XVI

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

βουλόμενος, ἤν τινα ἐσβολὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν αὖθις ποιήσωνται, διεῖπέ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκόσμει τοὺς στρατιώτας, γυμνούς τε καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὄντας, κατωρρωδηκότας
3 τὸ Περσῶν ὄνομα. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι· πολέμου γὰρ
4 Οὐννικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόῃ ἑτέρωθι εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἐσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τὴν γῆν
5 ἤθελε. καί οἱ Ἀρέθας τε ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἦλθε καὶ βασιλεὺς γράμματα γράψας ἐσβάλλειν κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πολεμίων ἐπέ-
6 στελλε γῆν. ξυγκαλέσας οὖν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν Δάρας ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, ὦ ξυνάρχοντες, πολέμων πολλῶν ἐμπείρους οἶδα, ξυννήγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας[1] ἢ παραίνεσίν τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁρμήσω (οὐ γὰρ λόγου δεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνάγοντος οἶμαι), ἀλλ' ὅπως ξυμβουλήν τινα ἔν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἑλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἅπερ ἂν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς
7 βασιλέως πράγμασιν εἶναι. πόλεμος γὰρ εὐβουλίᾳ πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦσθαι φιλεῖ. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἐς βουλὴν καθισταμένους αἰδοῦς τε καὶ φόβου παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
8 γνώμην. ὅ τε γὰρ φόβος, ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπεπτωκότας ἐκπλήσσων, οὐκ ἐᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν ἑλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, ἥ τε αἰδὼς ἐπισκιάζουσα τοῖς δόξασιν εἶναι ἀμείνοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν

[1] ὑπομνήσας VP : ὑποκνίσας G.

enemy there, if they should again make an incursion into the land of the Romans, he was organizing on the spot and equipping the soldiers, who were for the most part without either arms or armour, and in terror of the name of the Persians. Now the spies returned and declared that for the present there would be no invasion of the enemy; for Chosroes was occupied elsewhere with a war against the Huns And Belisarius, upon learning this, wished to invade the land of the enemy immediately with his whole army Aiethas also came to him with a large force of Saracens, and besides the emperor wrote a letter instructing him to invade the enemy's country with all speed He therefore called together all the officers in Daras and spoke as follows "I know that all of you, my fellow officers, are experienced in many wars, and I have brought you together at the present time, not in order to stir up your minds against the enemy by addressing to you any reminder or exhortation (for I think that you need no speech that prompts to daring), but in order that we may deliberate together among ourselves, and choose rather the course which may seem fairest and best for the cause of the emperor. For war is wont to succeed by reason of careful planning more than by anything else Now it is necessary that those who gather for deliberation should make their minds entirely free from modesty and from fear. For fear, by paralyzing those who have fallen into it, does not allow the reason to choose the nobler part, and modesty obscures what has been seen to be the better course and leads investigation the

ἐκφέρει τὴν γνῶσιν. εἴ τι τοίνυν ἢ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἢ ἐμοὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων δοκεῖ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦτο εἰσίτω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ μακράν που ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν πρασσομένων, οὐκ ἔχει τοῖς καιροῖς ἁρμόσαι τὰς πράξεις· ὥστε φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἰόντας τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. ἐμὲ δὲ ἄνθρωπόν τε ὄντα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἑσπερίων ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντα μὴ οὐχὶ διαλαθεῖν τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. ὥστε οὐδὲν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην αἰδεσθέντας ὑμᾶς προσήκει διαρρήδην εἰπεῖν ὅσα ἂν ξυνοίσειν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ μέλλῃ.[1] τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνθάδε ἥκομεν, ὦ ξυνάρχοντες, ὡς διακωλύσοντες τὸν πολέμιον ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιήσασθαι, νῦν δέ, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν ἄμεινον ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδας κεχωρηκότων, πάρεστι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλεύεσθαι.[2] ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ ξυνειλεγμένους ὑμᾶς δίκαιον, οἶμαι, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν ἅπερ ἂν ἄριστά τε δοκῇ καὶ ξυμφορώτατα ἑκάστῳ εἶναι."

Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Βούζης ἐξηγεῖσθαι τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσοντα[3] ἐπὶ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐκέλευον. ὧν δὴ τῇ γνώμῃ εἵποντο εὐθὺς ὁ ξύλλογος ἅπας. Ῥεκίθαγγος μέντοι καὶ Θεόκτιστος, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, ταὐτὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφασαν, δεδιέναι δὲ

[1] μέλλῃ Dindorf : μέλλει MSS
[2] βουλεύεσθαι P βούλεσθαι VG.
[3] μελλήσαντα Braun, μελήσοντα P.

opposite way If, therefore, it seems to you that any purpose has been formed either by our mighty emperor or by me concerning the present situation, let no thought of this enter your minds For, as for him, he is altogether ignorant of what is being done, and is therefore unable to adapt his moves to opportune moments; there is therefore no fear but that in going contrary to him we shall do that which will be of advantage to his cause. And as for me, since I am human, and have come here from the West after a long interval, it is impossible that some of the necessary things should not escape me So it behoves you, without any too modest regard for my opinion, to say outright whatever is going to be of advantage for ourselves and for the emperor. Now in the beginning, fellow officers, we came here in order to prevent the enemy from making any invasion into our land, but at the present time, since things have gone better for us than we had hoped, it is possible for us to make his land the subject of our deliberation And now that you have been gathered together for this purpose, it is fair, I think, that you should tell without any concealment what seems to each one best and most advantageous" Thus spoke Belisarius

And Peter and Bouzes urged him to lead the army without any hesitation against the enemy's country. And their opinion was followed immediately by the whole council Rhecithancus, however, and Theoctistus, the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, said that, while they too had the same wish as the others concerning the invasion, they feared that if

μὴ σφῶν ἐκλελοιπότων τά τε ἐπὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας χωρία, κατ' ἐξουσίαν μὲν Ἀλαμούνδαρος ταῦτα ληίζηται, βασιλεὺς δὲ σφᾶς δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοι, ἅτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδῄωτον τὴν χώραν ἧς ἦρχον, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ συνεισβάλλειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
18 οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. Βελισάριος δὲ τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθῆ οἴεσθαι ἔλεγε. τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τροπὰς θερινὰς εἶναι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ὥρας δύο μάλιστα μῆνας ἀνάθημα τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ Σαρακηνοὺς ἐς ἀεὶ φέροντας ἐν ταύτῃ ἐπιδρομῇ τινι οὔποτε χρῆσθαι ἐς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν.
19 διὸ δὴ ἑξήκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁμολογήσας ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἄμφω ἀφήσειν, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἕπεσθαι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐξηρτύετο.

XVII

1 Χοσρόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀμείψαντες ἐν τοῖς τῆς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις, τῶν πρέσβεων σφίσιν ἡγουμένων, ἐγένοντο, τὰ δένδρα οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος ἐκτέμνοντες, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα συχνά τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀμφιλαφῆ τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ὄντα παντάπασιν ἄβατον τῇ στρατιᾷ τὴν χώραν ἐποίει, ταῦτά τε ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐρρίπτουν καὶ ὅλως
2 εὐπετῆ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπειργάζοντο. ἀφικομένοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐς μέσην Κολχίδα (οὗ δὴ τά τε ἀμφὶ Μήδειαν καὶ Ἰάσονα οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν) ἐλθὼν Γουβάζης, ὁ Λαζῶν βασι-

they abandoned the country of Phoenicia and Syria, Alamoundaras would plunder it at his leisure, and that the emperor would be angry with them because they had not guarded and kept unplundered the territory under their command, and for this reason they were quite unwilling to join the rest of the army in the invasion But Belisarius said that the opinion of these two men was not in the least degree true; for it was the season of the vernal equinox, and at this season the Saracens always dedicated about two months to their god, and during this time never undertook any inroad into the land of others Agreeing, therefore, to release both of them with their followers within sixty days, he commanded them also to follow with the rest of the army. So Belisarius was making his preparation for the invasion with great zeal

XVII

But Chosroes and the Median army, after crossing Iberia, reached the territory of Lazica under the leadership of the envoys; there with no one to withstand them they began to cut down the trees which grow thickly over that very mountainous region, rising to a great height, and spreading out their branches remarkably, so that they made the country absolutely impassable for the army, and these they threw into the rough places, and thus rendered the road altogether easy And when they arrived in the centre of Colchis (the place where the tales of the poets say that the adventure of Medea and Jason took place), Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, came

and did obeisance to Chosroes, the son of Cabades, as Lord, putting himself together with his palace and all Lazica into his hand.

Now there is a coast city named Petra in Colchis, on the sea which is called the Euxine, which in former times had been a place of no importance, but which the Emperor Justinian had rendered strong and otherwise conspicuous by means of the circuit-wall and other buildings which he erected When Chosroes ascertained that the Roman army was in that place with John, he sent an army and a general, Aniabedes, against them in order to capture the place at the first onset. But John, upon learning of their approach, gave orders that no one should go outside the fortifications nor allow himself to be seen from the parapet by the enemy, and he armed the whole army and stationed them in the vicinity of the gates, commanding them to keep silence and not allow the least sound of any kind to escape from them. So the Persians came close to the fortifications, and since nothing of the enemy was either seen or heard by them they thought that the Romans had abandoned the city and left it destitute of men. For this reason they closed in still more around the fortifications, so as to set up ladders immediately, since no one was defending the wall And neither seeing nor hearing anything of the enemy, they sent to Chosroes and explained the situation. And he sent the greater part of the army, commanding them to make an attempt upon the fortifications from all sides, and he directed one of the officers to make use of the engine known as a ram around the gate, while he himself, seated on

πολει ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἐπίκειται, θεατὴς τῶν πρασ-
10 σομένων ἐγίνετο. αὐτίκα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε
πύλας ἀνέκλινον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἀπροσδό-
κητοι ἐπιπεσόντες πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων διέ-
φθειραν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν κριὸν τεταγ-
μένους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις ξὺν τῷ στρατηγῷ
11 διαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. θυμῷ τε ὁ Χοσρόης
ἐχόμενος Ἀνιαβέδην ἀνεσκολόπισεν, ἅτε κατα-
στρατηγηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου, καπήλου τε
12 καὶ ἀπολέμου τὸ παράπαν ἀνδρός. τινὲς δὲ οὐκ
Ἀνιαβέδην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς δὴ ἐφειστήκει
τοῖς τὸν κριὸν ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναί
13 φασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἅρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἄγχιστά
τε τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἀφίκετο καὶ στρατο-
14 πεδευσάμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. τῇ δὲ
ὑστεραίᾳ κύκλῳ περιιὼν τὸν περίβολον, ἐπεὶ οὐ
λίαν ἀξιόμαχον αὐτὸν ὑπώπτευσεν εἶναι, τειχο-
μαχεῖν ἔγνω. τό τε στράτευμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα
ἐπαγαγὼν ἔργου εἴχετο, καὶ τοξεύειν ἅπαντας ἐπὶ
15 τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι
ταῖς τε μηχαναῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐχρῶντο τοξεύμασι.
τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Πέρσαι, καίπερ συχνὰ κομιδῇ
βάλλοντες, ὀλίγα τε Ῥωμαίους ἐλύπουν καὶ
πολλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνων, ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλόμενοι,
16 κακὰ ἔπασχον. ἔπειτα δέ (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Πέτραν
Χοσρόῃ ἁλῶναι) βληθεὶς Ἰωάννης τύχῃ τινὶ ἐς
τὸν τράχηλον θνήσκει, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπάντων κατέστησαν.
17 τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἀνεχώρησαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ξυνεσκόταζε· τῇ δὲ
ὑστεραίᾳ διώρυχα ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐπενόουν
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

the hill which lies very close to the city, became a spectator of the operations And straightway the Romans opened the gates all of a sudden, and unexpectedly fell upon and slew great numbers of the enemy, and especially those stationed about the ram, the rest with difficulty made their escape together with the general and were saved And Chosroes, filled with rage, impaled Aniabedes, since he had been outgeneralled by John, a tradesman and an altogether unwarlike man But some say that not Aniabedes, but the officer commanding the men who were working the ram was impaled And he himself broke camp with the whole army, and coming close to the fortifications of Petra, made camp and began a siege On the following day he went completely around the fortifications, and since he suspected that they could not support a very strong attack, he decided to storm the wall And bringing up the whole army there, he opened the action, commanding all to shoot with their bows against the parapet The Romans, meanwhile, in defending themselves, made use of their engines of war and all their bows At first, then, the Persians did the Romans little harm, although they were shooting their arrows thick and fast, while at the same time they suffered severely at the hands of the Romans, since they were being shot at from an elevation. But later on (since it was fated that Petra be captured by Chosroes), John by some chance was shot in the neck and died, and as a result of this the other Romans ceased to care for anything Then indeed the barbarians withdrew to their camp; for it was already growing dark, but on the following day they planned to assail the fortifications by an excavation, as follows

18 Πέτρα ἡ πόλις πὴ μὲν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἀπρόσοδός ἐστι, πὴ δὲ ἐκ πετρῶν ἀποτόμων, αἳ ταύτῃ πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν προση-
19 γορίαν ἔλαχε ταύτην. μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὐρεῖαν· κρημνοὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἐξαίσιοι ἀποκρέμανται.
20 ἐνταῦθα προορώμενοι τὰ πρότερα οἱ τὴν πόλιν δειμάμενοι μὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος ἐπίμαχον εἴη, τείχη μακρὰ παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν ἑκάτερον τῆς εἰσόδου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον πεποί-
21 ηνται. τούτων τε τῶν τειχῶν ἑκατέρωθι πύργους ἐτεκτήναντο δύο, οὐχ ἧπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ
22 ἑτέρῳ. κενὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκοδομίας χωρίον οὐδαμῇ εἴασαν, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι ἐς ὕψος μέγα τοὺς πύργους λίθοις παμμεγέθεσιν ἀλλήλων ἐχομένοις εἰργάσαντο, ὅπως δὴ κριῷ ἢ μηχανῇ ἄλλῃ ὡς ἥκιστα κατασείοιντο. τὰ μὲν οὖν Πέτρας τοῦ περιβόλου ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
23 Πέρσαι δὲ λάθρα ἐς τὴν γῆν κατώρυχα ποιησάμενοι ἔνερθεν θατέρου τῶν πύργων ἐγένοντο, τῶν τε λίθων ἐνθένδε πολλοὺς ἐκφοροῦντες, ξύλα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐτίθεντο χώραν, ἅπερ ὀλίγῳ
24 ὕστερον ἔκαυσαν. ἥ τε φλὸξ κατὰ βραχὺ αἰρομένη, διέθρυψε μὲν τὴν τῶν λίθων ἰσχύν, ὅλον δὲ τὸν πύργον κατασείσασα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς
25 τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν αὐτίκα. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἦσαν τοσοῦτον τῶν ποιουμένων ἠίσθοντο πρότερον, ὅσον αὐτῷ μὴ ξυμπεσεῖν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀλλὰ φυγόντες ἐντὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου
26 γενέσθαι. παρῆν τε ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τειχομαχοῦσι πόνῳ [ἐν] οὐδενὶ[1] τὴν πόλιν

[1] [ἐν] bracketed by Braun. Haury suggests ἂν οὐδενί, cf. v iii. 29.

The city of Petra is on one side inaccessible on account of the sea, and on the other on account of the sheer cliffs which rise there on every hand, indeed it is from this circumstance that the city has received the name it bears. And it has only one approach on the level ground, and that not very broad; for exceedingly high cliffs overhang it on either side At that point those who formerly built the city provided that that portion of the wall should not be open to attack by making long walls which ran along beside either cliff and guarded the approach for a great distance And they built two towers, one in each of these walls, not following the customary plan, but as follows. They refused to allow the space in the middle of the structure to be empty, but constructed the entire towers from the ground up to a great height of very large stones which fitted together, in order that they might never be shaken down by a ram or any other engine. Such, then, are the fortifications of Petra. But the Persians secretly made a tunnel into the earth and got under one of the two towers, and from there carried out many of the stones and in their place put wood, which a little later they burned. And the flame, rising little by little, weakened the stones, and all of a sudden shook the whole tower violently and straightway brought it down to the ground And the Romans who were on the tower perceived what was being done in sufficient time so that they did not fall with it to the ground, but they fled and got inside the city wall. And now it was possible for the enemy to storm the wall from the level, and thus with no trouble to take the city by force

κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν. διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπέρ τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδοσαν. οὕτω μὲν Πέτραν Χοσρόης εἶλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰωάννου χρήματα λίαν ἀδρὰ εὑρὼν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδενὸς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τις τῶν Περσῶν ἥψατο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυντο.

XVIII

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατός, οὐδέν τι πεπυσμένοι ὧν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο, κόσμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἐπὶ Νίσιβιν ἤεισαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέσον ἐγένοντο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸ στράτευμα ἦγεν, οὗ δὴ πηγαί τε ὑδάτων διαρκεῖς ἦσαν καὶ πεδίον ἅπασιν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον. ἐνταῦθά τε στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Νισίβιδος πόλεως. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη ἐθέλοι τοῦ περιβόλου στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τινὲς δὲ ὡς ἥκιστά οἱ ἕπεσθαι ἤθελον. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν οὖσιν ἔλεξεν ὧδε "Ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἐς ἅπαντας ὅσα γινώσκω ἐξενεγκεῖν. λόγος γὰρ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενος οὐκ οἶδε τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἐπεὶ κατὰ βραχὺ προϊὼν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους

The Romans, therefore, in terror, opened negotiations with the barbarians, and receiving from Chosroes pledges concerning their lives and their property, they surrendered to him both themselves and the city. Thus Chosroes captured Petra And finding the treasures of John, which were extremely rich, he took them himself, but besides this neither he himself nor anyone else of the Persians touched anything, and the Romans, retaining their own possessions, mingled with the Median army.

XVIII

Meantime Belisarius and the Roman army, having learned nothing of what was being done there, were going in excellent order from the city of Daras toward Nisibis And when they had reached the middle of their journey, Belisarius led the army to the right where there were abundant springs of water and level ground sufficient for all to camp upon. And there he gave orders to make a camp at about forty-two stades from the city of Nisibis But all the others marvelled greatly that he did not wish to camp close to the fortifications, and some were quite unwilling to follow him. Belisarius therefore addressed those of the officers who were about him thus: "It was not my wish to disclose to all what I am thinking. For talk carried about through a camp cannot keep secrets, for it advances little by little until it is carried out even to the

6 ἐκφέρεται. ὁρῶν δὲ τούς τε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ εἴκοντας καὶ αὐτὸν ἕκαστον αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ἐθέλοντα εἶναι, λέξω τανῦν ἐν ὑμῖν ὅσα χρὴν σιωπᾶν, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι πρότερον ὑπειπών, ὡς πολλῶν ἐν στρατιᾷ γνώμῃ αὐτονόμῳ χρωμένων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.
7 οἶμαι τοίνυν Χοσρόην ἐφ' ἑτέρους ἰόντα βαρβάρους ὡς ἥκιστα φυλακῆς τινος αὐτάρκους χωρὶς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀπολιπεῖν γῆν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τήνδε τὴν πόλιν, ἣ πρώτη τε τυγχάνει οὖσα καὶ
8 πάσης τῆς ἐκείνου γῆς προβεβλημένη. ἐν ᾗ στρατιώτας εὖ οἶδα ὅτι τοσούτους τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιούτους τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεστήσατο ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ταῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐφόδοις ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ὑμῖν.
9. Ναβέδην γὰρ στρατηγὸν τούτοις ἐπέστησεν, ὃς δὴ μετά γε τὸν Χοσρόην αὐτὸν δόξῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀξιώματι πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ.
10 ὃν ἔγωγε οἶμαι καὶ ἀποπειράσεσθαι[1] τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πάροδον· ἡμῖν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ τινὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡσσηθέντα ἐνδώ-
11 σειν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως ἡ ξυμβολὴ εἴη, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τε καὶ
12 Πέρσαις ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐχυροῦ ἐπεξιόντες εὐημερήσαντές τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον θαρρήσουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἡσσηθέντες εὐπετῶς διαφεύξονται τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίθεσιν.
13 δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ δίωξις ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐνθένδε οὐδὲν γενήσεται βλάβος, ἣν τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἀνάλωτον οὖσαν στρατιωτῶν αὐτῆς
14 ἀμυνομένων ὁρᾶτε δήπου. ἦν δέ γε τῶν πολεμίων

[1] ἀποπειράσεσθαι Dindorf : ἀποπειράσασθαι MSS.

enemy. But seeing that the majority of you are allowing yourselves to act in a most disorderly manner, and that each one wishes to be himself supreme commander in the war, I shall now say among you things about which one ought to keep silence, mentioning, however, this first, that when many in an army follow independent judgments it is impossible that anything needful be done Now I think that Chosroes, in going against other barbarians, has by no means left his own land without sufficient protection, and in particular this city which is of the first rank and is set as a defence to his whole land In this city I know well that he has stationed soldiers in such number and of such valour as to be sufficient to stand in the way of our assaults. And the proof of this you have near at hand For he put in command of these men the general Nabedes, who, after Chosroes himself at least, seems to be first among the Persians in glory and in every other sort of honour. This man, I believe, will both make trial of our strength and will permit of our passing by on no other condition than that he be defeated by us in battle. If, therefore, the conflict should be close by the city, the struggle will not be even for us and the Persians. For they, coming out from their stronghold against us, in case of success, should it so happen, will feel unlimited confidence in assailing us, and in case of defeat they will easily escape from our attack. For we shall only be able to pursue them a short distance, and from this no harm will come to the city, which you surely see cannot be captured by storming the wall when soldiers are defending it. But if the enemy engage

ἐνταῦθα ἡμῖν ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν πολλήν τινα, ὦ ξυνάρχοντες, ἐλπίδα
15 ἔχω. φεύγουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολύν τινα δρόμον ἢ ἀναμιχθέντες εἴσω πυλῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ξυνεισπεσούμεθα, ἢ προτερήσαντες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφ' ἑτέρας τινὸς ἀναγκάσομεν τετράφθαι τε καὶ διαφυγεῖν χώρας, ἡμῖν δὲ αὐτοῖς Νίσιβιν τῶν ἀμυνομένων χωρὶς εὐάλωτον καταστήσομεν."
16 Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπείθοντό τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. Πέτρος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἑταιρισάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ καταλόγων ἄρχων μοῖραν οὐ φαύλην τινὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶχεν, οὐκ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπὸ
17 σταδίων δέκα ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. Βελισάριος δὲ τούς τε ξὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἰς παράταξιν ἔστησε καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπέστελλεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξυμβολῇ παρατάσσεσθαι μέχρι αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, εὖ τε εἰδέναι ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπιθήσονται σφίσιν, ἐκεῖνο δηλονότι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐς δείλην ὀψίαν μεταλαγχάνειν
18 εἰώθασι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ μεσημβρίαν. Βελισάριος μὲν ταῦτα παρῄνει· οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν οὐδενὶ[1] τὰς ἐντολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἀμφί τε ἡμέραν μέσην τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀχθόμενοι (ἔστι γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιεικῶς αὐχμῶδες) τά τε ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφροντιστήσαντες σικύους ἐνταῦθά πη φυομένους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιιόντες
19 κατήσθιον. ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ Ναβέδης δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπῆγεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

[1] *οὐδενὶ* <*λόγῳ*> Herwerden, *οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ* Suidas and Scholast.

with us here and we conquer them, I have great hopes, fellow officers, of capturing the city. For while our antagonists are fleeing a long way, we shall either mingle with them and rush inside the gates with them, as is probable, or we shall anticipate them and compel them to turn and escape to some other place, and thus render Nisibis without its defenders easy of capture for us"

When Belisarius had said this, all the others except Peter were convinced, and they made camp and remained with him He, however, associating with himself John, who commanded the troops in Mesopotamia and had no small part of the army, came up to a position not far removed from the fortifications, about ten stades away, and remained quietly there But Belisarius marshalled the men who were with him as if for combat, and sent word to Peter and his men also to hold themselves in array for battle, until he himself should give the signal; and he said that he knew well that the barbarians would attack them about midday, remembering, as they surely would, that while they themselves are accustomed to partake of food in the late afternoon, the Romans do so about midday. So Belisarius gave this warning; but Peter and his men disregarded his commands, and about midday, being distressed by the sun (for the place is exceedingly dry and hot), they stacked their arms, and with never a thought of the enemy began to go about in disorderly fashion and eat gourds which grew there. And when this was observed by Nabedes, he led the Persian army running at full speed against them.

20 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περι-
βόλου ἐξιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ καθεωρῶντο
λαμπρῶς ἅτε ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ ἰόντες) παρά τε
Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, ἀμύνειν σφίσι παρακα-
λοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι,
21 ἀκοσμίᾳ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ὑπηντίαζον. οἱ
δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον, οὔπω παρὰ σφᾶς τοῦ
ἀγγέλου ἀφικομένου γνόντες διὰ τοῦ κονιορτοῦ
22 τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. ἐπελθόντες
τε Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους οὐχ ὑποστάντας τὴν ἔφοδον
πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν, ἐπισπόμενοι δὲ
πεντήκοντά τε διέφθειραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου
23 σημεῖον ἁρπάσαντες ἔσχον. ἅπαντάς τε ἂν ἐν
ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διώξει ἔκτειναν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν
ὁρῶντας, εἰ μὴ Βελισάριός τε καὶ ὁ ξὺν αὐτῷ
24 στρατὸς καταλαβὼν διεκώλυσε. πρώτους γὰρ
ἁπάντων ξὺν δόρασι μακροῖς τε καὶ συχνοῖς
Γότθους ἐπιόντας Πέρσαι οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἐς
25 φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἐπισπόμενοί τε Ῥωμαῖοι ξὺν
Γότθοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔκτειναν. δι'
ὀλίγου γὰρ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ
26 τάχος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. τότε μὲν
οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες ἐς τὸ Βελισαρίου στρατό-
πεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐν πύργῳ τινὶ ἔστησαν ἀντὶ τροπαίου τὸ
Πέτρου σημεῖον, ἀλλᾶντάς[1] τε αὐτοῦ ἀποκρεμά-
σαντες τοῖς πολεμίοις ξὺν γέλωτι ἐπετώθαζον,
ἐπεξιέναι μέντοι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν
ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλασσον.

[1] ἀλλᾶντάς Suidas: ἀλάντά V, ἀλλαντά G.

And the Romans, since they did not fail to observe that the Persians were coming out of the fortifications (for they were seen clearly because moving over a level plain), sent to Belisarius urging him to support them, and they themselves snatched up their arms, and in disorder and confusion confronted their foe But Belisarius and his men, even before the messenger had reached them, discovered by the dust the attack of the Persians, and went to the rescue on the run And when the Persians came up, the Romans did not withstand their onset, but were routed without any difficulty, and the Persians, following close upon them, killed fifty men, and seized and kept the standard of Peter And they would have slain them all in this pursuit, for the Romans had no thought of resistance, if Belisarius and the army with him had not come upon them and prevented it For as the Goths, first of all, came upon them with long spears in close array, the Persians did not await their attack but beat a hasty retreat And the Romans together with the Goths followed them up and slew a hundred and fifty men For the pursuit was only of short duration, and the others quickly got inside the fortifications. Then indeed all the Romans withdrew to the camp of Belisarius, and the Persians on the following day set up on a tower instead of a trophy the standard of Peter, and hanging sausages from it they taunted the enemy with laughter, however, they no longer dared to come out against them, but they guarded the city securely

XIX

1 Βελισάριός τε Νίσιβιν ὁρῶν ἐχυρὰν ὑπερφυῶς
οὖσαν, ἐλπίδα αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ἁλώσεως
πέρι, πρόσω ἰέναι ἠπείγετο ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
2 τοῖς πολεμίοις λυμήνηται ἅρας τοίνυν παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ᾔει. ἀνύσαντές τε ἡμέρας
ὁδὸν φρουρίῳ ἐνέτυχον ὃ Σισαυράνων καλοῦσι
3 Πέρσαι. ἐνταῦθα πλῆθός τε οἰκητόρων ἦν καὶ
ἱππεῖς ὀκτακόσιοι Περσῶν ἄριστοι φυλακὴν εἶχον,
οἷς ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, Βλησχάμης ὄνομα, ἐφειστήκει.
4 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ φρουρίου στρατο-
πεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, προσ-
βολήν τε τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιησάμενοι ἀπεκρού-
5 σθησαν, πολλοὺς τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τό τε
γὰρ τεῖχος ἐς ἄγαν ἐχυρὸν ἐτύγχανεν ὂν καὶ οἱ
βάρβαροι καρτερώτατα ἐνθένδε τοὺς ἐπιόντας
ἠμύνοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας ξυγκα-
6 λέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Ἐμπειρία πο-
λέμων πολλῶν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ἐν
τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόροις προορᾶν τε τὰ
ξυμβησόμενα καὶ δυνατοῖς εἶναι πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν
7 ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. ἐπίστασθε τοίνυν πηλίκον
ἐστὶ κακὸν στράτευμα ἐς γῆν πολεμίαν, πολ-
λῶν μὲν ὀχυρωμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ μαχίμων
ἐν τούτοις ἀνδρῶν ὄπισθεν ἀπολελειμμένων,
8 πορεύεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔν γε τῷ παρ-
όντι τετύχηκεν. ἐπίπροσθεν γὰρ ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν
ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἐπόμενοι
λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐν χωρίοις, ὡς τὸ

XIX

AND Belisarius, seeing that Nisibis was exceedingly strong, and having no hope regarding its capture, was eager to go forward, in order that he might do the enemy some damage by a sudden inroad Accordingly he broke camp and moved forward with the whole army And after accomplishing a day's journey, they came upon a fortress which the Persians call Sisauranon There were in that place besides the numerous population eight hundred horsemen, the best of the Persians, who were keeping guard under command of a man of note, Bleschames by name And the Romans made camp close by the fortress and began a siege, but, upon making an assault upon the fortifications, they were beaten back, losing many men in the fight. For the wall happened to be extremely strong, and the barbarians defended it against their assailants with the greatest vigour. Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and spoke as follows "Experience in many wars, fellow officers, has made it possible for us in difficult situations to foresee what will come to pass, and has made us capable of avoiding disaster by choosing the better course. You understand, therefore, how great a mistake it is for an army to proceed into a hostile land, when many strongholds and many fighting men in them have been left in the rear. Now exactly this has happened to us in the present case. For if we continue our advance, some of the enemy from this place as well as from the city of Nisibis will follow us secretly and will, in all probability, handle us

εἰκός, κακουργήσουσιν ἐπιτηδείως αὐτοῖς πρὸς
9 ἐνέδραν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἔχουσιν. ἢν
δέ πη καὶ ἄλλος ἀπαντήσῃ στρατὸς εἴς τε μάχην
καθιστῶνται, πρὸς ἑκατέρους μὲν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη
τετάξεσθαι, πάθοιμεν δ' ἂν οὕτω πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ
ἀνήκεστα· ἐῶ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πταίσαντες ἐν τῇ
ξυμβολῇ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπάνοδον ἐς Ῥωμαίων
10 τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξομεν. μὴ
τοίνυν ἀλογίστῳ σπουδῇ χρώμενοι [ἐφ'][1] ἡμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἐσκυλευκότες φαινώμεθα, μηδὲ τῷ φιλονεί-
κῳ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα βλάψωμεν. τόλμα
μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθὴς ἐς ὄλεθρον φέρει, μέλλησις δὲ
σώφρων ἐς τὸ σώζειν ἀεὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους
11 ἱκανῶς πέφυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαθεζό-
μενοι ἐξελεῖν πειρώμεθα τὸ φρούριον τόδε,
Ἀρέθας δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας
12 χωρία στελλέσθω. Σαρακηνοὶ γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν
μέν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι φύσει, ἐς δὲ τὸ ληΐζεσθαι
13 πάντων μάλιστα δεξιοί. συνεισβαλοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ στρατιῶται τῶν μαχίμων τινές, ὅπως αὐτοί
τε, μηδενὸς μὲν ἐναντιώματος σφίσι φανέντος, τὰ
ἀνήκεστα τοὺς προσπεσόντας ἐργάσωνται, ἢν δέ
τι ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιον, εὐπετῶς ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς
14 ἡμᾶς σώζοιντο. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξελόντες, ἢν θεὸς
θέλῃ, τὸ φρούριον, οὕτω δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβαίνωμεν, οὐ δεδιότες μὲν
τοὺς ὄπισθεν κακουργήσοντας, εὖ δὲ εἰδότες ὅπη
ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει."

15 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος εὖ τε λέγειν ἅπασιν
ἔδοξε καὶ τὸ βούλευμα εὐθὺς ἐπετέλει. Ἀρέθαν
τε ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας ἐκέλευεν

[1] [ἐφ'] bracketed by Haury.

roughly in places which are for them conveniently adapted for an ambuscade or some other sort of attack. And if, by any chance, a second army confronts us and opens battle, it will be necessary for us to array ourselves against both, and we should thus suffer irreparable harm at their hands And in saying this I do not mention the fact that if we fail in the engagement, should it so happen, we shall after that have absolutely no way of return left to the land of the Romans Let us not therefore by reason of most ill-considered haste seem to have been our own despoilers, nor by our eagerness for strife do harm to the cause of the Romans For stupid daring leads to destruction, but discreet hesitation is well adapted always to save those who adopt such a course Let us therefore establish ourselves here and endeavour to capture this fortress, and let Arethas with his forces be sent into the country of Assyria. For the Saracens are by nature unable to storm a wall, but the cleverest of all men at plundering. And some of the soldiers who are good fighters will join them in the invasion, so that, if no opposition presents itself to them, they may overwhelm those who fall in their way, and if any hostile force encounters them, they may be saved easily by retiring to us And after we have captured the fortress, if God wills, then with the whole army let us cross the River Tigris, without having to fear mischief from anyone in our rear, and knowing well how matters stand with the Assyrians."

These words of Belisarius seemed to all well spoken, and he straightway put the plan into execution. Accordingly he commanded Arethas with

ἰέναι καὶ αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας διακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, δορυφόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας δύο, Τραιανόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φαγᾶν καλούμενον, ἄμφω ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια.
16 καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν Ἀρέθᾳ πειθομένοις ἅπαντα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλεν, Ἀρέθαν δὲ ἅπαντα ἐκέλευε τὰ ἐν ποσὶ λησάμενον οὕτω τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανήκοντα ἀπαγγέλλειν σφίσιν ὁποῖά ποτε
17 δυνάμεως πέρι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα εἴη. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρέθαν Τίγρην ποταμὸν
18 διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο. οὗ δὴ χώραν τε ἀγαθὴν εὑρόντες καὶ μακροῦ χρόνου ἀδῄωτον, ταύτην τε ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς πολλὰ λησάμενοι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων χρήματα μεγάλα
19 περιεβάλλοντο. τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τῶν τινας Περσῶν ξυλλαβών, ἐνδεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ
20 τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παντελῶς ἔμαθεν. οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν Δάρας τε καὶ Νισίβιδι πόλει, ἐν δημοσίῳ τὰς ἐπετείους τροφὰς ἀποτίθεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίων στρατοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος ἐσκομισάμενοί τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ
21 ἔφθησαν. ἄφνω δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ φρούριον καταφυγόντων, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὡς
22 τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιέζοντο. ἃ δὴ Βελισάριος γνοὺς Γεώργιον ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετώτατόν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῷ κοινωνοῦντα, ἀποπειρασόμενον τῶν [ἐν][1] ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, εἴ πως
23 ὁμολογίᾳ τινὶ δύναιτο τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν. Γεώργιος δὲ παραίνεσίν τε ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ ἐς

[1] [ἐν] bracketed by Herwerden

his troops to advance into Assyria, and with them he sent twelve hundred soldiers, the most of whom were from among his own guard, putting two guardsmen in command of them, Trajan and John who was called the Glutton, both capable warriors. These men he directed to obey Arethas in everything they did, and he commanded Arethas to pillage all that lay before him and then return to the camp and report how matters stood with the Assyrians with regard to military strength So Arethas and his men crossed the River Tigris and entered Assyria There they found a goodly land and one which had been free from plunder for a long time, and undefended besides, and moving rapidly they pillaged many of the places there and secured a great amount of rich plunder And at that time Belisarius captured some of the Persians and learned from them that those who were inside the fortress were altogether out of provisions. For they do not observe the custom which is followed in the cities of Daras and Nisibis, where they put away the annual food-supply in public store-houses, and now that a hostile army had fallen upon them unexpectedly they had not anticipated the event by carrying in any of the necessities of life And since a great number of persons had taken refuge suddenly in the fortress, they were naturally hard pressed by the want of provisions When Belisarius learned this, he sent George, a man of the greatest discretion with whom he shared his secrets, to test the men of the place, in the hope that he might be able to arrange some terms of surrender and thus take the place. And George succeeded, after addressing to them many

αὐτοὺς ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπών, ἔπεισε τὰ πιστὰ λα-
24 βόντας ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
τὸ φρούριον ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις. οὕτω Βελι-
σάριος τὸ Σισαυράνων ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας
ἅπαντας, Χριστιανούς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τὸ ἀνέ-
καθεν ὄντας, ἀθῴους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας
ξὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψε, καὶ
τὸν τοῦ φρουρίου περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε.
25 βασιλεύς τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτους τε τοὺς
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν Βλησχάμην ἐς Ἰταλίαν Γότθοις
πολεμήσοντας ἔπεμψε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ
Σισαυράνων φρουρίῳ [1] ταύτῃ ἐχώρησεν.
26 Ἀρέθας δέ, δείσας μὴ τὴν λείαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων
ἀφαιρεθείη, οὐκέτι ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
27 ἤθελε. πέμψας οὖν τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ
κατασκοπῇ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκέλευε λάθρα ὡς
τάχιστα ἐπανήκοντας σημῆναι σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ
πολύς τις πολεμίων στρατὸς ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
28 τὴν διάβασιν εἴη. διὸ δὴ Τραιανῷ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ
παρῄνει ἑτέρᾳ ἰοῦσιν ὁδῷ ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων
29 τὴν γῆν. παρὰ μὲν οὖν Βελισάριον οὐκέτι ἦλθον,
ἔχοντες δὲ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ οὕτω
δὴ ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἀβόρρᾳ
30 ποταμῷ ἵκοντο. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων
στρατὸς οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου
πυθόμενοι ἤσχαλλον, ἔς τε δέος καὶ ὑποψίαν
οὔτε φορητήν τινα οὔτε μετρίαν ἐμπίπτοντες.
31 χρόνου τε σφίσιν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ
τριβέντος συχνοῦ ξυνέβη πολλοῖς τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν πυρετῷ δυσκόλῳ ἐνταῦθα ἁλῶναι· αὐχ-
μηρὰ γὰρ Μεσοποταμία ἡ Περσῶν κατήκοος

[1] *φρουρίῳ* VP : *χωρίῳ* G.

words of exhortation and of kindly invitation, in persuading them to take pledges for their safety and to deliver themselves and the fortress to the Romans Thus Belisarius captured Sisauranon, and the inhabitants, all of whom were Christians and of Roman origin, he released unscathed, but the Persians he sent with Bleschames to Byzantium, and razed the fortification wall of the fortress to the ground. And the emperor not long afterwards sent these Persians and Bleschames to Italy to fight against the Goths. Such, then, was the course of events which had to do with the fortress of Sisauranon.

But Arethas, fearing lest he should be despoiled of his booty by the Romans, was now unwilling to return to the camp So he sent some of his followers ostensibly for the purpose of reconnoitring, but secretly commanding them to return as quickly as possible and announce to the army that a large hostile force was at the crossing of the river. For this reason, then, he advised Trajan and John to return by another route to the land of the Romans So they did not come again to Belisarius, but keeping the River Euphrates on the right they finally arrived at the Theodosiopolis which is near the River Aborrhas But Belisarius and the Roman army, hearing nothing concerning this force, were disturbed, and they were filled with fear and an intolerable and exaggerated suspicion. And since much time had been consumed by them in this siege, it came about that many of the soldiers were taken there with a troublesome fever; for the portion of Mesopotamia which is subject to the Persians is

32 ὑπερφυῶς ἐστιν. οὕπερ ἀήθεις ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ ἐκ Θρᾴκης ὁρμώμενοι, ἐν χωρίῳ ἐκτόπως ἀυχμώδει καὶ καλύβαις τισὶ πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ θέρους δίαιταν ἔχοντες, ἐνόσησαν οὕτως ὥστε ἡμιθνῆτες τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ στρα-
33 τοῦ ἔκειντο. ἅπας μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ἐνθένδε τε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν γῆν ἐπανήκειν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχον, μάλιστα δὲ ἁπάντων οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ[1] καταλόγων ἄρχοντες, Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος, ὁρῶντες ὅτι δὴ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνάθημα παρῴ-
34 χηκεν ἤδη. Βελισαρίῳ γοῦν συχνὰ προσιόντες ἐδέοντο σφᾶς αὐτίκα ἀφεῖναι, μαρτυρόμενοι ὡς Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ τά τε ἐπὶ Λιβάνου καὶ Συρίας χωρία ἐνδόντες κάθηνται αὐτοῦ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.
35 Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς
36 ἄρχοντας βουλὴν προὔθηκεν. οὗ δὴ ἀναστὰς πρῶτος Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου υἱὸς ἔλεξε τοιάδε "Ἄριστε Βελισάριε, στρατηγὸν μὲν οὔτε τὴν τύχην οὔτε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου γεγενῆ-
37 σθαι τοιοῦτον οἶμαι οἷος αὐτὸς εἶ. δόξα τε αὕτη οὐ Ῥωμαίων κεκράτηκε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβά-
38 ρων ἁπάντων. ταύτην μέντοι βεβαιότατα διαφυλάξεις τὴν εὔκλειαν, ἤν γε ζῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν διασώσασθαι δυνατὸς εἴης· ὡς νῦν γε ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται. οὕτωσὶ γάρ μοι περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ στρατοῦ σκόπει.
39 Σαρακηνοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες, ἡμέραν οὐκ οἶδα ὁπόστην[2] ἄνω ἐς τοῦτο τύχης ἀφίκοντο ὥστε

[1] Λιβάνῳ P βελισαρίῳ VG.
[2] ὁπόστην Haury · ὅπως τὴν MSS

extremely dry and hot. And the Romans were not accustomed to this and especially those who came from Thrace; and since they were living their daily life in a place where the heat was excessive and in stuffy huts in the summer season, they became so ill that the third part of the army were lying half-dead. The whole army, therefore, was eager to depart from there and return as quickly as possible to their own land, and most of all the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Rhecithancus and Theoctistus, who saw that the time which was the sacred season of the Saracens had in fact already passed They came, indeed, frequently to Belisarius and entreated him to release them immediately, protesting that they had given over to Alamoundaras the country of Lebanon and Syria, and were sitting there for no good reason.

Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and opened a discussion Then John, the son of Nicetas, rose first and spoke as follows: "Most excellent Belisarius, I consider that in all time there has never been a general such as you are either in fortune or in valour. And this reputation has come to prevail not alone among the Romans, but also among all barbarians. This fair name, however, you will preserve most securely, if you should be able to take us back alive to the land of the Romans; for now indeed the hopes which we may have are not bright. For I would have you look thus at the situation of this army. The Saracens and the most efficient soldiers of the army crossed the River Tigris, and one day, I know not how long since, they found themselves in such a plight that they have

οὐδὲ ἄγγελον πέμψαι τινὰ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἴσχυσαν· Ῥεκίθαγγός τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος ἀποπορεύσονται, ὡς ὁρᾷς δήπουθεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν Ἀλαμουνδάρου στρατὸν ἐν Φοίνιξι μέσοις εἶναι οἰόμενοι, ἄγοντά τε καὶ φέροντα ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. 40 τῶν δὲ λειπομένων οἱ νοσοῦντές εἰσι τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς θεραπεύσοντάς τε καὶ κομιοῦντας ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν ἐλάσσους αὐ- 41 τῶν παρὰ πολὺ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἤν τι ξυμβαίη πολέμιον ἢ αὐτοῦ μένουσιν ἢ ὀπίσω ἰοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἀπαντῆσαι, οὐδ' ἄν τις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν Δάρας Ῥωμαίοις 42 δύναιτο τὸ ξυμπεσὸν πάθος. τὸ γὰρ ἐπίπροσθέ πη ἰέναι οὐδὲ λόγῳ οἶμαι δυνατὸν εἶναι. ἕως οὖν ἔτι λείπεταί τις ἐλπίς, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπάνοδον βου- 43 λεύεσθαί[1] τε καὶ πράσσειν ξυνοίσει τοῖς γὰρ ἐς κίνδυνον ἄλλως τε καὶ τοιοῦτον καθεστηκόσι μὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐς 44 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβουλὴν πολλὴ ἄνοια." τοσαῦτα Ἰωάννης τε εἶπε καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπῄνεσαν, ἔς τε θόρυβον καθιστάμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν 45 κατὰ τάχος ποιεῖσθαι ἠξίουν. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος πρότερον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνθέ- 46 μενος, ὑπῆγεν ὀπίσω τὸ στράτευμα. ἐπειδή τε τάχιστα ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοντο, ἅπαντα μὲν τὰ τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ εἰργασμένα ἔγνω, δίκην μέντοι λαβεῖν οὐδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεί οἱ ἐς ὄψιν οὐκέτι ἦλθεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβολὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

47 Χοσρόῃ δὲ Πέτραν ἑλόντι Βελισάριος ἐσβαλὼν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἠγγέλλετο καὶ ἡ ἀμφὶ πόλιν

[1] βουλεύεσθαι P : βούλεσθαι VG.

not even succeeded in sending a messenger to us, and Rhecithancus and Theoctistus will depart, as you see surely, believing that the army of Alamoundaras is almost at this very moment in the midst of Phoenicia, pillaging the whole country there And among those who are left the sick are so numerous that those who will care for them and convey them to the land of the Romans are fewer in number than they are by a great deal Under these circumstances, if it should fall out that any hostile force should come upon us, either while remaining here or while going back, not a man would be able to carry back word to the Romans in Daras of the calamity which had befallen us For as for going forward, I consider it impossible even to be spoken of While, therefore, some hope is still left, it will be of advantage both to make plans for the return and to put the plans into action For when men have come into danger and especially such danger as this, it is downright folly for them to devote their thoughts not to safety, but to opposition to the enemy" So spoke John, and all the others expressed approval, and becoming disorderly, they demanded that the retreat be made with all speed Accordingly Belisarius laid the sick in the carts and let them lead the way, while he led the army behind them. And as soon as they got into the land of the Romans, he learned everything which had been done by Arethas, but he did not succeed in inflicting any punishment upon him, for he never came into his sight again So ended the invasion of the Romans.

And after Chosroes had taken Petra, it was announced to him that Belisarius had invaded the

Νίσιβιν ξυμβολή, φρουρίου τε τοῦ Σισαυράνων ἡ ἅλωσις, καὶ ὅσα Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβὰν τὸ ξὺν
48 τῷ Ἀρέθᾳ στράτευμα ἔπρασσεν. αὐτίκα τε φυλακὴν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καταστησάμενος, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐς τὰ
49 Περσῶν ἤθη ἀπήλαυνε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἐλθὼν διεχείμαζεν.

XX

1 Ἅμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τρίτον στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων
2 Κάνδιδος δέ, ὁ Σεργιουπόλεως ἱερεύς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἄγχιστά που ἥκειν ἐπύθετο, δείσας περί τε οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ Χοσρόῃ τὰ ὡμολογημένα ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ γενόμενος παρῃτεῖτο Χοσρόην μή οἱ διὰ ταῦτα
3 χαλεπῶς ἔχειν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτῷ γεγονέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βεβουλῆσθαι[1] Σουρηνοὺς ῥύεσθαι, βασιλέα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων πολλὰ ἱκετεύσας ἀνόνητος
4 αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι. Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πικρότατα αἰκιζόμενος δι-

[1] βεβουλῆσθαι VGP βεβουλεῦσθαι H.

Persian territory, and the engagement near the city of Nisibis was reported, as also the capture of the fortress of Sisauranon, and all that the army of Arethas had done after crossing the River Tigris. Straightway, then, he established a garrison in Petra, and with the rest of the army and those of the Romans who had been captured he marched away into the land of Persia. Such, then, were the events which took place in the second invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius went to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, and passed the winter there

XX

At the opening of spring Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the third time began an invasion into the land of the Romans with a mighty army, keeping the River Euphrates on the right. And Candidus, the priest of Sergiopolis, upon learning that the Median army had come near there, began to be afraid both for himself and for the city, since he had by no means carried out at the appointed time the agreement which he had made[1]; accordingly he went into the camp of the enemy and entreated Chosroes not to be angry with him because of this. For as for money, he had never had any, and for this reason he had not even wished in the first place to deliver the inhabitants of Sura, and though he had supplicated the Emperor Justinian many times on their behalf, he had failed to receive any help from him But Chosroes put him under guard, and, torturing him most cruelly, claimed the right to 542 A D

[1] Cf chap v 31

πλάσια [τὰ] χρήματα, ἥπερ ξυνέκειτο, πράττειν
5 ἠξίου. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Σεργιούπολίν τινας ἱκέτευε
πέμψαι τὰ κειμήλια ξύμπαντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῦ
6 ληψομένους. καὶ ἐπεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης
ἐποίει, τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινὰς ὁ Κάνδιδος ξὺν
7 αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σεργιουπολῖται
τοὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντας τῇ πόλει δεξά-
μενοι τῶν κειμηλίων πολλὰ ἔδοσαν, ἄλλο οὐδὲν
8 σφίσιν ἀπολελεῖφθαι ἰσχυριζόμενοι. Χοσρόης
δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἀποχρῆν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἕτερα
9 τούτων πλείω λαβεῖν ἐδικαίου. πέμπει τοίνυν
τινὰς τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διερευνησομένους ἐς τὸ ἀκρι-
βὲς τὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα, ἔργῳ δὲ τὴν πόλιν
10 καθέξοντας. καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Σεργιούπολιν
Πέρσαις ἁλῶναι, τῶν τις Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανὸς
μέν, ταττόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ, Ἄμβρος
ὄνομα, νύκτωρ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τεῖχος ἥκων
καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλας, ἐκέλευε Πέρσας
11 τῇ πόλει μηδαμῇ δέξασθαι οὕτω τε οἱ παρὰ
Χοσρόου σταλέντες ἄπρακτοι ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανῆλθον,
καὶ ὃς τῷ θυμῷ ζέων τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν διενοεῖτο.
12 στράτευμα οὖν ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους στείλας ἐκέλευεν
ἔς τε πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι καὶ προσβολὰς
13 τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα
γενόμενοι ἔργου εἴχοντο, Σεργιουπολῖται δὲ καρ-
τερῶς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἠμύνοντο, ἔπειτα <δὲ>[1]
ἀπειπόντες τε καὶ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐβουλεύοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι.
14 στρατιώτας γὰρ οὐ πλέον ἢ διακοσίους ἔχοντες
ἔτυχον. ἀλλὰ Ἄμβρος, αὖθις παρὰ τὸν περί-

[1] <δὲ> Haury

exact from him double the amount of money, just as had been agreed And Candidus entreated him to send men to Sergiopolis to take all the treasures of the sanctuary there And when Chosroes followed this suggestion, Candidus sent some of his followers with them. So the inhabitants of Sergiopolis, receiving into the city the men sent by Chosroes, gave them many of the treasures, declaring that nothing else was left them But Chosroes said that these were by no means sufficient for him, and demanded that he should receive others still more than these Accordingly he sent men, ostensibly to search out with all diligence the wealth of the city, but in reality to take possession of the city But since it was fated that Sergiopolis should not be taken by the Persians, one of the Saracens, who, though a Christian, was serving under Alamoundaras, Ambrus by name, came by night along the wall of the city, and reporting to them the whole plan, bade them by no means receive the Persians into the city Thus those who were sent by Chosroes returned to him unsuccessful, and he, boiling with anger, began to make plans to capture the city He accordingly sent an army of six thousand, commanding them to begin a siege and to make assaults upon the fortifications. And this army came there and commenced active operations, and the citizens of Sergiopolis at first defended themselves vigorously, but later they gave up, and in terror at the danger, they were purposing to give over the city to the enemy For, as it happened, they had not more than two hundred soldiers But Ambrus, again coming along by the

βολον ἐς νύκτα ἥκων, δυοῖν[1] ἡμέραιν τὴν πολιορκίαν διαλύσειν Πέρσας ἔφασκε, τοῦ ὕδατος
15 αὐτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντος. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδαμῇ ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δίψει ἐχόμενοι ἐξανέστησάν τε καὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίκοντο. Κάνδιδον μέντοι
16 Χοσρόης οὐκέτι ἀφῆκε. χρῆν γάρ, οἶμαι, αὐτὸν τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἠλογηκότα ἱερέα μηκέτι εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.

17 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κομμαγηνῶν χώραν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀφίκετο, ἣν καλοῦσιν Εὐφρατησίαν, ἐς λείαν μὲν ἢ χωρίου του ἅλωσιν τρέπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ μέχρι ἐς Σύρους τὰ μὲν ἐξελών, τὰ δὲ· ἀργυρολογήσας πρότερον ἔτυχεν, ὥσπερ
18 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωται. γνώμην δὲ εἶχεν εὐθὺ Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κειμήλια πάντα λήσηται. χώραν γὰρ ταύτην ἀγαθήν τε διαφερόντως καὶ πολυχρύσων οἰκητόρων
19 εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἶχε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἅπαντες, ἄρχοντές τε καὶ στρατιῶται, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ὑπαντιάζειν ἢ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ διενοοῦντο, τὰ δὲ ὀχυρώματα καταλαβόντες ὡς ἕκαστος ἠδύνατο, ἀποχρῆν ᾤοντο ταῦτά τε διαφυλάσσειν καὶ αὐτοὶ σώζεσθαι.

20 Γνοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βελισάριον αὖθις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς δημοσίοις ὀχούμενος, οὓς δὴ βερέδους καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἅτε οὐ στράτευμα ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων, τάχει πολλῷ ἐς Εὐφρατησίαν ἀφίκετο, Ἰοῦστος δέ, ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιός, ἐν

[1] δυεῖν MSS

fortifications at night, said that within two days the Persians would raise the siege since their water supply had failed them absolutely For this reason they did not by any means open negotiations with the enemy, and the barbarians, suffering with thirst, removed from there and came to Chosroes However, Chosroes never released Candidus. For it was necessary, I suppose, that since he had disregarded his sworn agreement, he should be a priest no longer. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But when Chosroes arrived at the land of the Commagenae which they call Euphratesia, he had no desire to turn to plundering or to the capture of any stronghold, since he had previously taken everything before him as far as Syria, partly by capture and partly by exacting money, as has been set forth in the preceding narrative And his purpose was to lead the army straight for Palestine, in order that he might plunder all their treasures and especially those in Jerusalem For he had it from hearsay that this was an especially goodly land and peopled by wealthy inhabitants And all the Romans, both officers and soldiers, were far from entertaining any thought of confronting the enemy or of standing in the way of their passage, but manning their strongholds as each one could, they thought it sufficient to preserve them and save themselves

The Emperor Justinian, upon learning of the inroad of the Persians, again sent Belisarius against them. And he came with great speed to Euphratesia since he had no army with him, riding on the government post-horses, which they are accustomed to call "veredi," while Justus, the nephew of the

Ἱεραπόλει ξύν τε τῷ Βούζῃ καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ
21 καταφυγὼν ἔτυχεν. οἳ δὴ Βελισάριον οὐ μακρὰν
ἄποθεν ἥκειν ἀκούσαντες γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν
22 ἔγραφον· ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε "Καὶ νῦν
ὁ Χοσρόης, ὥσπερ οἶσθά που καὶ αὐτός, ἐπὶ
Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσε, στρατὸν μὲν πολλῷ πλεί-
ονα ἢ πρότερον ἄγων, ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ ἰέναι[1] δια-
νοούμενος οὔπω ἔνδηλος ὤν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι
αὐτὸν ἄγχιστά πη ἀκούομεν εἶναι, χωρίῳ μὲν
οὐδενὶ λυμηνάμενον, ὁδῷ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐπίπροσθεν
23 ἰόντα. ἀλλ' ἧκε παρ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, εἴπερ
οἷός τε εἶ λαθεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον,
ὅπως δὴ σῶς τε αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ἔσῃ καὶ Ἱερά-
24 πολιν[2] ἡμῖν ξυμφυλάξῃς." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ
ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐκ ἐπαινέσας τὰ γε-
γραμμένα ἐς Εὐρωπὸν τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκετο, ὃ
25 πρὸς Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ ἐστιν. ἐνθένδε τε περι-
πέμπων πανταχόσε τὸν στρατὸν ἤγειρε καὶ αὐτοῦ
τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεστήσατο, ἄρχοντάς τε τοὺς
ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ἠμείβετο τοῖσδε, "Εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἑτέρους
ἀνθρώπων[3] τινάς, ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους
ὁ Χοσρόης χωρεῖ, εὖ τε καὶ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα
26 ὑμῖν βεβούλευται ταῦτα· οἷς γὰρ πάρεστιν
ἡσυχῇ μένουσιν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, πολλὴ
ἄνοια ἐς κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖόν τινα ἰέναι·
εἰ δὲ νῦν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγεὶς ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος
ἑτέρᾳ τινὶ ἐπισκήψει βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ
χώρᾳ, καὶ ταύτῃ διαφερόντως μὲν ἀγαθῇ, φρου-
ρὰν δὲ οὐδαμῇ στρατιωτῶν ἐχούσῃ, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι

[1] ἰέναι P: om. VG [2] Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf ἱερὰν πόλιν MSS
[3] ἀνθρώπων VG· ἀνθρώπους P.

emperor, together with Bouzes and certain others, was in Hierapolis where he had fled for refuge. And when these men heard that Belisarius was coming and was not far away, they wrote a letter to him which ran as follows. "Once more Chosroes, as you yourself doubtless know, has taken the field against the Romans, bringing a much greater army than formerly, and where he is purposing to go is not yet evident, except indeed that we hear he is very near, and that he has injured no place, but is always moving ahead But come to us as quickly as possible, if indeed you are able to escape detection by the army of the enemy, in order that you yourself may be safe for the emperor, and that you may join us in guarding Hierapolis" Such was the message of the letter But Belisarius, not approving the advice given, came to the place called Europum, which is on the River Euphrates. From there he sent about in all directions and began to gather his army, and there he established his camp, and the officers in Hierapolis he answered with the following words: "If, now, Chosroes is proceeding against any other peoples, and not against subjects of the Romans, this plan of yours is well considered and insures the greatest possible degree of safety; for it is great folly for those who have the opportunity of remaining quiet and being rid of trouble to enter into any unnecessary danger; but if, immediately after departing from here, this barbarian is going to fall upon some other territory of the Emperor Justinian, and that an exceptionally good one, but without any guard of soldiers, be assured that to perish

τὸ ξὺν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ σεσῶσθαι
27 ἀμαχητὶ τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωτηρία
τοῦτό γε, ἀλλὰ προδοσία δικαίως καλοῖτο. ἀλλ'
ἥκετε ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὸν Εὐρωπόν, οὗ δὴ συλ-
λέξας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ
28 ἐλπίδα ἔχω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι." ταῦτα
ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶδον, ἐθάρρησάν
τε καὶ Ἰοῦστον μὲν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτοῦ
ἔλιπον ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν[1] φυλάξουσιν,[2] οἱ δὲ
λοιποὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς Εὐρωπὸν ἦλθον.

XXI

1 Χοσρόης δὲ μαθὼν Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ Ῥω-
μαίων στρατῷ ἐστρατοπεδεῦσθαι ἐν Εὐρωπῷ,
πρόσω μὲν ἐλαύνειν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, τῶν δὲ βασι-
λικῶν γραμματέων ἕνα, Ἀβανδάνην ὄνομα, δό-
ξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Βελισάριον
ἔπεμψε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁποῖός ποτε εἴη κατασκε-
ψόμενον, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ μεμψόμενον ὅτι δὴ βασιλεὺς
Ἰουστινιανὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐς Πέρσας ἥκιστα
πέμψειεν,[3] ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κατὰ τὰ
ξυγκείμενα πρυτανεύσωσιν. ὅπερ μαθὼν Βελι-
2 σάριος ἐποίει τοιάδε. αὐτὸς μὲν ἑξακισχιλίους
ἀπολεξάμενος ἄνδρας εὐμήκεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα
καλοὺς μάλιστα, μακράν που ἄποθεν τοῦ στρα-
τοπέδου ὡς κυνηγετήσων ἐστάλη, Διογένην δὲ τὸν
δορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν Ἀκακίου, ἄνδρα

[1] Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf. ἱερατικὴν VG, ἱερὰν πόλιν P.
[2] φυλάξουσιν P φυλάξωσιν VG.
[3] πέμψειεν edd.. πέμψειν MSS.

valorously is better in every way than to be saved without a fight For this would justly be called not salvation but treason. But come as quickly as possible to Europum, where, after collecting the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy as God permits" And when the officers saw this message, they took courage, and leaving there Justus with some few men in order to guard Hierapolis, all the others with the rest of the army came to Europum.

XXI

But Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius with the whole Roman army had encamped at Europum, decided not to continue his advance, but sent one of the royal secretaries, Abandanes by name, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, to Belisarius, in order to find out by inspection what sort of a general he might be, but ostensibly to make a protest because the Emperor Justinian had not sent the ambassadors to the Persians at all in order that they might settle the arrangements for the peace as had been agreed When Belisarius learned this, he did as follows He himself picked out six hundred men of goodly stature and especially fine physique, and set out to hunt at a considerable distance from the camp Then he commanded Diogenes, the guardsman, and Adolius, the son of

Ἀρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα (σιλεντιαρίους Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη ἐπίκειται), τότε δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντας[1] ξὺν ἱππεῦσι χιλίοις περιιέναι τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἠιόνα ἐκέλευε, δόκησιν ἀεὶ παρεχομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς, ἢν ἐθέλωσι τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ὁδῷ ἰέναι, οὐ μήποτε ἐπιτρέψουσι.[2] καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.

3 Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἄγχιστά πη ἐπέπυστο εἶναι, καλύβην ἐκ παχειῶν τινῶν σινδόνων πηξάμενος, ἣν δὴ παπυλεῶνα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐκάθητο ἐκεῖ, ὥσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, παραδηλῶν ὅτι δὴ οὐδεμιᾷ παρασκευῇ ἐνταῦθα[3]
4 ἥκοι. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας διέταξεν ὧδε. τῆς μὲν καλύβης ἑφ' ἑκάτερα Θρᾷκές τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἦσαν, Γότθοι δὲ μετ' αὐτούς, καὶ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ἐρουλοι, μεθ' οὓς Βανδίλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι
5 ἦσαν. τοῦ τε πεδίου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διῆκον. οὐ γὰρ ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ χώρας ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ διεστηκότες τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ περιπάτους ποιούμενοι παρέργως τε καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα κατεσπουδασμένως ἐς τὸν Χοσρόου πρεσβευτὴν
6 ἔβλεπον. εἶχε δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὔτε χλαμύδα[4] οὔτε ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινά, ἀλλὰ χιτῶνας μὲν λινοῦς καὶ ἀναξυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἶτα διεζωσ-
7 μένοι ἐβάδιζον. εἶχε δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου μάστιγα ἕκαστος, ὅπλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ξίφος ἦν, τῷ δὲ

[1] διαβάντας Maltretus . διαβάντα MSS.
[2] ἐπιτρέψουσι Haury ἐπιστρέψουσι MSS.
[3] ἐνταῦθα Theophanes · ἐν ταύτῃ MSS.
[4] χλαμύδα Dindorf . χλανίδα MSS

Acacius, to cross the river with a thousand horsemen and to move about the bank there, always making it appear to the enemy that if they wished to cross the Euphrates and proceed to their own land, they would never permit them to do so. This Adolius was an Armenian by birth, and he always served the emperor while in the palace as privy counsellor (those who enjoy this honour are called by the Romans "silentiarii"), but at that time he was commander of some Armenians. And these men did as directed

Now when Belisarius had ascertained that the envoy was close at hand, he set up a tent of some heavy cloth, of the sort which is commonly called a "pavilion," and seated himself there as one might in a desolate place, seeking thus to indicate that he had come without any equipment And he arranged the soldiers as follows On either side of the tent were Thracians and Illyrians, with Goths beyond them, and next to these Eruli, and finally Vandals and Moors. And their line extended for a great distance over the plain. For they did not remain standing always in the same place, but stood apart from one another and kept walking about, looking carelessly and without the least interest upon the envoy of Chosroes. And not one of them had a cloak or any other outer garment to cover the shoulders, but they were sauntering about clad in linen tunics and trousers, and outside these their girdles And each one had his horse-whip, but for weapons one had a sword,

another an axe, another an uncovered bow. And all gave the impression that they were eager to be off on the hunt with never a thought of anything else. So Abandanes came into the presence of Belisarius and said that the king Chosroes was indignant because the agreement previously made had not been kept, in that the envoys had not been sent to him by Caesar (for thus the Persians call the emperor of the Romans), and as a result of this Chosroes had been compelled to come into the land of the Romans in arms. But Belisarius was not terrified by the thought that such a multitude of barbarians were encamped close by, nor did he experience any confusion because of the words of the man, but with a laughing, care-free countenance he made answer, saying "This course which Chosroes has followed on the present occasion is not in keeping with the way men usually act. For other men, in case a dispute should arise between themselves and any of their neighbours, first carry on negotiations with them, and whenever they do not receive reasonable satisfaction, then finally go against them in war But he first comes into the midst of the Romans, and then begins to offer suggestions concerning peace." With such words as these he dismissed the ambassador.

And when Abandanes came to Chosroes, he advised him to take his departure with all possible speed For he said he had met a general who in manliness and sagacity surpassed all other men, and soldiers such as he at least had never seen, whose orderly conduct had roused in him the greatest admiration. And he added that the contest was not on an even footing as regards risk for him and for Belisarius, for there was this difference, that if he

διαφέρειν δέ, ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν Καίσαρος νικήσει δοῦλον, ἡσσηθεὶς δέ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, μέγα τι αἶσχος τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ πορίσεται καὶ τῷ Περσῶν γένει, καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν νενικημένοι ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἔν τε ὀχυρώμασι καὶ γῇ τῇ αὐτῶν [1] διασώζοιντο, αὐτῶν δέ, ἤν γέ τι ἐναντίωμα ξυμβαίη, οὐδ' ἂν
15 ἄγγελος διαφύγοι ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν. ταύτῃ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναπεισθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἐβούλετο, ἀμηχανίᾳ δὲ
16 πολλῇ εἴχετο. τήν τε γὰρ διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων φυλάσσεσθαι ᾤετο καὶ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ, ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν οὔσῃ, ὀπίσω ἀπελαύνειν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει [2] ἅπερ τὸ πρό-
17 τερον ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλον. τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λογισαμένῳ ξυμφορώτατόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι μάχῃ διακινδυνεύσαντι ἐς γῆν τε τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἥκειν καὶ διὰ χώρας πᾶσιν εὐθηνούσης τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιή-
18 σασθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ εὖ μὲν ἠπίστατο ὡς οὐδ' ἂν δέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάβασιν Χοσρόῃ ἀναχαιτίζειν ποτὲ ἱκαναὶ εἶεν· (ὅ τε γὰρ ποταμὸς πολλαχῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ναυσὶ διαβατὸς ὢν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τυγχάνει, καὶ κρεῖσσον ἦν ἄλλως τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἢ πρὸς πολεμίων ὀλίγων τινῶν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι·) τοῖς δὲ ἀμφὶ Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον σὺν τοῖς χιλίοις ἐπέστελλε τὰ πρῶτα περιιέναι [3] τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτήν, ὅπως δὴ ἐς ταραχὴν ἀφασίᾳ τινὶ τὸν βάρβαρον

[1] αὐτῶν V · αὐτοῖς G, αὑτῶν preferred by Christ
[2] ἐπιλελοίπει Dindorf cod α. ἀπολελοίπει MSS
[3] περιιέναι Haury · προιέναι MS , cf. II xxi 2

conquered, he himself would conquer the slave of Caesar, but if he by any chance were defeated, he would bring great disgrace upon his kingdom and upon the race of the Persians, and again the Romans, if conquered, could easily save themselves in strongholds and in their own land, while if the Persians should meet with any reverse, not even a messenger would escape to the land of the Persians Chosroes was convinced by this admonition and wished to turn back to his own country, but he found himself in a very perplexing situation For he supposed that the crossing of the river was being guarded by the enemy, and he was unable to march back by the same road, which was entirely destitute of human habitation, since the supplies which they had at the first when they invaded the land of the Romans had already entirely failed them At last after long consideration it seemed to him most advantageous to risk a battle and get to the opposite side, and to make the journey through a land abounding in all good things. Now Belisarius knew well that not even a hundred thousand men would ever be sufficient to check the crossing of Chosroes For the river at many places along there can be crossed in boats very easily, and even apart from this the Persian army was too strong to be excluded from the crossing by an enemy numerically insignificant But he had at first commanded the troops of Diogenes and Adolius, together with the thousand horsemen, to move about the bank at that point in order to confuse the barbarian by a feeling of helplessness. But after frightening this same bar-

καταστήσονται.[1] ὅνπερ δεδιξάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἔδεισε μή τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα εἴη ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς. λόγου τέ οἱ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἐξελάσαι ἐνθένδε τὸν Χοσρόου στρατόν, οὐδεμιᾷ κινδυνεύσαντι μάχῃ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς ξὺν στρατιώταις λίαν τε ὀλίγοις οὖσι καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπτηχόσι τὸν Μήδων στρατόν. διὸ δὴ ἐκέλευε Διογένην τε καὶ Ἀδόλιον ἡσυχῇ μένειν.

Ὁ γοῦν Χοσρόης γέφυραν σὺν πολλῷ τάχει πηξάμενος, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέβη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ. Πέρσαις γὰρ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ διαβατοί εἰσι ποταμοὶ ἅπαντες, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἀγκιστροειδῆ σιδήρια ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐστιν, οἷς δὴ ξύλα μακρὰ ἐς ἄλληλα ἐναρμόζοντες γέφυραν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα ὅπῃ ἂν σφίσι βουλομένοις εἴη. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα γέγονεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ, πέμψας παρὰ Βελισάριον αὐτὸς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κεχαρίσθαι τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔφασκε, προσδέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὓς σφίσι παρέσεσθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἄξιον εἶναι. Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβὰς παρὰ Χοσρόην εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν. οἵ, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, πολλὰ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐπαινέσαντες, πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἥξειν παρὰ βασιλέως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέσχοντο, οἳ δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγκείμενα πρότερον ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσονται. ἠξίουν

[1] καταστήσονται Hoeschel καταστήσωνται MS.

barian, as I have said, Belisarius feared lest there should be some obstacle in the way of his departing from the land of the Romans For it seemed to him a most significant achievement to have driven away from there the army of Chosroes, without risking any battle against so many myriads of barbarians with soldiers who were very few in number and who were in abject terror of the Median army. For this reason he commanded Diogenes and Adolius to remain quiet

Chosroes, accordingly, constructed a bridge with great celerity and crossed the River Euphrates suddenly with his whole army For the Persians are able to cross all rivers without the slightest difficulty because when they are on the march they have in readiness hook-shaped irons with which they fasten together long timbers, and with the help of these they improvise a bridge on the spur of the moment wherever they may desire And as soon as he had reached the land on the opposite side, he sent to Belisarius and said that he, for his part, had bestowed a favour upon the Romans in the withdrawal of the Median army, and that he was expecting the envoys from them, who ought to present themselves to him at no distant time. Then Belisarius also with the whole Roman army crossed the River Euphrates and immediately sent to Chosroes And when the messengers came into his presence, they commended him highly for his withdrawal and promised that envoys would come to him promptly from the emperor, who would arrange with him that the terms which had previously been agreed upon concerning the peace should be put into effect And they asked

τε διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἅτε φίλων αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ χρῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπεδέχετο ἐπιτελέσειν, εἴ τινά οἱ δοῖεν τῶν δοκίμων ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ξυγκείμενα πράξου-
27 σιν.[1] οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐπανήκοντες τοὺς Χοσρόου λόγους ἀπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἔδεσσαν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωάννην τὸν Βασιλείου παῖδα, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πάντων τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν διαφανέστατον, ὅμηρον τῷ Χοσ-
28 ρόῃ οὕτι ἑκούσιον εὐθὺς ἔπεμψε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Βελισάριον ἐν εὐφημίαις εἶχον, μᾶλλόν τε σφίσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδόκει ἢ ὅτε Γελίμερα δορυάλωτον ἢ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἐς Βυζάν-
29 τιον ἤνεγκεν. ἦν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς λόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον, πεφοβημένων μὲν κἀν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι κρυπτομένων Ῥωμαίων ἁπάντων, Χοσρόου δὲ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν μέσῃ γεγονότος Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἄνδρα στρατηγὸν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ δρόμῳ ὀξεῖ ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταξὺ ἥκοντα ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατοπεδεύσασθαι, Χοσρόην δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἢ τὴν τύχην ἢ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δείσαντα ἢ καί τισιν ἐξαπατηθέντα σοφίσμασιν, ἐπίπροσθεν μηκέτι χωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ φυγεῖν, λόγῳ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίεσθαι.
30 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρόης ἀλογήσας τὰ ὡμολογημένα Καλλίνικον πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀμυνομένου εἷλε. ταύτης γὰρ τὸν περίβολον ὁρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι σαθρόν τε καὶ εὐάλωτον παντάπασιν

[1] πράξουσιν VP. πράξωσιν GW

of him that he treat the Romans as his friends in his journey through their land. This too he agreed to carry out, if they should give him some one of their notable men as a hostage to make this compact binding, in order that they might carry out their agreement So the envoys returned to Belisarius and reported the words of Chosroes, and he came to Edessa and chose John, the son of Basilius, the most illustrious of all the inhabitants of Edessa in birth and in wealth, and straightway sent him, much against his will, as a hostage to Chosroes And the Romans were loud in their praises of Belisarius and he seemed to have achieved greater glory in their eyes by this affair than when he brought Gelimer or Vittigis captive to Byzantium For in reality it was an achievement of great importance and one deserving great praise, that, at a time when all the Romans were panic-stricken with fear and were hiding themselves in their defences, and Chosroes with a mighty army had come into the midst of the Roman domain, a general with only a few men, coming in hot haste from Byzantium just at that moment, should have set his camp over against that of the Persian king, and that Chosroes unexpectedly, either through fear of fortune or of the valour of the man or even because deceived by some tricks, should no longer continue his advance, but should in reality take to flight, though pretending to be seeking peace

But in the meantime Chosroes, disregarding the agreement, took the city of Callinicus which was entirely without defenders For the Romans, seeing that the wall of this city was altogether unsound

ὄντα, μοῖραν αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ καθαιροῦντές τινα, νέᾳ τινὶ
31 ἀνενεοῦντο οἰκοδομίᾳ τότε γοῦν μέρος τι αὐτοῦ καθελόντες, οὔπω δὲ τὸ λειπόμενον τοῦτο δειμάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγχιστά πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, τῶν χρημάτων ὑπεξαγαγόντες τὰ τιμιώτατα, οἱ μὲν εὐδαίμονες αὐτῆς[1] τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐς ἕτερα ἄττα ὀχυρώματα ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ
32 λοιποὶ στρατιωτῶν χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. καὶ γεωργῶν πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐνταῦθα ξυνειλέχθαι συνέβη. οὓς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀνδραποδίσας ἅπαν
33 ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν. ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον τὸν ὅμηρον Ἰωάννην δεξάμενος, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια
34 ἤθη. Ἀρμένιοί τε οἱ τῷ Χοσρόῃ προσκεχωρηκότες, τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντες, ξὺν τῷ Βασσάκῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, καὶ ὁ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Ἰταλίαν αὖθις[2] σταλήσεται, πονηρῶν ἤδη παντάπασι τῶν ἐκείνῃ πραγμάτων Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων.

XXII

1 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους λοιμὸς γεγονεν, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἅπαντα ὀλίγου ἐδέησε τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐξίτηλα εἶναι. ἅπασι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκήπτουσιν ἴσως ἂν καὶ λέγοιτό τις ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν τολμητῶν αἰτίου λόγος, οἷα πολλὰ φιλοῦσιν οἱ ταῦτα δεινοὶ αἰτίας τερατεύεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀνθρώπῳ καταληπτὰς οὔσας, φυσιολογίας

[1] *αὐτῆς* P : *αὐτοῖς* VG. [2] *αὖθις* VG · *εὐθὺς* P.

and easy of capture, were tearing down portions of it in turn and restoring them with new construction. Now just at that time they had torn down one section of it and had not yet built in this interval; when, therefore, they learned that the enemy were close at hand, they carried out the most precious of their treasures, and the wealthy inhabitants withdrew to other strongholds, while the rest without soldiers remained where they were. And it happened that great numbers of farmers had gathered there These Chosroes enslaved and razed everything to the ground A little later, upon receiving the hostage, John, he retired to his own country And the Armenians who had submitted to Chosroes received pledges from the Romans and came with Bassaces to Byzantium Such was the fortune of the Romans in the third invasion of Chosroes. And Belisarius came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor, in order to be sent again to Italy, since the situation there was already full of difficulties for the Romans

XXII

During these times there was a pestilence, by 542 A.D. which the whole human race came near to being annihilated. Now in the case of all other scourges sent from Heaven some explanation of a cause might be given by daring men, such as the many theories propounded by those who are clever in these matters, for they love to conjure up causes which are absolutely incomprehensible to man, and

τε ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους, ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν ὡς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ἀποχρῆν δὲ ἡγούμενοι σφίσιν, ἤν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τῷ λόγῳ
2 ἐξαπατήσαντες πείσωσι. τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ πρόφασίν τινα ἢ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἢ διανοίᾳ λογίσασθαι μηχανή τις οὐδεμία ἐστί, πλήν γε δὴ
3 ὅσα ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τισὶ γέγονεν οὐδέ τινα ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους ἔσχεν, ὅθεν ἂν καὶ σοφίσματα αἰτίας εὑρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ἀλλὰ περιεβάλλετο μὲν τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἅπαντας ἔβλαψε, καίπερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τοὐναντίον παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὔτε φύσεώς τινος
4 οὔτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. εἴτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοικήσει εἴτε νόμῳ διαίτης, ἢ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἢ ἄλλῳ ὅτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἄνθρωποι διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ μόνῃ τῇ νόσῳ τὸ
5 διαλλάσσον οὐδὲν ὤνησεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥρᾳ θέρους, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶνι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καιρούς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὥς πη ἕκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο ἡ νόσος ἥδε καὶ τρόπῳ δή ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

6 Ἤρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἳ ᾤκηνται ἐν Πηλουσίῳ. γενομένη δὲ δίχα πὴ μὲν ἐπί τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρησε, πὴ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίοις ὁμόρους ἦλθεν, ἐντεῦθέν τε κατέλαβε τὴν γῆν σύμπασαν, ὁδῷ τε ἀεὶ προιοῦσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα
7 τοῖς καθήκουσιν. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν

to fabricate outlandish theories of natural philosophy, knowing well that they are saying nothing sound, but considering it sufficient for them, if they completely deceive by their argument some of those whom they meet and persuade them to their view But for this calamity it is quite impossible either to express in words or to conceive in thought any explanation, except indeed to refer it to God For it did not come in a part of the world nor upon certain men, nor did it confine itself to any season of the year, so that from such circumstances it might be possible to find subtle explanations of a cause, but it embraced the entire world, and blighted the lives of all men, though differing from one another in the most marked degree, respecting neither sex nor age For much as men differ with regard to places in which they live, or in the law of their daily life, or in natural bent, or in active pursuits, or in whatever else man differs from man, in the case of this disease alone the difference availed naught And it attacked some in the summer season, others in the winter, and still others at the other times of the year Now let each one express his own judgment concerning the matter, both sophist and astrologer, but as for me, I shall proceed to tell where this disease originated and the manner in which it destroyed men.

It started from the Aegyptians who dwell in Pelusium Then it divided and moved in one direction towards Alexandria and the rest of Aegypt, and in the other direction it came to Palestine on the borders of Aegypt; and from there it spread over the whole world, always moving forward and travelling at times favourable to it. For it seemed to move by

καὶ χρόνου τακτὸν ἐν χώρᾳ ἑκάστῃ διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ φθόρῳ[1] χρωμένη, σκεδαννυμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιάς, ὥσπερ δεδοικυῖα μή τις αὐτὴν τῆς γῆς διαλάθοι μυχός.

8 οὔτε γὰρ νῆσόν τινα ἢ σπήλαιον ἢ ἀκρώρειαν ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσαν· ἦν δέ πού τινα καὶ παρήλασε χώραν, ἢ μὴ ψαύσασα τῶν ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἀμωσγέπως αὐτῶν ἁψαμένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὖθις ἐνταῦθα ἐπανιοῦσα τῶν μὲν περιοίκων, οἷς δὴ πικρότατα ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἥψατο, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐκείνης οὐ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἕως τὸ μέτρον ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπέδωκεν, ὅπερ[2] καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ᾠκημένοις

9 χρόνῳ τῷ προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. ἀρξαμένη δὲ ἀεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἡ νόσος ἥδε, οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνέβαινε χώραν δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει ἐς Βυζάντιον μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἦρος ἀφίκετο,

10 ἔνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν τηνικαῦτα ξυνέβη. ἐγίνετο δὲ ὧδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοῖς ἐς πᾶσαν ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν ὤφθη, ὅσοι τε αὐτοῖς παραπίπτοιεν, παίεσθαι ᾤοντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀνδρὸς ὅπη παρατύχοι τοῦ σώματος, ἅμα τε τὸ φάσμα τοῦτο ἑώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ

11 αὐτίκα ἡλίσκοντο κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν οἱ παραπεπτωκότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπειρῶντο, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων ἀποστοματίζοντες τὰ θειότατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιούμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἤνυον μέντοι τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ κἂν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἱ πλεῖστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθεί-

[1] φθόρῳ P. φθόνῳ VG [2] ὅπερ Haury ὥσπερ MSS

fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightingly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants, and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back ; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time And it came as follows Apparitions of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled

ἐστι,[1] βουβὼν κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἐντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὦτα καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν[2] ἔτυχε.

18 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδόν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἁλισκομένοις ξυνέβαινε· τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἐγίνετο, ἢ ὅπη ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἴη
19 τῷ τὴν νόσον ἐπαγαγόντι. ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῶμα βαθύ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη ὀξεῖα, ἑκάτεροί τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπασχον· οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῶμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν εἰωθότων σφίσιν ἐς ἀεὶ καθεύ-
20 δειν ἐδόκουν. καὶ εἴ μέν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, μεταξὺ ἤσθιον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορίᾳ
21 τροφῆς εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον. οἱ μέντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἁλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τε καὶ φαντασίᾳ πολλῇ εἴχοντο, καί τινας ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ὡς δὴ ἀπολοῦντας, ἐς ταραχήν τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοῶντες ἐξαίσιον οἷον
22 ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο οἵ τε αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἐχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς ἀεὶ
23 ἔπασχον. διὸ δὴ ἅπαντες αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τοὺς πονουμένους ᾠκτίζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσιέναι (οὔτε γὰρ ἰατρῷ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦδε τῶν νοσούντων ἢ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἁπτομένῳ ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντας ἢ θάπτοντες ἢ θεραπεύοντες ταύτῃ

[1] ἔστι VP: ἂν G. [2] μηρῶν MSS.. μερῶν Hoeschel

that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the armpit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs

Up to this point, then, everything went in about the same way with all who had taken the disease But from then on very marked differences developed; and I am unable to say whether the cause of this diversity of symptoms was to be found in the difference in bodies, or in the fact that it followed the wish of Him who brought the disease into the world. For there ensued with some a deep coma, with others a violent delirium, and in either case they suffered the characteristic symptoms of the disease For those who were under the spell of the coma forgot all those who were familiar to them and seemed to be sleeping constantly And if anyone cared for them, they would eat without waking, but some also were neglected, and these would die directly through lack of sustenance But those who were seized with delirium suffered from insomnia and were victims of a distorted imagination, for they suspected that men were coming upon them to destroy them, and they would become excited and rush off in flight, crying out at the top of their voices And those who were attending them were in a state of constant exhaustion and had a most difficult time of it throughout For this reason everybody pitied them no less than the sufferers, not because they were threatened by the pestilence in going near it (for neither physicians nor other persons were found to contract this malady through contact with the sick or with the dead, for many who were constantly engaged either in burying or in attending those in no way connected with them

δὴ τῇ ὑπουργίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, πολλοὶ δὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσούσης εὐθὺς ἔθνησκον), ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρίᾳ πολλῇ
24 εἴχοντο. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκπίπτοντας καὶ καλινδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων αὖθις, καὶ ῥιπτεῖν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐφιεμένους ὠθοῦντές τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιά-
25 ζοντο. ὕδωρ τε οἷς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἤθελον, οὐ δὴ[1] οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ[2] ἐπιθυμίᾳ (ἐς γὰρ[3] θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὥρμηντο), ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἦν
26 μάλιστα ἡ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. πολὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ εὐπετῶς προσίεντο ταύτας. πολλοί τε ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἢ λιμῷ πιεζό-
27 μενοι, ἢ ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις δὲ οὔτε κῶμα οὔτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τούτοις δὴ ὅ τε βουβὼν ἐσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς
28 ὀδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. τεκμηριώσειε δ' ἄν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι κατὰ ταὐτὰ ξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἦσαν, ξυνεῖναι τῆς ὀδύνης οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰς φρένας παραιρουμένου τὴν αἴσθησιν.

29 Ἀπορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινες ἰατρῶν τῇ τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων ἀγνοίᾳ τό τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον ἐν τοῖς βουβῶσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμενοι, διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σώματα ἔγνωσαν. καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβώνων τινάς, ἄνθρακος δεινόν τι χρῆμα ἐμπεφυκὸς εὗρον.

[1] οὐ δή Hoeschel οὐ δέ VG, οὐ δί P, ὕδατι conjectured by Christ, αὐτῷ by Haury. [2] ποτοῦ P · ποταμοῦ VG.
[3] γὰρ Hoeschel : γοῦν MSS.

held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they kept putting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

Now some of the physicians who were at a loss because the symptoms were not understood, supposing that the disease centred in the bubonic swellings, decided to investigate the bodies of the dead And upon opening some of the swellings, they found a strange sort of carbuncle that had grown inside them

30 Ἔθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὕστερον, τισί τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἐξήνθει τὸ σῶμα, οἳ οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπεβίων ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἅπαντες
31 ἔθνησκον. πολλοὺς δὲ καί τις αὐτόματος αἵματος ἐπιγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο.
32 ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἀποφήνασθαι ἔχω, ὡς τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθνήξεσθαι προηγόρευον, οἳ δὴ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἳ δὴ διαφθαρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον αὐ-
33 τίκα δὴ μάλα. οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν[1] οὐδεμία ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα· πᾶσι γάρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τοὺς μὲν ὤνησε, τοὺς
34 δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον κατέβλαψεν. ἀμελούμενοί τε πολλοὶ ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἐχώρει· καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξεύρητο, οὔτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ πεπονθέναι οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι αὐτόματον.
35 Καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ ὅσαι ἐκύουν προυπτος ἐγίνετο τῇ νόσῳ ἁλισκομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλίσκουσαι ἔθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουσαι ξὺν
36 αὐτοῖς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείροντο. τρεῖς μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παίδων σφίσιν ἀπο-

[1] τις ἦν Maltretus · τισὶν MSS.

Death came in some cases immediately, in others after many days, and with some the body broke out with black pustules about as large as a lentil and these did not survive even one day, but all succumbed immediately. With many also a vomiting of blood ensued without visible cause and straightway brought death Moreover I am able to declare this, that the most illustrious physicians predicted that many would die, who unexpectedly escaped entirely from suffering shortly afterwards, and that they declared that many would be saved, who were destined to be carried off almost immediately. So it was that in this disease there was no cause which came within the province of human reasoning ; for in all cases the issue tended to be something unaccountable. For example, while some were helped by bathing, others were harmed in no less degree. And of those who received no care many died, but others, contrary to reason, were saved And again, methods of treatment showed different results with different patients Indeed the whole matter may be stated thus, that no device was discovered by man to save himself, so that either by taking precautions he should not suffer, or that when the malady had assailed him he should get the better of it ; but suffering came without warning and recovery was due to no external cause

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore However, they say that three women in confinement

λομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μιᾶς ἤδη ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανούσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιεῖναι τῷ παιδίῳ ξυμβῆναι.

37 Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μείζων τε ὁ βουβὼν ἤρετο καὶ ἐς πύον ἀφῖκτο, τούτοις δὴ περιεῖναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀκμὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἐλελωφήκει τοῦ ἀνθρακος, γνώρισμά τε τῆς ὑγείας τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγίνετο· οἷς δὲ ὁ βουβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἰδέας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ὧν

38 ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. τισὶ δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ' οὗ ὁ βουβὼν ἐπαρθεὶς

39 ὡς ἥκιστα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπ' ἀκεραίῳ τῇ γλώσσῃ περιγενέσθαι τετύχηκεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τραυλίζουσιν, ἢ μόλις τε καὶ ἄσημα φθεγγομένοις βιῶναι.

XXIII

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐς τέσσαρας
2 διῆλθε μῆνας, ἤκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰωθότων ὀλίγῳ πλείους, εἶτα ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἤρετο, μετὰ δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ ἐξικνεῖτο τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐς μυρίους
3 τε καὶ τούτων ἔτι πλείους ἦλθε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίας θήκας ἐρρίπτουν ἢ λανθάνοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι· ἔπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἅπασι ξυνετα-
4 ράχθη. δοῦλοί τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι,

survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived

Now in those cases where the swelling rose to an unusual size and a discharge of pus had set in, it came about that they escaped from the disease and survived, for clearly the acute condition of the carbuncle had found relief in this direction, and this proved to be in general an indication of returning health; but in cases where the swelling preserved its former appearance there ensued those troubles which I have just mentioned And with some of them it came about that the thigh was withered, in which case, though the swelling was there, it did not develop the least suppuration. With others who survived the tongue did not remain unaffected, and they lived on either lisping or speaking incoherently and with difficulty

XXIII

Now the disease in Byzantium ran a course of four months, and its greatest virulence lasted about three. And at first the deaths were a little more than the normal, then the mortality rose still higher, and afterwards the tale of dead reached five thousand each day, and again it even came to ten thousand and still more than that Now in the beginning each man attended to the burial of the dead of his own house, and these they threw even into the tombs of others, either escaping detection or using violence; but afterwards confusion and disorder everywhere became complete. For slaves remained destitute of

ἄνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λίαν εὐδαίμονες τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἢ νοσούντων ἢ τετελευτηκότων ἐστέρηντο, πολλαί τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ξυνέβη τισὶ τῶν γνωρίμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἀτάφοις εἶναι.

6 Ἔς τε βασιλέα ἡ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὃς δὴ ἀποκρίσεσι ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἐφειστήκει, ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἱκετῶν δεήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὖθις ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην καλοῦσι Ῥω-
7 μαῖοι. οἷς μὲν οὖν οὔπω[1] παντάπασιν ἐς ἐρημίαν ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν, αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιοῦντο
8 ταφάς. Θεόδωρος δὲ τά τε βασιλέως διδοὺς χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα προσαναλίσκων τοὺς
9 ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθαπτεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς θήκας ἁπάσας αἱ πρότερον ἦσαν ἐμπίπλασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν ἔτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὀρύσσοντες ἅπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρία, ἐνταῦθά τε τοὺς θνήσκοντας κατατιθέμενοι, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τὰς κατώρυχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες, ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον ὃς
10 ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστι· τάς τε ὀροφὰς περιελόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτουν τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,

[1] οὔπω Maltretus εἶπον V, om G

masters, and men who in former times were very prosperous were deprived of the service of their domestics who were either sick or dead, and many houses became completely destitute of human inhabitants For this reason it came about that some of the notable men of the city because of the universal destitution remained unburied for many days

And it fell to the lot of the emperor, as was natural, to make provision for the trouble. He therefore detailed soldiers from the palace and distributed money, commanding Theodorus to take charge of this work; this man held the position of announcer of imperial messages, always announcing to the emperor the petitions of his clients, and declaring to them in turn whatever his wish was. In the Latin tongue the Romans designate this office by the term "referendarius" So those who had not as yet fallen into complete destitution in their domestic affairs attended individually to the burial of those connected with them. But Theodorus, by giving out the emperor's money and by making further expenditures from his own purse, kept burying the bodies which were not cared for And when it came about that all the tombs which had existed previously were filled with the dead, then they dug up all the places about the city one after the other, laid the dead there, each one as he could, and departed, but later on those who were making these trenches, no longer able to keep up with the number of the dying, mounted the towers of the fortifications in Sycae,[1] and tearing off the roofs threw the bodies in there in complete disorder;

[1] Modern Galata.

καὶ ξυννήσαντες, ὥς πη ἑκάστῳ παρέτυχεν, ἐμπλησάμενοί τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντας,
11 εἶτα ταῖς ὀροφαῖς αὖθις ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσῶδες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἰὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐλύπει τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ ἄνεμός τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπίφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε.
12 Πάντα τε ὑπερώφθη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμιμα. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ᾗ νενόμισται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ἧπερ εἰώθει, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸν ἦν, εἴ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἔς τε τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἐλθὼν ἔρριψεν, οὗ δὴ ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδὸν ἔμελλον ὅπη
13 παρατύχοι κομίζεσθαι. τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὅσοι στασιῶται πρότερον ἦσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὁσίας τῶν τετελευτηκότων κοινῇ ἐπεμέλοντο καὶ φέροντες αὐτοὶ τοὺς οὐ
14 προσήκοντας σφίσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἵδε τὴν ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομίαν τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἤσκουν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμα-
15 θόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐρασταί τινες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι· ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσα ἐμπέπηγε φύσει ἢ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλίᾳ ῥᾷστα δὴ οὕτω μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατά ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ θείου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ

and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

At that time all the customary rites of burial were overlooked. For the dead were not carried out escorted by a procession in the customary manner, nor were the usual chants sung over them, but it was sufficient if one carried on his shoulders the body of one of the dead to the parts of the city which bordered on the sea and flung him down, and there the corpses would be thrown upon skiffs in a heap, to be conveyed wherever it might chance. At that time, too, those of the population who had formerly been members of the factions laid aside their mutual enmity and in common they attended to the burial rites of the dead, and they carried with their own hands the bodies of those who were no connections of theirs and buried them. Nay, more, those who in times past used to take delight in devoting themselves to pursuits both shameful and base, shook off the unrighteousness of their daily lives and practised the duties of religion with diligence, not so much because they had learned wisdom at last nor because they had become all of a sudden lovers of virtue, as it were—for when qualities have become fixed in men by nature or by the training of a long period of time, it is impossible for them to lay them aside thus lightly, except, indeed, some divine influence for good has breathed upon them—but then all, so to speak, being

τότε ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν
τοῖς ξυμπίπτουσι, τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ
μάλα οἰόμενοι, ἀνάγκῃ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, πάσῃ τὴν
16 ἐπιείκειαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μετεμάνθανον. ταῦτά τοι,
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώ-
θησαν ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἤδη ὑπετό-
πασαν, ἅτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων
τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὖθις τῆς γνώ-
μης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω πεποιημένοι,
μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων
ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυνται, σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῇ
τε πονηρίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανομίᾳ νενικηκότες·
ἐπεὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισάμενος ἄν τις οὐ τὰ ψευδῆ
εἴποι ὡς ἡ νόσος ἥδε εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ
ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους
ἀφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀποδέ-
δεικται χρόνῳ.

17 Τότε δὲ ἀγοράζοντά τινα οὐκ εὐπετὲς ἐδόκει
εἶναι ἔν γε Βυζαντίῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἵκοι καθήμενοι
ἅπαντες ὅσοις ξυνέβαινε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρῶσθαι,
ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευ-
18 τηκότας ἐθρήνουν. ἦν δέ τις καὶ προιόντι
τινὶ ἐντυχεῖν ἴσχυσεν, ὅδε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν
ἔφερεν. ἐργασία τε ξύμπασα ἤργει, καὶ τὰς
τέχνας οἱ τεχνῖται μεθῆκαν ἁπάσας, ἔργα τε
19 ἄλλα ὅσα δὴ ἕκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν εἶχον. ἐν
πόλει γοῦν ἀγαθοῖς ἅπασιν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθη-
νούσῃ λιμός τις ἀκριβὴς ἐπεκώμαζεν ἄρτον
ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν διαρκῶς ἔχειν χαλεπόν τε
ἐδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι· ὥστε καὶ
τῶν νοσούντων τισὶν ἄωρον ξυμβῆναι δοκεῖν
ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστρο-

thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free But these things were displayed to the world in later times

During that time it seemed no easy thing to see any man in the streets of Byzantium, but all who had the good fortune to be in health were sitting in their houses, either attending the sick or mourning the dead And if one did succeed in meeting a man going out, he was carrying one of the dead And work of every description ceased, and all the trades were abandoned by the artisans, and all other work as well, such as each had in hand. Indeed in a city which was simply abounding in all good things starvation almost absolute was running riot Certainly it seemed a difficult and very notable thing to have a sufficiency of bread or of anything else, so that with some of the sick it appeared that the end of life came about sooner than it should have come by reason of the lack of the necessities of life

φήν. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χλαμύδα οὐκ ἦν ἐνδιδυσκόμενόν τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἰδεῖν, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνέβη (καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβῶνα ἐπῆρθαι), ἀλλ' ἐν πόλει βασιλείαν ἐχούσῃ ξυμπάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἱμάτια ἐν ἰδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἅπαντες ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἔν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ Ῥωμαίων γῇ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

XXIV

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς χωρίον Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἥκων πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, ἔνθεν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν, ὃ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα. οὗ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάσσοντες μάγοι τά τε ἄλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐξοσιοῦνται καὶ μαντείῳ ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέβοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐνταῦθα σταλείς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγγελλε Κωνσταντιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἀφίξεσθαι. ἦστην δὲ τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω ῥήτορέ τε ἄμφω καὶ ξυνετὼ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταν-

And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys,[1] and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

XXIV

Now it happened that Chosroes had come from Assyria to a place toward the north called Adarbiganon, from which he was planning to make an invasion into the Roman domain through Persarmenia. In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians reverence above all other gods. There the fire is guarded unquenched by the Magi, and they perform carefully a great number of sacred rites, and in particular they consult an oracle on those matters which are of the greatest importance This is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia[2] in ancient times There someone who had been sent from Byzantium to Chosroes announced that Constantianus and Sergius would come before him directly as envoys to arrange the treaty Now these two men were both trained speakers and exceedingly clever; Constantianus was an Illyrian 543 A.D.

[1] The official dress. [2] Vesta.

τιανὸς μὲν Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, Σέργιος δὲ ἐξ Ἐδέσσης
5 πόλεως, ἣ ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τυγχάνει οὖσα. οὓς
δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης προσδεχόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐν
δὲ τῇ πορείᾳ ταύτῃ Κωνσταντιανοῦ νοσήσαντος
καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ, τὸν λοιμὸν ἐπισκῆ-
6 ψαι Πέρσαις ξυνέπεσε διὸ δὴ Ναβέδης τηνι-
καῦτα ἐν Περσαρμενίοις τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων
ἀρχὴν τὸν ἐν Δούβιος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα
βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαντος παρὰ Βαλεριανὸν τὸν
ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψεν, αἰτιασόμενόν
τε τὴν τῶν πρέσβεων βραδυτῆτα καὶ Ῥωμαίους
ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ὁρμήσοντα προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ.
7 καὶ ὃς ξὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐς Ἀρμενίους ἦκων, τῷ
τε Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχών, αὐτός τε Ῥωμαίοις ἅτε
Χριστιανὸς ἰσχυρίζετο εὐνοικῶς ἔχειν καί οἱ
βασιλέα Χοσρόην πείθεσθαι ἀεὶ ἐς βουλὴν
πᾶσαν· ὥστε ἦν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὰ
Περσῶν ἤθη ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔλθωσιν, οὐκ ἄν τι αὐτοῖς
ἐμπόδισμα εἴη τοῦ τὴν εἰρήνην ὅπη[1] βούλονται
8 διαθήσεσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς τοσαῦτα εἶπεν·
ὁ δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως ἀδελφὸς Βαλεριανῷ ἐντυχὼν
λάθρα Χοσρόην ἐν μεγάλοις εἶναι κακοῖς ἔφασκε·
τόν τε γάρ οἱ παῖδα τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενον ἐπανα-
στῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν
στρατῷ τῇ νόσῳ ἁλῶναι· διὸ δὴ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις
9 τανῦν ἐς τὴν ξύμβασιν ἐθέλειν ἰέναι. ταῦτα
ἐπεὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤκουσε, τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον εὐθὺς
ἀπεπέμψατο, τοὺς πρέσβεις οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
ὑποσχόμενος παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀφίξεσθαι, αὐτὸς
δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν οὕσπερ
10 ἠκηκόει ἀνήνεγκεν. οἷς δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτίκα

[1] ὅπη Maltretus : ὅπου MSS

by birth, and Sergius was from the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia And Chosroes remained quiet expecting these men But in the course of the journey thither Constantianus became ill and much time was consumed; in the meantime it came about that the pestilence fell upon the Persians For this reason Nabedes, who at that time held the office of general in Persarmenia, sent the priest of the Christians in Dubios by direction of the king to Valerianus, the general in Armenia, in order to reproach the envoys for their tardiness and to urge the Romans with all zeal toward peace And he came with his brother to Armenia, and, meeting Valerianus, declared that he himself, as a Christian, was favourably disposed toward the Romans, and that the king Chosroes always followed his advice in every matter; so that if the ambassadors would come with him to the land of Persia, there would be nothing to prevent them from arranging the peace as they wished Thus then spoke the priest, but the brother of the priest met Valerianus secretly and said that Chosroes was in great straits· for his son had risen against him in an attempt to set up a tyranny, and he himself together with the whole Persian army had been taken with the plague, and this was the reason why he wished just now to settle the agreement with the Romans When Valerianus heard this, he straightway dismissed the bishop, promising that the envoys would come to Chosroes at no distant time, but he himself reported the words which he had heard to the Emperor Justinian. This led the emperor im-

ἡγμένος αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μαρτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐπέστελλεν. εὖ[1] γὰρ οἶδεν ὡς αὐτοῖς τῶν
11 πολεμίων οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν στήσεται. ἐκέλευε δὲ ξυλλεγέντας ἐς ταὐτὸ ἅπαντας οὕτω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐπὶ Περσαρμενίους ποιήσασθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γράμματα εἶδον, ἅπαντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑπομένοις[2] ξυνέρρεον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀρμενίας χωρία.

12 Ἤδη δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸ Ἀδαρβιγάνων δέει τῷ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, ἔνθα δὴ οὔπω ἐνδεδημήκει τὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ πάθος. Βαλεριανὸς μὲν οὖν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἄγχιστα ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καταλόγοις, καὶ οἱ Ναρσῆς ξυνετάττετο Ἀρμενίους τε
13 καὶ Ἐρούλων τινὰς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. Μαρτῖνος δὲ ὁ τῆς ἕω στρατηγὸς ξύν τε Ἰλδίγερι καὶ Θεοκτίστῳ ἐς Κιθαρίζων τὸ φρούριον ἀφικόμενος ἐνταῦθά τε πηξάμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε· διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο· ἵνα καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ξύν τε Ἀδολίῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν
14 ἄρχουσιν ἦλθεν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ καταλόγων Ἰσαάκης ὁ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφός. Φιλημοὺθ δὲ καὶ Βῆρος ξὺν Ἐρούλοις τοῖς σφίσιν ἑπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Χορζιανηνῆς χωρία ἦλθον, τοῦ Μαρτίνου
15 στρατοπέδου οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. Ἰοῦστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικήτου παῖς ξύν τε Δομνεντιόλῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ

[1] εὖ Haury : οὐ MSS.
[2] ἑπομένοις Dindorf ἑσομένοις MSS

mediately to send word to him and to Martinus and the other commanders to invade the enemy's territory as quickly as possible For he knew well that no one of the enemy would stand in their way And he commanded them to gather all in one place and so make their invasion into Persarmenia When the commanders received these letters, all of them together with their followers began to gather into the land of Armenia.

And already Chosroes had abandoned Adarbiganon a little before through fear of the plague and was off with his whole army into Assyria, where the pestilence had not as yet become epidemic. Valerianus accordingly encamped close by Theodosiopolis with the troops under him; and with him was arrayed Narses, who had with him Armenians and some of the Eruli And Martinus, the General of the East, together with Ildiger and Theoctistus, reached the fortress of Citharizon, and fixing his camp there, remained on the spot This fortress is separated from Theodosiopolis by a journey of four days There too Petei came not long afterwards together with Adolius and some other commanders. Now the troops in this region were commanded by Isaac, the brother of Narses And Philemouth and Beros with the Eruli who were under them came into the territory of Chorzianene, not far from the camp of Martinus. And Justus, the emperor's nephew, and Peranius and John, the son of Nicetas, together with Domentiolus and John, who was

Φαγᾶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τῷ Φισῶν καλουμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν
16 Μαρτυροπόλεως ὁρίων ἐστίν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις, ξυνῄει δὲ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἐς τρισ-
17 μυρίους. οὗτοι ἅπαντες οὔτε ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνελέγησαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον. πέμποντες δὲ παρ' ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν σφίσιν ἑπομένων τινὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ἐπευ-
18 θάνοντο. ἄφνω δὲ Πέτρος, οὐδενὶ κοινολογησάμενος, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλλεν. ὅπερ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ γνόντες Φιλημούθ τε καὶ Βῆρος, οἱ τῶν Ἐρούλων
19 ἡγούμενοι, εὐθὺς εἵποντο. ἐπεί τε ταῦτα οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἔμαθον, τῇ ἐσβολῇ
20 κατὰ τάχος ἐχρῶντο. ἅπαντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἀνεμίγνυντο ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, πλὴν Ἰούστου τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ, οἳ δὴ μακράν τε ἄποθεν, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, καὶ χρόνῳ ὕστερον τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβολὴν γνόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐσέβαλλον ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολεμίαν, ἀναμίγνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς
21 ξυνάρχουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔσχον. οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐπορεύοντο εὐθὺ Δούβιος, οὔτε ληιζόμενοι οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἄχαρι πράσσοντες ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν.

XXV

1 Ἔστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τά τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὑδάτων εὐεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχουσα, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν ὀκτὼ διέχει.

called the Glutton, made camp near the place called Phison, which is close by the boundaries of Martyropolis Thus then were encamped the Roman commanders with their troops; and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand men. Now all these troops were neither gathered into one place, nor indeed was there any general meeting for conference But the generals sent to each other some of their followers and began to make enquiries concerning the invasion. Suddenly, however, Peter, without communicating with anyone, and without any careful consideration, invaded the hostile land with his troops. And when on the following day this was found out by Philemouth and Beros, the leaders of the Eruli, they straightway followed And when this in turn came to the knowledge of Martinus and Valerianus and their men, they quickly joined in the invasion. And all of them a little later united with each other in the enemy's territory, with the exception of Justus and his men, who, as I have said, had encamped far away from the rest of the army, and learned later of their invasion, then, indeed, they also invaded the territory of the enemy as quickly as possible at the point where they were, but failed altogether to unite with the other commanders As for the others, they proceeded in a body straight for Doubios, neither plundering nor damaging in any other way the land of the Persians

XXV

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis

καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἱππήλατά ἐστι, κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι ᾤκηνται ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι κατ' ἐργασίαν ἐν ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. ἔκ τε γὰρ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐθνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομιζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἀλλήλοις ξυμβάλλουσι. τόν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα Καθολικὸν καλοῦσι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, ὅτι δὴ ἐφέστηκεν εἷς ὢν ἅπασι τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις Δούβιος δὲ ἄποθεν ὅσον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ἰόντι ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ὄρος ἐστὶ δύσβατόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, καὶ κώμη τις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ στενοτάτῃ κειμένη, Ἀγγλὼν ὄνομα. οὗ δὴ ὁ Ναβέδης, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἔγνω, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀποχωρήσας χωρίου τε ἰσχύι θαρσήσας καθεῖρξεν αὐτόν. καὶ ἡ μὲν κώμη ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται, φρούριον δὲ ἐχυρὸν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ὁμώνυμον ἐν τῷ κρημνώδει ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν Ναβέδης λίθοις μὲν καὶ ἁμάξαις τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἀποφράξας εἰσόδους δυσπρόσοδον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰργάσατο ταύτην. ἐπίπροσθε δὲ τάφρον τινὰ ὀρύξας ἐνταῦθα τὸ στράτευμα ἔστησε, προλοχίσας οἰκίσκους τινὰς παλαιοὺς ἐνέδραις πεζῶν. ἐς τετρακισχιλίους δὲ ἄνδρας ἅπαν ξυνήει τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς χῶρον ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Ἀγγλῶν διέχοντα, τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἰόντα

it is removed a journey of eight days In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there And the priest of the Christians is called "Catholicos" in the Greek tongue, because he presides alone over the whole region Now at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Doubios on the right as one travels from the land of the Romans, there is a mountain difficult of ascent and moreover precipitous, and a village crowded into very narrow space by the rough country about, Anglon by name. Thither Nabedes withdrew with his whole army as soon as he learned of the inroad of the enemy, and, confident in his strength of position, he shut himself in Now the village lies at the extremity of the mountain, and there is a strong fortress bearing the same name as this village on the steep mountain side So Nabedes with stones and carts blocked up the entrances into the village and thus made it still more difficult of access. And in front of it he dug a sort of trench and stationed the army there, having filled some old cabins with ambuscades of infantrymen Altogether the Persian army amounted to four thousand men.

While these things were being done in this way, the Romans reached a place one day's journey distant from Anglon, and capturing one of the enemy who was going out as a spy they enquired

where in the world Nabedes was then And he asserted that the man had retired from Anglon with the whole Median army And when Narses heard this, he was indignant, and he heaped reproaches and abuse upon his fellow-commanders for their hesitation And others, too, began to do the very same thing, casting insults upon one another; and from then on, giving up all thought of battle and danger, they were eager to plunder the country thereabout. The troops broke camp, accordingly, and without the guidance of generals and without observing any definite formation, they moved forward in complete confusion; for neither had they any countersign among themselves, as is customary in such perilous situations, nor were they arranged in their proper divisions. For the soldiers marched forward, mixed in with the baggage train, as if going to the ready plunder of great wealth. But when they came near to Anglon, they sent out spies who returned to them announcing the array of the enemy And the generals were thunder-struck by the unexpectedness of it, but they considered it altogether disgraceful and unmanly to turn back with an army of such great size, and so they disposed the army in its three divisions, as well as the circumstances permitted, and advanced straight toward the enemy Now Peter held the right wing and Valerianus the left, while Martinus and his men arrayed themselves in the centre. And when they came close to thei. opponents, they halted, preserving their formation, but not without disorder. The cause for this was to be found in the difficulty of the ground, which was very badly broken up, and in the fact that they

ὑπογύου διαταχθέντας ἐς τὴν μάχην καθίστασθαι.
19 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγόντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, περισκοπούμενοι τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δύναμιν, προειρημένον αὐτοῖς πρὸς Ναβέδου χειρῶν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα ἄρχειν, ἢν δέ πη ἐπισκήψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν σφίσιν ἀμύνασθαι.
20 Πρῶτος δὲ Ναρσῆς ξύν τε τοῖς Ἐρούλοις καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦλθεν, ὠθισμοῦ τε γενομένου ἐτρέψατο τοὺς κατ'
21 αὐτὸν Πέρσας φεύγοντές τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἀνέβαινον δρόμῳ, ἔνθα δὴ ἀλλήλους
22 ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ εἰργάζοντο. καὶ τότε Ναρσῆς τε αὐτὸς τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέκειτο,
23 καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ λοιποὶ ἔργου εἶχοντο. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς οἰκίσκων οἱ προλοχίζοντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν τε Ἐρούλων τινὰς κτείνουσιν, ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες, καὶ Ναρσῆν κατὰ κόρρης αὐτὸν παίουσι.
24 καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰσαάκης ὁ ἀδελφὸς καιρίαν τυπέντα ὑπεξήγαγε τῶν μαχομένων. ὃς δὴ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ
25 γενόμενος. ταραχῆς δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐνθένδε πολλῆς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐμπεσούσης, ἅπαν ὁ Ναβέδης ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸ Περσῶν
26 στράτευμα. οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς ἐς πολεμίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος πολλούς τε ἄλλους εὐπετῶς ἔκτεινον καὶ διαφερόντως Ἐρούλους, οἳ ξὺν τῷ Ναρσῇ τὰ πρῶτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιπεσόν-

were entering battle in a formation arranged on the spur of the moment And up to this time the barbarians, who had gathered themselves into a small space, were remaining quiet, considering the strength of their antagonists, since the order had been given them by Nabedes not under any circumstances to begin the fighting, but if the enemy should assail them, to defend themselves with all their might.

And first Narses with the Eruli and those of the Romans who were under him, engaged with the enemy, and after a hard hand-to-hand struggle, he routed the Persians who were before him. And the barbarians in flight ascended on the run to the fortress, and in so doing they inflicted terrible injury upon one another in the narrow way And then Narses urged his men forward and pressed still harder upon the enemy, and the rest of the Romans joined in the action. But all of a sudden the men who were in ambush, as has been said,[1] came out from the cabins along the narrow alleys, and killed some of the Eruli, falling unexpectedly upon them, and they struck Narses himself a blow on the temple And his brother Isaac carried him out from among the fighting men, mortally wounded And he died shortly afterwards, having proved himself a brave man in this engagement. Then, as was to be expected, great confusion fell upon the Roman army, and Nabedes let out the whole Persian force upon his opponents. And the Persians, shooting into great masses of the enemy in the narrow alleys, killed a large number without difficulty, and particularly of the Eruli who had at the first fallen upon the enemy with Narses and were fighting for

[1] Cf. section 9 above.

τες ἀφύλακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμάχοντο.
27 οὔτε γὰρ κράνος οὔτε θώρακα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον Ἐρουλοι ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τριβώνιον ἀδρόν, ᾧ δὴ διεζωσμένοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα
28 καθίστανται[1] δοῦλοι μέντοι Ἐρουλοι καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρὶς ἐς μάχην[2] χωροῦσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, οὕτω δὴ ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐφιᾶσιν οἱ δεσπόται προβάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς. τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἐρούλων ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
29 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνὰ κράτος ἅπαντες ἔφευγον, οὔτε ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι οὔτε τινὰ αἰδῶ ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες.
30 Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑποπτεύοντες οὐκ ἐς φυγὴν ἀναίσχυντον οὕτω τετράφθαι, ἄλλ' ἐνέδραις τισὶν ἐς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, ἄχρι ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας διώξαντες εἶτα ἀνέστρεφον, οὐ τολμῶντες ἐν τῷ
31 ὁμαλεῖ ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς διαμάχεσθαι. Ῥωμαῖοι μέντοι, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες, δίωξιν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους αἰόμενοι ἔφευγον ἔτι μᾶλλον, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν, θέουσι μὲν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι μάστιγι καὶ κραυγῇ, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας καὶ τὰ
32 ἄλλα ὅπλα ῥιπτοῦντες σπουδῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἐς ἔδαφος. οὐ γὰρ ἀντιτάξασθαι καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐθάρσουν Πέρσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνοις τοῖς τῶν ἵππων ποσὶ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας εἶχον καί, τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, τοιαύτη γέγονεν ἡ φυγὴ ὥστε τῶν ἵππων σχεδόν τι αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς διεβίω, ἀλλ' ἡνίκα τοῦ δρόμου ἐπαύσαντο, πεσόντες εὐθὺς
33 διεφθάρησαν. καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα Ῥωμαίοις

[1] καθίστανται G · καθίσταντο VP.
[2] μάχην VP · τὸν ἀγῶνα G

the most part without protection. For the Eruli have neither helmet nor corselet nor any other protective armour, except a shield and a thick jacket, which they gird about them before they enter a struggle And indeed the Erulian slaves go into battle without even a shield, and when they prove themselves brave men in war, then their masters permit them to protect themselves in battle with shields Such is the custom of the Eruli

And the Romans did not withstand the enemy and all of them fled as fast as they could, never once thinking of resistance and heedless of shame or of any other worthy motive But the Persians, suspecting that they had not turned thus to a shameless flight, but that they were making use of some ambuscades against them, pursued them as far as the rough ground extended and then turned back, not daring to fight a decisive battle on level ground, a few against many. The Romans, however, and especially all the generals, supposing that the enemy were continuing the pursuit without pause, kept fleeing still faster, wasting not a moment, and they were urging on their horses as they ran with whip and voice, and throwing their corselets and other accoutrements in haste and confusion to the ground. For they had not the courage to array themselves against the Persians if they overtook them, but they placed all hope of safety in their horses' feet, and, in short, the flight became such that scarcely any one of their horses survived, but when they stopped running, they straightway fell down and expired And this proved a disaster for the Romans

οἷον οὔποτε πρότερον γέγονε. πολλοί τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔθανον καὶ πλείους ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις
34 ἐγένοντο. ὅπλα τε αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὑποζύγια ἔλαβον τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πλουσιώτερα δοκεῖν ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τὰ
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XXVI

1 Τῷ δὲ ἐπιγινομένῳ ἔτει Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τέταρτον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλεν, ἐπὶ τὴν
2 Μεσοποταμίαν τὸ στράτευμα ἄγων. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐσβολὴ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τούτῳ οὐ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα πεποίηται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν
3 ὅνπερ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται μόνον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἐδέσσης ἀποτυχὼν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλή τις ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ τε καὶ μάγοις, ἅτε πρὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἠσσημένοις, κατήφεια.
4 ἦν δὴ παρηγορῶν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Ἐδεσσηνοὺς μὲν ἀνδραποδιεῖν ἠπείλησεν ἅπαντας ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη, τὴν δὲ πόλιν μηλόβοτον
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so great as to exceed anything that had ever befallen them previously For great numbers of them perished and still more fell into the hands of the enemy. And their weapons and draught animals which were taken by the enemy amounted to such an imposing number that Persia seemed as a result of this affair to have become richer. And Adolius, while passing through a fortified place during this retreat—it was situated in Persarmenia—was struck on the head by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants of the town, and died there. As for the forces of Justus and Peranius, they invaded the country about Taraunon, and after gathering some little plunder, immediately returned

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And in the following year, Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the fourth time invaded the land of the Romans, leading his army towards Mesopotamia Now this invasion was made by this Chosroes not against Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, nor indeed against any other man, but only against the God whom the Christians reverence For when in the first invasion he retired, after failing to capture Edessa,[1] both he and the Magi, since they had been worsted by the God of the Christians, fell into a great dejection Wherefore Chosroes, seeking to allay it, uttered a threat in the palace that he would make slaves of all the inhabitants of Edessa and bring them to the land of Persia, and would turn the city into a pasture for sheep Accordingly when he had approached the 544 A D

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Ἐδέσσης γενόμενος, Οὔννων τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἔπεμψεν ὃς δὴ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καθύπερθέν ἐστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν κακουργήσοντας, πρόβατα δὲ ἁρπασομένους ἅπερ οἱ ποιμένες πολλὰ ἐνταῦθά πη παρὰ τὸ τείχισμα στήσαντες ἔτυχον, χωρίου τε ἰσχύι θαρσοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ ἄναντες ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ οὔποτε τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους οἰόμενοι οὕτω
6 πη ἄγχιστα τοῦ τείχους ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν προβάτων ἥπτοντο ἤδη, οἱ δὲ ποιμένες
7 καρτερώτατα [ἀμυνόμενοι] διεκώλυον. Περσῶν τε τοῖς Οὔννοις ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων [1] πολλῶν, ἀγέλην μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ οἱ βάρβαροι ἴσχυσαν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπεξελθόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἡ μὲν μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ ἀγέλη αὐτόματος ἐς τοὺς
8 ποιμένας ἐπανῆκεν αὖθις· τῶν τέ τις Οὔννων πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων μαχόμενος μάλιστα πάντων ἠνώχλει
9 Ῥωμαίους. καί τις αὐτὸν ἀγροῖκος ἐς γόνυ τὸ δεξιὸν σφενδόνῃ ἐπιτυχὼν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ πρηνὴς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὃ δὴ
10 Ῥωμαίους ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. ἥ τε μάχη πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ
11 ἑκάτεροι τὸ πλέον ἔχειν οἰόμενοι διελύθησαν. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἑπτὰ διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες.

12 Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης εἴτε τινὰ ὄψιν ὀνείρου εἶδεν ἤ τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια γέγονεν, ὡς δὴ ἐγχειρήσας ἦν μὴ

[1] ἐπιβεβοηθηκότων VP ἐπιβεβηκότων G.

city of Edessa with his whole army, he sent some of the Huns who were following him against that portion of the fortifications of the city which is above the hippodrome, with the purpose of doing no further injury than seizing the flocks which the shepherds had stationed there along the wall in great numbers: for they were confident in the strength of the place, since it was exceedingly steep, and supposed that the enemy would never dare to come so very close to the wall. So the barbarians were already laying hold of the sheep, and the shepherds were trying most valiantly to prevent them And when a great number of Persians had come to the assistance of the Huns, the barbarians succeeded in detaching something of a flock from there, but Roman soldiers and some of the populace made a sally upon the enemy and the battle became a hand-to-hand struggle; meanwhile the flock of its own accord returned again to the shepherds. Now one of the Huns who was fighting before the others was making more trouble for the Romans than all the rest. And some rustic made a good shot and hit him on the right knee with a sling, and he immediately fell headlong from his horse to the ground, which thing heartened the Romans still more And the battle which had begun early in the morning ended at midday, and both sides withdrew from the engagement thinking that they had the advantage. So the Romans went inside the fortifications, while the barbarians pitched their tents and made camp in a body about seven stades from the city

Then Chosroes either saw some vision or else the thought occurred to him that if, after making two

δυνατὸς εἴη Ἔδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν, πολλήν οἱ αἰσχύνην
13 τινὰ περιβαλέσθαι ξυμβήσεται. διὸ δὴ πολλῶν
χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ἐδεσ-
14 σηνοῖς ἔγνω. τῇ γοῦν ἐπιγινομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Παῦλος
ἑρμηνεὺς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἥκων ἔφασκε Ῥωμαίους
χρῆναι παρὰ Χοσρόην σταλῆναι τῶν δοκίμων
15 τινάς. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τάχος τέσσαρας ἀπολεξάμενοι
16 τῶν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῶν ἔπεμψαν. οἷς δὴ
ἐς τὸ Μήδων ἀφικομένοις στρατόπεδον ἐντυχὼν
γνώμῃ βασιλέως ὁ Ζαβεργάνης ἀπειλαῖς τε πολ-
λαῖς δεδιξάμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο αὐτῶν ὁπότερα
σφίσιν αἱρετώτερα τυγχάνει ὄντα, πότερον τὰ ἐς
17 τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγοντα. τῶν δὲ
τὴν εἰρήνην ἑλέσθαι ἂν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμο-
λογούντων, "Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, "ὠνεῖ-
σθαι ὑμᾶς ταύτην ἀνάγκη χρημάτων πολλῶν."
18 οἵ τε πρέσβεις ἔφασαν τοσαῦτα δώσειν ὅσα
παρέσχοντο πρότερον, ἡνίκα τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν
19 ἐξελὼν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. καὶ ὁ Ζαβεργάνης
αὐτοὺς ξὺν γέλωτι ἀπεπέμψατο, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐνδελεχέ-
στατα βουλευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ οὕτω δὴ
20 αὖθις παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθωσιν. ὀλίγῳ τε ὕστερον
μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Χοσρόης, ἐπειδὴ παρ'
αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, κατέλεξε μὲν ὅσα τε πρότερον καὶ
ὄντινα τρόπον ἐξηνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίων χωρία,
ἠπείλησε δὲ τὰ δεινότερα Ἐδεσσηνοῖς πρὸς Περ-
σῶν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ πάντα σφίσι τὰ χρήματα
δοῖεν ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν· οὕτω γὰρ
μόνως ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν
21 ἔφασκε. ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ὡμο-

attempts, he should not be able to capture Edessa, he would thereby cover himself with much disgrace. Accordingly he decided to sell his withdrawal to the citizens of Edessa for a great sum of money On the following day, therefore, Paulus the interpreter came along by the wall and said that some of the Roman notables should be sent to Chosroes. And they with all speed chose out four of their illustrious men and sent them. When these men reached the Median camp, they were met according to the king's order by Zaberganes, who first terrified them with many threats and then enquired of them which course was the more desirable for them, whether that leading to peace, or that leading to war And when the envoys agreed that they would choose peace rather than the dangers of war, Zaberganes replied · " Therefore it is necessary for you to purchase this for a great sum of money." And the envoys said that they would give as much as they had provided before, when he came against them after capturing Antioch. And Zaberganes dismissed them with laughter, telling them to deliberate most carefully concerning their safety and then to come again to the Persians. And a little later Chosroes summoned them, and when they came before him, he recounted how many Roman towns he had previously enslaved and in what manner he had accomplished it; then he threatened that the inhabitants of Edessa would receive more direful treatment at the hands of the Persians, unless they should give them all the wealth which they had inside the fortifications; for only on this condition, he said, would the army depart When the envoys heard this, they agreed

λόγουν μὲν παρὰ Χοσρόου τὴν εἰρήνην ὠνήσεσθαι, ἦν γε σφίσι μὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπαγγείλειε· τοῦ δὲ κινδύνου τὸ πέρας οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων ἔφασαν πρὸ
22 τῆς ἀγωνίας ἔνδηλον εἶναι. πόλεμον γὰρ τοῖς αὐτὸν διαφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις οὐ μή ποτε εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ξὺν ὀργῇ ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευεν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
23 Ἡμέρᾳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ὀγδόῃ λόφον ἐπαναστῆσαι χειροποίητον τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκτεμὼν αὐτοῖς φύλλοις πολλὰ ἐκ χωρίων ἐγγύς πη ὄντων πρὸ τοῦ τείχους ἐν τετραγώνῳ ξυνέθηκεν, οὗ δὴ βέλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἦν, χοῦν τε πολύν τινα ἀτεχνῶς ὕπερθεν τῶν δένδρων ξυναμησάμενος μέγα τι χρῆμα λίθων ἐπέβαλλεν, οὐκ ἐχόντων εἰς οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείως, ἀλλ' εἰκῇ τμηθέντων, ἐκείνου μόνου ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως δὴ
24 ὁ λόφος ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐπαίροιτο. καὶ ξύλα μακρὰ τοῦ τε χοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων μεταξὺ ἐς ἀεὶ ἐμβαλλόμενος ἔνδεσμον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔργου,
25 ὅπως μὴ ὑψηλὸν γενόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἴη. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Περανίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν) τοὺς ταῦτα ἐργαζομένους ἀναστέλλειν ἐθέλων Οὔννων τῶν οἱ
26 ἑπομένων τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀνεῖλον, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τις δορυφόρων, Ἀργὴκ
27 ὄνομα· μόνος γὰρ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔκτεινε. τῶν μέντοι βαρβάρων φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ποιουμένων, οὐκέτι ἐπεξιέναι τινὲς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
28 ἔσχον.[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ προιόντες ἐντὸς βέλους οἱ τεχνῖται

[1] ἔσχον VP ἔγνων G.

that they would purchase peace from Chosroes, if only he would not prescribe impossible conditions for them · but the outcome of a conflict, they said, was plainly seen by no one at all before the struggle For there was never a war whose outcome might be taken for granted by those who waged it. Thereupon Chosroes in anger commanded the envoys to be gone with all speed.

On the eighth day of the siege he formed the design of erecting an artificial hill against the circuit wall of the city; accordingly he cut down trees in great numbers from the adjacent districts and, without removing the leaves, laid them together in a square before the wall, at a point which no missile from the city could reach, then he heaped an immense amount of earth right upon the trees and above that threw on a great quantity of stones, not such as are suitable for building, but cut at random, and only calculated to raise the hill as quickly as possible to a great height. And he kept laying on long timbers in the midst of the earth and the stones, and made them serve to bind the structure together, in order that as it became high it should not be weak. But Peter, the Roman general (for he happened to be there with Martinus and Peranius), wishing to check the men who were engaged in this work, sent some of the Huns who were under his command against them. And they, by making a sudden attack, killed a great number; and one of the guardsmen, Argek by name, surpassed all others, for he alone killed twenty-seven. From that time on, however, the barbarians kept a careful guard, and there was no further opportunity for anyone to go out against them. But when the

τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐγένοντο, καρτερώτατα ἤδη ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαῖοι τάς τε σφενδόνας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐνήργουν. διὸ
29 δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπενόουν τάδε. προκαλύμματα ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν, ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Κιλίκια, πάχους τε καὶ μήκους διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, ἀρτήσαντες ἐκ ξύλων μακρῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ τὴν ἄγεσταν ἐργαζομένων ἐτίθεντο (οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ
30 Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαῖοι). ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὔτε πυρφόροι οἱστοὶ οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἶχον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προκαλυμμάτων ἀπο-
31 κρουόμενα ξύμπαντα ἔμενε. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς δέος μέγα ἐμπεπτωκότες τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην σὺν θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἔπεμπον καὶ Στέφανον σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἕν γε τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν ἰατροῖς λόγιον, ὃς δὴ Καβάδην τὸν Περόζου νοσοῦντά ποτε ἰασάμενος κύριος χρημάτων μεγάλων πρὸς
32 αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. ὃς δή, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγένετο, ἔλεξεν ὧδε, "Βασιλέως τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀγαθοῦ γνώρισμα πάντες ἐκ πα-
33 λαιοῦ νενομίκασιν. οὐκοῦν, ὦ κράτιστε βασιλεῦ, φόνους σοι καὶ μάχας ἐργαζομένῳ καὶ πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἴσως ὀνομάτων παρέσται[1] τυχεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐ
34 μήποτε ἔσται. καίτοι πασῶν γε ἥκιστα χρὴν τῇ Ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλει παρὰ σοῦ τι ξυμβῆναι φλαῦ-
35 ρον. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὥρμημαι, ὅσπερ σε τῶν ἐσομένων οὐδὲν προειδὼς ἐξέθρεψά τε καὶ τῷ

[1] παρέσται Hoeschel · παραστάναι V, παρεστάναι GP.

artisans engaged in this work, as they moved forward, came within range of missiles, then the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance from the city wall, using both their slings and their bows against them. Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goat's hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the "agesta"[1] (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there And then the Romans, falling into a great fear, sent the envoys to Chosroes in great trepidation, and with them Stephanus, a physician of marked learning among those of his time at any rate, who also had once cured Cabades, the son of Perozes, when ill, and had been made master of great wealth by him He, therefore, coming into the presence of Chosroes with the others, spoke as follows: "It has been agreed by all from of old that kindness is the mark of a good king Therefore, most mighty King, while busying thyself with murders and battles and the enslavement of cities it will perhaps be possible for thee to win the other names, but thou wilt never by any means have the reputation of being "good." And yet least of all cities should Edessa suffer any adversity at thy hand. For there was I born, who, without any foreknowledge of what was coming to pass, fostered thee from childhood and counselled

[1] Latin *agger*, "mound"

πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ξύμβουλος γεγονώς, ἐφ' ᾧ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταστήσεται, σοὶ μὲν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας αἰτιώτατος γέγονα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι
36 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖ-
37 στον τῶν ξυμβησομένων προστρίβονται. ἀλλ' εἴ τίς σε τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας εἰσέρχεται μνήμη, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρω κακόν, ταύτην διδούς μοι τὴν ἀμοιβήν, ἐξ ἧς σοι, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ὠμοτάτῳ εἶναι ξυμβήσεται." Στέφανος
38 μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ὡμολόγει ἐνθένδε, εἰ μὴ Πέτρον τε καὶ Περάνιον αὐτῷ παραδοῖεν Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι δή οἱ, δοῦλοί γε ὄντες [1] πατρῷοι, τετολμήκασιν ἀντιτά-
39 ξασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μὴ δρᾶν Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπάναγκες ἐλέσθαι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πεντακόσια κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ σφίσι διδόναι, ἢ δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινάς, οἳ τὰ χρήματα διερευνησάμενοι ἅπαντα τὸν μὲν χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅσον δὴ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, κομίζοντες ἐς αὐτὸν ἥξουσι,
40 τἄλλα δὲ τοὺς κυρίους ἐάσουσιν ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπέρριψεν, Ἐδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλπίδα ἔχων οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις (ἅπαντα γὰρ σφίσιν ἀδύνατα ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὅσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλε) διαπορούμενοί τε καὶ λίαν ἀσχάλλοντες
41 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβάδιζον. ἐπεί τε ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰ παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπήγγελλον, θορύβου τε καὶ θρήνων ἡ πόλις ἔμπλεως ἐγένετο.
42 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπί τε ὕψος ἤρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει.

[1] γε ὄντες VGP γεγονότες H

thy father to appoint thee his successor in the kingdom, so that to thee I have proved the chief cause of the kingship of Persia, but to my fatherland of her present woes. For men, as a general thing, bring down upon their own heads the most of the misfortunes which are going to befall them But if any remembrance of such benefaction comes to thy mind, do us no further injury, and grant me this requital, by which, O King, thou wilt escape the reputation of being most cruel" Such were the words of Stephanus But Chosroes declared that he would not depart from there until the Romans should deliver to him Peter and Peranius, seeing that, being his hereditary slaves, they had dared to array themselves against him. And if it was not their pleasure to do this, the Romans must choose one of two alternatives, either to give the Persians five hundred centenaria of gold, or to receive into the city some of his associates who would search out all the money, both gold and silver, as much as was there, and bring it to him, allowing everything else to remain in the possession of the present owners Such then were the words which Chosroes hurled forth, being in hopes of capturing Edessa with no trouble. And the ambassadors (since all the conditions which he had announced to them seemed impossible), in despair and great vexation, proceeded to the city And when they had come inside the city-wall, they reported the message from Chosroes, and the whole city was filled with tumult and lamentation

Now the artificial hill was rising to a great height and was being pushed forward with much haste.

Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ δράσουσι,[1] πάλιν
43 τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπέστελλον. οἵπερ
ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένοντο,
περί τε τῶν αὐτῶν δεησόμενοι ἔφασκον ἥκειν,
λόγου μὲν οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν πρὸς Περσῶν ἔτυχον,
ὕβρει δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐνθένδε ἐξελαυνόμενοι
44 ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Ῥω-
μαῖοι τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόφον τεῖχος ἑτέρᾳ ἐνεχείρουν
οἰκοδομίᾳ τινὶ ὑπερβαλέσθαι· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης τὸ
Περσῶν ἔργον πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον ἐγίνετο ἤδη,
τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν, Μαρτῖνον δὲ
πείθουσι τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ
βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι. καὶ ὃς ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν
πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῶν τισιν ἐν
45 Πέρσαις ἀρχόντων ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν
Μαρτῖνον ἐξαπατῶντες εἰρηναῖα μὲν σφῶν τὸν
βασιλέα βούλεσθαι ἔφασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς ἥκιστα
οἷόν τε εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα πείθειν
τῆς πρὸς Χοσρόην φιλονεικίας ἀφέμενον τὴν
46 εἰρήνην ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ καὶ
Βελισάριον, ὅνπερ τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι
πολὺ Μαρτίνου προὔχειν οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀντείποι,
πεῖσαι μὲν ἔναγχος τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὄντα
δή που ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίοις, ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσ-
σεσθαι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη, ὑποσχόμενον πρέσβεις
τε παρ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐκ Βυζαντίου
ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κρατύνα-
σθαι, πρᾶξαι δὲ τῶν ὡμολογημένων οὐδέν,
ἀδύνατον γεγονότα τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως
βιάσασθαι γνώμην.

[1] δράσουσι VGP δράσωσιν H

And the Romans, being at a loss what to do, again sent off the envoys to Chosroes. And when they had arrived in the enemy's camp, and said that they had come to make entreaty concerning the same things, they did not even gain a hearing of any kind from the Persians, but they were insulted and driven out from there with a great tumult, and so returned to the city. At first, then, the Romans tried to overtop the wall opposite the hill by means of another structure But since the Persian work was already rising far above even this, they stopped their building and persuaded Martinus to make the arrangements for a settlement in whatever way he wished He then came up close to the enemy's camp and began to converse with some of the Persian commanders But they, completely deceiving Martinus, said that their king was desirous of peace, but that he was utterly unable to persuade the Roman Emperor to have done with his strife with Chosroes and to establish peace with him at last. And they mentioned as evidence of this the fact that Belisarius, who in power and dignity was far superior to Martinus, as even he himself would not deny, had recently persuaded the king of the Persians, when he was in the midst of Roman territory, to withdraw from there into Persia, promising that envoys from Byzantium would come to him at no distant time and establish peace securely, but that he had done none of the things agreed upon, since he had found himself unable to overcome the determination of the Emperor Justinian.

XXVII

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐποίουν τοιάδε. διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔνερθεν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ χώματος ἐργασάμενοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὀρύσσοντας μὴ μεθίεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου, ἕως ὑπὸ τὸν λόφον γένωνται μέσον. ταύτῃ γὰρ καῦσαι τὸ
2 χῶμα τοῦτο διενοοῦντο. προισούσης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος κατὰ τὸν λόφον μάλιστα μέσον πάταγός τις ἐς τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς ὕπερθεν ἑστῶτας
3 ἦλθεν. αἰσθόμενοί τε τοῦ ποιουμένου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ μέσου ὤρυσσον, ὅπως λάβοιεν τοὺς ἐκείνῃ κακουργοῦντας Ῥω-
4 μαίους. ὃ δὴ γνόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τούτου μὲν ἀπέσχοντο, χοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν κενωθέντα χῶρον[1] ἐπιβαλόντες, ἐκ δὲ ἄκρου χώματος κάτωθεν, ὃ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, ξύλα τε καὶ λίθους καὶ χοῦν ἐκφορήσαντες καθάπερ οἰκίσκου σχῆμα εἰργάσαντο, πρέμνα τε δένδρων τῶν ῥᾷστα καιομένων ξηρὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐσέβαλλον, ἐλαίῳ τε καταβεβρεγμένα τῷ ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένῳ καὶ
5 θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πολλῇ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες Μαρτίνῳ τοιαῦτα μὲν οἷά πέρ μοι εἴρηται διελέχθησαν, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι ὡς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐνδέξονται λόγους.
6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόφος αὐτοῖς ἐτετέλεστο ἤδη, καὶ πλησιάζων μὲν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὕψει δὲ

[1] χῶρον VP τόπον G.

XXVII

In the meantime the Romans were busying themselves as follows They made a tunnel from the city underneath the enemy's embankment, commanding the diggers not to leave this work until they should get under the middle of the hill By this means they were planning to burn the embankment. But as the tunnel advanced to about the middle of the hill, a sound of blows, as it were, came to the ears of those Persians who were standing above And perceiving what was being done, they too began from above and dug on both sides of the middle, so that they might catch the Romans who were doing the damage there But the Romans found it out and abandoned this attempt, throwing earth into the place which had been hollowed out, and then began to work on the lower part of the embankment at the end which was next to the wall, and by taking out timbers and stones and earth they made an open space just like a chamber ; then they threw in there dry trunks of trees of the kind which burn most easily, and saturated them with oil of cedar and added quantities of sulphur and bitumen So, then, they were keeping these things in readiness, and meanwhile the Persian commanders in frequent meetings with Martinus were carrying on conversations with him in the same strain as the one I have mentioned, making it appear that they would receive proposals in regard to peace. But when at last their hill had been completed, and had been raised to a great elevation, approaching the circuit-wall of the city and

αὐτὸν πολλῷ ὑπεραίρων ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπῆρτο, Μαρτῖνον μὲν ἀπεπέμψαντο διαρρήδην ἀπειπόντες τὴν ξύμβασιν, ἔργου δὲ ἔχεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον

7 Διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν δένδρων τὰ πρέμνα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαστο. τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ χώματός τινα καύσαντος, οὔπω δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἰσχύσαντος, τὰ ξύλα δεδαπανῆσθαι πάντα ἔτυχεν. ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ξύλα ἕτερα, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες
8 καιρόν. ἤδη δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἅπαν ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ χῶμα, καπνός τις ὕπερθεν πανταχῇ τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο νύκτωρ, Ῥωμαῖοί τε οὔπω ἐθέλοντες αἴσθησιν τοῦ ποιουμένου Πέρσαις παρέχειν
9 ἐπενόουν τάδε. ἀνθράκων τε καὶ πυρὸς ἀγγεῖα μικρὰ ἐμπλησάμενοι, ταῦτά τε καὶ πυρφόρους οἰστοὺς τοῦ χώματος πανταχόσε συχνὰ ἔπεμπον· ἃ δὴ οἱ Πέρσαι, ὅσοι φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ξὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ περιιόντες ἐσβέννυον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
10 φύεσθαι τὸν καπνὸν ᾤοντο. προιόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ πλήθει μὲν πολλῷ ἐβοήθουν οἱ βάρβαροι, βάλλοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ περι-
11 βόλου Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. οὗ δὴ καὶ Χοσρόης ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἦλθε, καί οἱ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ εἵπετο, ἔς τε τὸν λόφον ἀναβὰς πρῶτος ἔλαβε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴσθησιν.
12 ἔνερθεν γὰρ ἀπεφήνατο τοῦ καπνοῦ τὸ αἴτιον εἶναι, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν ἐσηκόντιζον οἱ πολέμιοι, βοηθεῖν
13 τε κατὰ τάχος ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι θαρσοῦντες ἐς αὐτοὺς ὕβριζον, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ μέν τινες χοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπι-

rising far above it in height, then they sent Martinus away, definitely refusing to arrange the treaty, and they intended from then on to devote themselves to active warfare.

Accordingly the Romans straightway set fire to the tree-trunks which had been prepared for this purpose But when the fire had burned only a certain portion of the embankment, and had not yet been able to penetrate through the whole mass, the wood was already entirely exhausted. But they kept throwing fresh wood into the pit, not slackening their efforts for a moment And when the fire was already active throughout the whole embankment, some smoke appeared at night rising from every part of the hill, and the Romans, who were not yet willing to let the Persians know what was being done, resorted to the following device: They filled small pots with coals and fire and threw these and also ignited arrows in great numbers to all parts of the embankment And the Persians who were keeping guard there, began to go about in great haste and extinguish these, and they supposed that the smoke arose from them But since the trouble increased, the barbarians rushed up to help in great numbers, and the Romans, shooting them from the wall, killed many And Chosroes too came there about sunrise, followed by the greater part of the army, and, upon mounting the hill, he first perceived what the trouble was For he disclosed the fact that the cause of the smoke was underneath, not in the missiles which the enemy were hurling, and he ordered the whole army to come to the rescue with all speed. And the Romans, taking courage, began to insult them, while the barbarians were at work,

βάλλοντες ἦ ὁ καπνὸς διεφαίνετο, περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ ἤλπιζον, ἀνύειν[1] μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ
14 εἶχον. ἦ τε γὰρ ὁ χοῦς ἐπιβληθείη, ταύτῃ μὲν ὁ καπνός, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀνεστέλλετο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεδίδοτο, αὐτὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον ὅπη δύναιτο ἀναγκάζοντος· τό τε ὕδωρ ᾗ μάλιστα ἐπισκήψειε, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τήν τε ἄσφαλτον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν ἐπί τε τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ὕλην ἀκμάζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἀεὶ ἐνῆγεν, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐντὸς οὐδαμῇ τοσοῦτον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τοῦ ὕδατος εἶχεν ὅσον τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασβέσαι[2]
15 τὴν φλόγα οἷόν τε εἶναι. ὁ δὲ καπνὸς ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν τοσοῦτος ἐγίνετο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς Καρρηνοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ πολλῷ ἐπέκεινα ᾠκημένοις
16 ἔνδηλος εἶναι. Περσῶν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν ὕπερθεν ἀναβεβηκότων τοῦ χώματος, μάχης τε καὶ ὠθισμοῦ ἐνταῦθα ξυστάντος, ἐνίκων Ῥω-
17 μαῖοι. τότε καὶ ἡ φλὸξ λαμπρῶς ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὲρ τὸ χῶμα ἐφαίνετο, Πέρσαι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔργου τούτου ἀπέσχοντο.

18 Ἕκτῃ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ, ὄρθρου βαθέος, μοίρᾳ τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου λάθρα ἐπέσκηψαν κλίμακας ἔχοντες, οὗ δὴ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμα-
19 σται. τῶν δὲ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων πρᾴον τινα καθευδόντων ὕπνον, ἅτε τῆς νυκτὸς πρὸς πέρας ἰούσης, ἡσυχῇ τὰς κλίμακας
20 τῷ τείχει ἐρεισαντες ἀνέβαινον ἤδη. τῶν δέ

[1] ἀνύειν Maltretus · ἀνύσειν MSS.
[2] κατασβέσαι Haury . κατασπᾶσαι V, καταπαῦσαι Dindorf.

some throwing on earth, and others water, where the smoke appeared, hoping thus to get the better of the trouble, however, they were absolutely unable to accomplish anything For where the earth was thrown on, the smoke, as was natural, was checked at that place, but not long afterwards it rose from another place, since the fire compelled it to force its way out wherever it could And where the water fell most plentifully it only succeeded in making the bitumen and the sulphur much more active, and caused them to exert their full force upon the wood near by, and it constantly drove the fire forward, since the water could not penetrate inside the embankment in a quantity at all sufficient to extinguish the flame by its abundance. And in the late afternoon the smoke became so great in volume that it was visible to the inhabitants of Carrhae and to some others who dwelt far beyond them And since a great number of Persians and of Romans had gone up on top of the embankment, a fight took place and a hand-to-hand struggle to drive each other off, and the Romans were victorious Then even the flames rose and appeared clearly above the embankment, and the Persians abandoned this undertaking.

On the sixth day after this, at early dawn, they made an assault secretly upon a certain part of the circuit-wall with ladders, at the point which is called the Fort And since the Romans who were keeping guard there were sleeping a quiet, peaceful sleep, as the night was drawing to its close, they silently set the ladders against the wall and were already ascending But one of the rustics alone among the

τις ἀγροίκων μόνος ἐγρηγορὼς ἐν Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασιν
ἔτυχεν, ὃς δὴ ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ
21 ἅπαντας ἤγειρε. καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης
ἠσσῶνται Πέρσαι, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρη-
σαν, αὐτοῦ λιπόντες τὰς κλίμακας, ἅσπερ κατ'
22 ἐξουσίαν Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνεῖλκον. Χοσρόης δὲ ἀμφὶ
ἡμέραν μέσην πολλήν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖραν
ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην πύλην ὡς τειχο-
23 μαχήσοντας ἔπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι ὑπαντιά-
σαντες οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγροῖκοι
καὶ τοῦ δήμου τινὲς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσαντες παρὰ
24 πολὺ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο. ἔτι τε Περσῶν
διωκομένων Παῦλος ἑρμηνεὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου ἦκων
ἐς μέσους Ῥωμαίους ἀπήγγελλε Ῥεκινάριον ἐπὶ
τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἥκειν, οὕτω τε ἀμφότεροι
25 διελύθησαν. ἤδη δέ τισι πρότερον ἡμέραις ὁ
Ῥεκινάριος ἐς τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον
26 ἀφῖκτο. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὡς ἥκιστα
ἐξήνεγκαν Πέρσαι, καραδοκοῦντες δηλονότι τὴν
ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλήν, ὅπως, ἢν μὲν αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν
δύνωνται, μηδαμῆ ἐς τὰς σπουδὰς παρανομεῖν
δόξωσιν, ἠσσηθέντες δέ, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, τὰ ἐς τὴν
ξύμβασιν, Ῥωμαίων προκαλουμένων πρὸς αὐτάς,
27 θήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥεκινάριος ἐγένετο εἴσω πυλῶν,
Πέρσαι μὲν ἠξίουν τοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διοικησομέ-
νους παρὰ Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἰέναι, Ῥω-
μαῖοι δὲ σταλήσεσθαι πρέσβεις ἡμέραις τρισὶν
ὕστερον ἔφασαν· ταυῦν γὰρ σφίσι κακῶς τοῦ
σώματος Μαρτῖνον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔχειν.
28 Εἶναί τε ὑποτοπάζων οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον
Χοσρόης τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ

Romans happened to be awake, and he with a shout and a great noise began to rouse them all. And a hard struggle ensued in which the Persians were worsted, and they retired to their camp, leaving the ladders where they were; these the Romans drew up at their leisure But Chosroes about midday sent a large part of the army against the so-called Great Gate in order to storm the wall. And the Romans went out and confronted them, not only soldiers, but even rustics and some of the populace, and they conquered the barbarians in battle decisively and turned them to flight And while the Persians were still being pursued, Paulus, the interpreter, came from Chosroes, and going into the midst of the Romans, he reported that Rhecinarius had come from Byzantium to arrange the peace; and thus the two armies separated. Now it was already some days since Rhecinarius had arrived at the camp of the barbarians But the Persians had by no means disclosed this fact to the Romans, plainly awaiting the outcome of the attempts upon the wall which they had planned, in order that, if they should be able to capture it, they might seem in no way to be violating the treaty, while if defeated, as actually happened, they might draw up the treaty at the invitation of the Romans And when Rhecinarius had gone inside the gates, the Persians demanded that those who were to arrange the peace should come to Chosroes without any delay, but the Romans said that envoys would be sent three days later; for that just at the moment their general, Martinus, was unwell.

And Chosroes, suspecting that the reason was not a sound one, prepared for battle. And at that time

τότε μὲν πλίνθων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα ἐπὶ τὸ χῶμα ἐπέβαλε, δυοῖν[1] δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραιν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τειχομαχήσων ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως
29 περίβολον ἦλθεν. ἔν τε πύλῃ ἑκάστῃ τῶν τινας ἀρχόντων καὶ μέρος τι τοῦ στρατεύματος καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε τὸ τεῖχος ταύτῃ περιβαλὼν
30 κλίμακάς τε αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγεν. ὄπισθεν δὲ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἅπαντας ξὺν τῶν Περσῶν τισιν ἔταξεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἁλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας σαγηνεύσαντες
31 λάβωσι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Χοσρόης οὕτω διέταξε. τῆς δὲ μάχης πρωὶ ἀρξαμένης κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὰ Περσῶν καθυπέρ-
32 τερα ἦν πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λίαν ὀλίγους ἐμάχοντο, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀνήκοοί τε τῶν ποιουμένων καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ἦσαν.
33 προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς θορύβων τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἔμπλεως ἡ πόλις ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξύμπαντες ἤδη αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδαρίοις ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
34 ἀνέβαινον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις καρτερώτατα τοὺς πολεμίους ἠμύνοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων πολλοὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργα
35 θαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείκνυντο. παῖδες δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξὺν τοῖς γεγηρακόσι λίθους τε τοῖς μαχομένοις
36 ξυνέλεγον καὶ ἄλλα ὑπούργουν τινὲς δὲ καὶ λέβητας ἐλαίου πολλοὺς ἐμπλησάμενοι πυρί τε αὐτοὺς πανταχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐς διαρκῆ θερμήναντες χρόνον καὶ ζέον ὑπεράγαν τὸ ἔλαιον περιρ-

[1] δυοῖν Maltretus. δυεῖν MSS.

he only threw a great mass of bricks upon the embankment; but two days later he came against the fortifications of the city with the whole army to storm the wall And at every gate he stationed some of the commanders and a part of the army, encircling the whole wall in this way, and he brought up ladders and war-engines against it And in the rear he placed all the Saracens with some of the Persians, not in order to assault the wall, but in order that, when the city was captured, they might gather in the fugitives and catch them as in a drag-net Such, then, was the purpose of Chosroes in arranging the army in this way And the fighting began early in the morning, and at first the Persians had the advantage. For they were in great numbers and fighting against a very small force, since the most of the Romans had not heard what was going on and were utterly unprepared. But as the conflict advanced the city became full of confusion and tumult, and the whole population, even women and little children, were going up on to the wall. Now those who were of military age together with the soldiers were repelling the enemy most vigorously, and many of the rustics made a remarkable show of valorous deeds against the barbarians. Meanwhile the women and children, and the aged also, were gathering stones for the fighters and assisting them in other ways Some also filled numerous basins with olive-oil, and after heating them over fire a sufficient time everywhere alone the wall, they sprinkled the oil, while boiling fiercely, upon the enemy who were assailing

ραντηρίοις τισὶν ἐπιχέοντες ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους [1] τοὺς τῷ περιβόλῳ προσιόντας ἐλύπουν.
37 ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἀπειπόντες οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐρρίπτουν, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν πόνον ἀντέχειν οὐκέτι ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι.
38 θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος καὶ ξὺν ἀπειλῇ ἐγκελευόμενος ἅπασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
39 ἐνῆγεν. οἱ δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ τούς τε πύργους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς τῷ τείχει προσῆγον καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπετίθεντο, ὡς τὴν πόλιν
40 αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξαιρήσοντες. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων συχνά τε βαλλόντων καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἀμυνομένων, τρέπονται μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναχωροῦντα δὲ τὸν Χοσρόην ἐτώθαζον Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐς τειχομα-
41 χίαν παρακαλοῦντες μόνος δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Σοίνας καλουμένας ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐμάχετο, οὗ δὴ Τριπυργίαν καλοῦσι τὸν χῶρον.
42 Τῶν δὲ ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὄντων σφίσιν ἀξιομάχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀπειπόντων, ἤδη τὸ ἐκτὸς τεῖχος, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι προτείχισμα, πολλαχῇ διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἰσχυρότατα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου περιβόλου ἀμυνομένοις ἐνέκειντο, ἕως αὐτοῖς Περάνιος ξύν τε στρατιώταις πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν τισιν ἐπεξῆλθε μάχῃ τε
43 νικήσας ἐξήλασε. καὶ ἡ τειχομαχία πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα εἰς δείλην ὀψίαν, ἀμφότεροί τε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πέρσαι μὲν περί τε τοῖς χαρακώμασι δεδιότες καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ λίθους τε ξυλλέγοντες ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις καὶ τἆλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ ποιούμενοι,

[1] ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους Haury ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον MSS.

the wall, using a sort of whisk for the purpose, and in this way harassed them still more. The Persians, therefore, soon gave up and began to throw down their arms, and coming before the king, said that they were no longer able to hold out in the struggle. But Chosroes, in a passion of anger, drove them all on with threats and urged them forward against the enemy. And the soldiers with much shouting and tumult brought up the towers and the other engines of war to the wall and set the ladders against it, in order to capture the city with one grand rush. But since the Romans were hurling great numbers of missiles and exerting all their strength to drive them off, the barbarians were turned back by force; and as Chosroes withdrew, the Romans taunted him, inviting him to come and storm the wall. Only Azarethes at the so-called Soinian Gate was still fighting with his men, at the place which they call Tripurgia [1] And since the Romans at this point were not a match for them, but were giving way before their assaults, already the outer wall, which they call an outwork, had been torn down by the barbarians in many places, and they were pressing most vigorously upon those who were defending themselves from the great circuit-wall; but at last Peranius with a large number of soldiers and some of the citizens went out against them and defeated them in battle and drove them off. And the assault which had begun early in the morning ended in the late afternoon, and both sides remained quiet that night, the Persians fearing for their defences and for themselves, and the Romans gathering stones and taking them to the parapets and putting everything else in

[1] "Three Towers"

ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ[1] τὸ
44 τεῖχος προσβαλοῦσιν.[2] ἡμέρᾳ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐπιγινομένῃ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἦλθε, τῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην μοῖρα μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ Χοσρόου ἐγκελευομένου ταῖς Βαρλαοῦ καλουμέναις πύλαις ἐπέσκηψεν, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἠσσήθησάν τε παρὰ πολὺ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ δι' ὀλίγου ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρη-
45 σαν. καὶ τότε Παῦλος ὁ Περσῶν ἑρμηνεὺς παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἦκων Μαρτῖνον ἐκάλει, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ ἐς τὴν
46 ξύμβασιν διοικήσηται. οὕτω τε Μαρτίνου τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρχουσιν ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντος ξυνέβησαν, καὶ πέντε κεντηνάρια πρὸς τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν ὁ Χοσρόης λαβὼν ἐν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μηδὲν Ῥωμαίοις περαιτέρω λυμήνασθαι, τά τε χαρακώματα πάντα ἐμπρήσας ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ.

XXVIII

1 Ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ῥωμαίων τετελευτήκασι στρατηγοὶ δύο, Ἰοῦστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς καὶ Περάνιος ὁ Ἴβηρ, Ἰοῦστος μὲν νόσῳ διαφθαρείς, Περανίῳ δὲ συνέβη ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ τοῦ
2 ἵππου ἐκπεπτωκότι[3] διαρραγῆναι. διὸ δὴ ἀντ' αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς ἑτέρους καταστησάμενος ἔπεμψε Μάρκελλόν τε, τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, καὶ Κωνσταντιανόν, ὃς δὴ ὀλίγῳ

[1] ἐπὶ V : ἢν ἐπὶ G. [2] προσβάλωσιν G.
[3] ἐκπεπτωκότι Maltretus. ἐπιπεπτωκότι MSS.

complete readiness, so as to fight against the enemy on the morrow when they should attack the wall. Now on the succeeding day not one of the barbarians came against the fortifications; but on the day after that a portion of the army, urged on by Chosroes, made an assault upon the so-called Gate of Barlaus; but the Romans sallied forth and confronted them, and the Persians were decidedly beaten in the engagement, and after a short time retired to the camp. And then Paulus, the interpreter of the Persians, came along by the wall and called for Martinus, in order that he might make the arrangements for the truce Thus Martinus came to conference with the commanders of the Persians, and they concluded an agreement, by which Chosroes received five centenaria from the inhabitants of Edessa, and left them, in writing, the promise not to inflict any further injury upon the Romans; then, after setting fire to all his defences, he returned homeward with his whole army.

XXVIII

At about this time two generals of the Romans died, Justus, the nephew of the emperor, and Peranius, the Iberian, of whom the former succumbed to disease, while Peranius fell from his horse in hunting and suffered a fatal rupture The emperor therefore appointed others in their places, dispatching Marcellus, his own nephew who was just arriving at the age of manhood, and Constantianus, who a little

πρότερον ἅμα Σεργίῳ παρὰ Χοσρόην πρεσβεύων
3 ἐστάλη. ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρέσ-
βεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει Κωνσταν-
4 τιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν
καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, οὗ δὴ πολίσματα
δύο Σελεύκειά τε καὶ Κτησιφῶν ἐστι, Μακεδόνων
αὐτὰ δειμαμένων οἳ μετὰ τὸν Φιλίππου Ἀλέ-
ξανδρον Περσῶν τε ἦρξαν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν.
5 ἄμφω δὲ ταῦτα Τίγρης ποταμὸς διορίζει· οὐ γὰρ
6 ἄλλην χώραν μεταξὺ ἔχουσιν. ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόν-
τες Χοσρόῃ οἱ πρέσβεις ᾐξίουν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς
Λαζικῆς χωρία Ῥωμαίοις ἀποδοῦναι, βεβαιότατα
δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κρατύνασθαι.
7 Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ ῥᾴδιον αὐτοὺς ἔφασκεν εἶναι
ἀλλήλοις ξυμβῆναι, ἢν μή τινα ἐκχειρίαν θέμενοι
πρότερον οὕτω τε ἀδεέστερον ἀεὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους
φοιτῶντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι καὶ τὰ τῆς
8 εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν θήσονται. χρῆ-
ναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀεὶ ἐκεχειρίας χρήματά τέ οἱ
τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα δοῦναι καί τινα Τρι-
βοῦνον ὄνομα ἰατρὸν πέμψαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ξυνδιατρί-
9 ψει τακτόν τινα χρόνον. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὁ ἰατρὸς
οὗτος νόσου τε αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξας χαλεπῆς πρό-
τερον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φίλος τε καὶ ποθεινὸς ἐς τὰ
10 μάλιστα ὤν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
ἤκουσε, τόν τε Τριβοῦνον καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐθὺς
11 ἔπεμψε ξυνιόντα ἐς κεντηνάρια εἴκοσιν. οὕτω τε
αἱ σπονδαὶ γεγόνασι Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐς
ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε, δέκατόν τε καὶ ἕνατον ἔτος
Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν
ἔχοντος.
12 Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρέθας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούν-

earlier had been sent as an envoy with Sergius to Chosroes Then the Emperor Justinian sent Constantianus and Seigius a second time to Chosroes to arrange the truce. And they overtook him in Assyria, at the place where there are two towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, built by the Macedonians who after Alexander, the son of Philip, ruled over the Persians and the other nations there. These two towns are separated by the Tigris River only, for they have nothing else between them There the envoys met Chosroes, and they demanded that he should give back to the Romans the country of Lazica, and establish peace with them on a thoroughly secure basis. But Chosroes said that it was not easy for them to come to terms with each other, unless they should first declare an armistice, and then should continue to go back and forth to each other without so much fear and settle their differences and make a peace which should be on a secure basis for the future. And it was necessary, he said, that in return for this continued armistice the Roman Emperor should give him money and should also send a certain physician, Tribunus by name, in order to spend some specified time with him For it happened that this physician at a former time had rid him of a severe disease, and as a result of this he was especially beloved and greatly missed by him. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he immediately sent both Tribunus and the money, amounting to twenty centenaria In this way the treaty was made between the Romans and the Persians for five years, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian

And a little later Arethas and Alamoundaras, the

rulers of the Saracens, waged a war against each other by themselves, unaided either by the Romans or the Persians And Alamoundaras captured one of the sons of Arethas in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and straightway sacrificed him to Aphrodite, and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians. Later they both came together in battle with their whole armies, and the forces of Arethas were overwhelmingly victorious, and turning their enemy to flight, they killed many of them. And Arethas came within a little of capturing alive two of the sons of Alamoundaras, however, he did not actually succeed. Such, then, was the course of events among the Saracens.

But it became clear that Chosroes, the Persian king, had made the truce with the Romans with treacherous intent, in order that he might find them remiss on account of the peace and inflict upon them some grave injury. For in the third year of the truce he devised the following schemes There were in Persia two brothers, Phabrizus and Isdigousnas, both holding most important offices there and at the same time reckoned to be the basest of all the Persians, and having a great reputation for their cleverness and evil ways Accordingly, since Chosroes had formed the purpose of capturing the city of Daras by a sudden stroke, and to move all the Colchians out of Lazica and establish in their place Persian settlers, he selected these two men to assist him in both undertakings For it seemed to him that it would be a lucky stroke and a really important achievement to win for himself the land of

βεβαίῳ τῆς κτήσεως ἔχειν, ξύμφορον λογισαμένῳ τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ κατὰ πολλὰ ἔσεσθαι
19 τοῦτό γε. τήν τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα ἕξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐχόντων Ἰβήρων ἐφ' οὕστινας ἀνθρώπων ἀποστάντες σωθήσονται·
20 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τούτων δὴ λογιμώτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ Γουργένῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε λόγοις ἐρρήθη, οὔτε βασιλέα σφίσι καταστήσεσθαι τὸ ἐνθένδε ξυνεχώρουν Πέρσαι οὔτε αὐτογνωμονοῦντες Περσῶν κατήκοοι Ἴβηρες ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑποψία τε καὶ
21 ἀπιστία ἐς ἀλλήλους πολλῇ εἴχοντο. ἔνδηλοί τε Ἴβηρες ἦσαν δυσανασχετοῦντές τε ἰσχυρότατα καὶ νεωτεριοῦντες οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἤν τινός
22 ποτε καιροῦ λαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. καὶ πρὸς Οὔννων τῶν Λαζικῇ προσοίκων ἀδήωτον μὲν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἐς ἀεὶ ἔσεσθαι, ῥᾷον δὲ καὶ ἀπονώτερον αὐτοὺς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιπέμψειν, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐν Καυκάσῳ οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἢ
23 ἐπιτείχισμα Λαζικὴν εἶναι. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων κατὰ τοῦτο ξυνοίσειν πρὸς[1] Λαζικῆς ἐπικράτησιν ἤλπιζε Πέρσαις, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι δυνήσονται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ καταθέοντες καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου καλουμένου πόντου χωρία Καππαδόκας μὲν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Γαλάτας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς παραστήσεσθαι, ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς δὲ Βυζαντίους αἱρήσειν, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν
24 ἀντιστατοῦντος. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἕνεκα προσποιεῖσθαι Χοσρόης Λαζικὴν ἤθελεν, ἐπὶ Λαζοῖς δὲ τὸ

[1] πρὸς MSS. . Christ would delete.

Colchis and to have it in secure possession, reasoning that this would be advantageous to the Persian empire in many ways. In the first place they would have Iberia in security forever afterwards, since the Iberians would not have anyone with whom, if they revolted, they might find safety, for since the most notable men of these barbarians together with their king, Gourgenes, had looked towards revolt, as I have stated in the preceding pages,[1] the Persians from that time on did not permit them to set up a king over themselves, nor were the Iberians single-minded subjects of the Persians, but there was much suspicion and distrust between them. And it was evident that the Iberians were most thoroughly dissatisfied and that they would attempt a revolution shortly if they could only seize upon some favourable opportunity Furthermore, the Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them. But most of all he hoped that the subjugation of Lazica would afford this advantage to the Persians, that starting from there they might overrun with no trouble both by land and by sea the countries along the Euxine Sea, as it is called, and thus win over the Cappadocians and the Galatians and Bithynians who adjoin them, and capture Byzantium by a sudden assault with no one opposing them For these reasons, then, Chosroes was anxious to gain possession of Lazica, but in the Lazi

[1] Cf. Book I. xii 5 ff.

25 θαρσεῖν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι
ἐκ τῆς Λαζικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, Λαζῶν τὸ πλῆθος
τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ ἐπιεικῶς ἤχθετο. μονότροποι
γάρ, εἴπερ ἄλλοι τινές, οἱ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ ἐς
26 τὴν δίαιταν ὑπεράγαν σκληροί. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἵ
τε νόμοι δυσπρόσοδοί εἰσι πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων
καὶ τὰ ἐπιτάγματα οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτά. πρὸς μέντοι
Λαζοὺς καὶ διαφερόντως τὸ διαλλάσσον τῆς τε
γνώμης ἀεὶ καὶ τῆς διαίτης παρὰ πολὺ δια-
φαίνεται, ἐπεὶ Λαζοὶ μὲν Χριστιανοί εἰσι πάντων
μάλιστα, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῶν τὰ ἐς τὸ
27 θεῖον ἅπαντα ἔχει. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἅλες μὲν
τῆς Λαζικῆς οὐδαμῇ γίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὔτε σῖτος
28 οὔτε οἶνος οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν φύεται. ἐκ δὲ
Ῥωμαίων τῶν παραλίων ἅπαντα ταῖς ναυσὶν
ἐπεισέρχεται σφίσι, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ χρυσίον τοῖς
συμβάλλουσι προιεμένοις, ἀλλὰ δέρρεις τε καὶ
ἀνδράποδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πολὺ
29 περιεῖναι ξυμβαίνει. τούτου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἧσχαλλον. ὧν δὴ ὁ
Χοσρόης αἰσθόμενος προτερῆσαι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ,
πρίν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νεωτερίσειαν,[1] ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε.
30 καί οἱ βουλευομένῳ ξυμφορώτατον ἔδοξεν εἶναι
Γουβάζην τὸν Λαζῶν βασιλέα ἐκποδὼν ὅτι
τάχιστα ποιησαμένῳ Λαζοὺς ἐνθένδε πανδημεὶ
ἀναστήσειν, οὕτω τε Πέρσας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἔθνη
ξυνοικιεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ.
31 Ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης βεβουλευμένος Ἰσδιγούσναν
ὡς ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον
στέλλει, καί οἱ Περσῶν ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος

[1] νεωτερίσειαν Dindorf : νεωτερίσειν MSS

he had not the least confidence. For since the time when the Romans had withdrawn from Lazica, the common people of the country naturally found the Persian rule burdensome. For the Persians are beyond all other men singular in their ways, and they are excessively rigid as regards the routine of daily life. And their laws are difficult of access for all men, and their requirements quite unbearable But in comparison with the Lazi the difference of their thinking and living shows itself in an altogether exceptional degree, since the Lazi are Christians of the most thorough-going kind, while all the Persian views regarding religion are the exact opposite of theirs. And apart from this, salt is produced nowhere in Lazica, nor indeed does grain grow there nor the vine nor any other good thing. But from the Romans along the coast everything is brought in to them by ship, and even so they do not pay gold to the traders, but hides and slaves and whatever else happens to be found there in great abundance ; and when they were excluded from this trade, they were, as was to be expected, in a state of constant vexation. When, therefore, Chosroes perceived this, he was eager to anticipate with certainty any move on their part to revolt against him. And upon considering the matter, it seemed to him to be the most advantageous course to put Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, out of the way as quickly as possible, and to move the Lazi in a body out of the country, and then to colonize this land with Persians and certain other nations.

When Chosroes had matured these plans, he sent Isdigousnas to Byzantium, ostensibly to act as an envoy, and he picked out five hundred of the most

πεντακοσίους ξυνέπεμψεν, ἐπιστείλας σφίσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐν οἰκίαις δὲ καταλῦσαι πολλαῖς, ταύτας τε νύκτωρ ἁπάσας ἐμπρῆσαι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ἠσχολημένων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἁπάντων ἀνοιγνύναι μὲν τὰς πύλας εὐθύς, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ ἄλλο
32 Περσῶν στράτευμα δέξασθαι. προείρητο γὰρ τῷ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἄρχοντι στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη ἐγκρυφιάζοντι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ᾤετο Χοσρόης οὐδενὶ πόνῳ Ῥωμαίους τε ἅπαντας διαχρήσεσθαι[1] καὶ τὴν πόλιν Δάρας ἐν βεβαίῳ καταλαβόντας
33 σχήσειν. ἀλλά τις εὖ εἰδὼς τὰ πρασσόμενα, Ῥωμαῖος μὲν ἀνήρ, αὐτόμολος δὲ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐς Πέρσας ἥκων, τὸν πάντα λόγον Γεωργίῳ φράζει, ἐνταῦθα τότε διατριβὴν ἔχοντι, οὗ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ἅτε Περσῶν ἀναπείσαντος τοὺς ἐν τῷ Σισαυράνων πολιορκουμένους φρουρίῳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις.
34 Γεώργιος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὁρίοις ἀπαντήσας τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ ἔφασκεν οὐ κατὰ πρεσβείαν τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι, καὶ οὔ ποτε Πέρσας τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν πόλει
35 Ῥωμαίων αὐλίσασθαι. χρῆν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμώδιος ἀπολιπεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς πόλιν Δάρας
36 ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσδιγούσνας ἠγανάκτει τε καὶ δυσφορουμένῳ ἐῴκει, ἅτε περιυβρισμένος οὐ δέον, καίπερ ἐπὶ πρεσβείᾳ παρὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων
37 βασιλέα στελλόμενος. Γεώργιος δέ οἱ οὐ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν ἠγριωμένῳ διεσώσατο τὴν πόλιν

[1] διαχρήσασθαι VG.

valorous of the Persians and sent them with him, directing them to get inside the city of Daras, and to take their lodgings in many different houses, and at night to set these all on fire, and, while all the Romans were occupied with this fire, as was natural, to open the gates immediately, and receive the rest of the Persian army into the city. For word had been sent previously to the commander of the city of Nisibis to conceal a large force of soldiers near by and hold them in readiness. For in this way Chosroes thought that they would destroy all the Romans with no trouble, and seizing the city of Daras, would hold it securely. But someone who knew well what was being arranged, a Roman who had come to the Persians as a deserter a little earlier, told everything to George, who was staying there at the time, now this was the same man whom I mentioned in the preceding pages [1] as having persuaded the Persians who were besieged in the fortress of Sisauranon to surrender themselves to the Romans. George therefore met this ambassador at the boundary line between Roman and Persian soil and said that this thing he was doing was not after the fashion of an embassy, and that never had so numerous a body of Persians stopped for the night in a city of the Romans. For he ought, he said, to have left behind all the rest in the town of Ammodios, and must himself enter the city of Daras with some few men. Now Isdigousnas was indignant and appeared to take it ill, because he had been insulted wrongfully, in spite of the fact that he was dispatched on an embassy to the Roman emperor. But George, paying no heed to him in his fury, saved the city

[1] Book II xix 23

Ῥωμαίοις. ξὺν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν εἴκοσι μόνοις τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν ἐδέξατο.

38 Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχὼν ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ὡς πρεσβεύων ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε, τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπαγόμενος δύο (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ παραπέτασμα τοῦ ξυνεληλυθότος ὁμίλου), τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων ἀμφὶ μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων τινὶ οὐ μέγα οὐ μικρὸν ἴσχυσεν εἰπεῖν, καίπερ οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ μῆνας δέκα κατα-
39 τρίψας ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. τὰ μέντοι δῶρα παρὰ Χοσρόου, ἥπερ εἴθισται, καὶ γράμματα βασιλεῖ ἔδωκε, δι' ὧν ὁ Χοσρόης Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα σημῆναι ἠξίου εἴ οἱ τὸ σῶμα ὑγιείας
40 πέρι ὡς ἄριστα ἔχοι. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν Ἰσδιγούσναν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μάλιστα πρέσβεων ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ξύν τε πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ εἶδε καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἱκανῶς ἤγαγεν.
41 ὥστε καὶ ἡνίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐστιῴη, Βραδούκιον, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ ἑρμηνεὺς εἵπετο, ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε, πρᾶγμα πώποτε οὐ γεγονὸς
42 πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου ἑρμηνέα γὰρ οὐδὲ τῶν τινι καταδεεστέρων ἀρχόντων, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεῖ ὁμοτράπεζον γεγονότα οὐδείς ποτε
43 εἶδεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἢ κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐδέξατό τε καὶ ἀπεπέμψατο, καίπερ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ τὴν πρεσβείαν,
44 ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, πεποιημένου ἦν γάρ τις τάς τε δαπάνας διαριθμήσαιτο καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὅσα ἐνθένδε κεκομισμένος Ἰσδιγούσνας ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, πλέον αὐτὰ κατατείνοντα ἢ ἐς χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δέκα εὑρήσει. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐς Δάρας πόλιν ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

for the Romans For he received Isdigousnas into the city with only twenty men

So having failed in this attempt, the barbarian came to Byzantium as if on an embassy, bringing with him his wife and two daughters (for this was his pretext for the crowd which had been gathered about him); but when he came before the emperor, he was unable to say anything great or small about any serious matter, although he wasted no less than ten months in Roman territory. However, he gave the emperor the gifts from Chosroes, as is customary, and a letter, in which Chosroes requested the Emperor Justinian to send word whether he was enjoying the best possible health Nevertheless the Emperor Justinian received this Isdigousnas with more friendliness and treated him with greater honour than any of the other ambassadors of whom we know. So true was this that, whenever he entertained him, he caused Braducius, who followed him as interpreter, to recline with him on the couch, a thing which had never before happened in all time. For no one ever saw an interpreter become a table-companion of even one of the more humble officials, not to speak of a king But he both received and dismissed this man in a style more splendid than that which befits an ambassador, although he had undertaken the embassy for no serious business, as I have said. For if anyone should count up the money expended and the gifts which Isdigousnas carried with him when he went away, he will find them amounting to more than ten centenaria of gold. So the plot against the city of Daras ended in this way for Chosroes.

XXIX

1 Ἐς τε Λαζικὴν πρῶτα μὲν ξύλα παμπληθῆ ἐς νηῶν ποίησιν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα ἔπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ φράσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ αὐτὰ πέμψειεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ μηχανὰς ἐν Πέτρας τῷ περιβόλῳ καταστη-
2 σόμενος ταῦτα ἔστελλεν. ἔπειτα δὲ Περσῶν μαχίμους τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, Φάβριζόν τε, οὗπερ ἀρτίως ἐπεμνήσθην, αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθα στέλλει, ᾧ δὴ ἐπήγγελλε Γουβάζην ὡς λαθραιότατα διαχρήσασθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐνθένδε αὐτῷ
3 μελήσειν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ξύλα ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἐς Λαζικὴν ἐκομίσθη, κεραυνόβλητα ἐξαπιναίως γενόμενα τετεφρῶσθαι ξυνέβη· Φάβριζος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἐς Λαζικὴν ἀφικόμενος ἔπρασσεν ὅπως δὴ ἀμφὶ Γουβάζῃ τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐπηγγελ-
4 μένα ὑποτελοίη. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Κόλχοις λογίμων, Φαρσάνσης ὄνομα, τῷ Γουβάζῃ προσκεκρουκὼς ἐς μέγα τέ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἔχθος καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα θαρσῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν
5 ἥκειν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Φάβριζος ἔγνω, τὸν Φαρσάνσην μεταπεμψάμενος[1] ἐκοινολογεῖτό τε καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα λόγον ἐξενεγκὼν ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπη
6 οἱ ἐπιχειρητέα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἴη. ἔδοξε τοίνυν σφίσιν ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις Φάβριζον μὲν ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, μεταπέμψασθαι δὲ Γουβάζην ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως οἱ ἀγγέλλοι ὅσα δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ ξυνοίσοντι Λαζοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη.
7 ἀλλ' ὁ Φαρσάνσης κρύφα τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐσήμηνε

[1] μεταπεμψάμενος VG· μετακαλεσάμενος P.

XXIX

His first move against Lazica was as follows. He sent into the country a great amount of lumber suitable for the construction of ships, explaining to no one what his purpose was in so doing, but ostensibly he was sending it in order to set up engines of war on the fortifications of Petra Next he chose out three hundred able warriors of the Persians, and sent them there under command of Phabrizus, whom I have lately mentioned, ordering him to make away with Goubazes as secretly as possible; as for the rest, he himself would take care Now when this lumber had been conveyed to Lazica, it happened that it was struck suddenly by lightning and reduced to ashes. And Phabrizus, upon arriving in Lazica with the three hundred, began to contrive so that he might carry out the orders received by him from Chosroes regarding Goubazes Now it happened that one of the men of note among the Colchians, Pharsanses by name, had quarrelled with Goubazes and in consequence had become exceedingly hostile to him, and now he did not dare at all to go into the presence of the king When this was learned by Phabrizus, he summoned Pharsanses and in a conference with him disclosed the whole project, and enquired of the man in what way he ought to go about the execution of the deed. And it seemed best to them after deliberating together that Phabrizus should go into the city of Petra, and should summon Goubazes there, in order to announce to him what the king had decided concerning the interests of the Lazi. But Pharsanses secretly

τὰ πρασσόμενα. διὸ δὴ Γουβάζης παρὰ μὲν
Φάβριζον οὐδαμῆ ἦλθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐς
8 ἀπόστασιν εἶδε. Φάβριζος δὲ Πέρσαις μὲν τοῖς
ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
πάσῃ δυνάμει ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ὡς
ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξαρτύεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς
τριακοσίοις ἐπ' οἴκου ἄπρακτος ἀνεχώρησε.
9 Γουβάζης δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα
τὰ παρόντα σφίσι τῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα πεπραγ-
μένων Λαζοῖς ἐδεῖτο συγγνώμονα εἶναι, ἀμῦναι δὲ
σφίσι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἀπαλλαξείουσι τῆς
Μήδων ἀρχῆς. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μόνας δυνήσεσθαι
Κόλχους ἀποκρούσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν.
10 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε,
περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἄνδρας ἑπτακισχιλίους καὶ
Δαγισθαῖον ἄρχοντα καὶ Τζάνους χιλίους ἐς ἐπι-
11 κουρίαν Λαζοῖς ἔπεμψεν. οἳ δὴ ἐν γῇ τῇ Κολχίδι
γενόμενοι ἅμα Λαζοῖς τε καὶ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐνστρα-
τοπεδευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρας περίβολον ἐς
12 πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. Περσῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνταῦθα
ὄντων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων,
χρόνον τῇ προσεδρείᾳ πολὺν τετρίφθαι ξυνέβη,
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐδώδιμα ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν οἱ Πέρ-
13 σαι διαρκῶς ἔτυχον. τούτοις δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ξυν-
ταραχθεὶς στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Μερμερόην
ἐπέστησεν. ὅνπερ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ
Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπίκοινα βουλευσάμενος ἐποίει τάδε.
14 Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἔξεισιν ἄγχιστά πη τῶν

revealed to Goubazes what was being prepared He, accordingly, did not come to Phabrizus at all, but began openly to plan a revolt. Then Phabrizus commanded the other Persians to attend as carefully as they could to the guarding of Petra, and to make everything as secure as possible against a siege, and he himself with the three hundred returned homeward without having accomplished his purpose. And Goubazes reported to the Emperor Justinian the condition in which they were, and begged him to grant forgiveness for what the Lazi had done in the past, and to come to their defence with all his strength, since they desired to be rid of the Median rule For if left by themselves the Colchians would not be able to repel the power of the Persians

When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he was 549 A.D.
overjoyed, and sent seven thousand men under the leadership of Dagisthaeus and a thousand Tzani to the assistance of the Lazi. And when this force reached the land of Colchis, they encamped together with Goubazes and the Lazi about the fortifications of Petra and commenced a siege But since the Persians who were there made a most stalwart defence from the wall, it came about that much time was spent in the siege, for the Persians had put away an ample store of victuals in the town And Chosroes, being greatly disturbed by these things, dispatched a great army of horse and foot against the besiegers, putting Mermeroes in command of them. And when Goubazes learned of this, he considered the matter together with Dagisthaeus and acted in the manner which I shall presently set forth.

The river Boas rises close to the territory of the

Τζανικῆς ὁρίων ἐν Ἀρμενίοις οἳ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον ᾤκηνται καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χωρεῖ, βραχύς τε ἰὼν καὶ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ γινόμενος ἐσβατὸς ἅπασιν ἄχρι ἐς χῶρον οὗ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβήρων τὰ ὅριά ἐστι, καταν-
15 τικρὺ δὲ τελευτᾷ ὄρος ὁ Καύκασος. ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ Ἀλανοί τε καὶ Ἀβασγοὶ ᾤκηνται Χριστιανοί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες, Ζῆχοί τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Οὖννοι,
16 οἳ Σάβειροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἀφίκηται ἵνα δὴ τοῦ τε Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰβηρίας τὰ ὅριά ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγινομένων οἱ καὶ ἄλλων ὑδάτων μείζων τε παρὰ πολὺ γίνεται καὶ Φᾶσις ἀντὶ Βόα τὸ ἐνθένδε καλούμενος φέρεται, ναυσίπορος γεγενημένος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον, οὗ δή οἱ καὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑφ' ἑκάτερα Λαζική ἐστιν.
17 ἀλλ' ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ξύμπασα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα πρὸς τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖται μέχρι τῶν
18 Ἰβηρίας ὁρίων. κῶμαί τε γὰρ αἱ Λαζῶν πᾶσαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς ἐνταῦθά εἰσι καὶ πολίσματα ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφίσι ταύτῃ πεποίηνται, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαιόπολις, ἐχυρωτάτη οὖσα, Σεβαστόπολίς τε ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ Πιτιοῦντος φρούριόν ἐστι Σκάνδα τε καὶ Σαραπανὶς πρὸς τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὁρίοις. πόλεις μέντοι ἀξιολογώταται ἐνταῦθά εἰσι Ῥο-
19 δόπολις καὶ Μοχήρησις. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Λαζικῆς μὲν τὰ ὅριά ἐστι μέχρι ἐς ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἔρημον δὲ ξυμβαίνει ἀνθρώπων τὴν χώραν εἶναι. ταύτην προσοικοῦσι

Tzani among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangium And at first its course inclines to the right for a great distance, and its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the territory of the Iberians lies on the right, and the end of the Caucasus lies directly opposite In that place many nations have their homes, and among them the Alani and Abasgi, who are Christians and friends of the Romans from of old, also the Zechi, and after them the Huns who bear the name Saberi But when this river reaches the point which marks the termination of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters also are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of Phasis instead of Boas[1], and it becomes a navigable stream as far as the so-called Euxine Sea into which it empties ; and on either side of it lies Lazica. Now on the right of the stream particularly the whole country for a great distance is populated by the people of Lazica as far as the boundary of Iberia. For all the villages of the Lazi are here beyond the river, and towns have been built there from of old, among which are Archaeopolis, a very strong place, and Sebastopolis, and the fortress of Pitius, and Scanda and Sarapanis over against the boundary of Iberia Moreover there are two cities of the greatest importance in that region, Rhodopolis and Mocheresis But on the left of the river, while the country belongs to Lazica as far as one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, the land is without human habitation Adjoining this land is the home of the Romans who

[1] Procopius seems to have confused two separate and distinct rivers

Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν χώραν οἳ Ποντικοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται.
20 ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λαζικῆς ὁρίοις,[1] ἔνθα δὴ ἄνθρωποι
οὐδαμῆ ᾤκηντο, Πέτραν Ἰουστινιανὸς [ὁ] βασι-
λεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐμὲ χρόνοις ἐδείματο.
21 οὗπερ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Τζίβος ἐπικαλούμενος, τὸ
μονοπώλιον καταστησάμενος, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς
ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, αἴτιος τῆς ἀποστάσεως
22 Λαζοῖς γέγονεν. ἐκ δὲ Πέτρας πόλεως ἰόντι εὐθὺς
πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον οἱ Ῥωμαίων ὅροι ἐκδέχονται,
χωρία τε πολυάνθρωπα ἐνταῦθά ἐστι, τό τε
Ῥιζαῖον καλούμενον καὶ Ἀθῆναι ἄλλα τε ἄττα
23 μέχρι Τραπεζουντίων. ἡνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐπηγάγοντο
Χοσρόην Λαζοί, Βόαν ποταμὸν διαβάντες τόν τε
Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες ἐς Πέτραν ἦλθον, τῷ μὲν
λόγῳ προνοήσοντες ὡς μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόνῳ
πολλῷ διαπορθμεύεσθαι ἀναγκάζωνται ποταμὸν
Φᾶσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα οἰκία Πέρ-
24 σαις ἐνδείκνυσθαι. καίτοι[2] δύσοδος πανταχόθι
Λαζική ἐστιν ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσι-
25 δος. σκόπελοι γὰρ ὑπερφυεῖς ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τῆς
χώρας ὄντες στενωποὺς ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνταῦθα
ποιοῦνται· κλεισούρας ἑλληνίζοντες τὰς τοιαύτας
26 ὁδοὺς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τότε Λαζικὴ
ἀφύλακτος ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, ῥᾷστα δὴ ἐν Πέτρᾳ
ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι Λαζοῖς ἐγένοντο Πέρσαι.
27 Νῦν δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης μαθὼν τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον
τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε πέμψαι μέν τινας οἳ
φυλάξουσι τὸν στενωπὸν ἰσχυρότατα ὃς ἐκτὸς
Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἐστι, τὴν μέντοι προσεδρείαν

[1] ὁρίοις P χωρίοις V(
[2] καίτοι Dindorf : καί τι P.

are called Pontic. Now it was in the territory of Lazica, in the part which was altogether uninhabited, that the Emperor Justinian founded the city of Petra in my own time. This was the place where John, surnamed Tzibus, established the monopoly, as I have told in the previous narrative,[1] and gave cause to the Lazi to revolt. And as one leaves the city of Petra going southward, the Roman territory commences immediately, and there are populous towns there, and one which bears the name of Rhizaeum, also Athens and certain others as far as Trapezus. Now when the Lazi brought in Chosroes, they crossed the River Boas and came to Petra keeping the Phasis on the right, because, as they said, they would thus provide against being compelled to spend much time and trouble in ferrying the men across the River Phasis, but in reality they did not wish to display their own homes to the Persians. And yet Lazica is everywhere difficult to traverse both to the right and to the left of the River Phasis. For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes "clisurae" when they put their own word into a Greek form[2]) But since at that time Lazica happened to be unguarded, the Persians had reached Petra very easily with the Lazi who were their guides.

But on this occasion Goubazes, upon learning of the advance of the Persians, directed Dagisthaeus to send some men to guard with all their strength the pass which is below the River Phasis, and he

[1] Cf. Book II. xv. 11.

[2] Latin *clausura*, "a narrow shut-in road."

ὡς ἥκιστα λύειν, ἕως τήν τε Πέτραν καὶ Πέρσας
28 τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξελεῖν δύνωνται. αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ
τῷ Κόλχων στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Λαζικῆς ἔσχατα ἦλθεν,
ὡς τὸν ἐνταῦθα στενωπὸν διαφυλάξων δυνάμει τῇ
29 πάσῃ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον Ἀλανούς τε
καὶ Σαβείρους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οἵπερ
ὡμολόγησαν κεντηναρίων τριῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀδῄωτον
Λαζοῖς ξυμφυλάξειν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν
οὕτω καταστήσεσθαι ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον ὡς μηδὲ
Πέρσαις ἐνθένδε τὸ λοιπὸν ἰέναι δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι.
ταῦτά τε σφίσι τὰ χρήματα βασιλέα Γουβάζης
30 ὑπέσχετο δώσειν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀνενεγκὼν ἐς
βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν τὰ ξυγκείμενα τοῖς τε
βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἱκέτευε πέμπειν
καὶ Λαζοῖς ἄγαν κεκακωμένοις παραψυχὴν
31 προέσθαι τινά. ἔφασκε δὲ καί οἱ αὐτῷ τὸ
δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὀφείλειν ἐνιαυτῶν δέκα,
ἐπεὶ ἐν τοῖς σιλεντιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενος
οὐδὲν κεκομισμένος ἐνθένδε εἴη, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐς γῆν
32 τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἦλθε.[1] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰου-
στινιανὸς ἐπιτελέσειν μὲν διενοεῖτο τὴν αἴτησιν,
ἐπιγενομένης δέ οἱ ἀσχολίας τινὸς οὐκ ἔπεμψε τῷ
καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τὰ χρήματα. Γουβάζης μὲν
οὖν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

33 Δαγισθαῖος δὲ (ἦν γάρ τις νεανίας πόλεμόν τε
διενεγκεῖν Μηδικὸν οὐδαμῇ ἀξιόχρεως) τοῖς
34 παροῦσιν οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως ἐχρῆτο. δέον οὖν
ἀμέλει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν
στεῖλαι, τάχα δ' ἂν που καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ
τούτῳ παραγενέσθαι, ἐς ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ
τι πάρεργον διαχειρίζων, ἔπεμψε μόνους· αὐτὸς

[1] ἦλθε VGP : ἐσῆλθε W.

bade him not on any account to abandon the siege until they should be able to capture Petra and the Persians in it. He himself meanwhile with the whole Colchian army came to the frontier of Lazica, in order to devote all his strength to guarding the pass there. Now it happened that long before he had persuaded the Alani and Sabeni to form an alliance with him, and they had agreed for three centenaria not merely to assist the Lazi in guarding the land from plunder, but also to render Iberia so destitute of men that not even the Persians would be able to come in from there in the future. And Goubazes had promised that the emperor would give them this money. So he reported the agreement to the Emperor Justinian and besought him to send this money for the barbarians and afford the Lazi some consolation in their great distress. He also stated that the treasury owed him his salary for ten years, for though he was assigned a post among the privy counsellors in the palace, he had received no payment from it since the time when Chosroes came into the land of Colchis. And the Emperor Justinian intended to fulfil this request, but some business came up to occupy his attention and he did not send the money at the proper time. So Goubazes was thus engaged.

But Dagisthaeus, being a rather young man and by no means competent to carry on a war against Persia, did not handle the situation properly. For while he ought to have sent certainly the greater part of the army to the pass, and perhaps should have assisted in person in this enterprise, he sent only one hundred men, just as if he were managing a matter of secondary importance. He himself,

δὲ Πέτραν πολιορκῶν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν ἤννυσε, καίπερ τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγων ὄντων κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ἥσσους ἢ πεντα-
35 κόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἦσαν, πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Λαζῶν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τειχομαχούντων βαλλόμενοί τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι μάλιστα πάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, θνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ σφίσιν ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῇ ἀποκεκρίσθαι
36 ξυνέπεσε. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσίν τε καὶ ἀπορίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος διώρυχα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλίγῳ πεποίηνται, ὅ τε ταύτῃ περίβολος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν.
37 ἀλλὰ ξυνέβη τούτου δὴ τοῦ χώρου ἐντὸς οἴκημα εἶναι οὐδὲν τοῦ περιβόλου διεστηκός, ὃ δὴ
38 ἐξικνεῖτο ἐς τὸ πεπτωκὸς ἐφεξῆς ὅλον· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ τείχους πολιορκουμένοις γενόμενον ἐν τῷ
39 ἀσφαλεῖ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον αὐτοὺς καθίστη. ὅπερ Ῥωμαίους ξυνταράξαι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδότες ὡς αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἑτέρωθι ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ῥᾷστα αἱρήσουσιν, εὐέλπιδες πολλῷ
40 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ὁ Δαγισθαῖος βασιλεῖ μὲν τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα ἐδήλου, ἆθλα δέ οἱ τῆς νίκης ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι προὐτείνετο, σημήνας ὅσοις δὴ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ χρῆν βασιλέα δωρήσασθαι· Πέτραν γὰρ
41 αἱρήσειν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Τζάνους· καρτερώτατα τειχομαχοῦντας παρὰ δόξαν ὑφίσταντο, καίπερ ὀλίγοι
42 ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐς ἄγαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἤννυον, ἐπὶ τὸ διορύσσειν αὖθις ἐτράποντο. ἐς τόσον τε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀφί-

moreover, though besieging Petra with the whole army, accomplished nothing, although the enemy were few For while they had been at the beginning not less than fifteen hundred, they had been shot at by Romans and Lazi in their fighting at the wall for a long time, and had made a display of valour such as no others known to us have made, so that many were falling constantly and they were reduced to an exceedingly small number So while the Persians, plunged in despair and at a loss what to do, were remaining quiet, the Romans made a trench along the wall for a short space, and the circuit-wall at this point fell immediately But it happened that inside this space there was a building which did not stand back at all from the circuit-wall, and this reached to the whole length of the fallen portion, thus, taking the place of the wall for the besieged, it rendered them secure none the less. But this was not sufficient greatly to disturb the Romans. For knowing well that by doing the same thing elsewhere they would capture the city with the greatest ease, they became still more hopeful than before. For this reason Dagisthaeus sent word to the emperor of what had come to pass, and proposed that prizes of victory should be in readiness for him, indicating what rewards the emperor should bestow upon himself and his brother, for he would capture Petra after no great time So the Romans and the Tzani made a most vigorous assault upon the wall, but the Persians unexpectedly withstood them, although only a very few were left. And since the Romans were accomplishing nothing by assaulting the wall, they again turned to digging And they went so far in this work that the foundations of the

κοντο ὡς μηκέτι ἐπ' ἐδάφους τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κενοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἑστάναι, πεσούμενα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, αὐτίκα
43 δὴ μάλα. καὶ εἰ μὲν Δαγισθαῖος εὐθὺς ἤθελε πῦρ τοῖς θεμελίοις ἐνάψαι, οἶμαι εὐθυωρὸν σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἁλῶναι· νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως καραδοκῶν ἐλπίδας μέλλων τε ἀεὶ καὶ τρίβων τὸν χρόνον ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.

XXX

1 Μερμερόης δέ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὅρους παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἤμειψε, πρόσω ἐχώρει, ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς χωρίων ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε, τοῦ μή
2 τί οἱ ταύτῃ ἐμπόδισμα ὑπαντιάσαι. Πέτραν γὰρ πόλιν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διασώσασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε, καίτοι καὶ μοῖρά τις
3 τοῦ περιβόλου καταπεπτώκει ἐξαπιναίως. ᾐώρητο γάρ, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται· ἄνδρες τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐθελούσιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει γενόμενοι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἀνεβόων
4 καλλίνικον. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν νεανίας τις Ἀρμένιος γένος,[1] Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱός, ὅνπερ
5 Γούζην ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν. οὗτος ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλὰ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λαζικὴν ὀχυρωμάτων ἐδείματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαγγείλαντος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἦρξεν, ἔμφρων τε βασιλεῖ
6 ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης, Περσῶν σφίσιν

[1] *γένος* P · *γενόμενος* VG

circuit-wall were no longer on solid ground, but stood for the most part over empty space, and, in the nature of things, would fall almost immediately. And if Dagisthaeus had been willing immediately to apply fire to the foundations, I think that the city would have been captured by them straightway; but, as it was, he was awaiting encouragement from the emperor, and so, always hesitating and wasting time, he remained inactive. Such, then, was the course of events in the Roman camp.

XXX

But Mermeroes, after passing the Iberian frontier with the whole Median army, was moving forward with the River Phasis on his right. For he was quite unwilling to go through the country of Lazica, lest any obstacle should confront him there. For he was eager to save the city of Petra and the Persians in it, even though a portion of the circuit-wall had fallen down suddenly. For it had been hanging in the air, as I have said; and volunteers from the Roman army to the number of fifty got inside the city, and raised the shout proclaiming the Emperor Justinian triumphant. These men were led by a young man of Armenian birth, John by name, the son of Thomas whom they used to call by the surname Gouzes. This Thomas had built many of the strongholds about Lazica at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor an intelligent person. Now John, when the Persians joined battle with his men,

ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντων, πληγεὶς αὐτίκα ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ οὐδείς οἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἕτερος
7 ἀμύνων ἦλθε· Πέρσης δὲ ἀνήρ, Μιρράνης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δείσας, Πέρσαις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐπέστελλε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μάλιστα ἔχεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Δαγισθαῖον σταλεὶς θῶπάς τε καὶ ἀπατηλοὺς προὐτείνετο λόγους, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ[1] ὁμολογῶν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. ταύτῃ τε παρακρούσασθαι ἴσχυσεν, ὡς μὴ ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι.[2]

8 Οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ Μερμερόην ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν στενωπόν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλακτήριον ὑπηντίαζον ἐς ἑκατὸν ὄντες, καρτερῶς τε ἠμύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς τῆς εἰσόδου ἀπο-
9 πειρωμένους ἀνέστελλον. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ὑπεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κτεινομένους ἀεὶ ἕτεροι ἐκδεχόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, παντὶ σθένει τὴν
10 εἴσοδον βιαζόμενοι. θνήσκουσι μὲν Πέρσαι πλέον ἢ χίλιοι, κτείνοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπεῖπον, τοῦ τε ὁμίλου σφᾶς βιαζομένου ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνῃ ὀρῶν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς ἀναδραμόντες
11 ἐσώθησαν. ταῦτα Δαγισθαῖος μαθὼν αὐτίκα τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσεν, οὐδὲν τῷ στρατῷ[3] ἐπιστείλας, ἐπὶ Φᾶσίν τε ποταμὸν ἤλαυνε· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες εἵποντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν
12 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπόντες. Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ ποιούμενα κατιδόντες τάς τε πύλας ἀνέῳγον καὶ

[1] *πόνῳ* GP λόγῳ V. [2] *εἶναι* Maltretus : *ἰέναι* MS.
[3] *στρατῷ* VP. *στρατοπέδῳ* G.

was wounded and straightway withdrew to the camp with his followers, since no one else of the Roman army came to support him. Meanwhile the Persian Mirranes who commanded the garrison in Petra, fearing for the city, directed all the Persians to keep guard with the greatest diligence, and he himself went to Dagisthaeus, and addressed him with fawning speeches and deceptive words, agreeing readily to surrender the city not long afterwards. In this way he succeeded in deceiving him so that the Roman army did not immediately enter the city.

Now when the army of Mermeroes came to the pass, the Roman garrison, numbering one hundred men, confronted them there and offered a stalwart resistance, and they held in check their opponents who were attempting the entrance. But the Persians by no means withdrew, but those who fell were constantly replaced by others, and they kept advancing, trying with all their strength to force their way in. Among the Persians more than a thousand perished, but at last the Romans were worn out with killing, and, being forced back by the throng, they withdrew, and running up to the heights of the mountain there were saved. Dagisthaeus, upon learning this, straightway abandoned the siege without giving any commands to the army, and proceeded to the River Phasis, and all the Romans followed him, leaving their possessions behind in the camp. And when the Persians observed what was being done, they opened

ἐπεξελθόντες ἀμφὶ τὰς καλύβας τῶν πολεμίων
13 ἦλθον, ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξαιρήσοντες. Τζάνοι
δὲ (οὐ γὰρ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔτυχον)
ἐβοήθουν ἐνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τρεψάμενοί τε πόνῳ
14 οὐδενὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. Πέρσαι
μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο,[1]
Τζάνοι δὲ λησάμενοι τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον
εὐθὺ τοῦ Ῥιζαίου ἐχώρησαν. ἔνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἀθήνας
ἐλθόντες διὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐπ' οἶκου ἀπεκομί-
σθησαν.

15 Μερμερόης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἐνταῦθα
ἦλθον ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν
ἐνάτῃ· οὗ δὴ ἀπολελειμμένους ἐκ τοῦ Περσῶν
φυλακτηρίου τραυματίας μὲν καὶ ἀπομάχους
γεγενημένους πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους εὗρον,
ἀκραιφνεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν μόνους· οἱ
16 γὰρ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ὧνπερ τὰ
σώματα οἱ περιόντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς οὐδαμῇ
ἔρριψαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὀσμῆς δυσώδει ἀποπνι-
γόμενοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ὡς μή τινα ἐς τὸ
πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἅτε τῶν
17 πλείστων ἀπολωλότων σφίσι, παρέχωνται. ὅ τε
Μερμερόης ἐπιτωθάζων δακρύων τε καὶ θρήνων
ἀξίαν Ῥωμαίων τὴν πολιτείαν ἔφασκεν εἶναι, οἷς
γε δὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἀσθενείας περιεστήκει τὰ πράγ-
ματα, ὡς πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀτειχίστους
18 Πέρσας μηδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἐξελεῖν δεδυνῆσθαι. καὶ
τοῦ μὲν περιβόλου ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι ὅσα κατα-
πεπτώκει ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε
τίτανον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα οὔτε τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐς τὴν
οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει

[1] ἐγένοντο P : ἔκτειναν VG.

then gates and came forth, and approached the tents of the enemy in order to capture the camp But the Tzani, who had not followed after Dagisthaeus, as it happened, rushed out to defend the camp, and they routed the enemy without difficulty and killed many. So the Persians fled inside their fortifications, and the Tzani, after plundering the Roman camp proceeded straight for Rhizaeum. And from there they came to Athens and betook themselves to their homes through the territory of the Trapezuntines

And Mermeroes and the Median army came there on the ninth day after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus, and in the city they found left of the Persian garrison three hundred and fifty men wounded and unfit for fighting, and only one hundred and fifty men unhurt, for all the rest had perished Now the survivors had in no case thrown the bodies of the fallen outside the fortifications, but though stifled by the evil stench, they held out in a manner beyond belief, in order that they might not afford the enemy any encouragement for the prosecution of the siege, by letting them know that most of their number had perished. And Mermeroes remarked by way of a taunt that the Roman state was worthy of tears and lamentation, because they had come to such a state of weakness that they had been unable by any device to capture one hundred and fifty Persians without a wall. And he was eager to build up the portions of the circuit wall which had fallen down, but since at the moment he had neither lime nor any of the other necessary materials for the building ready at hand, he devised the following plan.

19 τάδε. θυλάκους λινοῦς, οἷς δὴ Πέρσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφίσιν ἐσεκομίσαντο ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα, ψάμμου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐς τῶν λίθων τὴν χώραν ἐτίθετο, οἳ δὴ ἐνταῦθα βαλλόμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ
20 τοίχου[1] ἐγίνοντο. καὶ τρισχιλίους μὲν τῶν μαχίμων ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, οἵσπερ τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐκ ἐς χρόνου κατέθετο μῆκος, ἐπιστείλας τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν.

21 Ἐπεί τέ οἱ ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἰόντι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐγίνετο πόρος, ἅπαντα ἐν Πέτρᾳ λιπόντι ἅπερ ἐπιφερόμενος ἐξ Ἰβηρίας ὁ στρατὸς ἔτυχεν, ἄλλην τινὰ πορείαν ἰέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν διενοεῖτο, ἵνα δὴ ἀνθρώπους οἰκεῖν ἔμαθεν,
22 ὅπως ληιζόμενοι ἀποζῆν δύνωνται. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἐν Λαζοῖς λογίμων, Φούβελις ὄνομα, Πέρσας αὐλιζομένους ἐνήδρευσε, Δαγισθαῖον ἅμα Ῥωμαίων δισχιλίοις ἐπαγόμενος, οἳ δὴ τῶν Περσῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἵππους νέμοντάς τινας ἔκτειναν, ἵππους τε λησάμενοι δι' ὀλίγου τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Μερμερόης τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐνθένδε ᾔει.

23 Ὁ δὲ Γουβάζης, μαθὼν ὅσα δὴ Ῥωμαίοις ἔν τε τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ τῷ στενωπῷ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι, οὐδ' ὡς ἔδεισεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῷ κατ' αὐτὸν στενωπῷ φυλακὴν εἴασεν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς
24 ἐλπίδος οἰόμενος εἶναι. ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὡς, ἢν καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ βιασάμενοι Πέρσαι τὸν στενωπὸν διαβῆναι καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ

[1] τοίχου GP: τείχους V.

Filling with sand the linen bags in which the Persians had carried their provisions into the land of Colchis, he laid them in the place of the stones, and the bags thus arranged took the place of the wall And choosing out three thousand of his able fighting men, he left them there, depositing with them victuals for no great length of time, and commanding them to attend to the building of the fortifications, then he himself with all the rest of the army turned back and marched away.

But since, if he went from there by the same road, no means of provisioning his army was available, since he had left everything in Petra which had been brought in by the army from Iberia, he planned to go by another route through the mountains, where he learned that the country was inhabited, in order that by foraging there he might be able to live off the land In the course of this journey one of the notables among the Lazi, Phoubelis by name, laid an ambush for the Persians while camping for the night, bringing with him Dagisthaeus with two thousand of the Romans; and these men, making a sudden attack, killed some of the Persians who were grazing their horses, and after securing the horses as plunder they shortly withdrew. Thus, then, Mermeroes with the Median army departed from there.

But Goubazes, upon learning what had befallen the Romans both at Petra and at the pass, did not even so become frightened, nor did he give up the guarding of the pass where he was, considering that their hope centred in that place. For he understood that, even if the Persians had been able by forcing back the Romans on the left of the River Phasis to cross over the pass and get into Petra, they could

γενέσθαι δεδύνηνται, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνθένδε Λαζῶν τῇ χώρᾳ προστρίψαιντο βλάβος, Φᾶσιν διαβῆναι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ἔχοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ νηῶν οὐ
25 παρουσῶν σφίσιν. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἱκανώτατα ἔχει, εὔρους δὲ ἐπὶ
26 πλεῖστον διήκει. τῆς μέντοι ῥύμης αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον περίεστιν ὥστε δὴ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπὶ μακρότατον κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμιγνύμενος. ὕδωρ ἀμέλει πότιμον τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ναυτιλλομένοις ὑδρεύεσθαι πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ
27 πελάγει. καὶ φυλακτήρια μέντοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς πεποίηνται πανταχόθι Λαζοί, τοῦ μηδὲ ναυσὶ διαπορθμευομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπόβασιν ἐς τὴν γῆν εἶναι.

28 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Σαβείρων μὲν τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ξυγκείμενα χρήματα ἔπεμψε, Γουβάζην
29 δὲ καὶ Λαζοὺς χρήμασιν ἄλλοις δεδώρηται. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐς Λαζικὴν πέμψας, οἳ οὔπω ἀφικόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχον. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ῥεκίθαγγος ἐκ Θρᾴκης, ἀνὴρ ξυνετός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πη εἶχε.

30 Γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Μερμερόης ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ὥσπερ μοι εἴρηται, Πέτραν ἐνθένδε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμπιπλάναι ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἐπαρκέσειν γὰρ τῷ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίῳ ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντι τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐδαμῇ ᾤετο ἅπερ εἰσκομισάμενοι ξὺν
31 αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ σφίσι γινόμενα μόλις ἀπέχρη ἐς τὴν δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ταύτῃ, οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τρισμυρίοις[1] οὖσι,[2] καὶ ἀπ'

[1] *τρισμυρίοις* G. *τρισμυρίων* VP. [2] *οὖσι* VG *οὔσῃ* P

thereby inflict no injury upon the land of the Lazi, since they were utterly unable to cross the Phasis, in particular because no ships were at their disposal For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a very great distance, without mingling at all with the sea-water Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of the sea Moreover, the Lazi have erected fortresses all along the right bank of the river, in order that, even when the enemy are ferried across in boats, they may not be able to disembark on the land

The Emperor Justinian at this time sent to the nation of the Saberi the money which had been agreed upon, and he rewarded Goubazes and the Lazi with additional sums of money. And it happened that long before this time he had sent another considerable army also to Lazica, which had not yet arrived there. The commander of this army was Rhecithancus, from Thrace, a man of discretion and a capable warrior Such then was the course of these events.

Now when Mermeroes got into the mountains, as I have said, he was anxious to fill Petra with provisions from there For he did not by any means think that the victuals which they had brought in with them would suffice for the garrison there, amounting to three thousand men But since the supplies they found along the way barely sufficed for the provisioning of that army, which numbered no less than thirty thousand, and since on this account

αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Πέτραν οἱοί τε ἦσαν, λογισάμενος εὕρισκε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὸ μὲν πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος, ὀλίγους δέ τινας ἐνταῦθα μεῖναι, οἳ δὴ ἔμελλον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν πολλὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐν Πέτρᾳ φυλακτήριον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις αὐτοὶ διαρκῶς
32 χρῆσθαι· ἄνδρας οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους
33 τε τρεῖς καὶ Φάβριζον κατεστήσατο. πλείους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα λείπεσθαι οὔ οἱ ἔδοξεν ἐπάναγκες εἶναι, πολεμίων οὐδαμῆ ὄντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσαρμενίαν ἐλθὼν ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δούβιος χωρίοις.
34 Οἱ δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι, ἐπεὶ ἐγγυτέρω τῶν Λαζικῆς ἐσχάτων ἦλθον, παρὰ ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἅπαντες, ἔνθεν τε κατ' ὀλί-
35 γους περιιόντες ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. ὧν δὴ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστελλε βοηθεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδῇ· δράσειν γὰρ σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους κακόν τι μέγα δυνατὰ
36 ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, παντί τε τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦει, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ἕως ἐς χῶρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ οἱ Λαζοὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τοῦ
37 ποταμοῦ ὄχθῃ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Φᾶσις διαβατὸς ὤν, ὅπερ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν καὶ Πέρσαι ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ὡς ἥκιστα ὑπετόπαζον, Λαζοὶ μέντοι ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐνταῦθα διέβησαν ἐξαπιναίως καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ· Πέρσαι δὲ ἄνδρας χιλίους τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀπολεξάμενοι ἔπεμψαν, ὡς

they were able to send nothing at all of consequence to Petra, upon consideration he found it better for them that the greater part of the army should depart from the land of Colchis, and that some few should remain there, who were to convey to the garrison in Petra the most of the provisions which they might find, while using the rest to maintain themselves comfortably. He therefore selected five thousand men and left them there, appointing as commanders over them Phabrizus and three others. For it seemed to him unnecessary to leave more men there, since there was no enemy at all. And he himself with the rest of the army came into Persarmenia and remained quietly in the country around Doubios

Now the five thousand, upon coming nearer to the frontier of Lazica, encamped in a body beside the Phasis River, and from there they went about in small bands and plundered the neighbouring country. Now when Goubazes perceived this, he sent word to Dagisthaeus to hasten there to his assistance: for it would be possible for them to do the enemy some great harm And he did as directed, moving forward with the whole Roman army with the River Phasis on the left, until he came to the place where the Lazi where encamped on the opposite bank of the river Now it happened that the Phasis could be forded at this point, a fact which neither the Romans nor the Persians suspected in the least because of their lack of familiarity with these regions; but the Lazi knew it well, and they made the crossing suddenly and joined the Roman army And the Persians chose out a thousand men of repute among them and sent them forth, that no one might advance

μή τις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ἴοι
38 ὥνπερ δύο ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ προτερήσαντες καὶ
παρὰ δόξαν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκότες τὸν
39 πάντα λόγον ἐσήγγειλαν. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοί τε
καὶ Λαζοὶ τοῖς χιλίοις ἐξαπιναίως ἐπέστησαν,
οὐδείς τε αὐτῶν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ζωγρή-
σαντες οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Γουβάζην καὶ Δαγισθαῖον τό
τε μέτρον τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ
μῆκος μαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ
40 παρόντα ἔχοι. ἅραντες οὖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν, διαριθμούμενοι ὅπως πόρρω
που τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιπέσοιεν σφίσι· τετρακισχί-
41 λιοι δὲ καὶ μύριοι ἦσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι
πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες μακρόν τινα ὕπνον
ἐκάθευδον· τόν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν ἀπόρευτον ᾠοντο
εἶναι καὶ τοὺς χιλίους, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ὑπαντιά-
42 σαντος, ἐπὶ μακρότατόν πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι. Ῥωμαῖοι
δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Λαζοὶ ὄρθρου βαθέος ἀπροσδόκητοι
ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ὕπνον αἱρουμένους
εὗρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτι ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγηγερμένους καὶ
43 γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων κειμένους. διὸ δὴ
αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη, ἀλλ'
οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον,
τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐζώγρησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐν τοῖς
καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕνα τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ὀλίγοι
44 δέ τινες ἐν σκότῳ διαφεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. τό
τε στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Λαζοὶ αἱροῦσι καὶ
τὰ σημεῖα πάντα, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα
μεγάλα ἐλήισαντο, καὶ ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμιόνων
45 μέγα τι χρῆμα. ἐπὶ μακρότατον δὲ τὴν δίωξιν
ποιησάμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας πόρρω ἀφίκοντο. ἔνθα

against the camp to harm it. And two of this force, who had gone out ahead of their fellows to reconnoitre, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy and informed them of the whole situation The Romans, therefore, and the Lazi fell suddenly upon the thousand men, and not one of them succeeded in escaping, but the most of them were slain, while some also were captured, and through these the men of Goubazes and Dagisthaeus succeeded in learning the numbers of the Median army and the length of the journey to them and the condition in which they then were They therefore broke camp and marched against them with their whole army, calculating so that they would fall upon them well on in the night, their own force amounted to fourteen thousand men Now the Persians, having no thought of an enemy in their minds, were enjoying a long sleep, for they supposed that the river was impassable, and that the thousand men, with no one to oppose them, were making a long march somewhere But the Romans and Lazi at early dawn unexpectedly fell upon them, and they found some still buried in slumber and others just roused from sleep and lying defenceless upon their beds. Not one of them, therefore, thought of resistance, and the majority were caught and killed, while some also were captured by the enemy, among whom happened to be one of the commanders, only a few escaped in the darkness and were saved And the Romans and Lazi captured the camp and all the standards, and they also secured many weapons and a great deal of money as plunder, besides great numbers of horses and mules. And pursuing them for a very great distance they came well into Iberia There they happened upon

δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ Περσῶν ἐντυχόντες πολλοὺς
46 ἔκτειναν. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Λαζικῆς Πέρσαι ἀπήλλαξαν, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ καὶ Λαζοὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἄλευρα παμπληθῆ ἐνταῦθα εὑρόντες ἅπαντα ἔκαυσαν ἅπερ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηγά-
47 γοντο ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς Πέτραν ἐσκομίσονται.[1] Λαζῶν τε πολλοὺς ἐλίποντο ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, ὡς μηκέτι Πέρσαις ἐς Πέτραν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι δυνατὰ εἴη, ξύν τε τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμα-
48 λώτοις ἀνέστρεφον. καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Πέρσας ἐκεχειρίας, τρίτου καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.

49 Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε. τηνικάδε γὰρ Θεοδώρᾳ τῇ βασιλίδι ἐπεγένετο ἡ
50 τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου. τῶν μέντοι πρόσθεν ἀξιωμάτων ἀνασώσασθαι οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου τιμῆς ἱερεὺς ἔμεινε· καίτοι φάντασμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγεγόνει πολλάκις ὡς
51 εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφίξεται. φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡραΐζεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀπὸ μειζόνων τε καὶ ὑψηλοτέρων ἐλπίδων κρεμᾶν οἷς δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾶς φύσεως τὴν διάνοιαν
52 ἑστάναι ξυμβαίνει. καὶ τούτῳ γοῦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τερατολόγοι φαντάσεις ἐς ἀεὶ προὔλεγον καὶ ὡς χρὴν αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου
53 ἀμπίσχεσθαι σχῆμα. ἦν δέ τις ἱερεὺς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Αὔγουστος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ τῶν κειμηλίων
54 τοῦ τῆς Σοφίας ἱεροῦ φυλακὴν εἶχεν. ἡνίκα τοίνυν Ἰωάννης ἀποθριξάμενος τῆς ἱερωσύνης

[1] ἐσκομίσονται VP : ἐσκομίσωνται G.

certain others of the Persians also and slew a great number. Thus the Persians departed from Lazica; and the Romans and Lazi found there all the supplies, including great quantities of flour, which the barbarians had brought in from Iberia, in order to transport them to Petra, and they burned them all. And they left a large number of Lazi in the pass, so that it might no longer be possible for the Persians to carry in supplies to Petra, and they returned with all the plunder and the captives. And the fourth year of the truce between the Romans and Persians came to an end, being the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And John the Cappadocian one year before this came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor For at that time the Empress Theodora had reached the term of her life. However, he was quite unable to recover any of his former dignities, but he continued to hold the priestly honour against his will; and yet the vision had often come to the man that he would arrive at royalty. For the divine power is accustomed to tempt those whose minds are not solidly grounded by nature, by holding before their vision, on great and lofty hopes, that which is counted splendid among men At any rate the marvel-mongers were always predicting to this John many such imaginary things, and especially that he was bound to be clothed in the garment of Augustus Now there was a certain priest in Byzantium, Augustus by name, who guarded the treasures of the temple of Sophia. So when John had been shorn

and declared worthy of the priestly dignity by force, inasmuch as he had no garment becoming a priest, he had been compelled by those who were in charge of this business to put on the cloak and the tunic of this Augustus who was near by, and in this, I suppose, his prophecy reached its fulfilment