ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΚΤΟΣ

XVI

Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ναρσῆς ξὺν ἀμφοτέροις στρατεύμασιν ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀμφὶ πόλιν Φίρμον, ἣ κεῖται μὲν παρὰ[1] τὴν ἠϊόνα τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, ἀπέχει δὲ Αὐξίμου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδόν. 2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχουσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅπη ποτὲ σφίσι πρότερον 3 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰοῦσι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει.[2] ἦν τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀρίμινον πολιορκοῦντας χωρήσειαν, τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑπώπτευον μὴ κατὰ νώτου ἰόντες σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένους τὰ ἀνήκεστα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, δράσωσι, καὶ ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐδείμαινον μὴ τῇ 4 ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεινόν τι πάθωσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι Ἰωάννῃ χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες ἐποιοῦντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐπεκάλουν γάρ οἱ ὅτι θράσει

[1] παρὰ K: περὶ L.
[2] ξυνοίσει Hoeschel: ξυνοίσειν MSS.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK VI

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

XVI

Belisarius and Narses came together with their two armies near the city of Firmum,[1] which lies on the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and is one day's journey distant from the city of Auximus. In that place they began to hold conferences with all the commanders of the army, considering at what particular point it would be most to their advantage to make the first attack upon the enemy. For if, on the one hand, they should proceed against the forces besieging Ariminum, they suspected that the Goths in Auximus would in all probability, taking them in the rear, inflict irreparable harm both upon them and upon the Romans who lived in that region; but, on the other hand, they were anxious concerning the besieged, dreading lest by reason of their lack of provisions they should suffer some great misfortune. Now the majority were hostile toward John, and made their speeches accordingly; and the charge they brought against him was that he had been

[1] Modern Fermo.

τε ἀλογίστῳ καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἔρωτι ἐς τόσον κινδύνου ἀφίκοιτο, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει οὐδὲ ᾗ Βελισάριος ἐξηγεῖτο ἐῴη τὰ τοῦ πολέμου περαίνεσθαι. Ναρσῆς δὲ (καὶ γάρ οἱ φίλτατος ἦν Ἰωάννης[1] ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων) δείσας μὴ Βελισάριος πρὸς τὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰρημένα ἐνδοὺς ἐν δευτέρῳ τὰ ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ πράγματα θῆται ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

6 "Οὐκ ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι διαλογίζεσθε, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἄν τις εἰκότως ἀμφιγνοήσειε τὴν βουλὴν ἔχετε, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς πάρεστι καὶ τοῖς ἐς πολέμου πεῖραν οὐδεμίαν ἐλθοῦσι τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. 7 εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὅ τε κίνδυνος ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ βλάβος ἑκατέρωθεν τοῖς γε ἀποτυχοῦσιν ἀντίπαλον, βουλεύεσθαί τε ἱκανῶς ἄξιον καὶ λογισμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἰοῦσιν[2] οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὴν 8 ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν. ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν ἐς Αὔξιμον προσβολὴν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον ἀποθέσθαι βουλοίμεθα, τὴν ζημίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις οὐδαμῶς· ἔξομεν· τί γὰρ ἂν μεταξὺ τὸ διαλλάσσον εἴη; ἐν Ἀριμίνῳ δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, σφαλέντες, εἰ μὴ λίαν πικρὸν εἰπεῖν ᾖ, τὴν 9 Ῥωμαίων ἰσχὺν καταλύσομεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐς τὰς σὰς ἐντολὰς ὕβρισεν, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, πολλήν γε τὴν δίκην ἔχεις παρ' ἐκείνου λαβών, ἐπεί σοι πάρεστι σώζειν τε τὸν ἐπταικότα καὶ

[1] ἰωάννης K: om. L.
[2] ἰοῦσιν K: ποιοῦσιν L.

moved by unreasoning daring and a desire to gain great sums of money to place himself in his present dangerous position, and that he would not allow the operations of the war to be carried out in due order nor in the manner prescribed by Belisarius. But Narses, who loved John above all other men, beginning to be fearful lest Belisarius should give way to the words of the officers and treat the situation at Ariminum as of secondary importance, spoke as follows:

"Fellow officers, you are not debating a question of the customary sort, nor are you holding this council regarding a situation about which one would naturally be in doubt, but in circumstances where it is possible even for those who have had no experience of war to make their choice offhand and in so doing to choose the better course. For if it seems to be true that each of these two alternatives offers to those who fail an equal degree of danger and evenly balanced possibilities of mischief, it is altogether worth while to deliberate and to go most thoroughly into the arguments, and only then to make our decision regarding the situation before us. But if we should wish to put off the assault upon Auximus to some other time, the penalty we shall suffer will involve in no way any vital interest of ours; for what difference could arise during the interval? But if we fail at Ariminum, we shall in all probability, if it is not too bitter a thing to say, shatter the strength of the Romans. Now if John treated your commands with insolence, most excellent Belisarius, the atonement you have already exacted from him is surely ample, since it is now in your power either to save him in his reverse or to abandon

τοῖς πολεμίοις προΐεσθαι. σκόπει δὲ μὴ τὰς ποινὰς ὧν Ἰωάννης ἀγνοήσας ἥμαρτε παρὰ βασιλέως τε καὶ ἡμῶν λάβῃς. εἰ γὰρ νῦν Ἀρίμινον ἐξέλωσι Γότθοι, στρατηγόν τε αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίων δραστήριον καὶ στράτευμα ὅλον καὶ πόλιν κατήκοον βασιλεῖ δορυάλωτον πεποιῆσθαι ξυμβήσεται. καὶ οὐκ ἄχρι τούτου στήσεται τὸ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπασαν καταστῆσαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δυνήσεται τύχην. οὐτωσὶ γὰρ λογίζου περὶ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς πλήθει μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμῶν παρὰ πολὺ προὔχουσιν, ἐς ἀνανδρίαν δὲ οἷς πολλάκις ἐσφάλησαν ἐμπεπτώκασιν.[1] εἰκότως· τὸ γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν ἀφείλετο. ἢν τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παρόντι εὐημερήσωσι, τό τε φρόνημα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπολήψονται καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου μόνον ἡμῖν τῆς τόλμης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ μειζόνως τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε διοίσουσι. φιλοῦσι γὰρ οἱ τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλασσόμενοι τῶν οὔπω δεδυστυχηκότων ἀμείνους ἀεὶ τὰς γνώμας εἶναι." Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.

Στρατιώτης δέ τις ἐξ Ἀριμίνου λαθὼν τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν φυλακὴν[2] ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ γράμματα ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰωάννης ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Ἅπαντα ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐπιλελοιπέναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μήτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀντέχειν ἡμᾶς ἴσθι μήτε τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι οἵους τε εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἀκουσίους ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ πόλιν τήνδε τοῖς πο-

[1] ἐμπεπτώκασιν K: ἐκπεπτώκασιν L.
[2] τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν φυλακὴν K: τοὺς βαρβάρους L.

him to the enemy. But see that you do not exact from the emperor and from us the penalty for mistakes committed by John through ignorance. For if the Goths capture Ariminum at the present juncture, it will be their good fortune to have made captive a capable Roman general, as well as a whole army and a city subject to the emperor. And the calamity will not stop with this, but it will also have such weight as to determine the fortune of the war in every field. For you should reason thus regarding the enemy, that they are still, even at the present time, far superior to us in the number of their soldiers, and they have lost their courage only because of the many reverses they have suffered. And this is natural; for the adversity of fortune has taken away all their confidence. If, therefore, they meet with success at the present time, they will at no distant date recover their spirit and thereafter they will carry on this war with a boldness, not merely equal to ours, but actually much greater. For it is a way with those who are freeing themselves from a difficult situation always to have a better heart than those who have not yet met with disaster." Thus spoke Narses.

At this time a soldier who had escaped from Ariminum by slipping through the guard of the barbarians came into the camp and shewed Belisarius a letter which John had written to him, conveying the following message: "Know that for a long time all our provisions have been exhausted, that we are no longer able either to hold out against the populace or to ward off our assailants, and that within seven days we shall unwillingly surrender both ourselves

16 λεμίοις ἐγχειριεῖν· περαιτέρω γὰρ βιάζεσθαι τὴν
παροῦσαν ἀνάγκην ἥκιστα ἔχομεν, ἥνπερ ἀπολο-
γεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ἤν τι οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς δράσωμεν,
17 ἀξιόχρεων οἶμαι." Ἰωάννης μὲν ἔγραψεν ὧδε.
Βελισάριος δὲ διηπορεῖτό τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχανίαν
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξέπιπτε. περί τε γὰρ τοῖς πολι-
ορκουμένοις ἐδείμαινε καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ πολε-
μίους ὑπώπτευε δηώσειν μὲν ἀδεέστερον ἅπαντα
περιιόντας τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, σφῶν δὲ κατόπισθεν
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνεδρεύσοντας, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ἡνίκα ἂν τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσμίξειαν, πολλά τε
κακὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, διεργάσεσθαι.
18 ἔπειτα μέντοι ἐποίει τάδε. Ἀράτιον μὲν ξὺν
χιλίοις ἀνδράσιν αὐτοῦ ἔλιπεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πρὸς τῇ
θαλάσσῃ στρατόπεδον ποιήσονται, πόλεως Αὐξί-
19 μου σταδίους διακοσίους ἀπέχον. οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευε
μήτε πη ἐξανισταμένους ἐνθένδε ἰέναι μήτε δια-
μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου ἀμυνομένους, ἢν ἐκεῖνοί ποτε ἐπ'
20 αὐτοὺς ἴωσι. ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς βαρβάρους μάλιστα
ἤλπιζεν ἄγχιστά που στρατοπεδευομένων Ῥω-
μαίων ἔν τε Αὐξίμῳ ἡσυχῇ μενεῖν καὶ οὔποτε
21 κακουργήσοντας σφίσιν ἔψεσθαι. στρατιὰν δὲ
ἀξιολογωτάτην ξὺν ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν, ἧς Ἡρω-
διανός τε καὶ Οὐλίαρις καὶ Ναρσῆς Ἀρατίου
22 ἀδελφὸς ἦρχον. αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ τῷ στόλῳ Ἰλδί-
γερ ἐφειστήκει, ᾧ[1] δὴ εὐθὺ Ἀριμίνου Βελισάριος
ἐπέστελλε[2] πλεῖν, φυλασσομένῳ[3] ὅπως μὴ μακρὰν
ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταίρειν ἐς

[1] ᾧ Krašeninnikov: ὃ K, ὃν D.
[2] ἐπέστελλε K: ἐκέλευε L.
[3] φυλασσομένῳ K: φυλασσομένους L.

and this city to the enemy; for beyond this time we are absolutely unable to overcome the necessity which is upon us, and this necessity, I think, will be a sufficient apology in our behalf, if we do anything which is unseemly." Thus, then, did John write. But Belisarius, on his part, was sorely perplexed and plunged into the greatest uncertainty. For while he was fearful concerning the besieged, he suspected, at the same time, that the enemy in Auximus would overrun the whole country round about and plunder it with never a fear, and also that they would ambush his own army from behind at every opportunity, and especially whenever he joined battle with his opponents, and would thus in all probability do the Romans great and irreparable harm. Finally, however, he did as follows. He left Aratius with a thousand men there, instructing them to make a camp by the sea, at a distance of two hundred stades from Auximus. These troops he commanded neither to move away from that position nor to fight a decisive action with the enemy, except in so far as to drive them off from the camp, if they should ever make an attack upon it. For he hoped by this course to make it certain that the barbarians, seeing Romans encamped close by, would remain quietly in Auximus and never follow his own army to do it harm. And he despatched by sea a very considerable army commanded by Herodian, Uliaris and Narses the brother of Aratius. But Ildiger was appointed commander-in-chief of the expedition, and he was instructed by Belisarius to sail straight for Ariminum, taking care not to attempt putting in to shore near the city

τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν ἐγχειρήσωσιν· ὁδῷ γὰρ αὐτοὺς
23 πορεύεσθαι τῆς ἠιόνος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. καὶ
στρατιὰν μὲν ἄλλην, ἧς Μαρτῖνος ἦρχε, ταῖς
ναυσὶ ταύταις παρακολουθοῦντας κατὰ τὴν παρα-
λίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, ἐντειλάμενος, ἐπειδὰν ἄγχιστα
τῶν πολεμίων ἵκωνται, πυρὰ πλείονα καὶ οὐ κατὰ
λόγον τοῦ στρατοῦ καίειν, δόκησίν τε πλήθους
24 πολλῷ πλείονος τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρέχεσθαι. αὐ-
τὸς δὲ ἄλλην ὁδὸν τῆς ἠιόνος ἀπωτάτω οὖσαν ξύν
τε Ναρσῇ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διὰ πόλεως
Οὐρβισαλίας ᾔει, ἣν δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
χρόνοις οὕτως Ἀλάριχος καθεῖλεν ὥστε ἄλλο γε
αὐτῇ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀπολέλειπται τοῦ πρότερον
κόσμου, ὅτι μὴ πύλης μιᾶς καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς
τοῦ ἐδάφους λείψανόν τι βραχύ.

XVII

Ἐνταῦθά μοι ἰδεῖν θέαμα ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε.
ἡνίκα ὁ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸς ἐς Πικηνοὺς
ἦλθε, γέγονεν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ταραχή τις πολλὴ
2 τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. τῶν τε γυναικῶν αἱ μὲν
ἔφευγον ἐξαπιναίως ὅπη αὐτῶν ἑκάστῃ δυνατὰ
ἐγεγόνει,[1] αἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμεναι ἤγοντο κόσμῳ
3 οὐδενὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐντυχόντων. ἐν τούτῳ οὖν τῷ
χωρίῳ μία τις γυνὴ ἀρτίως τεκοῦσα καὶ τὸ παιδίον
ἀπολιποῦσα ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις ἔτυχε[2] ἐπὶ γῆς
κείμενον, καὶ εἴτε φεύγουσα εἴτε ὑφ' ὁτουοῦν
καταληφθεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἐπανήκειν οὐκέτι ἔσχεν·

[1] ὅπη—ἐγεγόνει L: om. K.
[2] ἔτυχε Christ: om. MSS.

while the land army was still far behind; for they would be proceeding by a road not far from the coast. And he ordered another army under command of Martinus to march along the coast, keeping near these ships, and instructing them that, when they came close to the enemy, they should burn a greater number of camp-fires than usual and not in proportion to the actual numbers of the army, and thus lead their opponents to believe their numbers to be much greater than they actually were. He himself, meanwhile, went by another road far removed from the shore with Narses and the rest of the army, passing through the city of Urvisalia,[1] which in earlier times Alaric destroyed so completely[2] that nothing whatever has been left of its former grandeur, except a small remnant of a single gate and of the floor of the adjoining edifice.

XVII

In that place it was my fortune to see the following sight. When the army of John came into Picenum, the people of that region, as was natural, were thrown into great confusion. And among the women, some took hurriedly to flight, wherever each one found it possible, while others were captured and led away in a disorderly manner by those who chanced upon them. Now a certain woman of this city had, as it happened, just given birth to a child, and had abandoned the infant, leaving it in its swaddling clothes lying upon the ground; and whether she sought safety in flight or was captured by someone or other, she did not succeed in getting back again to

[1] Urbs Salvia, modern Urbisaglia.
[2] In the invasion of 452 A.D.

ἀφανισθῆναι[1] γὰρ αὐτῇ δηλονότι ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
4 ἢ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξυνέπεσε. τὸ μὲν οὖν παιδίον ἐν
ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ γεγονὸς ἔκλαιεν. αἴξ δὲ αὐτὸ
μία ἰδοῦσα ᾠκτίζετό τε καὶ πλησίον ἀφικομένη
(ἔναγχος γὰρ τεκοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ ἔτυχε) τὸν τιτθὸν
ἐδίδου καὶ τὸ παιδίον ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἐφύλασσε,
5 μὴ κύων ἤ τι θηρίον αὐτὸ λυμάνηται. χρόνου τε
τῇ ταραχῇ τριβέντος συχνοῦ τούτου δὴ τοῦ τιτθοῦ
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μεταλαχεῖν τὸ παιδίον ξυνέβη.
6 γνωσθὲν δὲ Πικηνοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι δὴ ὁ βασιλέως
στρατὸς ἐπὶ Γότθων μὲν τῷ πονηρῷ ἐνταῦθα ἥκοι,
Ῥωμαίοις δὲ οὐ πείσονται οὐδὲν πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι,
7 ἐπανῆλθον εὐθὺς οἴκαδε ἅπαντες. ἔν τε Οὐρβι-
σαλίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γενόμεναι,
ὅσαι γένος Ῥωμαῖαι ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παιδίον
ἐν[2] τοῖς σπαργάνοις περιὸν[3] εἶδον, τὸ γεγονὸς
ξυμβάλλειν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ
8 ὅτι δὴ βιῷη πεποίηνται. καὶ τὸν τιτθὸν ἑκάστη
ἐδίδου αἱ δὴ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδείως ἔχουσαι
ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὸ παιδίον ἀνθρώπειον γάλα
ἔτι προσίετο καὶ ἡ αἴξ αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι ἥκιστα
ἤθελεν, ἀλλὰ μηκωμένη ἀμφὶ τὸ παιδίον ἐνδελεχέ-
στατα, δεινὰ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐδόκει ποιεῖσθαι, ὅτι
τῷ παιδίῳ ἄγχιστα αἱ γυναῖκες ἰοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ
αὐτὸ ἐνοχλοῖεν, τό τε ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν μεταποιεῖσθαι
9 ὡς οἰκείου τοῦ βρέφους ἠξίου. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ αἵ
τε γυναῖκες τὸ παιδίον οὐκέτι ἠνώχλουν καὶ ἡ αἴξ
ἀδεέστερον ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐπιμελομένη
ἐφύλαττε. διὸ δὴ Αἴγισθον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τοῦτο
10 δὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐκάλουν. καὶ ἡνίκα μοι ἐπιδημεῖν

[1] ἀφανισθῆναι K: ἠφανίσθαι L.
[2] ἐν Maltretus: om. MSS. [3] περιὸν K: περιὼν L.

that place; for assuredly it fell out that she disappeared from the world or at least from Italy. So the infant, being thus abandoned, began to cry. But a lone she-goat, seeing it, felt pity and came near, and gave the infant her udder (for she too, as it happened, had recently brought forth young) and guarded it carefully, lest a dog or wild beast should injure it. And since the confusion was long continued, it came about that the infant partook of this food for a very long time. But later, when it became known to the people of Picenum that the emperor's army had come there to injure the Goths, but that the Romans would suffer no harm from it, they all returned immediately to their homes. And when such of the women as were Romans by birth came to Urvisalia with the men, and saw the infant still alive in its swaddling clothes, they were utterly unable to comprehend what had happened and considered it very wonderful that the infant was living. And each of them who chanced to be at that time able to do so offered her breast. But neither would the infant now have anything to do with human milk, nor was the goat at all willing to let it go, but as it kept bleating unceasingly about the infant, it seemed to those present to be feeling the greatest resentment that the women came near it and disturbed it as they did, and, to put all in a word, she insisted upon claiming the babe as her own. Consequently the women no longer disturbed the infant, and the goat continued to nourish it free from fear and to guard it with every care. Wherefore the inhabitants of the place appropriately called this infant Aegisthus.[1] And when I happened

[1] From αἴξ "a goat."

ἐνταῦθα ξυνέβη, ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ παραλόγου ποιούμενοι παρά τε τὸ παιδίον ἦγον καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξεπίτηδες,
11 ἵνα βοᾷ, ἐλύπουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῖς λυποῦσιν ἀχθόμενον ἔκλαεν, ἀκούσασα δὲ ἡ αἶξ (διεστήκει γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὅσον λίθου βολὴν) δρόμῳ τε καὶ μηκηθμῷ ἐχομένη πολλῷ παρ' αὐτὸ ἦει, ὑπερθέν τε αὐτοῦ ἐλθοῦσα ἔστη, ὡς μή τις αὐτὸ λυπεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν δύνηται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Αἰγίσθῳ τούτῳ τοιαῦτά ἐστι.

12 Βελισάριος δὲ διὰ τῶν ταύτῃ ὁρῶν ἐχώρει. πλήθει γὰρ παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενος τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἤθελεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ θανατῶντας τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι
13 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἑώρα· ᾤετο δὲ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθωνται πανταχόθεν σφίσι πολεμίων ἐπιέναι στρατόν, ἀλκῆς ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς μνησθῆναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς φυγὴν τρέψεσθαι. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης, οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ ἐσομέ-
14 νου ὑποτοπήσας. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐγένοντο, ὅσον[1] Ἀριμίνου ἀπέχειν[2] ἡμέρας ὁδόν, Γότθοις τισὶν ὀλίγοις κατά τινα χρείαν ὁδῷ
15 πορευομένοις ἐνέτυχον. οἳ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου πολεμίων περιπεπτωκότες στρατῷ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἕως παρὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἰόντων βαλλόμενοι οἱ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ τραυματίαι γεγενημένοι ἐπί τινας τῶν ἐκείνῃ σκοπέλων ἀναδραμόντες διέλαθον.
16 ὅθεν σκοπούμενοι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐς πάσας

[1] ὅσον K : ἅπερ ἀπο L. [2] ἀπέχειν K : ἀπέχει L.

to be sojourning in that place, by way of making a display of the strange sight they took me near the infant and purposely hurt it so that it might cry out. And the infant, annoyed by those hurting it, began to cry; whereupon the goat, which was standing about a stone's throw away from it, hearing the cry, came running and bleating loudly to its side, and took her stand over it, so that no one might be able to hurt it again. Such then is the story of this Aegisthus.

But Belisarius was advancing through the mountains in this region. For seeing that he was greatly inferior to his opponents in numbers, he did not wish to engage in an open battle with them, since he could see that the barbarians were actually paralyzed by their previous defeats; and he thought that, as soon as they learned that a hostile army was coming upon them from all sides, they would not once think of resistance, but would without the least hesitation turn to flight. And indeed he arrived at a correct opinion regarding the situation, and his suppositions were not at variance with what the future was to bring forth. For when they had reached a point in the mountains where they were about one day's journey distant from Ariminum, they happened upon a small company of Goths who were travelling on some necessary errand. And these Goths, falling in unexpectedly with a hostile army, were quite unable to get away from the road before they were attacked by the missiles of those who marched in the van, and some fell on the spot, while others, after receiving wounds, succeeded in hiding themselves by scrambling up some of the high cliffs close by. From that position they watched the Roman army collecting over all the rough

δυσχωρίας ξυρρέοντας, πολλῷ πλείονας τοῦ ἀλη-
17 θοῦς μέτρου ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ
τὰ Βελισαρίου σημεῖα ἰδόντες, αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι
ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔγνωσαν. νύξ τε ἐπέλαβε, καὶ
αὐτοῦ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ηὐλίσαντο, τῶν δὲ Γότθων
οἱ τραυματίαι λάθρα ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Οὐιττίγιδος
18 στρατόπεδον ᾔεσαν. οὗ δὴ ἀμφὶ μέσην ἡμέραν
γενόμενοι τάς τε πληγὰς ἐπεδείκνυον καὶ Βελι-
σάριον σφίσι ξὺν στρατῷ κρείσσονι ἢ ἀριθμεῖσθαι
19 ὅσον οὔπω παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. οἱ δὲ παρε-
σκευάζοντο μὲν ὡς ἐς μάχην πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον
Ἀριμίνου πόλεως τετραμμένοι (ταύτῃ γὰρ ᾤοντο
τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφίξεσθαι), ἀεί τε ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὰ
20 ἄκρα ἔβλεπον ἅπαντες. ἐπεὶ δέ, νυκτὸς σφίσιν
ἐπιγενομένης, καταθέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἡσύχαζον,
πυρὰ πολλὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως ὅσον ἀπὸ
σταδίων ἑξήκοντα εἶδον, ἅπερ τὸ ξὺν Μαρτίνῳ
στράτευμα ἔκαιεν, ἐς δέος τε ἀμήχανον ἦλθον·
21 κυκλωθήσεσθαι γὰρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἅμα
ἡμέρᾳ ὑπώπτευον. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα
ξὺν δέει τοιούτῳ ηὐλίσαντο, τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ
ἡμέρᾳ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι στόλον νηῶν ἐπὶ
σφᾶς ἰόντα ὁρῶσιν ἐξαίσιον οἷον· ἔς τε ἀφασίαν
22 ἐμπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ξυσκευαζό-
μενοί τε κατὰ τάχος τοσούτῳ θορύβῳ τε καὶ
κραυγῇ εἴχοντο ὥστε οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων
κατήκουον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἐν νῷ ἐποιοῦντο ἢ ὅπως
ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἀπαλλάσσοιτο τοῦ
στρατοπέδου καὶ Ῥαβέννης τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς
23 γένοιτο. καὶ εἰ μέν τι ἰσχύος ἢ θάρσους περιεῖναι
τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις τετύχηκε, πλείστους τε ἂν

ground, and they supposed them to be many more than they really were. And seeing the standards of Belisarius there also, they realized that he was leading this army in person. Then night came on and the Romans bivouacked where they were, while the wounded Goths went stealthily to the camp of Vittigis. And reaching it about midday, they displayed their wounds and declared that Belisarius would be upon them almost at once with an army past numbering. Then the Goths began to prepare for battle to the north of the city of Ariminum, for they thought that the enemy would come from that direction, and they were all constantly looking toward the heights of the mountain. But when, as night came upon them, they had laid down their weapons and were resting, they saw many camp-fires to the east of the city, about sixty stades away—these were the fires which the troops of Martinus were burning—and they fell into a state of helpless fear; for they suspected that they would be surrounded by the enemy at daybreak. So for that night they bivouacked in such a state of fear; but on the succeeding day at sunrise they saw a fleet of ships in overwhelming numbers bearing down upon them, and being plunged into speechless terror, they made a rush to flee. And while they were packing up their luggage as quickly as they could, there arose so much confusion and shouting among them that they neither paid heed to the commands given nor did they think of anything else than how each man for himself could get away first from the camp and place himself inside the fortifications of Ravenna. And if the besieged had only had some strength or daring left in them, they could

τῶν πολεμίων ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν καὶ
24 ξύμπας ἐνταῦθα ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἐτελεύτησε. νῦν
δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ὀρρωδία τε σφίσι μεγάλη τοῖς
φθάσασιν ἐπιγενομένη καὶ ἀσθένεια τῶν ἀναγκαί-
ων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πολλοῖς[1] ξυμπεσοῦσα. οἱ μὲν οὖν
βάρβαροι θορύβου ὑπερβολῇ αὐτοῦ λειπόμενοι
τῶν χρημάτων τινὰ δρόμῳ πολλῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥά-
βενναν ἔθεον.

XVIII

Πρῶτοι δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἰλδίγερ τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν
αὐτῷ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα
τῶν Γότθων ὅσοι νόσοις τισὶν ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ
ἔμειναν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ἐποιήσαντο λόγῳ, καὶ
χρήματα πάντα[2] ξυνέλεξαν ὅσα φεύγοντες
2 Γότθοι ἐλίποντο. καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ἦλθεν ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν. καὶ ἐπεὶ
ὠχριῶντάς τε καὶ δεινὸν[3] αὐχμῶντας Ἰωάννην τε
καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ εἶδε, τοῦ θράσους ὑπαινιττό-
μενος τὸ ἀλόγιστον χάριτας αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν
3 Ἰλδίγερι ὀφείλειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ Ἰλδίγερι, ἀλλὰ
Ναρσῇ τῷ βασιλέως ταμίᾳ ὁμολογεῖν ἔφη, παρα-
δηλῶν, οἶμαι, Βελισάριον οὐ σφόδρα ἐθελούσιον,
ἀλλὰ Ναρσῇ ἀναπεισθέντα σφίσιν ἀμῦναι. καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἄμφω ὑποψίᾳ πολλῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους
4 ἐχρῶντο. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Ναρσῆν εἴων οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι
ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ στρατεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνέπειθον
ὅσον αἰσχρὸν εἴη τῷ τῶν ἀπορρήτων βασιλεῖ

[1] πολλοῖς K: πολλῇ L. [2] πάντα K: om. L.

have killed great numbers of the enemy on the spot by making a sally from the city, and the whole war would have ended there. But, as it was, this was prevented by the great fear which had taken possession of them because of their past experiences, and by the weakness which had come upon many owing to the lack of provisions. So the barbarians, leaving there some of their possessions in the excess of their confusion, began to run as fast as they could go on the road to Ravenna.

XVIII

Among the Romans, Ildiger and his men were the first to arrive at the enemy's camp, and they made slaves of such of the Goths as had remained there suffering from sickness of one kind or another, and collected all the valuables which the Goths had left in their flight. And Belisarius with his whole army arrived at midday. And when he saw John and his men pale and dreadfully emaciated, he said to him, hinting at the rashness of his audacious deed, that he owed a debt of gratitude to Ildiger. But John said that he recognized his obligation, not to Ildiger, but to Narses, the emperor's steward, implying, I suppose, that Belisarius had not come to his defence very willingly, but only after being persuaded by Narses. And from that time both these men began to regard each other with great suspicion. It was for this reason that the friends of Narses even tried to prevent him from marching with Belisarius, and they sought to shew him how disgraceful it was for one who shared the secrets of

[3] δεινὸν KL: δεινῶς V.

κοινωνοῦντι μὴ οὐχὶ αὐτοκράτορι τοῦ στρατοῦ
5 εἶναι, ἀλλὰ στρατηγῷ ἀνδρὶ ὑπακούειν. οὐ γάρ
ποτε Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ ἑκόντα εἶναι τῆς
στρατιᾶς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἄρξειν ἀπεφαίνοντο, βουλο-
μένῳ δέ οἱ καθ' αὑτὸν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ
ἐξηγεῖσθαι πλείους τε στρατιώτας καὶ πολλῷ ἀμεί-
6 νους ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν[1] ἕψεσθαι. τούς τε γὰρ
Ἐρούλους καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τε καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς
τοὺς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὧν Ἰουστῖνός τε καὶ αὐτὸς
Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρατίῳ τε καὶ Ναρσῇ
ἑπομένοις οὖχ ἧσσον ἢ μυρίους ἔφασκον εἶναι,
ἀνδρείους τε ὄντας καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθοὺς τὰ
πολέμια, βούλεσθαί τε τὴν Ἰταλίας ἐπικράτησιν
οὐ Βελισαρίῳ λογίζεσθαι μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέρος
7 καὶ Ναρσῆν φέρεσθαι. τὴν γὰρ βασιλέως αὐτὸν
οἴεσθαι ὁμιλίαν ἀπολιπεῖν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ κινδύνοις
ἰδίοις τὴν Βελισαρίου δόξαν κρατύνηται, ἀλλ'
ἐφ' ᾧ ἔργα ξυνέσεώς τε καὶ ἀνδρείας ἐπιδειξάμενος
διαβόητος ἀνθρώποις ἅπασιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἴη.
8 καίτοι οὐδὲ Βελισάριον ἔφασκον δυνήσεσθαί τι
9 ἄνευ γε αὐτῶν τὸ λοιπὸν δρᾶσαι. στρατιᾶς γὰρ
ἧς ἐκεῖνος ἄρχοι τὸ πλεῖστον ἤδη ἔν τε φρουρίοις
καὶ πόλεσιν ἀπολελεῖφθαι ἅσπερ αὐτὸς εἶλε, καὶ
κατέλεγον ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἀρξάμενοι ἄχρι ἐς
Πικηνοὺς ἑξῆς ἅπαντα.
10 Ναρσῆς τε ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, ἧσθη ἐς ἄγαν
τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ οὔτε κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὔτε
11 μένειν ἐν τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἔτι ἐδύνατο. πολλάκις
οὖν Βελισαρίου ἄλλου του ἔργου ἔχεσθαι ἀξιοῦντος

[1] ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν V : τοῖς ἄρχουσιν K, τοὺς ἄρχοντας L.

the emperor not to be commander-in-chief of the army, but to take orders from a mere general. For they expressed the view that Belisarius would never willingly share with him the command of the army on equal terms, but that, if he wished to take command of the Roman army for himself, he would be followed by the greater part of the soldiers, and much the best ones too, together with their commanders. For the Eruli, they said, and Narses' own spearmen and guards, and the troops commanded by Justinus and John himself, together with the forces of Aratius and the other Narses, amounted to not less than ten thousand men, brave soldiers and especially capable warriors, and they did not wish the subjugation of Italy to be reckoned to the credit of Belisarius alone, but desired that Narses too should carry off his share of the honour. For they supposed that he had left the society of the emperor, not that by facing danger himself he might establish the glory of Belisarius, but presumably in order that by making a display of deeds of wisdom and bravery he might become famous among all men. Furthermore, they said, even Belisarius would thenceforth be unable to accomplish anything without these troops. For the greater part of the forces which he commanded had already been left behind in fortresses and cities which he had himself captured, and they enumerated them all, starting at Sicily and naming them in order as far as Picenum.

When Narses heard this, he was exceedingly pleased with the suggestion and could no longer restrain his mind or tolerate the existing arrangement. Often, therefore, when Belisarius thought proper to undertake some new enterprise, he would

ἐς σκήψεις τινὰς ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ἀναχωρῶν τὴν
12 παρακέλευσιν ἀπεκρούετο. ὧν δὴ αἰσθόμενος
Βελισάριος ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἅπαντας
ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Οὐ ταὐτὰ ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, περὶ τοῦδε
13 τοῦ πολέμου δοκῶ μοι γιγνώσκειν.[1] ὑμᾶς μὲν[2]
γὰρ ὁρῶ τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε παντάπασιν ἡσση-
14 μένων ὑπερφρονοῦντας. ἐγὼ δὲ ταύτῃ ὑμῶν τῇ
παρρησίᾳ[3] ἐς προῦπτον ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖσθαι κίνδυ-
νον οἶμαι, ἐπεὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους οὔτε ἀνανδρίᾳ
τινὶ οὔτε ὀλιγανθρωπίᾳ ἡσσῆσθαι ἡμῶν, προνοίᾳ
δὲ μόνῃ καὶ βουλῇ καταστρατηγηθέντας ἐς φυγὴν
15 ἐνθένδε τετράφθαι οἶδα. δέδοικα δὲ μὴ ταῦτα
ὑμεῖς τῇ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ δόξῃ σφαλλόμενοι τὰ
ἀνήκεστα ὑμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων
16 πράγματα δράσητε. ῥᾷον γὰρ οἱ νενικηκέναι
δοκοῦντες τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπαιρόμενοι δια-
φθείρονται ἢ οἱ παρὰ δόξαν μὲν ἐπταικότες, δέει
δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ φροντίδι πολλῇ ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους
17 ἐχόμενοι. ῥᾳθυμία μὲν γὰρ τῶν εὖ καθεστώτων
τινὰς ἔφθειρε, πόνος δὲ ξὺν μερίμνῃ τῶν δεδυστυχη-
18 κότων πολλοὺς ὤνησεν.[4] ἐπεὶ τῶν μὲν ὀλιγωρίᾳ
εἰκόντων ἡ δύναμις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐλασσοῦσθαι
φιλεῖ, μελέτη δὲ ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέναι ἱκανῶς πέφυ-
19 κεν. οὐκοῦν ἐνθυμείσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος ὡς ἐν
Ῥαβέννῃ μὲν Οὐίττιγίς τέ ἐστι καὶ Γότθων

[1] δοκῶ μοι γιγνώσκειν L : δοκῶν μὴ γινώσκειν K.
[2] μὲν K : om. L. [3] παρρησίᾳ L : παρουσίᾳ K.
[4] ὤνησεν KL : ὤρθωσεν V.

resort to different pretexts, now one and now another, and thus block the project he was urging. And Belisarius, perceiving this, called together all the commanders and spoke as follows:

"It seems to me, fellow officers, that I do not have the same opinion regarding this war as you have. For you, I see, are contemptuous of the enemy as being completely vanquished. But my opinion is that by this confidence of yours we shall fall into a danger which can be foreseen, because I know that the barbarians have not been vanquished by us because of any lack of courage on their part or because of inferiority in numbers, but that it is by means of careful planning beforehand that they have been outgeneralled, and consequently have turned to flight from this place. And I fear that you may be deceived in regard to these facts because of your false estimate of the situation, and may thus do irreparable harm both to yourselves and to the cause of the Romans. For those who, accounting themselves victorious, are lifted up by their achievements are more readily destroyed than those who have indeed suffered an unexpected reverse, but thereafter are actuated by fear and abundant respect of their enemy. For while indifference has sometimes ruined men who were in good case, energy coupled with solicitude has often relieved those who had been unfortunate. For, on the one hand, when men allow themselves to drift into an attitude of unconcern, the measure of their strength is wont, as a rule, to be lessened, but, on the other hand, careful study of a situation is naturally calculated to instil vigour. Accordingly, let each one of you remember that Vittigis is in Ravenna with many

μυριάδες πολλαί, Οὐραΐας δὲ Μεδιόλανόν τε πολιορκεῖ καὶ περιβέβληται Λιγουρίαν ὅλην, Αὔξιμος δὲ ἤδη στρατιᾶς πλήρης πολλῆς τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, ἄλλα τε χωρία πολλὰ πρὸς ἀξιομάχων ἡμῖν φρουρεῖται βαρβάρων μέχρι ἐς Οὐρβιβεντόν, ἣ Ῥώμης ἐν γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὖσα. ὥστε νῦν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ πρότερον ἐν κινδύνῳ τὰ πράγματα κεῖται, ἐς κύκλωσίν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐμπεπτωκόσιν. ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ Φράγγους αὐτοῖς[1] ἐν Λιγουρίᾳ ξυντετάχθαι φασίν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔξω δέους μεγάλου ἐς μνήμην ἰέναι πᾶσι Ῥωμαίοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. φημὶ τοίνυν ἔγωγε χρῆναι[2] μοῖραν μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Λιγουρίαν τε καὶ Μεδιόλανον στέλλεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπί τε Αὔξιμον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ πολεμίους χωρεῖν, ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ πράξοντας· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τἄλλα τοῦ πολέμου ἔργα διαχειρίζειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἄριστά τε δοκῇ καὶ βέλτιστα εἶναι." Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.

Ναρσῆς δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· "Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ στρατηγέ, μὴ οὐχὶ ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ σοι πάντα εἰρῆσθαι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. πάντα δὲ τουτονὶ τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν ἐς Μεδιόλανόν τε καὶ Αὔξιμον ἀποκεκρίσθαι μόνον ἀξύμφορον εἶναι παντελῶς οἶμαι. ἀλλὰ σὲ μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐξηγεῖσθαι οἷς ἂν αὐτὸς βούλοιο οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, ἡμεῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίων ἐπικτησόμεθα[3] χώραν, ἣν μάλιστα Γότθους προσποιεῖσθαί φασι, καὶ Ῥάβενναν ξυνταράξομεν[4] οὕτως ὥστε

[1] αὐτοῖς K : αὐτοὺς L. [2] χρῆναι K : δεῖν L.
[3] ἐπικτησόμεθα L : ἐπικτησώμεθα K.
[4] ξυνταράξομεν Maltretus : ξυνταράξωμεν K, ξυνταράξαιμεν L.

tens of thousands of Goths, that Uraias is besieging Milan and has brought the whole of Liguria under his power, that Auximus is already filled with an army both numerous and formidable, and that many other places, as far as Urviventus,[1] which is in the neighbourhood of Rome, are guarded by barbarian garrisons which are a match for us. Consequently the situation is more perilous for us at the present time than it formerly was, seeing that we have come to be, in a way, surrounded by the enemy. And this is not all, for I pass over the report that the Franks also have joined forces with them in Liguria, a thing which cannot fail to be remembered by all Romans with great fear. I state, therefore, as my opinion that a part of the army ought to be sent to Liguria and Milan, but that the rest should instantly proceed against Auximus and the enemy there, in order to accomplish whatever God permits; and afterwards we should also take in hand the other tasks of the war in whatever way seems best and most advantageous." So spoke Belisarius.

And Narses replied as follows: "In other respects, General, no one could deny that everything has been spoken by you with truth. But that the emperor's whole army here should be divided between Milan and Auximus alone I consider to be utterly inexpedient. It would not be at all unreasonable for you, on your part, to lead against these places such of the Romans as you yourself might wish, but we, on our part, shall take possession for the emperor of the territory of Aemilia, which the Goths are making the greatest effort to win for themselves, and we shall harass Ravenna in such a way that you will

[1] Urbs Vetus; modern Orvieto.

τοὺς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολεμίους ὅ τι βούλεσθε διεργάσεσθε,[1] πάσης ἀποκεκλεισμένους τῆς τῶν
26 ἀμυνόντων ἐλπίδος. ἦν γὰρ ξὺν ὑμῖν ἐν Αὐξίμῳ προσεδρεύειν ἑλοίμεθα, δέδοικα μὴ τῶν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιόντων βαρβάρων περιέσται ἡμῖν ἀμφιβόλοις τε γεγενῆσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπολελειμμένοις αὐτοῦ διεφθάρθαι." καὶ Ναρσῆς μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔλεξε.

27 Βελισάριος δὲ δείσας μὴ ἐς πολλὰ Ῥωμαίων ἰόντων καταρρεῖν τε τὰ βασιλέως ξυμβαίη πράγματα καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε ἀκοσμίᾳ ξυγχεῖσθαι, γράμματα βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔδειξεν ἃ πρὸς
28 τοὺς στρατοπέδου ἄρχοντας ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Ναρσῆν τὸν ἡμέτερον ταμίαν οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ ἄρξαι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμψαμεν· μόνον γὰρ Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα ὅπη ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν, αὐτῷ τε ὑμᾶς ἕπεσθαι ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πολιτείᾳ προσήκει." τὰ μὲν οὖν βασιλέως γράμματα ὧδέ πη εἶχε.

29 Ναρσῆς δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἀκροτελευτίου λαβόμενος ἀπ' ἐναντίας Βελισάριον ἰσχυρίζετο ἐν τῷ παρόντι τοῦ τῆς πολιτείας ξυμφόρου βουλεύεσθαι· διὸ δὴ σφίσιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι αὐτῷ ἕπεσθαι.

XIX

Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Βελισάριος Περάνιον μὲν ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ξὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ, ἐφ' ᾧ πολιορκήσουσιν αὐτήν, ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Οὐρβῖνον τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγε, πόλιν τε ἐχυρὰν καὶ Γότθων

[1] διεργάσεσθε Haury : διεργάσεσθαι K, διεργάσασθαι L.

crush the enemy before you as you wish, while they are excluded from the hope of armies to support them. For if we should elect to join you in carrying on a siege at Auximus, the barbarians, I fear, will come upon us from Ravenna, with the result that we shall become exposed to the enemy on both sides and, being at a distance from our base of supplies, we shall be destroyed on the spot." Such were the words of Narses.

But Belisarius feared that, if the Romans should go against many places at once, it would come about that the emperor's cause would be weakened and finally ruined by the confusion resulting therefrom, and so he shewed a letter from the Emperor Justinian which he had written to the commanders of the army, conveying the following message: "We have not sent our steward Narses to Italy in order to command the army; for we wish Belisarius alone to command the whole army in whatever manner seems to him to be best, and it is the duty of all of you to follow him in the interest of our state." Such was the purport of the emperor's letter. But Narses, laying hold of the final words of the letter, declared that Belisarius at the present time was laying plans contrary to the interest of the state; for this reason, he said, it was unnecessary for them to follow him.

XIX

Upon hearing this Belisarius sent Peranius with a numerous army to Urviventus with instructions to besiege it, while he himself led his army against Urbinus,[1] a city of strong defences and guarded by

[1] Modern Urbino.

φρουρὰν διαρκῆ ἔχουσαν (ἀπέχει δὲ αὕτη Ἀριμίνου πόλεως ἡμέρας ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί), καὶ οἱ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐξηγουμένῳ[1] Ναρσῆς τε καὶ
2 Ἰωάννης καὶ οἱ[2] ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες εἵποντο. τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὸν πρόποδα ἐστρατοπέδευσαν δίχα· οὐ γάρ πη ἀλλήλοις ξυνετετάχατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον[3] τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως εἶχον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ναρσῆν
3 τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. κεῖται δὲ Οὐρβῖνος ἐπὶ λόφου περιφεροῦς τε καὶ ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. οὐ μέντοι ὁ λόφος οὔτε κρημνώδης οὔτε παντάπασιν ἀπόρευτός ἐστι, μόνον δὲ δύσοδος τῷ ἀνάντης ἐς ἄγαν εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγχοτάτω ἰόντι.[4]
4 μίαν δὲ εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἔχει πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐτετάχατο ὧδε. Βελισάριος δὲ ῥᾷον σφίσι προσχωρήσειν ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους οἰόμενος ἅτε κατωρρωδηκότας τὸν κίνδυνον, πρέσβεις τε παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψε καὶ πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι κατηκόους βασιλέως
5 γενέσθαι παρῄνει. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις τῶν πυλῶν ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι (οὐ γὰρ τῇ πόλει σφᾶς ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι) πολλά τε καὶ λίαν ἐπαγωγὰ εἶπον, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι χωρίου τε ἰσχύϊ θαρροῦντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τῇ ἀφθονίᾳ τοὺς μὲν λόγους ἥκιστα ἐνεδέχοντο, κατὰ τάχος δὲ Ῥωμαίους
6 ἐνθένδε ἐκέλευον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. Βελισάριος οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ῥάβδους παχείας τῷ στρατῷ ξυλλέγειν ἐπήγγελλε, στοάν τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιεῖ-

[1] καὶ—ἐξηγουμένῳ L: om. K.
[2] οἱ Haury: om. MSS.

a sufficient garrison of Goths (it is at a distance from the city of Ariminum of one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller), and as he led forth the army he was followed by Narses and John and all the others. And upon coming near the city, they encamped in two divisions along the foot of the hill; for they had not combined their forces at all, but the troops of Belisarius held the position to the east of the city, and those of Narses that to the west. Now the city of Urbinus is situated upon a hill which is round and exceedingly high. However, the hill is neither precipitous nor altogether impossible to climb, and it is difficult only by reason of being very steep, especially as one comes very close to the city. But it has one approach by level ground on the north. So the Romans were stationed for the siege as has been stated. Now Belisarius was of the opinion that the barbarians would somewhat readily make terms with the Romans for a surrender, believing that they had become terrified by the danger, and so he sent envoys to them, promising that they would receive many benefits, and exhorting them to become subjects of the emperor. These envoys stood near the gates (for the enemy would not receive them into the city), and spoke at length, making a great effort to win them over, but the Goths, confident in the strength of their position and their abundance of provisions, would not listen to their proposals, and bade the Romans depart from the city with all speed. So when Belisarius heard this, he ordered the army to collect thick poles and to make of them a long

[3] ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον Scheftlein : βελισαρίου ἀμφὶ MSS.
[4] ἰόντι Comparetti: ὄντι MSS.

σθαι μακράν. ἧς δὴ ἐντὸς κρυπτόμενοι ἔμελλον τῶν τε πυλῶν ξὺν αὐτῇ ἀγχοτάτω ἰέναι, ᾗ μάλιστα ὁ χῶρος ὁμαλός ἐστι, καὶ τῇ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλῇ χρῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.

8 Ναρσῆ δὲ ξυγγενόμενοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινές, ἀπέραντά τε ποιεῖν Βελισάριον καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα ἐπινοεῖν ἔφασκον. ἤδη γὰρ Ἰωάννην τοῦ χωρίου ἀποπειρασάμενον, καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγων τινῶν τηνικαῦτα φρουρὰν ἔχοντος, ἀνάλωτον αὐτὸ ᾐσθῆσθαι[1] παντάπασιν εἶναι (καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως), ἀλλ' αὐτὸν χρῆναι βασιλεῖ ἀνασώσασθαι τὰ ἐπὶ
9 Αἰμιλίας χωρία. ταύτῃ ὁ Ναρσῆς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἀναπεισθεὶς νύκτωρ τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσε, καίπερ Βελισαρίου πολλὰ λιπαροῦντος μένειν τε
10 αὐτοῦ καὶ Οὐρβῖνον πόλιν σφίσι ξυνελεῖν. οὗτοι μὲν ἐς Ἀρίμινον κατὰ τάχος ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἵκοντο. Μῶρας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπεὶ κατὰ ἥμισυ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναχωρήσαντας ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ εἶδον, ἐτώθαζον ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς μεμενη-
11 κότας ἐρεσχελοῦντες. Βελισάριος δὲ τῇ λειπομένῃ στρατιᾷ τειχομαχεῖν ἤθελε. καί οἱ ταῦτα βουλευομένῳ εὐτύχημα γενέσθαι ξυννηνέχθη
12 θαυμάσιον οἷον. μία τις ἦν ἐν Οὐρβίνῳ πηγή, ἐξ ἧς δὴ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκοῦντες ὑδρεύοντο. αὕτη κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου ἀποξηρανθεῖσα
13 ὑπέληγεν. ἔν τε ἡμέραις τρισὶν οὕτως αὐτὴν τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπέλιπεν ὥστε ξὺν τῷ πηλῷ ἐνθένδε αὐτὸ

[1] ᾐσθῆσθαι : ἠσθεῖσθαι K, ἔσεσθαι L, αἰσθέσθαι Maltretus.

[1] See Book VI. x. 5.

colonnade. This device was destined to cover the men hidden inside as they moved it forward close up to the gate at the particular point where the ground was level and carried on their operations against the wall. So the soldiers were engaged in this work.

But some of the intimates of Narses gathered around him and declared that Belisarius was undertaking an endless task and devising impracticable plans. For John, they said, had already made an attempt upon the place,[1] and that too at a time when it was guarded by only a few men, and had perceived that it was altogether impregnable (and this was true), and they said that he ought to recover for the emperor the land of Aemilia. And since he was won over by this suggestion, Narses at night abandoned the siege, although Belisarius begged him earnestly to remain there and assist his own troops in capturing the city of Urbinus. So Narses and his followers went in haste to Ariminum with a portion of the army. And as soon as Moras and his barbarians saw at daybreak that one-half of the enemy had withdrawn, they began to shout taunts and bantering words from the fortifications at those who had remained. Belisarius, however, was purposing to storm the wall with his remaining force. And while he was laying plans for this attack, an altogether wonderful piece of good fortune befell him. There was only one spring in Urbinus, and from it all the inhabitants of the city were drawing water. This spring of its own accord little by little dried up and began to give out. And in three days the water had left it to such an extent that the barbarians drawing from it were drinking

οἱ βάρβαροι ἀρυόμενοι ἔπινον. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις
14 προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα μὲν
οὐδαμῇ πεπυσμένος ἤθελεν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ
περιβόλου. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐξοπλίσας
κύκλῳ ἀμφὶ τὸν λόφον ἅπαντα ἔστησε, τινὰς δὲ
ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ῥάβδων
15 ἐπάγειν στοάν· οὕτω γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν μηχανὴν
νενομίκασι ταύτην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐντὸς ὑποδύντες
ἐβάδιζόν τε καὶ τὴν στοὰν ἐφεῖλκον τοὺς πολε-
16 μίους λανθάνοντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι χεῖρας
τὰς δεξιὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων προτεινόμενοι
ἐδέοντο τῆς εἰρήνης τυχεῖν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκ
εἰδότες τι τῶν ἀμφὶ τῇ πηγῇ ξυμπεπτωκότων τόν
τε πόλεμον αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν [1] δεδιέναι
ὑπώπτευον. ἀμφότεροι γοῦν τῆς μάχης ἄσμενοι
17 ἀπέσχοντο. καὶ Γότθοι Βελισαρίῳ σφᾶς τε
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδοσαν, ἐφ'
ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσι, βασιλέως κατήκοοι
ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ
γεγενημένοι.
18 Ναρσῆς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν θαύματί τε καὶ
19 ξυμφορᾷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν
Ἀριμίνῳ ἔτι ἡσύχαζεν, Ἰωάννην δὲ τῷ παντὶ
στρατῷ ἐπὶ Καισῆναν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ
20 κλίμακας φέροντες ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ
φρουρίου ἐγένοντο, προσέβαλλόν τε καὶ τοῦ περι-
βόλου ἀπεπειρῶντο. καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἀμυνομένων ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ἔπεσον καὶ
21 Φανίθεος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. Ἰωάννης

[1] μηχανὴν K: μάχην L.

[1] This *stoa* of the Greeks was the *vinea* of the Romans.

the water along with mud. Consequently they decided to capitulate to the Romans. But Belisarius, who had not received any information of this, was still purposing to make an attempt upon the fortifications. And he armed his entire force and placed it in a circle about the whole hill, and then commanded a few men to move forward the colonnade of poles (for such is the name by which this device is customarily called [1]) where the ground was level. So these men went into it and began to walk and to draw the colonnade with them, hidden from the eyes of the enemy. Thereupon, the barbarians, stretching forth their right hands from the parapet, begged to receive peace. But the Romans, not knowing anything of what had taken place regarding the spring, supposed that it was the combat and the Roman device which they dreaded. Both sides, at any rate, gladly refrained from battle. And the Goths surrendered both themselves and the city to Belisarius with the condition that they should remain free from harm and that they should become subjects of the emperor on terms of complete equality with the Roman army.

But Narses, upon hearing of this success, was filled with both astonishment and dejection. And he himself still remained quietly in Ariminum, but he ordered John to lead his whole army against Caesena.[2] So they went, taking ladders with them. And when they came close to the fortress, they delivered an attack and made trial of the fortifications. But since the barbarians defended themselves manfully, many fell in the fight and among them Phanitheus, the leader of the Eruli. So John,

[2] Modern Cesena.

δὲ Καισήνης τότε τοῦ φρουρίου ἀποτυχὼν[1] ἀποπειρᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἠξίου, ἐπεί οἱ ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ξύν τε Ἰουστίνῳ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
22 πρόσω ἤλαυνε. καὶ πόλιν μὲν ἀρχαίαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου κατέλαβεν ἣ Φοροκορνήλιος ὠνόμασται, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ ἀεί τε ὑποχωρούντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων, ξύμπασαν βασιλεῖ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν ἀνεσώσατο. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XX

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ Οὐρβῖνον ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς εἶλεν, ἐς μὲν Ἄξιμον ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἰέναι ἀξύμφορον ᾤετο εἶναι· χρόνον γὰρ σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν[2] προσεδρείᾳ
2 ὑπώπτευε. βίᾳ τε γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν ἐρύματος ἰσχύϊ ἀδύνατον ἦν, καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται, φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, πολλήν τινα λῃσάμενοι χώραν μέγα τι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων χρῆμα ἐσηνέγκαντο
3 σφίσιν. Ἀράτιον δὲ σὺν πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐν Φίρμῳ διαχειμάζειν ἐκέλευε φυλάσσειν τε ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς[3] ἐνθένδε ποιούμενοι ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία βιάζωνται· αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐπὶ
4 Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. Περάνιος γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ

[1] ἀποτυχὼν K: ἀποτυχὼν αὐτοῦ μὲν L.
[2] αὐτὴν Krašeninnikov: αὐτὸν MSS
[3] ἐπεκδρομὰς K: ἐπιδρομὰς L.

failing to capture the fortress of Caesena at that time, saw fit to make no further attempt upon it, since it seemed to him impregnable, and he marched forward with Justinus and the rest of the army. And by a sudden move he succeeded in taking possession of an ancient city which is named Forocornelius;[1] and since the barbarians constantly retired before him and never came to an engagement, he recovered the whole of Aemilia for the emperor. Such was the course of these events.

XX

Now Belisarius, since he had captured Urbinus at about the winter solstice, thought it inexpedient to march against Auximus immediately; for he suspected that a long time would be consumed by his troops in besieging it. For it was impossible to take the place by storm because of the strength of its defences, and the barbarian garrison of the city was both numerous and composed of the best troops, as I have previously stated,[2] and since they had plundered a large tract of country, they had brought in for themselves a great store of provisions. But he commanded Aratius with a numerous army to pass the winter in Firmum and to be on his guard that the barbarians in future should not be at liberty to make their raids from Auximus and fearlessly to carry on a campaign of violence in that region; he himself, however, led his army against Urviventus. For Peranius kept urging him to do this, since he had

[1] Forum Cornelii; modern Imola.
[2] Chap. xi. 2.

Γότθους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑποσπανίζειν ἠκηκόει πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἤλπιζέ τε, ἢν πρὸς τῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ Βελισάριον παντί που παρόντα τῷ στρατῷ ἴδωσι, ῥᾷον ἐνδώσειν· ὅπερ ἐγένετο. Βελισάριος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς Οὐρβιβεντὸν ἀφίκετο, ἅπαντας μὲν ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν χώρῳ ἐπιτηδείως κειμένῳ ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κύκλῳ περιιὼν διεσκοπεῖτο εἴ πως αὐτὴν βιάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀδύνατα ᾖ. καί οἱ μηχανὴ μὲν οὐδεμία ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὥστε βίᾳ τινὶ τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν. λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ παντάπασιν ἐδόκει ἀμήχανός οἱ ἡ ἐπικράτησις ἔσεσθαι.

Λόφος γάρ τις ἐκ κοίλης γῆς ἀνέχει μόνος, τὰ μὲν ὕπερθεν ὕπτιός τε καὶ ὁμαλός, τὰ δὲ κάτω κρημνώδης. ἀμφὶ δὲ τὸν λόφον ἰσομήκεις πέτραι κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνταί τινα, οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη οὖσαι, ἀλλ' ὅσον βολὴν διέχουσαι λίθου. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ λόφου οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι τὴν πόλιν ἐδείμαντο, οὔτε τείχη περιβαλόντες οὔτ' ἄλλο τι ὀχύρωμα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπεὶ φύσει αὐτοῖς τὸ χωρίον ἀνάλωτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. μία γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν εἴσοδος τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἣν φυλασσομένοις[1] τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοις οὐδεμίαν ἑτέρωθι πολεμίων προσβολὴν δεδιέναι ξυμβαίνει. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ᾗ τὴν εἴσοδον ἡ φύσις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐτεκτήνατο, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ποταμὸς[2] ἀεὶ μέγας τε καὶ ἀπόρευτος τὰ μεταξὺ ἔχει τοῦ τε

[1] ἢν φυλασσομένοις K : ἧς φυλασσομένης L.
[2] ποταμός τε MSS : τε bracketed by Dindorf.

[1] The nearest eminence is a good half-mile away (Hodgkin).

heard from the deserters that the Goths in that city had a scarcity of provisions, and he hoped that if, in addition to their lack of supplies, they should see Belisarius also present with his whole army, as they would suppose, they would give in the more readily, as indeed actually happened. For Belisarius, immediately upon reaching Urviventus, commanded the whole army to encamp in a place suitably situated, while he himself made a complete circuit of the city, looking carefully to see whether it was perhaps not impossible to capture it by storm. And it seemed to him that there was no possible means of taking the place by any manner of assault. However, he decided that it would not be altogether impossible to capture it by a secret stratagem.

For the city occupies a lone hill which springs from low-lying ground, being on the top level and smooth, but precipitous at the base. And round this hill there stand rocks of equal height which form, as it were, a circle about it, not immediately at the base of the hill, but about a stone's throw away.[1] Upon this hill, then, the men of old built the city, and they neither placed walls around it nor constructed defences of any other kind, since the place seemed to them impregnable by nature. For there is only one approach to the city through the rocks, and if the inhabitants of the city only keep this under guard, they have nothing to fear from hostile attacks at any other point. For apart from the place where nature, as has been stated, constructed the approach to the city, a river [2] which is always large and impassable occupies the space between the hill and the

[2] The Paglia now flows on only two sides of the hill (Hodgkin).

11 λόφου καὶ τῶν πετρῶν ὧν ἄρτι ἐμνήσθην. διὸ δὴ καὶ βραχειάν τινα οἰκοδομίαν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰσόδῳ πεποίηνται τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι. καὶ πύλη[1] τις ἐνταῦθά ἐστιν, ἣν τότε Γότθοι ἐφύλασσον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Οὐρβιβεντῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.

12 Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίστατο, ἢ[2] διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κακουργήσειν[3] τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχων ἢ[4] λιμῷ παραστήσεσθαι τοὺς
13 πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν οὐ παντάπασι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐσπάνιζον, καίπερ ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν αὐτὰ ἔχοντες, ὅμως τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχον, ἥκιστα μὲν ἐς τροφῆς κόρον ἐρχόμενοι, ὅσον δὲ μὴ λιμῷ ἀποθνήσκειν χρώμενοι σιτίοις ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην.
14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, δέρρεις τε καὶ διφθέρας ὕδατι βρέχοντες πολύν τινα χρόνον εἶτα ἤσθιον· Ἀλβίλας γὰρ ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν Γότθοις δόκιμος μάλιστα, ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς κεναῖς ἔβοσκεν.

15 Ἡνίκα τε αὖθις ἐπανιὼν ὁ χρόνος τὴν τοῦ θέρους ὥραν ἤνεγκεν, ὁ σῖτος ἤδη ἐν τοῖς ληΐοις αὐτόματος ἤκμαζεν, οὐχὶ τοσοῦτος μέντοι ὅσος
16 τὸ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ ἧσσων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς αὔλαξιν οὐκ ἀρότροις οὐδὲ χερσὶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκέκρυπτο, ἀλλ' ἐπιπολῆς κείμενος ἔτυχε, μοῖραν
17 αὐτοῦ τινα ὀλίγην ἡ γῆ ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυεν. οὐδενός τε αὐτὸν ἔτι ἀμήσαντος, πόρρω ἀκμῆς ἐλθὼν αὖθις ἔπεσε καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθένδε ἐφύη. ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Αἰμιλίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκὸς

[1] πύλη K: πόλις L.
[2] ἢ K: εἴ πως L.
[3] κακουργήσειν K: κακουργήσοι L.
[4] ἢ K: καὶ L.

rocks which I have just mentioned.' In view of this situation the Romans of old built a short piece of wall across this approach. And there is a gate in it, which the Goths were guarding at that time. Such is the situation of Urviventus.

And Belisarius commenced the siege with his whole army, hoping either to deliver an attack by way of the river or to bring the enemy to submission by famine. The barbarians, on their part, were for a time not utterly destitute of provisions, though their supply was indeed too scanty for their needs, but still they held out beyond all expectation in enduring their suffering, never getting sufficient nourishment to satisfy them, and using each day only enough food so as not to die of starvation. But finally, when all their provisions had been exhausted, they began to eat skins and hides which they had previously soaked in water for a long time; for their commander Albilas, a man of especial note among the Goths, was sustaining them with empty hopes.[1]

Now as time went on and brought again the summer season, the grain was already ripening uncared for in the cornlands, but in no such quantities as formerly—indeed it was much less. For since it had not been covered in the furrows, either by ploughs or by the hand of man, but lay upon the surface, the earth was able to make only a small portion of it take root. And since after that no one reaped it, when it had become fully ripe it fell again to the ground and nothing grew from it thereafter. And this same thing had happened also in Aemilia; and

[1] It is implied in section 4 above that the city surrendered, but this is not explicitly stated, and Procopius does not return to the subject later.

ἔτυχε. διὸ[1] ἐκλιπόντες τὰ οἰκεῖα οἱ ταύτῃ ἄνθρωποι ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦλθον, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία διὰ τὸ ἐπιθαλάττια εἶναι παντάπασι τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι. καὶ Τούσκων δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἐξ αἰτίας τῆς αὐτῆς[2] ὁ λιμὸς ἥψατο, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ᾤκηντο, τῶν δρυῶν τὰς βαλάνους ἀλοῦντες, ὥσπερ τὸν σῖτον, ἄρτους τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι ἤσθιον. καὶ νόσοις μὲν παντοδαπαῖς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡλίσκοντο, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ περιγενόμενοι διεσώζοντο. ἐν Πικηνῷ μέντοι λέγονται Ῥωμαῖοι γεωργοὶ[3] οὐχ ἧσσους ἢ πέντε μυριάδες λαοῦ λιμῷ ἀπολωλέναι, καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι πλείους ἐκτὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου.

Ὁποῖοι δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐγίνοντο καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔθνησκον αὐτὸς θεασάμενος ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. ἰσχνοὶ μὲν καὶ ὠχροὶ ἐγίνοντο πάντες· ἥ τε γὰρ σὰρξ ἀποροῦσα τροφῆς κατά γε τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον ἑαυτῆς ἥπτετο,[4] καὶ ἡ χολὴ τῷ περιόντι τὸ κράτος τῶν σωμάτων ἤδη ἔχουσα οἰκείαν[5] τινὰ εἰκασίαν ἐς ταῦτα ἠφίει. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ, πᾶσά τε αὐτοὺς ἰκμὰς ἐπελελοίπει καὶ τὸ δέρμα λίαν ἀπεσκληκὸς βύρσῃ μάλιστα ἐμφερὲς ἦν, δόκησιν παρέχον ὡς ἄρα τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐμπεπηγὸς εἴη. τό τε πελιδνὸν ἐς τὸ μέλαν μεταβαλόντες δαδίοις τισὶν ἐς ἄγαν καυθεῖσιν ἐῴκεσαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ἔκθαμβα ἦν, ἀεὶ δὲ δεινῶς τι μανικὸν ἔβλεπον. ἔθνησκόν τε οἱ μὲν ἀπορίᾳ τροφῆς, οἱ δὲ καὶ λίαν αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰόντες.

[1] ἔτυχε. διὸ L: om. K.
[2] τῆς αὐτῆς K: om. L.
[3] γεωργοὶ L: om. K.
[4] ἥπτετο K: ἐλείπετο L.
[5] οἰκείαν Haury: οὐκ εἶαν K, οὐχὶ ἂν L: χλωράν Herwerden, ὠχράν Hoeschel in marg.

because of this situation the inhabitants of that region left their homes and went to Picenum, thinking that, since that country was on the sea, it could not be suffering from absolute lack of food supplies. And the Tuscans, no less than the others, were attacked by famine for the same cause; and as many of them as lived in the mountains were eating loaves made of the acorns of the oak trees, which they ground up just like grain. The natural result of this was that the most of the people fell victim to all manner of diseases, and it was only a few who threw these off and recovered. Indeed it is said that among the Roman farmers in Picenum not less than fifty thousand persons perished by famine, and a great many more north of the Ionian Gulf.[1]

I shall now tell of the appearance which they came to have and in what manner they died, for I was an eye-witness. All of them first became lean and pale; for the flesh, being ill supplied with nourishment, according to the old saying "laid hold upon itself," and the bile, having now the mastery of their bodies by reason of its excess, lent them almost its own appearance. And as the malady developed, all moisture left them, and the skin became very dry so that it resembled leather more than anything else, giving the appearance of having been fastened upon the bones. And as they changed from a livid to a black colour, they came to resemble torches thoroughly burned. And their faces always wore an expression of amazement, while they always had a dreadful sort of insane stare. And they died, some because of the lack of food, and others too by sating themselves

[1] In Procopius the Ionian Gulf is the Adriatic.

26 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ σφίσιν ἀποσβεσθὲν ἅπαν τὸ θερμὸν
ἔτυχεν ὅπερ ἡ φύσις ἐντὸς ἔκαυσεν, εἴ τις ἐς
κόρον αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ βραχύ, θρέψειεν,
ὥσπερ τὰ ἐπὶ καιροῦ τεχθέντα παιδία, οἵδε
καταπέψαι οὐκέτι τὰ σιτία ἔχοντες, πολλῷ
27 διεφθείροντο θᾶσσον. τινὲς δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ
ὑπερβιαζομένου ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. καὶ λέγον-
ται γυναῖκες δύο ἐν ἀγρῷ τινι ὑπὲρ Ἀριμίνου
πόλεως ἄνδρας ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐδηδοκέναι, ἅσπερ ἐν
28 τῷ χωρίῳ μόνας περιεῖναι ξυνέπεσε. διὸ δὴ τοὺς
ἐκείνῃ πορευομένους ξένους εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον
καταλύειν οὕπερ αὗται ᾤκουν ξυνέβαινεν· οὓς
29 δὴ καθεύδοντας διαφθείρουσαι ἤσθιον. λέγουσιν
οὖν τὸν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ξένον ἐξ ὕπνου ἀνα-
στάντα, ἡνίκα αὐτῷ ταῦτα τὰ[1] γύναια ἐγχειρεῖν
ἔμελλον, μαθεῖν τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀναθορόντα τὸν
30 πάντα λόγον καὶ ἄμφω κτεῖναι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
οὕτω γεγενῆσθαί φασιν. οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῇ τοῦ
λιμοῦ ἀνάγκῃ ἐχόμενοι, εἴ πού τις παρατύχῃ πόα,
πολλῇ μὲν σπουδῇ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ᾔεσαν, ὀκλάσαντες
31 δὲ ἀνέλκειν αὐτὴν ἐκ γῆς ἐπειρῶντο. εἶτα (οὐ
γὰρ ἠδύναντο, ἐπεὶ πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἰσχὺς ἐπε-
λελοίπει) ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόας[2] καὶ τῆς χειρὸς
32 πίπτοντες ἔθνησκον. καὶ γῇ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔκρυπτεν
οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τις ὅτῳ καὶ ταφῆς
λόγος γένοιτο· ὄρνις μέντοι αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἥπτετο,
οἷοι πολλοὶ σιτίζεσθαι πεφύκασι νεκροῖς σώμασιν,
33 ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφεῖντο. σάρκας γὰρ
ἁπάσας, ὥσπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, προδεδα-

[1] ταῦτα τὰ L: τὰ τοιαῦτα K.
[2] πόας τε MSS. : τε bracketed by Dindorf.

too much with it. For since all the warmth which nature kindled within them had died away, whenever anyone fed them to satiety, and not little by little, just like infants newly born, the result was that, since they were as yet unable to digest the food, they died much more quickly. Some too, overcome by hunger, fed upon their comrades. And it is said that two women in a certain place in the country above the city of Ariminum ate seventeen men; for these women, as it happened, were the only inhabitants of the place who survived, and consequently it came about that strangers travelling that way lodged in the little house where these women lived; so they would kill these strangers while they slept and eat them. Now the story goes that the eighteenth stranger was roused from sleep, just when these women were about to lay hands upon him, and leaping up and learning from them the whole story, killed both of them. Such, then, is the story which they tell. And the most of the people were so overcome by their hunger that if they happened upon a bit of grass anywhere, they would rush to it with great eagerness, and kneeling down, would try to pull it from the ground. Then, finding themselves unable to do so because all strength had left them, they would fall upon the grass and their outstretched hand and die. And no one ever laid them in the earth, for there was in fact not a man to concern himself about burying them; and yet they remained untouched by any of those numerous birds which have the habit of feeding upon dead bodies, for they offered nothing which the birds craved. For all the flesh, as I have previously stated, had already

πανῆσθαι τῷ λιμῷ ἤδη τετύχηκε. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ τῷ λιμῷ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

XXI

Βελισάριος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Οὐραΐαν τε καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους Μεδιόλανον πολιορκεῖν ἤκουσε, Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ Οὐλίαριν ξὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' 2 αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς ποταμὸν Πάδον, ὃς Μεδιολάνου ἀπέχει ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. χρόνος τε σφίσι πολὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐτρίβη, ἀμφὶ τῇ διαβάσει 3 τοῦ ποταμοῦ βουλὴν ἔχουσιν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Μουνδίλας ἤκουσε, τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Παῦλον 4 ὄνομα, παρ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ λαθὼν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τοῦ Πάδου τὴν ὄχθην ἦλθεν. ὁλκάδος δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐπιτυχὼν ἀπεδύσατό τε καὶ νηχόμενος ξὺν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ 5 τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιήσατο. κομισθεὶς οὖν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἥκων ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Μαρτῖνέ τε καὶ Οὐλίαρι, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδὲ δόξης τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄξια, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἥκοντες, ἔργῳ 6 δὲ τὴν Γότθων δύναμιν αὔξοντες. Μεδιόλανος γὰρ ἥδε, πόλεων τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πασῶν μάλιστα μεγέθει τε καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ παρὰ πολὺ προὔχουσα, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πρός τε Γερμανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐπιτείχισμά τε οὖσα καὶ πάσης, ὡς εἰπεῖν, προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἐμπέπτωκε μέγαν ξύν τε Μουνδίλᾳ

been consumed by starvation. Such was the manner in which famine visited the land.

XXI

Now when Belisarius heard that Uraïas and the barbarians were besieging Milan, he sent Martinus and Uliaris against them with a numerous army. But when this force reached the River Po, which is one day's journey distant from Milan, they established a camp and remained there. And a long time was spent by them at that camp while they were deliberating about the crossing of the river. And when Mundilas heard this, he sent to them one of the Romans, Paulus by name. He accordingly passed through the lines of the enemy without being detected, and reached the bank of the Po. But he happened to find no ferry ready at the moment, and so he removed his clothing and, at great risk, made the crossing by swimming. So when he had betaken himself to the Roman camp and had come into the presence of the commanders, he spoke as follows:

"Martinus and Uliaris, you are not acting justly nor in a manner worthy of your own fame, seeing that in appearance you have come for the saving of the emperor's cause, but in reality to magnify the power of the Goths. For this city of Milan, which far surpasses practically all the other cities of Italy in point of size and population and in every other sort of prosperity, and, apart from these advantages, is an outpost against the Germans and the other barbarians, and has been thrown out to protect the whole Roman empire, so to speak,—this city, I say, has now fallen into great danger together with

καὶ τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ, παρὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων
7 ἐνοχλουμένη, παρὰ δὲ ὑμῶν ἀμελουμένη. ἡλίκα
μὲν οὖν ἠδίκηται βασιλεὺς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι, λέγειν ἀφίημι. οὐ γάρ μοι πλείοσι
λόγοις ὁ καιρὸς ἐνδίδωσι χρῆσθαι, ὀξεῖάν τινα τῇ
πόλει τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἐπιζητῶν, ἕως ἔτι λείπεταί
8 τις ἐλπίς. ὑμᾶς δέ φημι χρῆναι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
κινδυνεύουσι Μεδιολανίταις ἀμύνειν. ἦν γάρ τινι
μελλήσει ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐς ἡμᾶς χρῆσθε,[1] ἡμῖν
μὲν τὰ πάντων πικρότατα πεπονθόσιν ἀπολω-
λέναι ξυμβήσεται, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν
9 βασιλέως προέσθαι δύναμιν. προδόται γάρ, οἶμαι,
καλεῖσθαί εἰσι δίκαιοι οὐχ οἳ ἂν τὰς πύλας τοῖς
ἐναντίοις ἀνακλίνοιεν μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἧσσον,
εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, οἳ ἂν πολιορκουμένοις παρὸν
τοῖς φιλτάτοις ἀμύνειν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀκίνδυνον
ὄκνησιν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἑλόμενοι, τὴν ἐκείνων,
ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν τοῖς πολεμίοις δεδώκασι."
10 Παῦλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Μαρτῖνος δὲ καὶ
Οὐλίαρις ἔψεσθαί οἱ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπαγγειλά-
11 μενοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπεπέμψαντο. ὃς δὴ καὶ
αὖθις τοὺς βαρβάρους λαθὼν ἐς Μεδιόλανον
νύκτωρ εἰσῆλθε, τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ Ῥωμαίους
ἅπαντας ἐλπίσιν ἐπάρας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν
βασιλέως πίστιν ἐπέρρωσεν.
12 Οὐδέν τι δὲ ἧσσον οἱ ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον ὄκνῳ
ἐχόμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, χρόνος τε πολὺς ταύτῃ
13 δὴ τῇ μελλήσει ἐτρίβετο. μετὰ δὲ Μαρτῖνος
ἀπολύεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν ἐθέλων Βελισαρίῳ ἔγραψε

[1] χρῆσθε K: χρῆσθαι συμβῆ L.

Mundilas and the emperor's army, harassed as it is by the enemy, and neglected meanwhile by you. And how much the emperor has been wronged by you in the present case, I refrain from stating. For the urgency of the moment does not allow me to use many words, seeking as I do quick assistance for the city, while some hope is still left. But you, I say, must come to the defence of the people of Milan in their peril with all possible speed. For if at the present crisis you act with any hesitation in coming to us, the result will be for us, on the one hand, to perish after suffering the most cruel fate possible, and for you, on the other, to have betrayed to the enemy the emperor's power. For those who may perchance open their gates to the enemy are not the only ones who are justly called traitors, but with equal, nay even greater, justice this name belongs to those who, though they have the power to defend those dearest to them when they are besieged, still choose the course of hesitation, which involves no danger, instead of engaging in the struggle, and thus probably give to their enemy the victory over them." Thus spoke Paulus, and Martinus and Uliaris sent him back with the promise to follow him right speedily. And he once more succeeded in getting through the barbarians unnoticed, entered Milan by night, and having roused the hopes of the soldiers and all the Romans, still more strengthened their purpose to be faithful to the emperor.

Nevertheless Martinus and his men continued to be reluctant to move and remained where they were, and much time was consumed by them in hesitating in this way. But finally Martinus, wishing to clear himself of the charge, wrote to Belisarius as follows:

τάδε· "Ἐπεμψας ἡμᾶς ὧδε τοῖς ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐπαμυνοῦντας, καὶ ἡμεῖς[1] πολλῇ σπουδῇ, ὥσπερ σὺ ἐκέλευες, ἄχρι ἐς Πάδον ποταμὸν ἥκομεν, ὃν διαβαίνειν ὁ στρατὸς δέδοικεν, ἐπεὶ δύναμίν τε Γότθων μεγάλην καὶ Βουργουζιώνων πάμπολύ τι ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος ἐν Λιγούροις εἶναι ἀκούομεν, πρὸς οὕς γε ἡμεῖς διαμάχεσθαι μόνοι οὐχ οἷοί τε οἰόμεθα εἶναι. 14 ἀλλὰ κέλευε Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ὡς τάχιστα (ἐν γειτόνων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐν Αἰμιλίων τῇ χώρᾳ εἰσίν) ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἑπομένοις κινδύνου ἡμῖν 15 τοῦδε ξυνάρασθαι. κοινῇ γὰρ ἐνθένδε ἰόντες αὐτοί τε σῶοι εἶναι καὶ δρᾶν τι κακὸν δυνησόμεθα τοὺς 16 πολεμίους." Μαρτίνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν ἀνελέξατο, Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ἐκέλευε ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον ἐς Μεδιόλανον κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. οἱ δὲ πράξειν οὐδὲν ἔφασκον, ὅ τι[2] μὴ Ναρσῆς 17 ἐπιστέλλοι σφίσι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Ναρσῇ Βελισάριος ἔγραψε τάδε·

"Ἓν σῶμα εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως στρατιὰν νόμιζε, ἣν δὴ ἦν[3] μὴ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι μίαν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπου τὰ μέλη ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλά τι ἀλλήλων χωρὶς ἐνεργεῖν βούλεσθαι,[4] λελείψεται ἡμῖν τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν διαπεπραγμένοις ἀπολω- 18 λέναι. οὐκοῦν Αἰμιλίαν μὲν ἔα, οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἔχουσαν οὔτε τινὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι 19 καιρῷ ῥοπὴν φέρουσαν. σὺ δὲ Ἰωάννην τε καὶ Ἰουστῖνον κέλευε αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα εὐθὺ τῶν ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ πολεμίων ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον

[1] ἡμεῖς K : γε L. [2] ὅ τι K : εἴ τι L.
[3] ἦν δὴ ἦν K : εἴπερ γοῦν L.

"You sent us hither in order to bring support to those endangered in Milan, and we have come in great haste, just as you commanded, as far as the River Po; but the army fears to cross this river, since we hear that a strong force of Goths are in Liguria, and a very great multitude of Burgundians with them; and against such an army we do not consider ourselves able to fight a decisive battle alone. But command John and Justinus, who are in our neighbourhood in the land of Aemilia, to come with all possible speed together with their troops and assist us in meeting this danger. For by going together from here we shall be enabled both to be safe ourselves and also to do some harm to the enemy." Such was the content of Martinus' letter. And Belisarius, upon reading it, commanded John and Justinus to join the forces of Martinus and go with all speed against Milan. But they said that they would do nothing except what Narses commanded them. Wherefore Belisarius wrote also to Narses as follows:

"Consider that the whole army of the emperor is one body, and that, if it does not display one single purpose, just as do the members of a man, but one part wishes to act separately from the others, what will be left to us is to perish utterly without having performed any of our duties. Therefore have done with Aemilia, which neither contains any fortress nor has any decisive importance for the Romans, at least at the present moment. But do you command John and Justinus without the least delay to go with the forces of Martinus straight against the enemy

[4] βούλεσθαι Maltretus: βούλεσθε MSS.

ἰέναι, ἐγγύς τε ὄντας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν
20 ἐπικράτησιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
στρατιᾶς πλῆθος, ὅπερ ἂν καὶ στέλλοιμι, οὐκ
εἶναι ξυμβαίνει, ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατιώτας ἐς
Μεδιόλανον ἐνθένδε ἰέναι ἀξύμφορον οἶομαι εἶναι.
21 χρόνου τε γὰρ τετρίψεται πλῆθος, ὥστε ὀπίσω
τοῦ δέοντος καιροῦ ἐς αὐτὴν ἥξουσι, καὶ τοῖς
ἵπποις ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι διὰ μῆκος
ὁδοῦ, ἡνίκα ἐς ἐκείνους ἀφίκωνται, οὐδαμῶς
22 ἕξουσιν. ἦν δέ γε ξύν τε Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Οὐλίαρι
οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι ἐς Μεδιόλανον ἴωσι, κρατήσουσί
τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων, καὶ τὴν
Αἰμιλίαν καταλήψονται αὖθις, οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντι-
23 στατοῦντος." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Ναρσῆς ἀπενεχθέντα
εἶδε τὰ γράμματα, αὐτὸς μὲν Ἰωάννῃ τε καὶ
Ἰουστίνῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Μεδιόλανον ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ
24 στρατῷ ἰέναι. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης μὲν
ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐστάλη, ὅπως ἀκάτους ἐνθένδε
κομίζοι, οὕτω τε διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς
δύνηται. ἀλλὰ νόσος αὐτῷ ξυμβᾶσα τὰ πρασσό-
μενα διεκώλυσεν.

25 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον τῇ ἐς τὴν
διάβασιν ὀκνήσει ἐχρῶντο καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν
Ἰωάννην τὰς Ναρσοῦ ἐντολὰς ἔμενον, ἐν τούτῳ
χρόνου δαπανᾶσθαι πολύ τι χρῆμα τῇ πολιορκίᾳ
26 τετύχηκεν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν τῷ
λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ὑπερβιαζομένου
κυνῶν τε καὶ μυῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐγεύσαντο καὶ
ζῴων ἄλλων ὅσα ἐς βρῶσιν ἀνθρώπου οὔποτε[1]
27 ἦλθον. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι πρέσβεις παρὰ
Μουνδίλαν πέμψαντες ἐνδοῦναι σφίσι τὴν πόλιν

[1] οὔποτε K : *οὐ πρότερον* L.

at Milan, for they are near at hand and sufficiently strong to overpower the barbarians. For it so happens that I myself have here no numerous army which I could possibly send, and even apart from this, I think it inexpedient for soldiers to go from here against Milan. For a great amount of time will be consumed in the journey so that they will fail to reach the city at the proper moment, and they will be quite unable on account of the length of the journey to use their horses against the enemy when they reach them. But if these men[1] go with Martinus and Uliaris against Milan, they will in all probability both overcome the barbarians there and also take possession of Aemilia again without encountering any further resistance." When this letter had been delivered to Narses and read by him, he himself sent orders to John and Justinus to go with the other army to Milan. And John a little later set out for the seacoast, in order to bring boats from there, which were to enable the army to cross the river. But an illness which fell upon him put a stop to the undertaking.

But while the forces of Martinus were hesitating about the crossing of the river, and those of John were awaiting the instructions of Narses, a great amount of time was consumed, and the siege meantime continued to be pressed. And the besieged were already suffering extremely from the famine, and under the overwhelming necessity of their wretched situation the most of them had begun to eat dogs and mice and other animals such as had never been eaten by man. So the barbarians sent envoys to Mundilas, bidding him surrender the

[1] John and Justinus.

ἐκέλευον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀπαθεῖς αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ στρα-
28 τιῶται κακῶν μείνωσιν. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὠμολόγησε
πράξειν, ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπέρ τε αὐτῶν τὰ πιστὰ
δώσουσι καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐς τῶν οἰκητόρων
29 τινὰ δράσουσιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι Μουνδίλα τε
καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, θυμῷ τε
πολλῷ ἐς Λιγούρους ἐχόμενοι ἅπαντας ἀπολοῦν-
τες ἔνδηλοι ἦσαν, συγκαλέσας Μουνδίλας τοὺς
στρατιώτας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

30 "Εἴ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι πώποτε, παρὸν αἰσχρῶς
βιῶναι, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐκλεῶς ἀποθανεῖν εἵλοντο
σωτηρίας τῆς παραυτίκα τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ βίου
καταστροφὴν ἀλλαξάμενοι, τοιούτους δή τινας ἐν
τῷ παρόντι βουλοίμην ἂν καὶ ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ μὴ
τῷ φιλοψύχῳ τὸν μετὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης βίον διώκειν,
καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῆς Βελισαρίου διδασκαλίας, ἧς
ἐκ παλαιοῦ[1] μετασχοῦσιν ὑμῖν μὴ οὐχὶ γενναίοις
31 τε καὶ λίαν εὐτόλμοις εἶναι οὐχ ὅσιον. τοῖς μὲν
γὰρ εἰς φῶς ἥκουσι μία τις ἅπασι προέρχεται
τύχη, τοῖς καθήκουσι τεθνήξεσθαι χρόνοις· τρόπῳ
δὲ τῆς τελευτῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀλλήλων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
32 διαλλάσσουσι. διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι ἄνανδροι μέν, ὡς
τὸ εἰκός, ἅπαντες ὕβριν τε καὶ γέλωτα ὀφείλοντες
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς πρότερον, εἶτα τοῖς ἄνωθεν διωρισ-
μένοις καιροῖς οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἀναπιμπλᾶσι τὴν
πεπρωμένην, γενναίοις δὲ ἀνδράσι ξύν τε τῇ ἀρετῇ
καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς περιουσίᾳ τοῦτο ξυμβαίνει
33 πάσχειν. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων εἰ μὲν ἀνθρώπους
τούσδε ξυνδιασώζουσιν ἡμῖν δουλεύειν τοῖς βαρ-

[1] παλαιοῦ K : πασῶν L.

city to them, with the condition that he himself and the soldiers should remain free from harm. But Mundilas agreed to do this only on condition that they not only give pledges for the safety of the Roman garrison, but also that they would do no harm to any one of the inhabitants. But since the enemy, though ready to give pledges to Mundilas and the soldiers, were moved by furious passion against the Ligurians and were evidently going to destroy them all, Mundilas called all the soldiers together and spoke as follows:

"If it has ever happened that any men before us, though having the opportunity to save their lives with disgrace, have chosen rather to die with fair fame, abandoning their immediate safety for a glorious end of life, such men I should wish you also to be at the present time, and not through fondness for life to pursue it even though it be involved in shame, and that too, contrary to the teaching of Belisarius, by which you have profited for a long time past, so that to be otherwise than noble and exceedingly courageous is for you sacrilege. For when men have once entered life, a single fate is advancing upon all of them—to die at the appointed time; but as to the manner of death men differ, for the most part, one from the other. And there is this difference, that cowards, as one might expect, in every case first bring upon themselves insult and ridicule from their enemies and then, at the exact time previously appointed, fulfil their destiny no whit the less; but it falls to the lot of noble men to suffer this with valour and an abundance of goodly fame. And apart from these considerations, if it had been possible to become slaves of the barbarians,

βάροις παρῆν, ἔφερεν ἂν τοῦτο γοῦν τινα τῆς
34 αἰσχρᾶς ταύτης ἡμῖν σωτηρίας συγγνώμην. ἦν
δέ γε Ῥωμαίους τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιδεῖν
ἀνάγκη ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων διαφθειρομένους
χερσίν, ὅτου τις ἂν εἴποι τοῦτο θανάτου
35 πικρότερον ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς
βαρβάροις ξυγκατεργάζεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν δόξαιμεν.
ἕως οὖν ἔτι ἐσμὲν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κύριοι ἀρετῇ τὴν
ἀνάγκην κοσμήσασθαι,[1] εὔδοξον[2] τὴν προσπε-
36 σοῦσαν θώμεθα τύχην. φημὶ δὲ χρῆναι ὡς
ἄριστα ἐξοπλισαμένους ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τοὺς
37 πολεμίους οὐ προσδεχομένους χωρεῖν. δυοῖν γὰρ
ἡμῖν περιέσται θάτερον· ἢ τὴν τύχην ἐφ' ἡμῖν
εἰργάσθαι τι κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος ἢ[3] τελευτῆς
τετυχηκότας εὐδαίμονος εὐκλεῶς μάλιστα τῶν
παρόντων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν."
38 Μουνδίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, τῶν δὲ στρα-
τιωτῶν ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν,
ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς παρεκάλουν οἱ πολέμιοι σφᾶς τε
39 αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν
οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἐργασάμενοι ἐν φυλακῇ
ξὺν Μουνδίλᾳ εἶχον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐς ἔδαφος
καθεῖλον, ἄνδρας μὲν κτείναντες ἡβηδὸν ἅπαντας
οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ μυριάδας τριάκοντα, γυναῖκας δὲ ἐν
ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενοι λόγῳ, αἷς δὴ Βουργου-
ζίωνας δεδώρηνται χάριν αὐτοῖς τῆς ξυμμαχίας
40 ἐκτίνοντες. Ῥεπάρατον δὲ[4] εὑρόντες τὸν τῆς

[1] κοσμήσασθαι K: κομίσασθαι L, κοσμήσασθαι ⟨ἀξιοῦντες⟩ Comparetti, κοσμήσαντες Krašeninnikov.

[2] εὔδοξον K: εὔδοξον ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ L.

[3] κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος ἢ Herwerden: ἢ om. K, ἢ κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος L.

and at the same time to save the people of the city, that at least might have brought us some forgiveness for saving ourselves so disgracefully. But if, in fact, we are bound to look on while such a great multitude of Romans is being destroyed by the hand of the enemy, this will be more bitter than any form of death of which a man could tell. For we should appear to be doing nothing more or less than helping the barbarians to perpetrate this dreadful deed. While, therefore, we are sufficiently our own masters to adorn necessity with valour, let us make glorious the fortune which has fallen upon us. And I say that we ought all to arm ourselves in the best possible manner, and advance upon the enemy when they are not expecting us. For the result for us will be one of two things: either fortune will have wrought for us in some way a success which transcends our present hope, or we, in achieving a happy end, shall have rid ourselves of our present troubles with the fairest fame."

So spoke Mundilas; but not one of the soldiers was willing to undergo the danger, and they surrendered both themselves and the city on the terms which the enemy offered. And the barbarians did indeed inflict no harm upon the soldiers, simply putting them under guard with Mundilas, but the city they razed to the ground, killing all the males of every age to the number of not less than three hundred thousand and reducing the women to slavery and then presenting them to the Burgundians by way of repaying them for their alliance. And when they found Reparatus, the pretorian

[4] ῥεπάρατον δὲ K: οὗ δὴ ῥεπάρατον L.

αὐλῆς ἔπαρχον, ἔκοψάν τε κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ
41 αὐτοῦ τὰ κρέα τοῖς κυσὶν ἔρριψαν. Βηργεντῖνος
δὲ (καὶ γὰρ ἐντὸς ὢν Μεδιολάνου[1] ἔτυχε) διὰ τε
Βενετίων καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις
ἐς Δαλματίαν κομίζεται. καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα
ἐνθένδε ἦλθε, πάθος ἀγγέλλων[2] μέγα τοῦτο ὃ[3]
42 Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε γενέσθαι. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ
Γότθοι πόλεις τε τὰς ἄλλας ὁμολογίᾳ εἷλον αἳ
Ῥωμαίων ἔτυχον φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι, καὶ Λιγουρίας
αὖθις ὅλης ἐκράτησαν. Μαρτῖνος δὲ καὶ Οὐλίαρις
ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης ἀνέστρεφον.

XXII

Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὧδέ πη ἔσχε. Βελισάριος δὲ
οὔπω τι πεπυσμένος τῶν ἐν Λιγουρίᾳ ξυμπεπτω-
κότων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα ἤδη, τῷ παντὶ
2 στρατῷ ἐς Πικηνὸν ἦει. τά τε ἀμφὶ Μεδιολάνῳ
τετυχηκότα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πορείᾳ μαθὼν ἐν
3 μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο πένθει. καὶ Οὐλίαριν μὲν ἐς
ὄψιν οἱ ἐλθεῖν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν εἴασεν, ἅπαντα δὲ
4 τὰ ξυμπεσόντα βασιλεῖ ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ
τούτων μὲν ἕνεκα δεινόν τι εἰργάσατο οὐδένα, τὴν
δὲ Βελισαρίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ διαφορὰν ἀκούσας
Ναρσῆν τε αὐτίκα μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτοκράτορα
παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου Βελισάριον κατεστήσατο.
5 ὧδε μὲν ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐπανῆκε, τῶν
στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἄγων. Ἔρουλοι δὲ
μένειν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ Ναρσοῦ ἐνθένδε ἀναχωροῦντος
οὐκέτι ἠξίουν, καίτοι Βελισαρίου πολλὰ ὑποσχο-

[1] ὂν Μεδιολάνου Haury: ὃν μεδιολάνου K, ἐν μεδιολάνοις L.
[2] ἀγγέλλων L: τὲ K. [3] ὃ L: om. K.

prefect, they cut his body into small pieces and threw his flesh to the dogs. But Vergentinus (for he had been, as it happened, inside Milan) made his escape and betook himself with his followers to Dalmatia, passing through the land of the Veneti and the other nations of that region. And from there he went to the emperor bearing the message of this great calamity which had befallen the Romans. In consequence of this success the Goths took by surrender the other cities which happened to have Roman garrisons and again gained control over the whole of Liguria. As for Martinus and Uliaris, they marched back with their army toward Rome.

XXII

Such was the course of events in Liguria. And Belisarius, having not yet learned anything of what had happened in that field, was moving with his whole army into Picenum, since the winter was now coming to an end. But learning in the course of this journey what had befallen Milan, he grieved exceedingly. And never after that time would he allow Uliaris to come into his presence; but he wrote to the emperor everything which had taken place. And the emperor treated no one with severity on account of these things, but upon hearing of the disagreement between Belisarius and Narses, he recalled Narses immediately and appointed Belisarius commander-in-chief for the whole war. Thus it was that Narses returned to Byzantium, bringing some few of the soldiers. But the Eruli, seeing that Narses was departing from Italy, refused to remain there longer, although Belisarius promised

μένου σφίσι πρός τε αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ
μένουσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συσκευασάμενοι ἅπαντες
6 τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐπὶ Λιγουρίας ἀπεχώρησαν. οὗ
δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ Οὐραΐα στρατῷ, ἀνδράποδά τε
καὶ ἄλλα ζῷα ὅσα ἐπῆγον τοῖς πολεμίοις
ἀπέδοντο, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ κεκομισμένοι
ἀπώμοσαν, μήποτε Γότθοις ἀντιτάξεσθαι ἢ εἰς
7 χεῖρας ἰέναι. οὕτω τε εἰρηναίαν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν
ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Βενετίας χωρία ἦλθον.
ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς Βιταλίῳ ξυγγενομένοις τῶν ἐς
βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἡμαρτημένων μετέμελεν.
8 ἀφοσιούμενοί τε τὸ ἔγκλημα Οὐίσανδον μὲν τῶν
ἀρχόντων ἕνα ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις αὐτοῦ εἴασαν, οἱ
δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀπεκομίσθησαν ἅπαντες,
Ἀλουίθ τε ἡγουμένου σφίσι καὶ Φιλιμούθ, ὅσπερ
Φανιθέου τετελευτηκότος ἐν Καισήνῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἔσχεν.

9 Οὐίττιγις δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ Γότθοι Βελισάριον
ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς τε καὶ Ῥάβενναν
ἥξειν ἀκούοντες ἐν δείματι μεγάλῳ καθίσταντο
καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο· καὶ
αὐτοῖς πολλὰ βουλευσαμένοις (οὐ γὰρ ἀξιόμαχοι
τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ μόνας[1] ᾤοντο εἶναι) ἔδοξεν
ἄλλων τινῶν βαρβάρων ἐπικουρίαν ἐπάγεσθαι.
10 Γερμανῶν μὲν οὖν τοῦ τε δολεροῦ καὶ ἀπίστου
ἤδη ἐν πείρᾳ γεγενημένοι ἀπέσχοντο, ἀγαπῶντες,
ἢν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν,
11 ἀλλ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν στήσωνται. ἐς δὲ
Λαγγοβαρδῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα Οὐάκην πρέσβεις

[1] κατὰ μόνας KL: om. W.

[1] Cf. chap. xix. 20.

that they would receive many benefits both from himself and from the emperor, if they remained; but they all packed up their luggage and withdrew, going first to Liguria. There they happened upon the army of Uraïas, and they sold all the slaves and the animals they were taking with them to the enemy, and, having thus acquired a great amount of money, they took an oath that they would never array themselves against Goths or do battle with them. Thus they made their withdrawal in peace and came into the land of the Veneti. But upon meeting Vitalius there, they forthwith began to repent of the wrong they had done the Emperor Justinian. And seeking to clear themselves of the charge against them, they left there Visandus, one of their commanders, with his forces, but all the rest betook themselves to Byzantium under the leadership of Aluith and Philemuth, the latter having taken the command after Phanitheus was killed at Caesena.[1]

Now Vittigis and the Goths with him, hearing that Belisarius at the beginning of spring would come against them and Ravenna, were plunged into great fear, and they began to take counsel regarding the situation which confronted them; and realizing as they did that they alone were not a match for their enemy in battle, they decided, after long deliberation, to invite the assistance of some other barbarians. In carrying out this purpose, however, they avoided the Germans, having already had experience of their crafty and untrustworthy character, being well content if they too should not come against the Goths with Belisarius, but should stand aside for both. But they sent envoys to Vaces, the ruler of the Lombards, offering great sums of money

ἔπεμψαν, χρήματά τε μεγάλα προτεινόμενοι καὶ
12 ἐς τὴν ὁμαιχμίαν παρακαλοῦντες. οἳ δή, ἐπεὶ
βασιλεῖ φίλον τε καὶ ξύμμαχον τὸν Οὐάκην
13 ἔγνωσαν εἶναι, ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν. Οὐίττιγις
τοίνυν τοῖς παροῦσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπορούμενος
τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀεὶ ξυνεκάλει πολλούς. παρ'
ὧν δὴ συχνὰ ἐπυνθάνετο ὅ τί ποτέ οἱ βουλευομένῳ
τε καὶ πράσσοντι ἄμεινον τὰ πράγματα ἕξει.
14 γνῶμαι οὖν πολλαὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐς τὴν βουλὴν
ξυνιόντων ἐλέγοντο, αἱ μὲν ἐπιτηδείως τοῖς
παροῦσιν οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσαι, αἱ δέ τι καὶ λόγου
15 ἄξιον φέρουσαι. ἐν αἷς καὶ τόδε ἐς τὸν λόγον
ἦλθεν, ὡς οὐ πρότερόν ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς
τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν ἴσχυσε,
πλήν γε δὴ ὅτε[1] αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐς Πέρσας γεγένηνται.[2]
16 τούς τε γὰρ Βανδίλους[3] καὶ Μαυρουσίους τηνι-
καῦτα ἀπολωλέναι καὶ Γότθοις τὰ παρόντα ξυμ-
πεπτωκέναι. ὥστε, ἤν τις καὶ νῦν Ἰουστινιανῷ
αὐτοκράτορι τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα ξυγκρούῃ, οὐ
μήποτε Ῥωμαῖοι, τούτου δὴ ἐκπεπολεμωμένου
σφίσι τοῦ ἔθνους, πόλεμον ἄλλον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς
17 οὐδένας ἀνθρώπων τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξουσι. ταῦτα
Οὐιττίγιδί τε αὐτῷ ἤρεσε καὶ Γότθοις τοῖς
ἄλλοις.

Ἔδοξεν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Μήδων βασιλέα
Χοσρόην στέλλεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὅπως
μὴ κατάδηλοι αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ξυγχέωσι τὰ
πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίους, οἵπερ αὐτὸν

[1] ὅτε W: ὅτι KL.

[2] γεγένηνται KW: γεγένηνται αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἕω βασιλεῦσι L.

[3] Βανδίλους L: βαρβάρους K, βανδήλους W.

and inviting him to an offensive and defensive alliance. But these envoys, upon learning that Vaces was a friend and ally of the emperor, returned unsuccessful. It was natural, therefore, that Vittigis should be at a loss in these circumstances, and he was constantly calling together many of the elders. And from them he made many inquiries as to how he should form his plans and act in order that he might achieve the greatest success. Accordingly many opinions were expressed by those who gathered for the council, some of them in no way adapted to the situation, and some too which contained suggestions worthy of some consideration. And among these suggestions this idea also was advanced, that the emperor of the Romans had plainly never been able to make war upon the barbarians in the West before the time when the treaty had been made with the Persians. For it was only then that the Vandals and Moors had been destroyed, and the Goths had suffered their present misfortunes. Consequently, if someone should once more rouse the hostility of the king of the Medes against the Emperor Justinian, the Romans thereafter would never be able, when once that nation had been stirred up to war against them, to carry on another war against any people in the world. This suggestion pleased both Vittigis himself and the other Goths.

It was decided, therefore, that envoys[1] should be sent to Chosroes, the king of the Medes, but that they should not be Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and the negotiations be made useless, but

[1] Cf. Book II. ii.

Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πολέμιον καταστήσουσι.
18 διὸ δὴ τῶν ἐν Λιγούροις ἱερέων δύο χρήμασι
πολλοῖς ἐς ταύτην ἀναπείθουσι τὴν ὑπουργίαν.
19 ὧν ἄτερος μέν, ὅσπερ ἀξιώτερος ἔδοξεν εἶναι,
ἐπισκόπου δόκησίν τε καὶ ὄνομα περιβεβλημένος,
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσῆκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθί-
στατο, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν εἵπετο.
20 γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρίσας πρὸς Χοσρόην
γεγραμμένα Οὐίττιγις ἔπεμψεν. οἷς δὴ Χοσρόης
ἡγμένος ἀνήκεστα ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔργα Ῥωμαίους[1]
εἰργάσατο, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις
21 ἐρρήθη. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
Χοσρόην τε καὶ Πέρσας βουλεύεσθαι ἤκουσε,
καταλύειν μὲν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ πόλεμον ὡς
τάχιστα ἔγνω, Βελισάριον δὲ μεταπέμψασθαι
22 ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειε. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
Οὐιττίγιδος πρέσβεις (ἔτι γὰρ ὄντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ
ἐτύγχανον) αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπεπέμψατο, ἄνδρας παρ'
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης σταλήσεσθαι ὑποσχόμενος,
οἵπερ ἐς Γότθους τὰς σπονδὰς θήσονται ὅπη ἂν
23 ἑκατέροις ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ. τούτους δὲ τοὺς
πρέσβεις οὐ πρότερον μεθῆκε Βελισάριος τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἕως καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀθανάσιόν τε
24 καὶ Πέτρον ἀφῆκαν. οὓς δὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικο-
μένους[2] γερῶν βασιλεὺς τῶν μεγίστων ἠξίωσεν,
Ἀθανάσιον μὲν ὕπαρχον τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πραι-
τωρίων καταστησάμενος, Πέτρῳ δὲ τὴν τοῦ
μαγίστρου[3] καλουμένου ἀρχὴν παρασχόμενος.

[1] Ῥωμαίους Krašeninnikov : ῥωμαίοις KL, om. W.
[2] ἀφικομένους om. W.
[3] μαγίστρου LW : μεγίστου K.

Romans,[1] who were to make him hostile to the Emperor Justinian. Accordingly they bribed two priests of Liguria with great sums of money to undertake this service. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy, assuming the appearance and the title of bishop, which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. Vittigis also entrusted to them a letter written to Chosroes and sent them off. And Chosroes, influenced by this very letter, committed acts of an outrageous character against the Romans in time of peace, as has been told by me in the preceding narrative.[2] Now when the Emperor Justinian heard that Chosroes and the Persians were planning to this end, he decided to bring the war in the West to an end as quickly as possible, and to recall Belisarius in order that he might take the field against the Persians. So he immediately dismissed the envoys of Vittigis (for they happened to be still in Byzantium), promising that men would be sent by him to Ravenna who would draw up the treaty with the Goths in such form that the interests of both sides would be furthered. But Belisarius did not release these envoys to the enemy until they, in turn, had released the embassy of Athanasius and Peter.[3] And when these men arrived at Byzantium, the emperor counted them worthy of the greatest gifts of honour, appointing Athanasius prefect of the pretorians in Italy, and giving Peter the office of "magister"[4] as it is called. And the winter

[1] *i.e.* subjects of the Emperor at Byzantium.
[2] Book II. v. ff.
[3] Cf. Book V. vii. 25.
[4] A military title of the highest rank.

καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XXIII

Βελισάριος δὲ Αὔξιμόν τε καὶ Φισούλαν ἐξελεῖν πρότερον ἤθελε, οὕτω τε ἐπί τε Οὐίττιγιν καὶ Ῥάβενναν ἰέναι, οὐδενὸς ἔτι τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἵστασθαι δυναμένου, οὔτε τὰ ὄπισθε κακουργεῖν ἔχοντος. Κυπριανὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις καὶ Ἰσαύρων τισὶν ἐς Φισούλαν ἔπεμψε, καὶ πεντακοσίους πεζοὺς ἐκ καταλόγου οὓς Δημήτριος ἦρχεν, οἳ δὴ τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους ἀμφὶ τὸ φρούριον στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. Μαρτῖνον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις καὶ στρατεύματι ἄλλῳ οὗπερ Ἰωάννης ἡγεῖτο ὃν καὶ Φαγᾶν ἐκάλουν, ἀμφὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν ἔστελλεν. οὓς δὴ φροντίδα ἔχειν ἐκέλευεν ὅπως μὴ[1] Οὐραΐας τε καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν, ἣν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἔφοδον ἀποκρούεσθαι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὦσιν,[2] ὄπισθεν αὐτοὺς λάθρα ἐπισπομένους κατὰ νώτου ἰέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πόλιν Δορθῶνα πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν καταλαβόντες, αὐτοῦ τε ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς Αὔξιμον πόλιν χιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ἔχων ἀφίκετο. Αὔξιμος δὲ αὕτη πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἐν Πικηνοῖς πόλεών ἐστιν, ἣν δὴ μητρόπολιν καλεῖν νενομίκασι[3] Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀπέχει δὲ ἀκτῆς μὲν κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου σταδίους τέσσαράς τε καὶ

[1] μὴ K : ἢν L.
[2] ἢν δὲ—ὦσιν K : om. L.
[3] νενομίκασι K : νενομ. τοῦ ἔθνους L.

drew to a close, and the fourth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 539 A.D.

XXIII

Now Belisarius wished first to capture Auximus and Fisula,[1] and after that to march against Vittigis and Ravenna, with no one of the enemy any longer able to oppose his advance or to harass his rear. He accordingly sent Cyprian and Justinus with their men and some of the Isaurians to Fisula, together with five hundred foot-soldiers from the detachment commanded by Demetrius; and they made camp about the fortress and commenced a siege of the barbarian garrison. And Martinus and John with their troops and another army, commanded by John whom they called the Glutton, he sent to the country along the Po River. These officers he commanded to take care that Uraïas with his forces should not advance from Milan against his own army; and if they were not able to repel the enemy's attack, they were secretly to follow behind them and assail their rear. So they took possession of Dorthon,[2] an unwalled city which lay on the river, and having established their camp remained there, while Belisarius himself went to the city of Auximus with eleven thousand men. Now this is the first of the cities in Picenum, being the metropolis, as the Romans are accustomed to call it. And it is about eighty-four stades distant from the shore of the Ionian Gulf, and from the city of

[1] Faesulae; modern Fiesole.
[2] Dertona; modern Tortona.

ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, Ῥαβέννης δὲ πόλεως ὁδὸν
7 τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα. κεῖται
δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ, εἴσοδον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ
οὐδαμῇ ἔχουσα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπρόσοδος τοῖς
8 πολεμίοις παντάπασιν οὖσα. ἐνταῦθα Γότθων
εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν, Οὐίττιγις ἐς τὴν φρουρὰν
κατεστήσατο, τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ
ταύτην ἐξέλωσι πρότερον, ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν οὔποτε
στρατεύειν τολμήσωσιν.
9 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Αὔξιμον
ἦλθεν, ἐκέλευε Βελισάριος παρὰ τοῦ λόφου τὰ
10 ἔσχατα πάντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι[1] κύκλῳ. καὶ
οἱ μὲν κατὰ συμμορίας γενόμενοι καλύβας ἄλλος
ἄλλῃ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπήγνυντο, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς
οἱ Γότθοι μακρὰν που ἀπολελειμμένους ἀλλήλων
καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἅτε ἐν μεγάλῳ
πεδίῳ οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἔχοντας, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους,
ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς πόλεως, ᾗ Βελισάριος
στρατόπεδον ἔτι ποιούμενος ξύν τε δορυφόροις
11 καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτυχεν. οἱ δὲ
ἁράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς
ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο, ῥᾳστά τε αὐτοὺς ἀρετῇ
ὡσάμενοι ἔτρεψαν, καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐπισπόμενοι
12 κατὰ μέσον τοῦ λόφου ἐγίνοντο. ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐπιστραφέντες καὶ χωρίου ἰσχύϊ πιστεύοντες
ἀντίοι τοῖς διώκουσιν ἔστησαν, συχνούς τε
αὐτῶν ἅτε κατὰ κορυφὴν βάλλοντες ἔκτειναν, ἕως
νὺξ ἐπιλαβοῦσα ἐκώλυσεν. οὕτω τε διαλυθέντες
13 ἑκάτεροι τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσαντο. ἔτυχον

[1] στρατοπεδεύεσθαι K : ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι L.

Ravenna a journey of three days and eighty stades.[1] And it is situated upon a very high hill, having no approach at all upon the level ground, and for this reason it is entirely inaccessible for an enemy. In that city Vittigis had assembled all the most notable troops among the Goths and had established them there as a garrison, conjecturing that the Romans, unless they should first capture this city, would never dare to march against Ravenna.

Now when the Roman army arrived at Auximus, Belisarius commanded them all to encamp in a circle about the base of the hill. So they took their places by companies, and were setting up their huts at different points in the line; and the Goths, observing that the enemy were rather far apart from one another, and were not able easily to bring assistance to each other, since they were in a great plain, suddenly advanced upon them in the late afternoon, on the side to the east of the city, where Belisarius happened to be still engaged in making camp with his spearmen and guards. And the Romans took up their arms and began to defend themselves against their assailants as well as the circumstances permitted, and by their valour they forced them back with the greatest ease and routed them; and in following up their flight they reached the middle of the hill. There the barbarians turned upon them, and, confident in the strength of their position, made a stand against their pursuers; and since they were shooting from above, they slew many of them, until night coming on put a stop to the fighting. Thus the two armies separated and bivouacked that night. Now it happened that on

[1] Roughly 81 English miles. Cf. Book III. i. 17.

δὲ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Γότθων τινὲς ὄρθρου βαθέος τροφῶν ξυγκομιδῆς ἕνεκα ἐς τὰ
14 ἐκείνῃ σταλέντες χωρία. οἳ δὴ οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν πολεμίων τῇ παρουσίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἐς νύκτα ἐπανῆκον. ἄφνω τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων πυρὰ κατιδόντες ἐν θαύματί τε καὶ δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο.
15 καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι τολμήσαντες καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Αὔξιμον ἐσῆλθον. ὅσοι δὲ κατορρωδήσαντες ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐς ὕλας τινὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψαν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης χωρήσουσιν, οὗτοι δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις γενόμενοι
16 διεφθάρησαν. Βελισάριος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν Αὔξιμον ἰσχυροτάτην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ οὖσαν, παντελῶς τέ οἱ ἀμήχανα εἶναι προσβολὴν τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι, βίᾳ μὲν τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν οὐκ ἄν ποτε ᾤετο, πολιορκίᾳ δὲ ἀκριβεῖ ἔς τε ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων καταστήσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλπίδα εἶχε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑποχειρίους ποιήσασθαι.

17 Τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν πόαν τινὰ πολλὴν ἡ γῆ ἀνιεῖσα ξυμβολῆς ἀφορμὴν ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Γότθοις ἔφερε.
18 ταύτην γὰρ ἀποτεμνομένους ἀεὶ τῶν ἵππων ἕνεκα τοὺς ἐναντίους ὁρῶντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἔν τε τῷ λόφῳ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἀνιόντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντες ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδεικνύμενοι, φέρεσθαι τὴν πόαν οὐδαμῇ εἴων, πολλούς τε ἀεὶ
19 τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ διέφθειρον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀρετῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσώμενοι

the day before this encounter some of the Goths had been sent out to the country close by at early dawn in order to gather provisions. These foraging parties, having learned nothing of the presence of the enemy, returned at night, and suddenly spying the fires of the Romans, they became greatly amazed and frightened. And many of them, who plucked up courage to take the risk and escaped detection by their enemy, entered Auximus. But as many as were overcome by terror and hid themselves for the time in any convenient clumps of trees with the intention of proceeding to Ravenna, all these not long afterward fell into hostile hands and were destroyed. And Belisarius, seeing that Auximus was exceedingly strong and securely placed, and that it was altogether impossible for him to make an attack upon the fortifications, was of the opinion that he could never take the place by storm, but he hoped by a close siege to reduce the enemy to want by cutting off their food supplies and thus to bring them into his power by the passage of time.

Now not far from the fortifications there was a place where the ground was covered with an abundant growth of grass, and this gave rise every day to an encounter between the Romans and the Goths. For every time the Romans saw their opponents cutting this grass for the sake of their horses, they would ascend the hill with a great rush, and, upon reaching the enemy, they would engage with them, and by making a display of valorous deeds, try to prevent them altogether from carrying off the grass; and they always slew many of the Goths in this place. Then the Goths, finding themselves no match for their enemy in valour, devised the follow-

ἐπενόουν τάδε. τῶν ἁμαξῶν τοὺς τροχοὺς ξὺν μόνοις τοῖς ἄξοσιν ἀφελόμενοι ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχον, τέμνειν τε τὴν πόαν ἀρξάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ ἀνιόντας ἤδη ἐς τοῦ λόφου τὰ μέσα τοὺς Ῥωμαίους εἶδον, τοὺς τροχοὺς ἀφῆκαν κατὰ
20 κορυφὴν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. τύχῃ δέ τινι τούτους ξυνέπεσε τοὺς τροχοὺς ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς ἀνθρώπου οὐδενὸς ἁψαμένους ἐλθεῖν. ταύτης τε τῆς πείρας ἀποτυχόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, τότε μὲν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα
21 δὲ ἐποίουν τάδε. τὰς φάραγγας, αἳ τοῦ περιβόλου εἰσὶν ἄγχιστα, ἐνέδραις τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν προλοχίσαντες ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐφαίνοντο, ἡνίκα τε ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένοιτο, ἐκπηδῶντες ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν οἱ κρυπτόμενοι, πλήθει τε τοὺς ἐναντίους παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ μὴ προαισθέσθαι ἐκπλήσσοντες πλείστους μὲν ἔκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ
22 λοιποὺς ἀεὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεπον. Ῥωμαίων δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις εἱστήκεσαν ἔβλεπον μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ὑπεξανισταμένους τοὺς πολεμίους, κραυγῇ δὲ πολλῇ τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀνακαλοῦντες οὐδὲν ἤνυον, ἐπεὶ οἱ μαχόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων βοῆς ἥκιστα ἤκουον, μήκει τε τοῦ λόφου ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν διειργόμενοι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀεὶ ἐξεπίτηδες σφίσιν ἀντιπαταγούντων[1] τοῖς ὅπλοις.

23 Βελισαρίῳ δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορουμένῳ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· "Οἱ

[1] ἀντιπαταγούντων editors: ἀντεπαγαγόντων K, ἀντιπαττα-γούντων L.

ing plan. They removed the wheels along with the axles from their waggons and held them in readiness; then, when they had commenced to cut the grass, as soon as they saw that the Romans, as they ascended, were at the middle of the hill, they released the wheels to rush down upon them from above. But by some chance it so happened that these wheels went all the way to the level ground without touching a single man. And since they had failed in this attempt, the barbarians on that occasion took to flight and got inside the fortifications, but after that they adopted the following plan. After filling the ravines which are close to the fortifications with ambuscades of the men of note among them, a few soldiers would shew themselves near the grass to the enemy, and when the fighting had come to close quarters, those in concealment would leap out from their ambuscades, and, being greatly superior to their opponents in number, and striking terror into them because they had not previously seen their assailants, they used to kill great numbers of them and always turned the rest to flight. And although those of the Romans who had kept their position in the camps did see the enemy rising from the ambuscades, and tried, with much shouting, to call their companions back, still they failed utterly to do so, since those fighting could not in the least hear their call, because, in the first place, they were separated from them by a great expanse of hillside, and, in the second place, the barbarians purposely always made a din to drown the voices by beating their weapons together.

And when Belisarius was in perplexity because of this situation, Procopius, who wrote this history,

ταῖς σάλπιγξιν, ὦ στρατηγέ, τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τῷ
Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ χρώμενοι νόμους τινὰς ἠπίσ-
ταντο δύο, ὧν ἄτερος μὲν ἐγκελευομένῳ τε ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον ἐῴκει καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς μάχην
ὁρμῶντι, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεκάλει
τοὺς μαχομένους, ἡνίκα ταῦτα ἐδόκει τῷ στρατηγῷ
24 ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. ταύτῃ τε ἀεὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ
τὰ καθήκοντα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκέλευον, ἐκεῖνοι
δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἔργα ἐπιτελεῖν ἴσχυον.
25 κραυγὴ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς σημῆναί τι σαφὲς
οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, πατάγου τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
πανταχόσε ἀντικτυποῦντος καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐκπλήσ-
26 σοντος τὰς τῶν μαχομένων αἰσθήσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ταυτὸν ἀμαθίᾳ τε ἡ τοιαύτη τέχνη ἐξώλισθε καὶ
μιᾷ σάλπιγγι ἄμφω δηλῶσαι ἀμήχανον, αὐτὸς
27 οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν ποίει. σάλπιγξι μὲν ταῖς
ἱππικαῖς ἐγκελεύου τοῖς στρατιώταις διαμάχε-
σθαι[1] τοῖς πολεμίοις, ταῖς δὲ πεζικαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
28 ἀναχώρησιν ἀνακάλει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἑκατέρου
γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἤχου μὴ οὐχὶ ξυνεῖναι ἀδύνατον,
ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ βύρσης τε καὶ ξύλου ὑπεράγαν
λεπτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐκ παχέος τινὸς χαλκοῦ πρόεισι."
29 Προκόπιος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.

Βελισάριος δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ἅπαν
ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Προ-
θυμίαν ἐς τόδε ξυμφέρειν τε οἶμαι καὶ πολλοῦ
ἐπαίνου ἀξίαν εἶναι, μέχρις ἂν μετρία τις οὖσα
30 οὐδὲν τοῖς ἔχουσι προσποιῆται βλάβος. τῷ γὰρ
ὑπερβάλλοντι τὰ ἀγαθὰ πάντα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον
ἀεὶ τρέπεσθαι εἴωθεν. ὑμεῖς οὖν μὴ τῷ φιλονείκῳ

[1] διαμάχεσθαι L: οἷα μάχεσθαι K.

came before him and said: "The men, General, who blew the trumpets in the Roman army in ancient times knew two different strains, one of which seemed unmistakably to urge the soldiers on and impel them to battle, while the other used to call the men who were fighting back to the camp, whenever this seemed to the general to be for the best. And by such means the generals could always give the appropriate commands to the soldiers, and they on their part were able to execute the commands thus communicated to them. For during actual combat the human voice is in no way adapted to give any clear instructions, since it obviously has to contend with the clash of arms on every side, and fear paralyzes the senses of those fighting. But since at the present time such skill has become obsolete through ignorance and it is impossible to express both commands by one trumpet, do you adopt the following course hereafter. With the cavalry trumpets urge on the soldiers to continue fighting with the enemy, but with those of the infantry call the men back to the retreat. For it is impossible for them to fail to recognize the sound of either one, for in the one case the sound comes forth from leather and very thin wood, and in the other from rather thick brass." So spoke Procopius.

And Belisarius was pleased by the suggestion, and calling together the whole army he spoke as follows: "I consider that enthusiasm is beneficial and thoroughly praiseworthy, but only so long as it continues to be of a moderate sort and consequently brings no harm upon those under its spell. For every good thing, when in excess, is wont to change for the worse. Do you, therefore, from this time

τὸ λοιπὸν σφάλλεσθε· φεύγειν γὰρ δή που τὸν
31 κακουργοῦντα οὐδεμία αἰσχύνη. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐς
κακὸν προῦπτον ἀνεπισκέπτως ἰὼν καὶ σωθεὶς
ἐνθένδε, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνει· γενναῖος
32 δὲ ὃς ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀνδραγαθίζηται. οἱ
μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἡμῖν οὐχ
οἷοί τέ εἰσι διαμάχεσθαι, προλοχίζοντες δια-
φθείρειν ἡμᾶς ἐγχειροῦσιν. ἡμῖν δὲ τοῦ διαφυ-
γεῖν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐνέδραν τὸ τὸν κίνδυνον ὑποστῆναι
33 μεμπτότερον. τοῦ γὰρ ἐνδιδόναι ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
γνώμαις οὐδὲν αἴσχιον. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ὅπως μὴ
προσπεσεῖσθε ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραις μελήσει.
34 ἔργον δ' ἂν ὑμέτερον εἴη, ἐπειδὰν σημήνω, ἐς τὴν
ἀναχώρησιν κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι. αὕτη δὲ ὑμῖν ἡ
δήλωσις ἐκ σάλπιγγος, ᾧ στρατιῶται, τῆς πεζικῆς
35 ἔσται." Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ
στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν κατιδόντες τοὺς πολε-
μίους, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤεσαν, τινάς τε αὐτῶν ἐν
36 τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ ἔκτεινον. ἐν οἷς ἕνα χρυσοφο-
ροῦντα τῶν τις Μαυρουσίων ἰδὼν λαβόμενός τε
τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, ὅπως ἀποδύοι, τὸν [1]
37 νεκρὸν ἐφείλκε. Γότθος δέ τις αὐτὸν ἀκοντίῳ
βαλὼν μυώνων τε, οἳ [2] ὄπισθέν εἰσι τῶν κνημῶν,
ἑκατέρων ἐπιτυχών, ἐνέρσει τοῦ ἀκοντίου ἄμφω
38 τὼ πόδε ξυνέδησεν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ὁ
Μαυρούσιος τῶν τριχῶν ἐχόμενος τὸν νεκρὸν
εἵλκεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι τὰς ἐνέδρας

[1] τὸν Haury : om. MSS.
[2] μυώνων τε, οἳ Suidas : μυῶν ὧν τε οἱ K, μυῶν οἵ τε οἱ L.

[1] *i. e.* the calves.

forth, not allow your enthusiasm for battle to cause you to fail of success; for to flee from one who is inflicting loss upon you is, as you surely know, no disgrace. But he who without looking about him goes into trouble which is before his eyes and, should it so happen, escapes from it, still stands convicted of folly; but the man truly noble is he who plays the part of a brave man in dangers that cannot be avoided. Now the barbarians, since they are unable to fight a decisive battle with us in the open, are trying to destroy us by laying snares. But for us it is more blameworthy to face the danger than to escape from their ambush. For nothing is more shameful than to fall in with the plans of the enemy. It will rest with me, accordingly, to see to it that you do not come unawares upon the ambuscades of the enemy. And it will be your duty, as soon as I give the signal, to retire with all speed. And this signal, soldiers, will be given by the trumpet of the infantry." So spoke Belisarius. And the soldiers, seeing the enemy near the grass, made a charge against them and killed a few of their number in the first onset. And one of the Moors saw among these fallen Goths one in particular whose person was adorned with gold, and laying hold of the hair of his head, he began to drag the corpse after him in order to strip it. But some Goth hurled a javelin at him, and with such a lucky aim that the weapon passed through both his legs, piercing the muscles which are behind the shins,[1] with the result that his two legs were pinned together by means of the javelin. But nevertheless the Moor kept holding the hair of the corpse and dragging it along. At this point the barbarians roused their men from

ἐκίνουν, Βελισάριος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὁρῶν τὰ ποιούμενα, ταῖς σάλπιγξι τοὺς πεζοὺς οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο ἠχεῖν κατὰ τάχος
39 ἐκέλευεν. οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι κατὰ βραχὺ ἤδη ὑπεχώρουν, τὸν Μαυρούσιον ξὺν τῷ ἀκοντίῳ ἀράμενοι. οἷς δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἔπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων, ἀλλ' ἄπρακτοι ἀνεχώρησαν.

XXIV

Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης, ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς Οὐίττιγιν ἐβουλεύοντο τὰ παρόντα
2 σφίσι. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς στέλλεσθαι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐτόλμα (λήσειν γὰρ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας οὐκ ἄν ποτε ᾤοντο), ἐπενόουν
3 τάδε. ἀσέληνον νύκτα τηρήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι οὓς δὴ παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν πέμπειν διενοοῦντο, γράμματά τε αὐτοῖς ἐν χερσὶ θέμενοι, ἐπειδὴ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, ἐβόων ἅπαντες πολλαχῇ τοῦ περιβόλου
4 ἐξαίσιον. εἴκασεν ἄν τις ἐς ταραχὴν αὐτοὺς καταστῆναι λίαν τε σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἁλισκομένης τῆς
5 πόλεως· οὐκ ἔχοντες δὲ παντάπασι Ῥωμαῖοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γινόμενον, Βελισαρίου γνώμῃ ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ἐπιβουλήν τινα ὑποτοπάσαντες ἔσεσθαι καὶ στρατὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥκειν.[1] ἃ δὴ[2] δεδιότες ᾤοντο ἄμεινον σφίσιν εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἡσυχάζουσι

[1] ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥκειν K : ἰέναι ἐπὶ σφᾶς L. [2] ἃ δὴ K : ἐκεῖνα L.

ambush, and Belisarius, seeing from the camp what was being done, commanded the foot-soldiers to whom this duty was assigned to sound the trumpets quickly. And the Romans, hearing it, began immediately to withdraw gradually, taking up and carrying the Moor, javelin and all. And the Goths dared follow them no further, but returned unsuccessful.

XXIV

As time went on and the barbarians saw that their supply of food was coming to be exceedingly scant, they purposed to report their situation to Vittigis. And since no one of them dared set out on this mission (for they thought that they would never elude their besiegers), they devised the following plan. They first put in readiness the men whom they were intending to send to Vittigis, and then waited for a moonless night; when this came they put a letter into their hands, when it was well on in the night, and thereupon all raised a mighty shout at many parts of the circuit-wall. One would have supposed that they had been thrown into confusion owing to a violent attack of the enemy and an unexpected capture of the city. And the Romans, utterly unable to understand what was taking place, by the will of Belisarius remained quietly in the camps, suspecting that some stratagem would be carried out from the city and that an army from Ravenna bringing assistance to the enemy had come against them. And moved as they were by these fears, they thought it better for them to remain

διασώζεσθαι ἢ ἐς προῦπτόν τινα κίνδυνον ἐν
6 νυκτὶ ἀσελήνῳ χωρεῖν. οὕτω γοῦν οἱ βάρβαροι
λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἔπεμψαν. οἳ οὐδενὸς πολεμίου ἀνδρὸς ἐς
ὄψιν ἐλθόντες παρά τε Οὐίττιγιν τριταῖοι ἀφί-
7 κοντο καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἔδειξαν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ
γραφὴ τάδε· "Ἡνίκα ἡμᾶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐς τὴν ἐν
Αὐξίμῳ φρουρὰν καθίστης, τὰς κλεῖς ἔφησθα
παρακαταθέσθαι ἡμῖν Ῥαβέννης τε αὐτῆς καὶ
8 τῆς βασιλείας τῆς σῆς. διὸ δὴ ἐπήγγελλες ἡμῖν
παντὶ σθένει φυλάσσεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ τὸ καθ'
ἡμᾶς μέρος παραδῶμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ Γότθων
κράτος, ἰσχυρίζου τε δεομένοις ἡμῖν παντὶ τῷ
9 στρατῷ παρέσεσθαι αὐτεπάγγελτος. ἡμεῖς μὲν
οὖν ἄχρι τοῦδε λιμῷ τε[1] καὶ Βελισαρίῳ μαχό-
μενοι πιστοὶ φύλακες τῆς σῆς βασιλείας γεγό-
ναμεν, σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ὁπωστιοῦν ἡμῖν βοηθεῖν
10 ἔγνωκας. λογίζου τοίνυν μή ποτε Αὔξιμον
ἑλόντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἀνελόμενοι, ὧν
αὐτὸς ἐνταῦθα κειμένων ὑπερορᾷς, οὐδενὸς τῶν
σῶν ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὦσι." τὰ γράμ-
ματα μὲν τοσαῦτα ἐδήλου.

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὰ Οὐίττιγις ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἐν
μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα τοὺς ἄνδρας πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων
στρατιᾷ βοηθήσειν Αὐξίμῳ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπε-
πέμψατο, μετὰ δὲ πολλὰ λογισάμενος ἡσυχίαν
12 ἦγε. τούς τε γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ὑπώπτευε

[1] ἄχρι τοῦδε λιμῷ τε K : τῷ τε λιμῷ L.

quietly in a secure position and thus save themselves than to go on a moonless night into a danger which could, in a way, be foreseen. By such means, therefore, the barbarians concealed their plan from the enemy and despatched the men on the way to Ravenna. And they, without being seen by a single one of the enemy, came before Vittigis on the third day and displayed the letter. And the writing was as follows: "When you appointed us, O King, for the garrison of Auximus, you said that you had placed in our keeping the keys of Ravenna itself and of your kingdom. And for this very reason you enjoined upon us to be on guard with every fibre of our being, that we should not by any act of ours betray the power of the Goths to the enemy, and you declared that, if we craved your assistance, you would be at hand with the whole army even before any messenger could announce your coming. Now as for us, we have, up to the present time, though fighting both with famine and with Belisarius, proved ourselves faithful guardians of your kingdom, but you have seen fit to aid us in no way whatsoever. You must consider, therefore, whether the Romans may not one day capture Auximus and take up the keys which you yourself are disregarding as they lie here, and thereby be excluded in future from none of your possessions." Such was the purport of the letter.

When it was brought to Vittigis and he saw it, he did at the moment send the men away with the promise that he would bring assistance to Auximus with the whole army of the Goths; but later, after long consideration, he continued to remain inactive. For, on the one hand, he suspected that the troops of John

μὴ κατὰ νώτου σφίσιν ἐπισπόμενοι ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ ποιήσωνται, καὶ πολλὴν οἰόμενος ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν δύναμιν εἶναι ἐς ἀμήχανόν τι
13 δέος ἐξέπιπτε. μάλιστα δὲ ἁπάντων ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσεν, οὐκ ἔχοντα ὅθεν ἂν τὰ
14 ἐπιτήδεια τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πορίζηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ἅτε θαλασσοκρατοῦντες καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀγκῶνι φρούριον ἔχοντες, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πάντα ἔκ τε Σικελίας καὶ Καλαβρίας ἐνταῦθα κατατιθέμενοι ἐς καιρὸν ἐνθένδε εὐπετῶς ἔφερον.
15 Γότθοις δὲ στρατεύουσιν ἐς Πικηνῶν τὴν χώραν πόρον οὐδένα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐννοῶν ἔσεσθαι ἐς
16 ἀμηχανίαν καθίστατο. Οὐιττίγιδος μὲν οὖν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν λαθόντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς Ἄξιμον ἤνεγκαν οἱ πρώην ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε σταλέντες καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα κεναῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπέρ-
17 ρωσαν. Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἀκούσας ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλακὴν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι, ὅπως μή τι συμβαίη [1] καὶ αὖθις τοιοῦτο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐγίνετο τῇδε.
18 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν καὶ Ἰουστῖνον Φισούλαν πολιορκοῦντες τῷ μὲν περιβόλῳ προσβάλλειν ἢ ἄγχιστά που αὐτοῦ ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ εἶχον· δυσπρόσοδον γὰρ τοῦτο πανταχόθεν τὸ φρούριον ἦν. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων σφίσι συχνὰ ἐπεξιόντων μάχῃ τε μᾶλλον διακρίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐθελόντων ἢ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ πιέζεσθαι, ἀγχώμαλοι μὲν αἱ ξυμβολαὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐγίνοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ πλέον ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι ἔχοντες ἔς τε τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς

[1] τι συμβαίη Haury, comparing "On the Buildings," II. vii. 6: τις θῇ K, τις θείη L, μή τί γ' εἴη Krašeninnikov.

would follow up his rear and thus make him exposed to attack on two sides, and, on the other, he thought that Belisarius had with him a numerous force of able fighting men; consequently he fell into a sort of helpless fear. But chief among the many causes of his concern was the famine, which disturbed him greatly, since he had no source from which to provide supplies for his army. For the Romans, on the one hand, being as they were masters of the sea and holding the fortress in Ancon, brought all their supplies from Sicily and Calabria and stored them in that place, and, at the proper time, easily got them from there. The Goths, on the other hand, if they marched into the land of Picenum, would have no means of securing provisions; this he fully realized, and so he found himself completely at a loss. So the men who had lately been sent to Vittigis from Auximus brought back his promise to the city without being detected by their enemy, and thus fortified the barbarians there with empty hopes. And Belisarius, upon hearing this from the deserters, ordered that a still stricter guard should be kept in order that no such thing might happen again. Such was the course of these events.

Meanwhile the troops of Cyprian and Justinus who were besieging Fisula were quite unable to make an assault upon the fortifications or even to get very close to them; for this fortress was difficult of access on every side. But the barbarians made frequent sallies against them, wishing rather to reach a decision by battle with the Romans than to be hard pressed by lack of provisions; and the engagements at first, indeed, proved indecisive, but after a time the Romans, now having the advantage,

πολεμίους κατέκλεισαν καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασ-
19 σον, ὥστε μηδένα πη ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν
βάρβαροι τῶν τε ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντες καὶ τοῖς
παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, λαθόντες [1] τοὺς πολεμίους
παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἔπεμπον, βοηθεῖν σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι, ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω τινὰ
20 ἀνθέξουσι χρόνον. Οὐίττιγις δὲ Οὐραΐαν ἐκέλευε
ξὺν τῷ ἐν Λιγούροις στρατῷ ἐς Τικινοὺς ἰέναι·
οὕτω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰσχυρίζετο πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων
21 δυνάμει τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις παρέσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ
κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει καὶ ἅπαν κινήσας τὸ ξὺν αὐτῷ
στράτευμα ἐς Τικινοὺς ἦει· Πάδον τε ποταμὸν
διαβάντες ἐγγύς που τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατο-
22 πέδου ἦλθον. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ στρατοπεδευ-
σάμενοι ἀντεκάθηντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀπέχοντες
αὐτῶν μάλιστα ὅσον σταδίους ἑξήκοντα. χειρῶν
23 δὲ οὐδέτεροι ἦρχον. τοῖς τε γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις ἔδοξεν
ἀποχρῆν, εἰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐμποδὼν στήσονται,
ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας πορεύεσθαι, καὶ
οἱ βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ὤκνουν διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς
πολεμίοις, λογιζόμενοι ὡς, ἢν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
ξυμβολῇ ἀτυχήσωσιν, ἅπαντα Γότθων δια-
24 φθεροῦσι τὰ πράγματα. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοῖς ἀμφὶ
τὸν Οὐίττιγιν ἐπιμιγνύμενοι ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορ-
κουμένοις ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔξουσι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ
ἑκάτεροι ἡσυχίαν ἦγον.

[1] λαθόντες K : λαβόντες αὖθις L.

shut the enemy up within their wall and continued to guard them securely, so that no one could leave the city. So the barbarians, seeing that their provisions were failing, and finding themselves helpless in their present situation, sent to Vittigis without the knowledge of their enemy, begging him to bring them assistance with all speed, on the ground that they would not hold out very much longer. And Vittigis commanded Uraïas to go to Ticinum[1] with the army then in Liguria; for, after that, he declared, he too would come to the aid of the besieged himself with the whole Gothic army. And Uraïas, acting accordingly, set in motion the whole army he had with him and went to Ticinum. And crossing the river Po, they came to the vicinity of the Roman camp.[2] There they too made camp and established themselves over against their enemy, at a distance of about sixty stades from them. And neither side began an attack. For the Romans, on the one hand, deemed it sufficient if they should block the way for their enemy, so that they could not advance upon the besieging army, and the barbarians, on the other, were reluctant to fight a decisive battle with their enemy in that place, reasoning that, if they should fail in this engagement, they would ruin the whole cause of the Goths. For, in that case, they would no longer be able to unite with the troops of Vittigis and with him to give assistance to the besieged. So both sides, reasoning thus, continued to remain quiet.

[1] Modern Pavia. [2] At Dorthon.

XXV

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φράγγοι κεκακῶσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ[1] Γότθους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀκούσαντες καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ῥᾷστα ἂν οἰόμενοι Ἰταλίας τὰ πολλὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσποιήσασθαι, δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ πόλεμον μὲν ἕτεροι ἐς τοσόνδε χρόνου διαφέρουσι μῆκος περὶ χώρας ἀρχῇ οὕτω δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐν γειτόνων οὔσης, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡσυχῇ μένοντες ἀμφοτέ-
2 ροις ἐκποδὼν στήσονται. ὅρκων τοίνυν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα καὶ ξυνθηκῶν ἐπιλελησμένοι, αἵπερ[2] αὐτοῖς[3] ὀλίγῳ πρότερον πρός τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Γότθους ἐπεποίηντο (ἔστι γὰρ τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὰ ἐς πίστιν σφαλερώτατον ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων) ἐς μυριάδας δέκα εὐθὺς ξυλλεγέντες, ἡγουμένου σφίσι Θευδιβέρτου, ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευσαν, ἱππέας μὲν ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀμφὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον
3 ἔχοντες, οἳ δὴ καὶ μόνοι δόρατα ἔφερον, οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἅπαντες οὔτε τόξα οὔτε δόρατα ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ξίφος τε καὶ ἀσπίδα φέρων ἕκαστος καὶ πέλεκυν ἕνα. οὗ δὴ ὁ μὲν σίδηρος ἁδρός τε καὶ ὀξὺς ἑκατέρωθι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἦν, ἡ λαβὴ δὲ τοῦ
4 ξύλου[4] βραχεῖα ἐς ἄγαν. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίπτοντες ἀεὶ ἐκ σημείου ἑνὸς εἰώθασιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὁρμῇ τάς τε ἀσπίδας διαρρηγνύναι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ αὐτοὺς κτείνειν.

5 Οὕτω μὲν Φράγγοι τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀμείψαντες αἱ Γάλλους τε καὶ Ἰταλοὺς διορίζουσιν, ἐν
6 Λιγούροις ἐγένοντο. Γότθοι δὲ αὐτῶν πρότερον

[1] πολέμῳ K : πολέμῳ τούτῳ L.
[2] αἵπερ Haury : ἅσπερ K, ἅπερ L.
[3] αὐτοῖς K : αὐτοὶ L.

XXV

At this time the Franks, hearing that both Goths and Romans had suffered severely by the war, and thinking for this reason that they could with the greatest ease gain the larger part of Italy for themselves, began to think it preposterous that others should carry on a war for such a length of time for the rule of a land which was so near their own, while they themselves remained quiet and stood aside for both. So, forgetting for the moment their oaths and the treaties they had made a little before with both the Romans and the Goths (for this nation in matters of trust is the most treacherous in the world), they straightway gathered to the number of one hundred thousand under the leadership of Theudibert, and marched into Italy; they had a small body of cavalry about their leader, and these were the only ones armed with spears, while all the rest were foot-soldiers having neither bows nor spears, but each man carried a sword and shield and one axe. Now the iron head of this weapon was thick and exceedingly sharp on both sides, while the wooden handle was very short. And they are accustomed always to throw these axes at one signal in the first charge and thus to shatter the shields of the enemy and kill the men.

Thus the Franks crossed the Alps which separate the Gauls from the Italians, and entered Liguria.[1] Now the Goths had previously been vexed at the

[1] Procopius represents Liguria as north of the Po. Cf. Book V. xv. 28, note.

[4] ξύλου K : ξίφους L.

τῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ χρήματα ὑποσχομένοις μεγάλα πολλάκις ὑπὲρ ξυμμαχίας προέσθαι[1] τρόπῳ οὐδενὶ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσασθαι ἤθελον, ἐπειδὴ Θευδίβερτον παρεῖναι στρατῷ πολλῷ ἤκουσαν, ἔχαιρον ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχητὶ περιέ-
7 σεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ᾤοντο. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοί, τέως μὲν ἐν Λιγούροις ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἐς Γότθους ἄχαρι ἔπρασσον, ὅπως σφίσι μηδεμία κωλύμη ἐς τοῦ
8 Πάδου τὴν διάβασιν πρὸς αὐτῶν γένηται. ὡς δὲ ἵκοντο ἐς Τικινῶν πόλιν, ἵνα δὴ γέφυραν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτον[2] ἐτεκτήναντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι, τά τε ἄλλα ὑπούργουν οἱ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες καὶ τὸν Πάδον κατ' ἐξουσίαν δια-
9 βαίνειν εἴων. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων οὕσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὗρον ἱέρευόν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου
10 ἐρρίπτουν. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, Χριστιανοὶ γεγονότες, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης φυλάσσουσι, θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσια ἱερεύοντες, ταύτῃ τε τὰς μαντείας
11 ποιούμενοι. κατιδόντες δὲ Γότθοι τὰ ποιούμενα ἔς τε ἄμαχόν τι δέος κατέστησαν καὶ φυγῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Γερμανοὶ Πάδον ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐς τὸ Γότθων στρατόπεδον ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι

[1] προέσθαι L: om. K.
[2] τοῦτον K: om. L.

thanklessness of the Franks, on the ground that, although they, the Goths, had often promised to give up to them a large territory and great sums of money in return for an alliance, these Franks had been unwilling to fulfil their own promise in any way; but when they heard that Theudibert was at hand with a great army, they were filled with rejoicing, lifted up, as they were, by the liveliest hopes and thinking that thereafter they would have the superiority over their enemy without a battle. As for the Germans,[1] as long as they were in Liguria, they did no harm to the Goths, in order that these might make no attempt to stop them at the crossing of the Po. Consequently, when they reached the city of Ticinum, where the Romans of old had constructed a bridge over this river, those who were on guard there gave them every assistance and allowed them to cross the Po unmolested. But, upon getting control of the bridge, the Franks began to sacrifice the women and children of the Goths whom they found at hand and to throw their bodies into the river as the first-fruits of the war. For these barbarians, though they have become Christians, preserve the greater part of their ancient religion; for they still make human sacrifices and other sacrifices of an unholy nature, and it is in connection with these that they make their prophecies. And the Goths, upon seeing what was being done, fell into a kind of irresistible fear, took to flight and got inside the fortifications.

So the Germans, having crossed the Po, advanced to the Gothic camp, and the Goths were at first

[1] The "Germans" in Procopius' usage and the "Franks" are the same people.

κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἄσμενοι ἐθεῶντο κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σφᾶς προσιόντας,[1] ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ
12 σφετέρᾳ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἥκειν οἰόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅμιλος Γερμανῶν πολὺς ἐπιρρεύσας ἔργου τε εἴχοντο καὶ τοὺς πελέκεις ἐσακοντίζοντες συχνοὺς ἤδη ἐσίνοντο, στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου
13 ἰόντες τὴν ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἔθεον. φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισάριον ἐπιβεβοηθηκότα σφίσιν ᾤοντο ἑλεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, ἐνθένδε τε αὐτοὺς ἐξελάσαι μάχῃ νικήσαντα. ᾧ δὴ ξυμμῖξαι βουλόμενοι ἅπαντες
14 τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τάχος ἧεσαν. ἐντυχόντες δὲ παρὰ δόξαν πολεμίων στρατῷ οὕτι[2] ἐθελούσιοι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, παρὰ πολύ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς μὲν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι
15 εἶχον, ἐπὶ Τουσκίαν δὲ ἅπαντες ἔφευγον. ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι ἅπαντα ἐς Βελισάριον τὰ ξυμπεσόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν.

16 Φράγγοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, νενικηκότες, τά τε στρατόπεδα ἑκάτερα ἑλόντες παντάπασιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημα, ἐν μὲν τῷ παραυτίκα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνταῦθα εὗρον, δι' ὀλίγου δὲ ἅπαντα διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν δαπανήσαντες, ἄλλο τι[3] οὐδὲν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ βόας τε καὶ τοῦ Πάδου τὸ ὕδωρ προσφέρεσθαι εἶχον.
17 ταῦτα τὰ κρέα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ καταπέψαι οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες γαστρός τε ῥύσει καὶ δυσεντερίας νόσῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἡλίσκοντο, ὧν

[1] προσιόντας L: προιόντας K. [2] οὔτι L: οὕτοι K.
[3] ἄλλο τι Haury: ἀλλ' K, ἄλλο δὲ L, ἄλλο δὴ Hoeschel in marg.

pleased to see them coming in small companies toward their camp, thinking that these men had come to fight in alliance with them. But when a great throng of Germans had come up and opened an attack, and by hurling their axes were already slaying many, they turned their backs and rushed off in flight, and passing through the Roman camp ran along on the road to Ravenna. And the Romans, seeing them in flight, thought that Belisarius had come to support their own force and had both taken the camp of the enemy and dislodged them from it after defeating them in battle. And wishing to join forces with him, they took up their arms and went forth with all speed. But coming unexpectedly upon a hostile army, they were compelled, much against their will, to engage with them, and being badly worsted in the battle, they all fled, not to their camp, to which it was now impossible to return, but to Tuscany. And when they had at length reached safety, they reported to Belisarius all that had befallen them.

The Franks, having defeated both armies, as has been said, and having captured both camps without a single man in them, for the time being found provisions in the camps; but in a short time they had consumed all these on account of their great numbers, and, since the land was destitute of human habitation, they were unable to obtain any provisions except cattle and the water of the Po. But they were unable to digest this meat because of the great quantity of water they drank, and consequently the most of them were attacked by diarrhoea and dysentery, which they were quite unable to shake

δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὡς
18 ἥκιστα ἴσχυον. φασὶ γοῦν τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ
Φράγγων στρατοῦ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι.
διὸ δὴ περαιτέρω ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ
ἔμενον.

19 Βελισάριος δὲ Φράγγων τε στρατὸν παρεῖναι
ἀκούσας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην
μάχῃ ἡσσηθέντας φυγεῖν ἐς ἀμηχανίαν κατέστη,
περί τε τῇ πάσῃ στρατιᾷ δείσας καὶ διαφερόντως
περὶ τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν
μάλιστα ἐγγυτέρω τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἐπύθετο εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὴ[1] πρὸς Θευδίβερτον
20 ἔγραψε τάδε· "Ἀνδρα μὲν ἀρετῆς μεταποιούμενον
μὴ οὐχὶ ἀψευδεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντα ἐθνῶν
τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, οἶμαι, ὦ γενναῖε Θευδίβερτε,
21 οὐκ εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι. τὸ δὲ καὶ ὅρκους ἀδικοῦντας
ἐν γράμμασι κειμένους περιορᾶν τὰ ξυγκείμενα
οὐδ' ἂν τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις ἐπιτη-
δείως ἔχοι. ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι
ἐξαμαρτάνων οἶσθα,[2] καίτοι ὁμολογήσας ἔναγχος
πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Γότθους τόνδε ξυλλήψεσθαι.
22 νῦν δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν ἕστηκας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως ἁράμενος
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥκεις. μὴ σύ γε, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ
ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα μέγαν ὑβρίζων, ὃν δή που τὴν
ὕβριν μὴ λίαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμείψεσθαι οὐκ
23 εἰκὸς εἴη. κρεῖσσον δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀσφαλῶς αὐτόν

[1] δὴ K : γοῦν L. [2] οἶσθα K : ἦσθα L.

off because of the lack of proper food. Indeed they say that at least one-third of the Frankish army perished in this way. Hence it was that, as they were unable to go forward, they remained where they were.

Now when Belisarius heard that an army of Franks was in Italy and that the forces of Martinus and John had been defeated in battle and had fled, he was reduced to a state of perplexity, concerned as he was, not only for the whole army, but especially for the detachment conducting the siege of Fisula, since he learned that these barbarians were nearer to them than to any others. He therefore wrote immediately to Theudibert as follows: "I consider it unseemly in any case, O noble Theudibert, for a man who lays claim to excellence to fail to be truthful, but especially so when he is a ruler, as thou art, of nations of such vast numbers. But to violate oaths which are set down in writing and to disregard treaties—this would not be proper even for the most ignoble of men. And yet these very offences have been committed by thee in the present case, as thou knowest thyself, although it was only recently that thou didst agree to assist us in this war against the Goths. But, as matters now stand, far from holding thyself aloof from both nations, thou hast actually taken up arms in this rash manner and made an attack upon us. Do not thou, at least, my excellent friend, follow such a course, and that too when it involves an insult to the great emperor, who would surely not be likely to overlook the insult, or fail to exact atonement in the fullest measure. Now the best course is for each man to keep his own possessions in safety, and not, by lay-

τινα ἔχειν ἢ τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων μεταποιούμενον ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων[1] καθί-
24 στασθαι." ταύτην ἐπεὶ Θευδίβερτος τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενος ἤδη καὶ πρὸς Γερμανῶν κακιζόμενος, ὅτι δὴ ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς[2] προφάσεως θνήσκοιεν ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ, ἄρας τοῖς περιοῦσι τῶν Φράγγων ἐπ' οἶκου ξὺν τάχει πολλῷ ἀπεχώρησεν.

XXVI

Οὕτω μὲν Θευδίβερτος στρατεύσας ἐς Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἄφοδον ἐποιήσατο. οἵ τε ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀνέστρεψαν οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, ὅπως μή τινα οἱ πολέμιοι ἔφοδον ἐπὶ σφῶν τοὺς
2 πολιορκοῦντας ποιήσονται. Γότθοι δὲ οἱ ἐν Αὐξίμῳ, Φράγγων μὲν ἀφίξεως πέρι οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι, ἀπειρηκότες δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα οὕτω μέλλουσαν, αὖθις μὲν Οὐίττιγιν διενοοῦντο μαρτύρεσθαι, λαθεῖν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων[3]
3 τὴν φυλακὴν οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ἐπένθουν. μετὰ δὲ τῶν τινα Ῥωμαίων, Βέσον γένος Βουρκέντιον ὄνομα, ὑπὸ Ναρσῇ τεταγμένον τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ, μόνον ἰδόντες ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν φυλακὴν ἔχοντα, ὡς μή τις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόαν ληψόμενος ἴοι, ἔς τε λόγους αὐτῷ ξυνῆλθον ἐγγυτέρω ἥκοντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες ὡς οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτὸν κακουργήσωσι ξυγγενέσθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον, ἔσεσθαί οἱ μεγάλα ἐπαγγειλαμένοις παρὰ σφῶν χρήματα.

[1] ἀναγκαιοτάτων K : ἀναγκαίων L.
[2] οὐδεμιᾶς K : οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἢ L.
[3] πολεμίων K : ἐναντίων L.

ing claim to the possessions of others, to involve himself in any danger which concerns his most vital interests." When Theudibert had read this letter, perplexed as he was already by his present situation, and sharply reproached by the Germans, because, as they said, they were, for no good reason, dying in a deserted land, he broke camp with the survivors of the Franks and retired homeward with great speed.

XXVI

Thus did Theudibert, after marching into Italy, take his departure. And the troops of Martinus and John returned in spite of the changed situation, in order that the enemy might not make any attack upon the Romans engaged in the siege.[1] Now the Goths in Auximus, who had learned nothing concerning the coming of the Franks, had begun to despair of their hope from Ravenna which was so long deferred, and were purposing once more to address an appeal to Vittigis; but seeing that they were unable to elude the guards of the enemy, they were filled with grief. But later on their attention was drawn to one of the Romans—he was of the race of the Besi and named Burcentius, and had been assigned to the command of Narses, the Armenian—for they noted that he was keeping guard alone at midday, that no one should come out from the city to take the grass; and they went nearer and hailed him, and giving pledges that they would do him no harm, they urged him to come to meet them, promising that he would receive from them a large sum of money. And when they had

[1] At Fisula.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, ἐδέοντο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπιστολήν τινα ἐς Ῥάβενναν διακομίσαι, τάξαντες μέν οἱ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα χρυσίον ῥητόν, πλέον δὲ ὑποσχόμενοι δώσειν, ἐπειδὰν σφίσιν Οὐιττίγιδος γράμματα ἐπανήκοι φέρων. τοῖς δὲ χρήμασιν ὁ στρατιώτης ἀναπεισθεὶς ὑπουργήσειν τε ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίησε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. γράμματα γοῦν κατασεσημασμένα λαβὼν ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἀφίκετο. καὶ Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ[1] τάδε· "Ὅπη μὲν ἡμῖν τὰ παρόντα ἔχει σαφῶς εἴσεσθε, πυνθανόμενοι ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς παραπομπὸς εἴη. Γότθῳ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμήχανά ἐστι. τῶν δὲ βρωμάτων ἡμῖν τὸ εὐπορώτατον ἡ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος πόα τυγχάνει οὖσα, ἧς γε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅσον ἅψασθαι ταυτὶ ἔξεστιν, ὅτι μὴ πολλοὺς ἀποβάλλουσιν ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ ταύτης ἀγῶνι. ταῦτα ἐς ὅ τι ἡμῖν τελευτήσει σέ τε χρὴ καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογίζεσθαι."

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Οὐίττιγις ἀνελέξατο, ἀμείβεται ὧδε· "Ἀναπεπτωκέναι δὲ ἡμᾶς,[2] ὦ φίλτατοι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, οἰέσθω μηδείς, μηδὲ ἐς κακίας τοσόνδε ἥκειν ὥστε ῥᾳθυμίᾳ τὰ Γότθων κατα-προϊέσθαι πράγματα. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔναγχος ἥ τε τῆς ἐξόδου παρασκευὴ ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἤσκητο καὶ Οὐραΐας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐκ Μεδιολάνου μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ἀλλ' ἡ Φράγγων ἔφοδος παραδόξως ἐπιπεσοῦσα[3] πάντα ἡμῖν τὰ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἀνεχαίτισεν, ὧν ἔγωγε οὐκ ἂν τὴν αἰτίαν

[1] δὲ K: δὲ ἡ γραφὴ L. [2] ἡμᾶς L: ὑμῶν K.

come together, the barbarians besought the man to carry a certain letter to Ravenna, naming a fixed sum of gold to be paid to him immediately, and promising to give more when he should return bringing them a letter from Vittigis. And the soldier, won over by the money, agreed to perform this service, and he carried out his promise. For he received a sealed letter and carried it with all speed to Ravenna; and coming before Vittigis he delivered it to him. Now the message conveyed was as follows: "The situation in which we now find ourselves will be clearly revealed to you when you inquire who the bringer of this letter is. For not a Goth can find a way to get outside the fortifications. And as for food, the most available supply we have is the grass which grows by the wall, and even this at the present time we cannot so much as touch, except by losing many men in the struggle for it. And it becomes both thee and the Goths in Ravenna to consider what the end of all this will be for us."

When Vittigis had read this, he replied as follows: "Let no one think that we have ceased our efforts, dearest of all men, nor that we have come to be guilty of such a degree of baseness as to abandon utterly the cause of the Goths through sheer indifference. For, on my part, it was only recently that the preparations for departure had been made with all possible thoroughness, and Uraïas with his whole army had come under summons from Milan. But the inroad of the Franks, coming upon us unexpectedly as it did, has made havoc of all our preparations, a result for which I, at least, could not

[3] ἐπιπεσοῦσα K: ἐπεισπεσοῦσα L.

11 δικαίως φεροίμην. ὅσα γὰρ μείζω ἢ κατὰ
ἀνθρώπου δύναμίν ἐστι καὶ τοῖς ἑπταικόσι τὸ
ἀνεγκλήτοις εἶναι χαρίζεται, τῆς τύχης ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν
ἐπισπωμένης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐγκλή-
12 ματα. νῦν μέντοι (καὶ γὰρ Θευδίβερτον ἐκπο-
δὼν ἡμῖν γεγενῆσθαι ἀκούομεν) οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν
ὑμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, πάσῃ τῇ Γότθων στρατιᾷ
13 παρεσόμεθα. χρὴ δὲ ὑμᾶς τὰ παραπίπτοντα
φέρειν ἀνδρείως τε καὶ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ἐπιτηδείως,
λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετήν, ἧς ἕνεκα
ἐκ πάντων ἀπολέξας ὑμᾶς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ κατεστησά-
μην, αἰσχυνομένους δὲ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν Γότθοι
ἅπαντες ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔχοντες Ῥαβέννης τε ὑμᾶς καὶ
14 τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας προβέβληνται." το-
σαῦτα γράψας Οὐίττιγις καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς
τὸν ἄνθρωπον δωρησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο. ὃς δὴ
ἐς Αὔξιμον ἀφικόμενος, παρά τε τοὺς ἑταίρους
τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἦλθε καὶ ἀρρώστημα ὅ τι δή οἱ ξυμβε-
βηκέναι σκηψάμενος[1] ἔς τε ἱερόν τι οὐκ ἄποθεν
ὂν διὰ τοῦτο ἐσχολακέναι, κατέστη μὲν αὖθις ἐς
τὴν φυλακὴν ἥπερ εἰώθει, λαθὼν δὲ ἅπαντας
τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ γράμματα ἔδωκεν· ἅπερ ἐς τὸ
πλῆθος ἀναγνωσθέντα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἅπαντας,
15 καίπερ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζομένους, ἐπέρρωσε. διὸ
δὴ προσχωρεῖν Βελισαρίῳ πολλὰ τιθασσεύοντι
οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. αὖθις δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ[2] σφίσι
στράτευμα ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐξεληλυθὸς[3] ἠγγέλλετο
καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς ἤδη
ἤχθοντο) Βουρκέντιον πάλιν πέμπουσι, τοῦτο ἐν

[1] σκηψάμενος K: σκεψάμενος L.
[2] δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ) K: δ' ὡς L.
[3] ἐξεληλυθὸς K: οὐκ ἐξεληλυθός πη L.

justly bear the blame. For things which are beyond human power confer even upon those who fail the boon of being free from blame, since fortune draws upon herself whatever charge springs from what has befallen. Now, however, since we hear that Theudibert has got out of our way, we shall at no distant time, if God wills, come to you with the whole Gothic army. And it is needful for you to bear whatever falls to your lot manfully and as befits the necessity which is upon you, calling to mind, first, your own valour, on account of which I chose you out from the whole army and established you in Auximus, and respecting also the reputation which you hold among all the Goths, and which prompted them to put you forward as a bulwark for Ravenna and for their own safety." After writing this letter and rewarding the man with a large sum of money, Vittigis sent him away. And when he reached Auximus, he rejoined his comrades, giving as his excuse that some sickness or other had fallen upon him, and that for this reason he had been passing the time in a certain sanctuary not far away; and so he was appointed once more to guard-duty, to the very watch to which he had been accustomed, and unbeknown to all the Romans he gave the letter to the enemy; and when this was read to the people, it gave them all additional encouragement, although they were hard pressed by the famine. Wherefore they were quite unwilling to yield to Belisarius, although he offered many enticements. But when no army had been reported as having left Ravenna, and they were already in extreme distress because of the lack of provisions, they once more sent Burcentius with a message

γράμμασι δηλώσαντες μόνον, ὡς πέντε ἡμερῶν οὐκέτι τὸ λοιπὸν οἷοί τέ εἰσι τῷ λιμῷ μάχεσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανῆκεν αὖθις, Οὐϊττίγιδος ἐπιστολὴν ἔχων ταῖς ὁμοίαις ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς ἀναρτῶσαν.

16 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἀχθόμενοι, ὅτι δὴ ἐν χώρᾳ ἐρήμῳ μακρὰν οὕτω προσεδρείαν πεποίηνται, διηποροῦντο, οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας σφίσιν ἐν
17 τοσούτοις κακοῖς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶντες. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο ζῶντά τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκίμων λαβεῖν, ὅπως ἂν γνοίη ὅτου δὴ ἕνεκα τὰ δεινὰ καρτεροῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, καί οἱ Βαλεριανὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ὑπουργή-
18 σειν εὐπετῶς ὡμολόγει. εἶναι γάρ τινας τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων ἐκ τοῦ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνους, οἳ κρύπτεσθαί τε ὑπὸ λίθῳ βραχεῖ ἢ φυτῷ τῳ παρατυχόντι εἰώθασι καὶ ἀναρπάζειν ἄνδρα πολέμιον.
19 τοῦτό τε ἀεὶ[1] παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, ἔνθα ἵδρυνται, ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐνδείκνυνται. ἥσθη τῷ λόγῳ Βελισάριος καὶ τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι κατὰ τάχος
20 ἐκέλευε. Βαλεριανὸς οὖν ἀπολέξας τῶν Σκλαβηνῶν ἕνα σώματός τε μεγέθους πέρι εὖ ἥκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον, ἄνδρα πολέμιον ἄγειν[2] ἐπέστελλε, χρήματά οἱ μεγάλα πρὸς
21 Βελισαρίου ἰσχυρισάμενος ἔσεσθαι. δράσειν δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸν[3] ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ εὐπετῶς ἔφασκεν οὗπερ ἡ πόα τυγχάνει οὖσα· χρόνου γὰρ πολλοῦ ταύτῃ τοὺς Γότθους ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
22 σιτίζεσθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκλαβηνὸς ὄρθρου βαθέος

[1] τε ἀεὶ L : τε K.
[2] πολέμιον ἄγειν K : ἔχειν πολεμιον ζῶντα L.

stating only this, that after five days they would no longer be able to fight with the famine. And he returned to them a second time with a letter from Vittigis tantalizing them with similar hopes.

Now the Romans were distressed no less than the Goths, because they had been carrying on such a long siege in a deserted land, and they were completely baffled at seeing the barbarians refusing to give in to them although involved in so much suffering. In view of this situation Belisarius was eager to capture alive one of the men of note among the enemy, in order that he might learn what the reason might be why the barbarians were holding out in their desperate situation. And Valerian promised readily to perform such a service for him. For there were some men in his command, he said, from the nation of the Sclaveni, who are accustomed to conceal themselves behind a small rock or any bush which may happen to be near and pounce upon an enemy. In fact, they are constantly practising this in their native haunts along the river Ister, both on the Romans and on the barbarians as well. Belisarius was pleased by this suggestion and bade him see that the thing was done with all speed. So Valerian chose out one of the Sclaveni who was well suited as to size of body and especially active, and commanded him to bring a man of the enemy, assuring him that he would receive a generous reward from Belisarius. And he added that he could do this easily in the place where the grass was, because for a long time past the Goths had been feeding upon this grass, since their provisions were exhausted. So this barbarian at early

[3] αὐτὸν K : αὐτὸς L.

ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος, ἐν θάμνῳ τινὶ ἐγκαλυψάμενός τε καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐς ὀλίγον
23 ξυναγαγὼν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόαν ἐκρύπτετο. ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ Γότθος ἀνὴρ ἐνταῦθα ἥκων τὰς βοτάνας κατὰ τάχος ξυνέλεγεν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ θάμνου ὑποτοπάζων οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, συχνὰ δὲ περισκοπῶν ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων[1] στρατόπεδον, μή τις ἐνθένδε ἐς
24 αὐτὸν ἴοι.[2] καί οἱ ἐπιπεσὼν ὄπισθεν ὁ Σκλαβηνὸς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀνάρπαστον ἐποιήσατο, σφίγγων τε μέσον καρτερῶς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤνεγκε καὶ
25 φέρων Βαλεριανῷ ἐνεχείρισεν. ᾧ δὴ πυνθανομένῳ, ὅτῳ ποτὲ Γότθοι πιστεύοντες καὶ τί[3] τὸ ἐχυρὸν[4] ἔχοντες ἥκιστα ἐθέλουσι προσχωρεῖν σφίσιν, ἀλλ' ἑκούσιοι τὰ δεινότατα ἐγκαρτεροῦσι, τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀμφὶ τῷ Βουρκεντίῳ ὁ βάρβαρος ἔφρασε καὶ αὐτόν οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκοντα ἤλεγχεν.
26 ὁ δὲ Βουρκέντιος, ἐπεὶ ἔκπυστος ἤδη γεγονὼς ἤσθετο, οὐδὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀπέκρυψε. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος μὲν τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτὸν ὅ τι βούλοιντο παρέδωκε χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ζῶντα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔκαυσαν, θεωμένων τὰ ποιούμενα τῶν πολεμίων. Βουρκέντιος μὲν οὕτω τῆς φιλοχρηματίας ἀπέλαυσε.

XXVII

Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἀντέχοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶν ἐς τοῦ ὕδατος

[1] ἐναντίων K : πολεμίων L.

[2] ἐνθένδε ἐς αὐτὸν ἴοι Haury : ἐνθένδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἴη K, ἐς αὐτὸν ἐνθένδε ἴοι L.

dawn went close to the fortifications, and hiding himself in a bush and drawing his body into small compass, he remained in concealment near the grass. And at daybreak a Goth came there and began hastily to gather the blades of grass, suspecting no harm from the bush, but looking about frequently toward the enemy's camp, lest anyone should attack him from there. Then the barbarian, falling unexpectedly upon the Goth from behind, made him captive, holding him tightly about the waist with both hands, and thus carried him to the camp and handed him over to Valerian. And when he questioned the prisoner, asking what basis of confidence and what assurance the Goths could possibly have that they were absolutely unwilling to yield to the Romans, but were voluntarily enduring the most dreadful suffering, the Goth told Valerian the whole truth concerning Burcentius, and when he was brought before him he proved his guilt. As for Burcentius, when he perceived that he had been already found out, he concealed nothing of what he had done. Wherefore Belisarius handed him over to his comrades to do with him as they wished, and they not long afterwards burned him alive, the enemy looking on as they did so. Thus did Burcentius profit by his love for money.

XXVII

But when Belisarius saw that the barbarians continued none the less to hold out in their suffering,

---

[3] καὶ τί K : καί τοι μὴ L.

[4] ἐχυρὸν K : ἰσχυρὸν L.

καθίστασθαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν διενοεῖτο, ταύτῃ ῥᾷόν τε καὶ εὐπορώτερον αἱρήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους
2 οἰόμενος. καί, ἦν γάρ τις κρήνη Αὐξίμου πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἐν χώρῳ κρημνώδει, τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπέχουσα ὅσον λίθου βολήν, κατὰ βραχὺ μάλιστα τὸν ῥοῦν ἀφιεῖσα ἔς τινα δεξαμενὴν αὐτόθι ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσαν, ἥ τε δεξαμενὴ πλήρης γεγενημένη ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ὀλίγης ἐπιρροῆς παρείχετο πόνῳ οὐδενὶ τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ὑδρεύεσθαι, ἔννοιά τις Βελισαρίῳ ἐγένετο ὡς, ἢν μὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνταῦθα ξυσταίη, οὐ μή ποτε οἷοί τε ὦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων βαλλόμενοι ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπιρροῆς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι.
3 διαφθεῖραι γοῦν ἐθέλων τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἐπενόει τάδε. ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον, κύκλῳ τε αὐτὸ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενος, δόκησιν τοῖς ἐναντίοις παρείχετο ὡς τῷ τειχίσματι προσβαλεῖν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πανταχόθεν μέλλοι.
4 διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες τὴν ἔφοδον οἱ Γότθοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὡς ἐνθένδε ἀμυ-
5 νούμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰσαύρους πέντε τοὺς ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἐμπείρους ξύν τε πελέκεσι καὶ ἄλλοις ὀργάνοις ἐς λίθων ἐκτομὰς ἐπιτηδείοις ἐς τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἀσπίδων πλήθει κρυπτομένους ἐσήγαγε, διαφθεῖραί τε καὶ διελεῖν τοὺς τοίχους πάσῃ δυνάμει κατὰ τάχος
6 ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τέως μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ[1] τὸ τεῖχος ὑπώπτευον[2] ἰέναι, ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ὅπως

[1] ἐπὶ K : ὑπὸ L.
[2] ὑπώπτευον K : ὑποπτεύοντες L.

he was minded to carry out his plot against their water-supply, thinking that in this way he would accomplish the capture of his enemy with greater ease and facility. Now there was a spring on a steep slope to the north of Auximus, about a stone's throw distant from the circuit-wall, which discharged its water in a very small stream into a cistern which had been there from of old; and when the cistern became full from this small inflow, it was a matter of no difficulty for the inhabitants of Auximus to draw the water. This situation suggested to Belisarius that, if the water should not be collected there, the barbarians would never be able to fill their jars from the spring's flow, because they would be exposed to the missiles of their enemy for a long time. Wishing, therefore, to destroy the cistern, he devised the following plan. He armed his whole force and drew it up in a circle about the circuit-wall as if for battle, giving his opponents the impression that he was about to make an attack upon their defences from all sides without the least delay. The Goths, consequently, fearing the attack, remained quietly at the battlements, with the intention of warding off their enemy from that position. But Belisarius meanwhile chose out five Isaurians who were skilled in masonry and conducted them to the cistern with mattocks and other implements suitable for cutting stone, concealing them as they went under a great number of shields; then he commanded them to put forth all their strength to break up and tear down the walls of the cistern as quickly as possible. As for the barbarians, as long as they suspected that these men were coming against the wall, they remained quiet, in order that they might come as close

ἂν ὡς ἀγχοτάτω γενομένους εὐπετῶς βάλλοιεν, ἐν νῷ τὸ ποιούμενον ἥκιστα ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἐντὸς γενομένους τῆς δεξαμενῆς εἶδον, λίθους τε καὶ τοξεύματα πάντα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔβαλ-
7 λον. τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἅπαντες ὑπεχώρουν δρόμῳ, μόνοι δὲ οἱ πέντε Ἴσαυροι, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἔργου εἴχοντο· κύρτωμα γάρ τι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὕδατος σκιᾶς ἕνεκα τοῖς πάλαι
8 ἀνθρώποις τῆδε πεποίηται. οὗ δὴ ἐντὸς γεγενημένοι ὡς ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων, καίπερ συχνὰ βαλλόντων, ἐφρόντιζον.

9 Διὸ δὴ οἱ Γότθοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν οὐκέτι ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν ταύτῃ πυλίδα ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσαύρους ἅπαντες θυμῷ τε πολλῷ
10 καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι ἤεσαν. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Βελισαρίου σφίσιν ἐγκελευομένου σπουδῇ πολλῇ ὑπηντίαζον. γίνεται μὲν οὖν μάχη καρτερὰ ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὠθισμὸν ἔχουσα καὶ φόνος ἑκατέρων
11 πολύς. Ῥωμαίων δὲ μᾶλλον συχνοὶ ἔπιπτον. ἅτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ὕπερθεν ἀμυνόμενοι ὀλίγοι[1] τε πολλοὺς ἐβιάζοντο καὶ τῷ ὠθισμῷ[1] περιγε-
12 νόμενοι πλείους ἔκτεινον ἢ αὐτοὶ ἔθνησκον. ἐνδιδόναι μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, παρόντα τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐγκελευόμενον Βελισάριον αἰσχυνό-
13 μενοι. τότε δὴ καὶ βέλος τι ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἦει ξὺν ῥοίζῳ πολλῷ, πρός του τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴτε τύχῃ τινὶ εἴτε προνοίᾳ ἐνταῦθα

[1] ὀλίγοι—περιγενόμενοι K; om. L.

as possible and thus form an easy mark for their missiles, never once thinking what their real object was; but when they saw that the Isaurians had got inside the cistern, they began to hurl stones and discharge all kinds of missiles at them. Then indeed all the other Romans retired on the run, but the five Isaurians alone, who had now reached safety, began their work; for a sort of vault had been built over the cistern by the men of old in order to shade the water. So when they had got under this vault, they paid not the least heed to the enemy, although they were discharging missiles with great frequency.

In view of this the Goths could no longer endure to remain inside the fortifications, but opening the small gate on that side, they all rushed out against the Isaurians with great fury and tumult. And the Romans, urged on by Belisarius, made a countercharge with great enthusiasm. So a fierce battle took place in which for a long time they engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle, and there was great slaughter on both sides. But the men were falling more thickly among the Romans. For since the barbarians were defending themselves from a higher position, a few men could overpower many, and gaining superiority in the hand-to-hand struggle, they were killing more men than those who were killed among themselves. However, the Romans were determined not to give in, feeling shame before Belisarius, who was present and urging them on with shouts. While this battle was in progress, it also happened that a missile came flying with a shrill whiz toward the belly of the general, having been directed there by one of the enemy either by some chance or with deliberate intent. And this missile

14 βληθέν. ὅπερ Βελισάριος μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶδεν. οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὔτε φυλάσσεσθαι οὔτε πη ἐκτρέπεσθαι ἴσχυσε. δορυφόρος δέ τις Οὐνίγαστος ὄνομα παρ' αὐτὸν ἑστηκὼς κατενόησέ τε οὐκ ἄποθεν ὂν τῆς Βελισαρίου γαστρός, καὶ χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν προβαλλόμενος ἔσωσε μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου, αὐτὸς δὲ πληγεὶς τῷ τοξεύματι
15 εὐθὺς μὲν περιώδυνος γεγονὼς ἀνεχώρησε. μετὰ δὲ τῶν νεύρων οἱ ἀποκοπέντων οὐκέτι τὴν χεῖρα ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσεν. ἥ τε μάχη πρωὶ ἀρξαμένη ἐς μέσην ἡμέραν ἀφίκετο.

16 Καὶ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ ὑπό τε Ναρσῆ καὶ Ἀρατίῳ τασσόμενοι ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἀρετῆς ἄξια, ἔς τε τὴν δυσχωρίαν, ἣ μάλιστα ἀνάντης ἦν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ περιθέοντες καὶ κτείνοντες τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἀεὶ σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντας, ἕως διωσάμενοι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάρους ἐτρέψαντο.
17 οἵ τε ἄλλοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνδιδόντας ὁρῶντες ἤδη τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον καὶ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, οἵ τε βάρβαροι αὖθις ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο.
18 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν τήν τε δεξαμενὴν διεφθάρθαι καὶ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἅπαν ἐπιτετελέσθαι τὸ ἔργον ᾠοντο, οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον χάλικα ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι
19 παντελὲς ἴσχυσαν. οἱ γὰρ πάλαι τεχνῖται, ἀρετῆς ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἐπιμελούμενοι μάλιστα, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ταύτην τὴν οἰκοδομίαν εἰργάσαντο, ὥστε μήτε χρόνῳ μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλῇ εἴκειν.
20 ἄπρακτοι γοῦν οἱ Ἴσαυροι, ἐπειδὴ Ῥωμαίους τοῦ χώρου κρατήσαντας εἶδον, ἐκ τῆς δεξαμενῆς ἀπαλ-
21 λαγέντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν. διὸ

was not seen at all by Belisarius. At any rate, he failed either to guard against it or to step aside to avoid it. But a certain spearman named Unigastus, who was standing beside him, saw it when it was not far from the belly of Belisarius, and by putting forth his right hand saved the general unexpectedly; but he himself, owing to the wound inflicted by the arrow, withdrew immediately, suffering severe pain. And after that, since the sinews had been severed, he was never able to use his hand again. And the battle, which had begun early in the morning, continued up to midday.

And seven men of the Armenians from the command of Narses and Aratius made a display of valorous deeds, running about the unfavourable ground, which was exceedingly steep, just as if on the level, and killing those of the enemy who from time to time made a stand against them, until they forced back the barbarians in that part of the line and routed them. Then the other Romans, seeing the enemy now giving way, began to pursue them and the rout became decisive, and the barbarians went back inside the fortifications. Now the Romans thought that the cistern had been destroyed and that the Isaurians had accomplished their whole task, but in fact they had been altogether unable to remove so much as one pebble from the masonry; for the artisans of old, who cared most of all for excellence in their work, had built this masonry in such a way as to yield neither to time nor to the attempts of men to destroy it. At any rate the Isaurians had accomplished nothing when, upon seeing that the Romans had won the position, they left the cistern and withdrew to the camp. Consequently

δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν τε ζῴων τὰ νεκρὰ καὶ βοτάνας ἐς ἀνθρώπου φθορὰν ἱκανῶς πεφυκυίας ῥίπτειν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε καὶ λίθον κατακεκαυμένην ἐνδελεχέστατα (ἦν πάλαι μὲν τίτανον, ταυῦν δὲ ἄσβεστον καλεῖν νενομίκασιν)
22 ἐμβαλόντας ἐνταῦθα σβεννύειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι φρέατι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ὕδωρ τι βραχὺ ὡς μάλιστα ἔχοντι ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν
23 ἐχρῶντο. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Βελισάριος οὔτε βίᾳ τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν οὔτε τινὰ ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι ὕδατος πέρι ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο, μόνῳ τῷ λιμῷ[1] περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἐλπίδα
24 ἔχων. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς ἰσχυρότατα ἐπεμελεῖτο. οἵ τε Γότθοι καραδοκοῦντες ἔτι τὸν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης στρατὸν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡσύχαζον.
25 Ἤδη δὲ οἱ ἐν Φισούλῃ πολιορκούμενοι ὡς μάλιστα τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, φέρειν τε τὸ κακὸν οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, ἀπειπόντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἐλπίδα, τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσχωρεῖν
26 ἔγνωσαν. Κυπριανῷ τοίνυν καὶ Ἰουστίνῳ ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντες, τά τε πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν σωμάτων λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδοσαν. καὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυπριανὸν ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπαγόμενοι, φρουράν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν Φισούλῃ καταστησάμενοι, ἐς
27 Αὔξιμον ἦλθον. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἡγουμένους τοῖς ἐν Αὐξίμῳ βαρβάροις ἀεὶ ἐνδεικνύ-

[1] λιμῷ K: λοιμῷ L.

[1] *i. e.* lime.

Belisarius commanded the soldiers to throw into the water the dead bodies of animals and such herbs as nature has caused to be especially deadly for man, and also to put in a kind of stone, very thoroughly burned, which in olden times they were accustomed to call "titanos," but which at the present time they call "asbestos,"[1] and thus to quench it in the water. And the soldiers did accordingly, but the barbarians made use of a well inside the fortifications which had an exceedingly scant supply of water, and thus they supplied themselves during this time, but with a smaller quantity than they needed. Thereafter Belisarius no longer exerted himself either to capture the place by storm or to carry out any plot with regard to the water or anything else, hoping that by famine alone he would overcome the enemy. And because of this purpose he exercised the greatest care in guarding the lines. The Goths, meanwhile, still expecting the army from Ravenna and being in great want of provisions, remained quiet.

By this time the Goths who were besieged in Fisula were beginning to be exceedingly hard pressed by famine, and, being unable to endure the suffering, and desparing also of the hope from Ravenna, they decided to yield to their opponents. They accordingly opened negotiations with Cyprian and Justinus, and, upon receiving pledges for their lives, they surrendered both themselves and the fortress. Then Cyprian and his colleagues, taking them along with the Roman army, and after establishing a sufficient garrison at Fisula, came to Auximus. And Belisarius, from that time, was constantly displaying their leaders to the barbarians in Auximus

μενος ἐκέλευε τῆς ἀπονοίας μεθίεσθαι, τὴν ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀποσεισαμένοις ἐλπίδα· ὄνησις γάρ[1] τις οὐ μή ποτε οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἔσται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ κεκακωμένοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐς ταὐτὸν
28 τύχης τοῖς ἐν Φισούλῃ ἀφίξονται. οἱ δὲ πολλὰ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λογισάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τῷ λιμῷ[2] οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, τούς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἠξίουν, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτοὶ ἀπαθεῖς κακῶν ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης πορεύσον-
29 ται. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τοῖς παροῦσι διηπορεῖτο, πολεμίους μὲν τοιούτους τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἀναμίγνυσθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι οἰόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καιροῦ ὑστερῆσαι ὡς ἥκιστα ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ῥάβεννάν τε καὶ Οὐίττιγιν, ᾠχωρημένων ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἰέναι.
30 Φράγγοι γὰρ αὐτὸν ξυνετάρασσον, Γότθοις ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπίδοξοι ὄντες. ὧν δὴ προτερῆσαι τὴν παρουσίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων διαλύειν τὴν προσεδρείαν μήπω
31 Αὐξίμου ἁλούσης οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. οἵ τε στρατιῶται οὐκ εἴων συγχωρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα, τραύματα μὲν πολλὰ[3] ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὧνπερ[4] ἐνταῦθα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔτυχον,[5] πόνους δὲ πάντας ἀπαριθμοῦντες τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ σφίσι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκότας, ὧν δὴ ἆθλα εἶναι τῶν ἡσσημένων
32 τὰ λάφυρα ἰσχυρίζοντο. τέλος δὲ οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι

[1] ὄνησις γάρ K: δι' ἧς ὄνησις L.
[2] λιμῷ K: λοιμῷ L.
[3] τραύματα μ. πολλὰ K: οὕτω μ. π. τραύμ. L.
[4] ὧνπερ K: ἅπερ L.
[5] ἔτυχον K: δεξάμενοι ἔτυχον L.

and bidding them cling no longer to their insane purpose, but abandon their hope from Ravenna; for they, like the others, would never receive the least assistance, but after being utterly worn out by hardship they would none the less come to the same fate as had the garrison in Fisula. And they, after long deliberation among themselves, seeing that they could no longer hold out against the famine, were ready to receive his proposals and expressed a desire to surrender the city, on condition that they themselves suffer no harm and proceed with their belongings to Ravenna. As a result of this, Belisarius was altogether uncertain what to do in the situation before him, because, on the one hand, he thought it inexpedient that a body of the enemy of such marked excellence and so numerous besides should join forces with their comrades in Ravenna, and, on the other hand, he was quite unwilling to let slip the moment of opportunity, but wished to move against Ravenna and Vittigis while the situation was still unsettled. For the Franks were causing him great concern, since he fully expected that they would come to the assistance of the Goths almost immediately. And though he was eager to anticipate their arrival, he was unable to break up the siege with Auximus still uncaptured. The soldiers, furthermore, would not allow him to concede their property to the barbarians, displaying many wounds which they had received at their hands before the city and recounting all the struggles which had fallen to their lot during this siege; and they declared that the rewards for these sufferings were surely the spoils of the vanquished. But finally, since the Romans were compelled by the

καιροῦ ὀξύτητι ἀναγκασθέντες, καὶ Γότθοι τῷ λιμῷ βιαζόμενοι ξυνίασιν ἀλλήλοις, ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν μὲν χρημάτων τὰ ἡμίσεια Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διανέμωνται, τὰ δὲ λειπόμενα Γότθοι
33 ἔχοντες βασιλέως κατήκοοι ὦσιν. ἑκάτεροι τοίνυν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν, Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ ξυγκείμενα κύρια εἶναι, Γότθοι δὲ
34 τῶν χρημάτων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀποκρύψασθαι. οὕτω τε δὴ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἐνείμαντο καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Ἄξιμον ἔσχον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῷ βασιλέως στρατεύματι ἀνεμίγνυντο.

XXVIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἄξιμον εἶλε, Ῥάβενναν πολιορκεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἐνταῦθα ἐπῆγε. Μάγνον τε πέμψας ξὺν πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπὲρ Ῥαβέννης[1] ἐκέλευε Πάδου[2] τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην ἀεὶ περιιόντα φυλακὴν ἔχειν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνθένδε
2 οἱ Γότθοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζωνται. καὶ Βιτάλιος δέ οἱ ξὺν στρατῷ ἐκ Δαλματίας ἀφικόμενος ὄχθην τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐφύλασσεν. ἐνταῦθα αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη τις τύχη, δήλωσιν ἄντικρυς ποιουμένη ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴ πρυτανεύει ἀμφοτέροις
3 τὰ πράγματα. συχνὰς γὰρ οἱ Γότθοι ἀκάτους πρότερον ἐν Λιγούροις συλλέξαντες ἐς τὸν Πάδον καθῆκαν, ἅσπερ ἐμπλησάμενοι σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλεῖν ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης διενοοῦντο.

[1] ὑπὲρ ῥαβέννης K : ἐπὶ ῥαβέννης ἰέναι L.
[2] Πάδου τε MSS. : τε bracketed by Krašeninnikov.

pressing need of the moment, and the Goths were overcome by the famine, they came to an agreement with each other, stipulating that the Romans should divide among themselves one half of their wealth, while the Goths should keep the rest and be subjects of the emperor. Both sides accordingly gave pledges to secure this agreement, the commanders of the Romans that the agreement should be binding, and the Goths that they would conceal nothing whatever of their wealth. Thus, then, they divided the whole of it between them, and the Romans, on their part, took possession of Auximus, while the barbarians mingled with the emperor's army.

XXVIII

After the capture of Auximus, Belisarius made haste to lay siege to Ravenna, and he brought up his whole army against it. He also sent Magnus with a large force beyond Ravenna, with orders to move constantly along the bank of the river Po and keep guard, with the purpose of preventing the Goths thereafter from bringing in provisions by way of the river. Furthermore, Vitalius, who had come from Dalmatia with an army to join him, was guarding the other bank of the river. It was here that the Romans met with a piece of good fortune which made it perfectly clear that Fortune herself was determining the course of events for both sides. For the Goths had previously collected a large number of boats in Liguria and brought them down to the Po, and after filling them with grain and other provisions were purposing to set sail for Ravenna. But

4 οὕτω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ὑπέληγεν ὥστε αὐτοῦ[1] ναυτίλλεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἕως ἐπελθόντες Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς ἀκάτους σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἅπασιν εἷλον. 5 ὅ τε ποταμὸς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐς ῥοῦν ἐπανιὼν τὸν καθήκοντα ναυσίπορος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγεγόνει. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ ξυμβῆναι οὐ πώποτε πρότερον 6 ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν. ἤδη τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἤρξαντο τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὑποσπανίζειν. οὔτε γὰρ διὰ κόλπου τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τοῦ Ἰονίου εἶχον, θαλασσοκρατούντων πανταχῇ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ 7 ἀπεκέκλειντο. γνόντες δὲ οἱ Φράγγων ἄρχοντες τὰ ποιούμενα προσποιεῖσθαί τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐθέλοντες, πρέσβεις παρὰ τὸν Οὐίττιγιν πέμπουσι, ξυμμαχίας ὑπόσχεσιν προτεινόμενοι,[2] 8 ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς χώρας ξὺν αὐτῷ[3] ἄρξουσιν. ὅπερ Βελισάριος ὡς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντεροῦντας Γερμανοῖς ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ Θεοδόσιον τὸν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐφεστῶτα.

9 Πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις Οὐιττίγιδι ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· "Ἔπεμψαν ἡμᾶς οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες, δυσχεραίνοντες μὲν ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Βελισαρίου πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἤκουσαν, τιμωρεῖν δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι τάχιστα κατὰ τὸ 10 ξυμμαχικὸν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες.[4] τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πεντήκοντα ἤδη που τὰς Ἄλπεις ὑπερβεβηκέναι οἰόμεθα, οὕσπερ τοῖς πελέκεσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιὰν ξύμπασαν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ

[1] αὐτοῦ Haury : αὐτὸν K, αὐτῷ L.
[2] προτεινόμενοι KL : προσποιούμενοι H.
[3] ξὺν αὐτῷ LH : αὐτῶν K.

the water in this river fell so low at that time that it was altogether impossible to navigate upon it, until the Romans came up and seized the boats with all their cargoes. Then the river not long afterward returned to its proper volume and became navigable thereafter. And as far as we know from tradition, this had never happened to the river before. By this time the barbarians had already begun to experience some lack of provisions. For they were both unable to bring anything in by the Ionian Gulf, since their enemy commanded the sea everywhere, and they were shut off from the river. And the rulers of the Franks, learning what was going on and wishing to gain Italy for themselves, sent envoys to Vittigis, holding out a promise of an offensive and defensive alliance, on condition that they should rule the land jointly with him. Now when Belisarius heard this, he also sent envoys, among whom was Theodosius, who stood at the head of his own household, in order to speak against the Germans.

So the envoys of the Germans were admitted first to Vittigis' presence and spoke to the following effect: "The rulers of the Germans have sent us to you, in the first place because they are vexed to hear that you are thus besiged by Belisarius, and, in the second place, because they are eager to avenge you with all possible speed in accordance with the terms of our alliance. Now we suppose that our army, numbering not less than five hundred thousand fighting men, has by now crossed the Alps, and we boast that they will bury the entire Roman army

---

[4] ἔχοντες LH: ἔχουσι K.

11 ὁρμῇ καταχώσειν αὐχοῦμεν. ὑμᾶς δὲ οὐ τῶν[1]
δουλωσομένων τῇ γνώμῃ ἔπεσθαι ἄξιον, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου εὐνοίᾳ τῇ ἐς Γότθους
12 καθισταμένων. ἄλλως τε, ἢν μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ξὺν
ἡμῖν ἕλησθε, οὐδεμία λελείψεται Ῥωμαίοις ἐλπὶς
ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι,
ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναδησόμεθα τὸ τοῦ
13 πολέμου κράτος. ἢν δέ γε ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις τετά-
ξονται Γότθοι, οὐδ' ὡς τῷ τῶν Φράγγων ἔθνει
ἀνθέξουσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως
ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται), ἀλλὰ περιέσται ὑμῖν τὸ ξὺν τοῖς
14 πάντων πολεμιωτάτοις ἠσσῆσθαι. ἐς προῦπτον
δὲ κακὸν ἰέναι, παρὸν κινδύνου ἐκτὸς σώζεσθαι,
πολλὴ ἄνοια. ὅλως δὲ ἄπιστον πᾶσι βαρβάροις
τὸ Ῥωμαίων καθέστηκε γένος, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει
15 πολεμιόν ἐστιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ξυνάρξομέν τε
βουλομένοις ὑμῖν Ἰταλίας ἁπάσης καὶ τὴν χώραν
διοικησόμεθα ὅπη ἂν δοκῇ ὡς ἄριστα ἔχειν. σὲ
δὲ καὶ Γότθους ἐλέσθαι εἰκὸς ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν
ξυνοίσειν μέλλῃ." Φράγγοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον.
16 Παρελθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις
ἔλεξαν ὧδε· "Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν τῷ βασιλέως
στρατῷ λυμανεῖται τὸ Γερμανῶν πλῆθος, ᾧπερ[2]
οὗτοι δεδίττεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦσι, τί ἄν τις ἐν
ὑμῖν μακρολογοίη, οἷς γε διὰ μακρὰν ἐμπειρίαν
ἅπασαν ἐξεπίστασθαι τὴν τοῦ πολέμου ῥοπὴν
ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα ἀρετὴ ἀνθρώπων ὁμίλῳ

[1] οὐ των H Maltretus: οὕτω K, οὐ μετὰ τῶν L.
[2] ᾧπερ Maltretus: ὅπερ MSS.

with their axes at the first onset. And you, on your part, ought to conform to the purpose, not of those who intend to enslave you, but of those who are entering into the danger of war because of their loyalty to the Goths. And apart from this, if, on the one hand, you unite your forces with ours, the Romans will have no hope left of facing both our armies in battle, but from the very outset and without any effort at all we shall gain the supremacy in the war. But if, on the other hand, the Goths choose to array themselves with the Romans, even in that case they will not withstand the Frankish nation (for the struggle will not be evenly matched in point of strength), but the ultimate result for you will be defeat in the company of the most hostile of all men. But to plunge into a disaster which can be foreseen, when the opportunity is offered to be saved without danger, is utter folly. Besides, the Roman nation has proved itself altogether untrustworthy toward all barbarians, since by its very nature it is hostile to them. We therefore propose, if you are willing, to share with you the rule of all Italy, and we shall administer the land in whatever manner seems best. And for thee and the Goths the natural course to follow is that one which is destined to redound to your advantage." Thus spoke the Franks.

And the envoys of Belisarius also came forward and spoke as follows. "That the multitude of the Germans will inflict no injury on the emperor's army and it is with this that they seek to scare you—why should one enter into a lengthy proof before you, seeing that you, certainly, have come to understand by long experience what wholly governs the course of war, and know that valour is in no

17 φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι; ἐῶμεν γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ[1] πάντων μάλιστα βασιλεῖ πάρεστι πλήθει στρατιωτῶν περιεῖναι τῶν πολεμίων. τὸ δὲ δὴ τούτων πιστόν, ᾧ χρῆσθαι αὐχοῦσιν[2] ἐς πάντας βαρβάρους, μετά γε Θορίγγους καὶ τὸ Βουργουζιώνων ἔθνος, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τῶν
18 ἀνδρῶν ἐπιδέδεικται. ὡς ἡμεῖς γε ἡδέως ἂν Φράγγους ἐροίμεθα τίνα ποτὲ μέλλοντες ὀμεῖσθαι θεὸν τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὑμῖν ἐχυρὸν ἰσχυρίζονται
19 δώσειν. τὸν γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς ὁμωμοσμένον ὄντινα τετιμήκασι τρόπον ἐπίστασθε δή που· οἵ γε χρήματα μὲν τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, Γαλλίας δὲ ὅλας[3] παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ κεκομισμένοι οὐχ ὅσον ὑμῖν τοῦ κινδύνου συνάρασθαι οὐδαμῶς ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπλα οὕτως ἀνέδην καθ' ὑμῶν εἵλοντο, εἴ τις ἐν ὑμῖν τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πάδῳ
20 ξυμπεπτωκότων διασώζεται λόγος. καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ φθάσαντα λέγοντας ἐλέγχειν τὸ τῶν Φράγγων ἀσέβημα; τῆς παρούσης αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐδὲν
21 ἂν γένοιτο μιαρώτερον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὡμολογημένων τε καὶ[4] ταῖς ξυνθήκαις ὁμωμοσμένων κοινωνεῖν[5] τῶν
22 πάντων[6] ὑμῖν ἀξιοῦσιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτου παρ' ὑμῶν τύχωσιν,[7] εἰς τί ποτε αὐτοῖς τελευτήσει τὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἀκόρεστον σκοπεῖσθαι προσήκει."[8]

[1] ὡς καὶ H : ὡς K, ὅτι καὶ L.

[2] ᾧ χρῆσθαι αὐχοῦσιν KH : καὶ ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν L corr., ὑμῶν L pr. m.) εἰδότων L.

[3] χρήματα—ὅλας H : om. KL.

[4] καὶ MSS : Haury suggests καὶ ἐν.

[5] κοινωνεῖν KH : κρείττω νυν L.

[6] πάντων KH : πάντων τὴν παρ' αὐτῶν βοήθειαν ἐσομένην L.

[7] τύχωσιν KH : τύχωσιν, ὥστε ξυνελθεῖν γότθους τῷ φράγγων στρατῷ L.

circumstances wont to be overcome by mere throngs of men. For we need not add that, in point of fact, the emperor surpasses all others in the ability to outstrip his enemies in regard to multitude of soldiers. But as touching the loyalty of these Franks, which they proudly claim to shew toward all barbarians, this has been well displayed by them, first to the Thuringians and the Burgundian nation, and then to you also, their allies! And indeed we, on our part, should take pleasure in asking the Franks by what god they can possibly intend to swear when they declare that they will give you surety for their loyalty. For you understand surely in what manner they have honoured the one by whom they have already sworn—they who have received from you vast sums of money, as you know, and also the entire territory of Gaul as the price of their alliance, and yet have decided not merely to render you no assistance at all in your peril, but have actually taken up arms thus wantonly against you, if any account of those things which happened on the Po is preserved among you.[1] But why need we demonstrate the impiety of the Franks by recounting past events? Nothing could be more unholy than this present embassy of theirs. For just as if they had forgotten the terms they themselves have agreed upon and the oaths they have taken to secure the treaty, they claim the right to share your all with you. And if they do actually obtain this from you, it befits you to consider what will be the end of their insatiable greed for money."

[1] Cf. chap. xxv. 9, above.

[8] σκοπεῖσθαι προσήκει KH : εἰκός γε λογίζεσθαι L.

23 Τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ οἱ Βελισαρίου πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν. Οὐίττιγις δὲ ξὺν Γότθων τοῖς ἀρίστοις πολλὰ κοινολογησάμενος τάς τε πρὸς βασιλέα ξυνθήκας εἵλετο καὶ ἀπράκτους ἀπεπέμψατο τοὺς Γερμανῶν πρέσβεις.[1] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Γότθοι μὲν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο ἤδη, Βελισάριος δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἐφύλασσε τοῦ μὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι.
24 καὶ Βιτάλιον μὲν ἐς Βενετίους ἰόντα ὡς[2] πλεῖστα ἐπάγεσθαι τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ἰλδίγερα πέμψας[3] τὸν Πάδον ἐφύλασσεν ἑκατέρωθεν, ὅπως τε οἱ βάρβαροι μᾶλλον ἀπορίᾳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδώσουσι καὶ τὰς ξυνθήκας
25 ποιήσονται ἢ αὐτὸς βούλεται. καὶ ἐπεὶ σῖτον πολὺν ἐν δημοσίοις οἰκήμασιν ἔτι ἐντὸς Ῥαβέννης ἀποκεῖσθαι ἔγνω, τῶν τινα ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων ἀνέπεισε χρήμασι ταῦτα δὴ τὰ οἰκήματα ξὺν
26 τῷ σίτῳ λάθρα ἐμπρῆσαι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ Ματασούνθης, τῆς Οὐιττίγιδος γυναικός, ταῦτα ἀπολωλέναι. ἐπειδή τε ὁ σῖτος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκέκαυτο, οἱ μέν τινες ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ἔργον ὑπετόπαζον, οἱ δὲ κεραυνῷ τὸν χῶρον
27 βεβλῆσθαι ὑπώπτευον. ἑκάτερα δὲ λογιζόμενοι Γότθοι τε καὶ Οὐίττιγις ἐς ἀμηχανίαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέπιπτον, οὐδὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔχοντες καὶ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πολεμεῖσθαι οἰόμενοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐπράσσετο.
28 Ἐν δὲ Ἄλπεσιν αἳ[4] Γάλλους τε καὶ Λιγούρους

[1] τοὺς γερμανῶν πρέσβεις KH : φράγγους L.
[2] ὡς H, Suidas : τὰ KL.
[3] πέμψας KH : ἐπιπέμψας L.
[4] αἳ K : οἳ L, ἥ H.

Thus spoke the envoys of Belisarius in their turn. As for Vittigis, after long conference with the noblest of the Goths, he gave his preference to the proposed treaty with the emperor, and sent away the envoys of the Germans unsuccessful. And from that time the Goths and the Romans began directly to carry on negotiations with each other, but Belisarius was no whit the less on his guard to prevent the barbarians from bringing in provisions for themselves. Furthermore, he commanded Vitalius to go to Venetia and bring over as many of the towns of that region as possible, while he himself, with Ildiger, whom he had sent forward, was maintaining a guard over both banks of the Po, in order that the barbarians might yield more readily through lack of provisions and make the treaty as he himself wished. And since he learned that a large amount of grain was still lying in storage in public warehouses inside Ravenna, he bribed one of the inhabitants of the city to set fire secretly to these same warehouses and destroy the grain with them. But they say that, in reality, it was by the will of Matasuntha, the wife of Vittigis, that they were destroyed. Now some few were led by the fact that the grain burned suddenly to believe that the thing had been carried out by a plot, but others suspected that the place had been struck by lightning. Still, whichever of the two views they took, both the Goths and Vittigis were, more than ever, plunged into a state of helplessness, unable as they were even to trust their own compatriots thereafter, and thinking that war was being waged against them by God Himself. Such was the course of these events.

Now there are numerous strongholds in the Alps

διορίζουσιν, ἅσπερ[1] Ἄλπεις Κουτίας καλοῦσι
29 Ῥωμαῖοι, φρούρια συχνὰ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. οὗ
δὴ Γότθοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι,
ξύν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ᾠκημένοι,
φυλακὴν εἶχον, οὕσπερ ἐπεί οἱ βούλεσθαι Βελι-
σάριος προσχωρεῖν ἤκουσε, τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινά,
Θωμᾶν ὄνομα, ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς
ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ πιστὰ δόντες παραστήσονται
30 ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς
τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀφικομένους Σίσιγις, ὃς τῶν ἐνταῦθα
φυλακτηρίων ἦρχεν, ἐνὶ τῶν φρουρίων δεξάμενος,
αὐτός τε προσεχώρησε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστους
31 εἰς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν.[2] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐραΐας τετρα-
κισχιλίους Λιγούρους τε κἀκ τῶν ἐν ταῖς Ἄλπεσι
φρουρίων[3] ἀπολεξάμενος, ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ὡς βοη-
32 θήσων κατὰ τάχος ἦει. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ τὰ Σισίγιδι
πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο, ἀμφὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δεδιότες,
33 ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ἠξίουν ἰέναι. διὸ δὴ Οὐραΐας
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰς Ἄλπεις Κουτίας ἦλθε
καὶ τὸν Σίσιγιν ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Θωμᾶν ἐπο-
λιόρκει. ταῦτα Ἰωάννης τε,[4] ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ
ἀδελφιδοῦς, καὶ Μαρτῖνος πυθόμενοι (ἀγχοτάτω
γὰρ Πάδου ποταμοῦ ὄντες ἐτύγχανον[5]) κατὰ
τάχος ἐβοήθουν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ καὶ τῶν ἐν
ταῖς Ἄλπεσι φρουρίων τισὶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
ἐπισκήψαντες[6] εἷλον, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ᾠκημέ-
νους ἠνδραποδίσαντο, ἐν οἷς παῖδάς τε συχνοὺς
καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐραΐᾳ στρατευομένων

[1] ἅσπερ—Ῥωμαῖοι KL : om. H.
[2] ἐνῆγεν H : ἦγεν KL.
[3] Λιγούρους—φρουρίων KL : om. H.
[4] τε K : τε καὶ L, om. H.

which separate Gaul from Liguria, and which the Romans call the Cottian Alps. These strongholds were garrisoned, as had been the custom for many years, by many of the noblest of the Goths, who resided in them together with their wives and children; and when Belisarius heard that these garrisons wished to submit themselves to him, he sent to them one of his officers, Thomas by name, with some few men, with instructions to give pledges and accept the surrender of the barbarians there. And when they reached the Alps, Sisigis, who commanded the garrisons of that district, received them in one of the fortresses, and not only submitted himself but also urged each of the other commanders to do likewise. Just at this time Uraïas, who had selected four thousand Ligurians and men from the fortresses in the Alps, was moving with all speed toward Ravenna with the intention of relieving the city. But when these men learned what had been done by Sisigis, they became fearful for their families and demanded that they should first go to them. Consequently Uraïas entered the Cottian Alps with his whole army, and laid siege to Sisigis and the force of Thomas. Now when John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Martinus learned of this situation (for they happened to be very near the Po), they came to the rescue as quickly as possible with their whole army; and by falling suddenly upon some of the fortresses in the Alps, they captured them and made slaves of their inhabitants, and a large number of these captives, as chance would have it, proved to be children and wives of the men who were serving

[5] ἀγχοτάτω—ἐτύγχανον KL: om. H.
[6] ἐπισκήψαντες H: ἐπισκέψαντες K, ἐπεισπεσόντες L.

34 ξυνεπεσεν εἶναι. πλεῖστοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτων
35 δὴ τῶν φρουρίων ὁρμώμενοι εἵποντο. οἵπερ, ἐπεὶ
ἀλῶναι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔμαθον, ἀποταξάμενοι
τοῦ Γότθων στρατοπέδου ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, τοῖς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ Οὐραΐας οὔτε τι ἐνταῦθα ἀνύτειν οὔτε τοῖς
ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ κινδυνεύουσι Γότθοις βοηθεῖν ἴσχυ-
σεν, ἀλλὰ ἄπρακτος ἐς Λιγουρίαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις
ἐλθὼν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. καὶ Βελισάριος κατ' ἐξουσίαν
Οὐίττιγίν τε καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους ἐν
Ῥαβέννῃ καθεῖρξε.

XXIX

Τότε δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο,
Δόμνικός τε καὶ Μαξιμῖνος, ἐκ βουλῆς ἄμφω,
ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην κατὰ τάδε ποιήσονται·
2 Οὐίττιγιν μὲν πλούτου τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
φέρεσθαι, χώρας τε ἄρχειν ἣ ἐκτὸς Πάδου
ποταμοῦ ἐστι· τῶν δὲ δὴ χρημάτων τὸ ἥμισυ
βασιλέως εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸν ὅσα ἐντὸς Πάδου
ποταμοῦ ἐστιν ὑπήκοα ἐς ἀπαγωγὴν φόρου
3 ποιήσασθαι. Βελισαρίῳ τε οἱ πρέσβεις τὰ
βασιλέως γράμματα δείξαντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν
ἐκομίσθησαν. μαθόντες δὲ Γότθοι καὶ Οὐίττιγις
ἐφ' ᾧ ἥκοιεν, ἄσμενοι κατὰ ταῦτα ὡμολόγησαν
4 τὰς σπονδὰς θήσεσθαι. ἅπερ ἀκούσας Βελι-
σάριος ἤσχαλλεν, ἐν ξυμφορᾷ μεγάλῃ ποιούμενος,
εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν ἐῴη, παρὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, τό τε
κράτος τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς φέρεσθαι καὶ
δορυάλωτον Οὐίττιγιν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀγαγεῖν.

under Uraïas. For the most of the men under his command were natives of these very fortresses. And when these men learned that their own homes had been captured, they detached themselves suddenly from the army of the Goths, having decided to go over to the troops under John, and as a result of this Uraïas was able neither to accomplish anything there nor to bring assistance to the Goths endangered in Ravenna, but he returned unsuccessful with a few men to Liguria and remained quietly there. And Belisarius without interference held Vittigis and the nobles of the Goths confined in Ravenna.

XXIX

It was in these circumstances that envoys arrived from the emperor, Domnicus and Maximinus, both members of the senate, in order to make peace on the following terms. Vittigis was to receive one-half of the royal treasure, and to rule over the territory which is north of the river Po; but the other half of the money was to fall to the emperor, and he was to make subject and tributary to himself all that lay south of the Po. So the envoys, having shewn the emperor's letter to Belisarius, betook themselves to Ravenna. And when the Goths and Vittigis had learned the purpose of their coming, they gladly agreed to make the treaty on these terms. But Belisarius, upon hearing this, was moved with vexation, counting it a great calamity that anyone should prevent him from winning the decisive victory of the whole war, when it was possible to do so with no trouble, and from leading Vittigis a captive to Byzantium. So when the envoys returned

5 ἐπειδή τε οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκ Ῥαβέννης πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἵκοντο, γράμμασιν οἰκείοις ἐπιρρῶσαι τὰς ξυνθή-
6 κας ἥκιστα ἤθελεν. ὥνπερ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι
νῷ τε δολερῷ[1] τὴν εἰρήνην σφίσι Ῥωμαίους
προτείνεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον, καὶ ὑποψίᾳ ἐς αὐτοὺς
μεγάλῃ ἐχρῶντο, ἄντικρύς τε ἤδη ἔφασκον ἄνευ
τῶν Βελισαρίου γραμμάτων τε καὶ ὅρκων οὔποτε
ξυνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεσθαι.

7 Ἀκούσας δὲ Βελισάριος λοιδορεῖσθαί οἱ τῶν
ἀρχόντων τινάς, ὡς δὴ ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς βασιλέως
πράγμασι τὸν πόλεμον καταλύειν οὐδαμῶς βού-
λοιτο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας, Δομνίκου τε καὶ
8 Μαξιμίνου παρόντων, ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Τὴν μὲν τοῦ
πολέμου τύχην ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα ἑστάναι
αὐτός τε οἶδα καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον ταὐτά μοι γινώ-
9 σκειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οἶμαι. πολλούς τε γὰρ ἐπί-
δοξος, ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεται, οὖσα ἡ τῆς
νίκης ἐλπὶς ἔσφηλε, καὶ τοῖς ἠτυχηκέναι[2] δοκοῦσι
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἤδη παρὰ δόξαν περιεῖναι ξυνέβη.
10 διὸ δή φημι χρῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης βου-
λευομένους οὐ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἐλπίδα προβάλλεσθαι
μόνον, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἔσεσθαι
σφίσιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὴν αἵρεσιν ποιεῖσθαι
11 τῆς γνώμης. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὑμᾶς
τε τοὺς ξυνάρχοντας καὶ τούσδε τοὺς βασιλέως
πρέσβεις ξυνεισάγειν[3] ἔδοξεν ἐμοιγε,[4] ὅπως ἐν τῷ
παρόντι κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἑλόμενοι ὅ τι ἂν βασιλεῖ

[1] νῷ τε δολερῷ KH : τοτε δολερῶς L.
[2] ἠτυχηκέναι K : δεδυστυχηκέναι L.
[3] ξυνεισάγειν K : ξυναγαγεῖν L. [4] ἔδοξεν ἔμοιγε L : om. K.

[1] *i.e.* either good or bad.

to him from Ravenna, he refused absolutely to ratify the agreement by his own signature. And when the Goths became aware of this, they began to feel that the Romans were offering them peace with treacherous intent, and became very suspicious of them; and they forthwith declared flatly that without both the signature and the oath of Belisarius they would never make a compact with the Romans.

And Belisarius, upon hearing that some of the commanders were criticizing him bitterly, on the ground that he was plainly plotting against the emperor's cause, and for this reason was quite unwilling to bring the war to an end, called them all together, and, in the presence of Domnicus and Maximinus, spoke as follows. "I am not alone in knowing that the fortune of war is by no means fixed and firm, but I think that each one of you shares this same view with me regarding it. For many men have been deceived by the hope of victory when it seemed certain that it would come to them, while men who, to all appearances, have met with disaster, have many a time had the fortune to triumph unexpectedly over their adversaries. Consequently I say that men deliberating with regard to peace should not put before them only the expectation of success, but reflecting that the result will be either way,[1] they should make their choice of policy on this basis. In view of this, it has seemed best to me, at any rate, to bring to a conference you, my colleagues, and these envoys of the emperor, to the end that the present occasion may afford an opportunity to choose at our leisure whatever course may seem destined to be of advantage to the emperor, that

ξυνοίσειν δοκῇ, μήποτέ τινα ὀπίσω τῶν πραγ-
12 μάτων κατ' ἐμοῦ ποιήσησθε μέμψιν. τῶν γὰρ
ἀτοπωτάτων ἂν εἴη σιωπᾶν μὲν ἕως ἔξεστιν ἐξε-
λέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω, σκοπουμένοις δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς
13 τύχης ἀπόβασιν τὰς αἰτίας ποιεῖσθαι. ὅσα μὲν
οὖν ἐς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διάλυσιν βασιλεῖ τε
δέδοκται καὶ Οὐιττίγιδι βουλομένῳ ἐστίν, ἐπί-
14 στασθε δή που. εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν ξύμφορα ταῦτα
εἶναι δοκεῖ, λεγέτω παρελθὼν ἕκαστος. εἰ μέντοι
πᾶσάν τε Ἰταλίαν οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίοις ἀνασώσασθαι
οἷοί τε εἶναι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐπικράτησιν
ποιήσασθαι, οὐδὲν κωλύσει[1] μηδὲν ὑποστειλα-
15 μένους εἰπεῖν." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βελισάριος εἶπεν,
ἅπαντες ἄντικρυς ἀπεφήναντο τὰ βασιλέως βου-
λεύματα βέλτιστα εἶναι, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς οἵους
16 τε ἔσεσθαι περαιτέρω τοὺς πολεμίους ἐργάζεσθαι.
Βελισάριος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τῇ γνώμῃ
γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ἠξίου δηλῶσαι, ὡς μήποτε αὐτὴν
ἀρνηθεῖεν. οἱ δὲ καὶ γράψαντες ἐν βιβλιδίῳ ἐδήλουν
οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ
τῶν ἐναντίων.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνετο.
Γότθοι δὲ τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι οὐκέτι τε ἀντέχειν
τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ δυνάμενοι Οὐιττίγιδος μὲν τῇ ἀρχῇ
ἤχθοντο ἅτε ὡς μάλιστα δεδυστυχηκότος, βασιλεῖ
δὲ προσχωρεῖν ὤκνουν, δεδιότες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,
ὅπως δὲ μὴ δοῦλοι βασιλέως γενόμενοι ἔκ τε
Ἰταλίας ἀνίστασθαι ἀναγκάζοιντο καὶ ἐς Βυζάν-
18 τιον ἰόντες ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσεσθαι. ἐν σφίσιν οὖν
αὐτοῖς βουλευσάμενοι, εἴ τι ἐν Γότθοις καθαρὸν

[1] κωλύσει Hoeschel: κωλύσειν MSS.

after the event you may never bring any reproach against me. For it would be a thing most monstrous, first to be silent as long as it is possible to choose the better course, and later, upon surveying the outcome decreed by fortune, to bring accusations. Now as to the emperor's decision with a view to the conclusion of the war, and as to the wishes of Vittigis, you are of course well informed. And if you, too, think this course advantageous, let each man come forward and speak. If, however, you think that you are able to recover the whole of Italy for the Romans and to gain the mastery over the enemy, nothing will prevent you from speaking with complete frankness." When Belisarius had thus spoken, all expressed the opinion with certainty that the emperor's decision was best, and that they would be unable to do the enemy any further harm. And Belisarius was pleased with the expression of the commanders' opinion, and asked them to set it down in writing, in order that they might never deny it. They accordingly wrote a document stating that they were unable to achieve superiority over their opponents in the war.

These deliberations, then, were being carried forward in the Roman camp. But the Goths, hard pressed by the famine and no longer able to endure their suffering, were in a state of suspense; for while they were hostile to the rule of Vittigis, seeing that he had been unfortunate in the extreme, still they were reluctant to yield to the emperor, fearing only this, that upon becoming slaves of the emperor they would be compelled to remove from Italy and go to Byzantium and settle there. So after deliberating among themselves, all the best of the Goths decided

ἦν, βασιλέα τῆς ἑσπερίας Βελισάριον ἀνειπεῖν ἔγνωσαν. πέμψαντες δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν λάθρα ἐδέοντο ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν καθίστασθαι· ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτῷ
19 ἅσμενοι ἕψεσθαι ἰσχυρίζοντο. Βελισάριος δὲ καταστῆναι μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐχ ἑκόντος βασι-
20 λέως ἥκιστα ἤθελε· τῷ τε γὰρ τοῦ τυράννου ὀνόματι ὑπερφυῶς ἤχθετο καὶ ὅρκοις δεινοτάτοις πρὸς βασιλέως καταληφθεὶς πρότερον ἔτυχε, μήποτε αὐτοῦ περιόντος νεωτεριεῖν· ὅπως δὲ τὰ παρόντα ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσηται, ἀσμένως ἔδοξε
21 τοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι. ὧν δὴ αἰσθόμενος Οὐίττιγις ἔδεισέ τε καὶ Γότθους[1] ὡς βέλτιστα βεβουλεῦσθαι εἰπὼν Βελισαρίῳ καὶ αὐτὸς λάθρα παρῄνει ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἰέναι·
22 οὐδένα γάρ οἱ ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι. καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος αὖθις τούς τε βασιλέως πρέσβεις καὶ πάντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἠρώτα, εἰ αὐτοῖς λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι δοκεῖ Γότθους τε ἅπαντας ξὺν Οὐιττίγιδι δορυαλώτους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ χρήματα μὲν πάντα λῃΐσασθαι,
23 Ἰταλίαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ξύμπασαν ἀνασώσασθαι. οἱ δὲ ὑψηλόν τε καὶ ὑπέρογκον τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις εὐτύχημα ἔφασκον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ πράσσειν αὐτὸν
24 ὅπη ἂν δύνηταί τι[2] ὡς τάχιστα ἠξίουν. αὐτίκα γοῦν παρά τε Οὐίττιγιν καὶ Γότθων τοὺς δοκίμους Βελισάριος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἔπεμψε, κελεύων
25 ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν ὅσα ὑπέσχοντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ χρόνον τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποτίθεσθαι ὁ λιμὸς ξυνεχώρει, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγκείμενος ἐς

[1] Γότθους Haury: *γότθοις* MSS.
[2] *τι* L: *τῶ* K, Christ would bracket.

to declare Belisarius Emperor of the West. And sending to him secretly, they begged him to assume the royal power; for upon this condition, they declared, they would follow him gladly. But Belisarius was quite unwilling to assume the ruling power against the will of the emperor; for he had an extraordinary loathing for the name of tyrant, and furthermore he had, in fact, been bound by the emperor previously by most solemn oaths never during his lifetime to organize a revolution; still, in order to turn the situation before him to the best advantage, he let it appear that he received the proposals of the barbarians gladly. And Vittigis, perceiving this, became fearful, and saying that the deliberations of the Goths had arrived at the best possible result, he too secretly urged Belisarius to enter upon the royal power; for no one, he said, would stand in his way. Then indeed Belisarius again called together the envoys of the emperor and all the commanders and asked them whether it seemed to them a matter of great importance to make all the Goths with Vittigis captives, and to secure as plunder all their wealth, and recover the whole of Italy for the Romans. And they said that this would be for the Romans a great and overwhelming piece of good fortune, and they begged him to bring it about as quickly as possible, by whatever means he could. Accordingly Belisarius at once sent to Vittigis and the notables of the Goths some of his intimates, bidding them carry out what they had promised. And indeed the famine would not permit them to put off the matter to any other time, but, by its increasing pressure, was driving them to this decision. Consequently

26 ταύτην ἐνῆγε. διὸ καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον στέλλουσιν αὖθις, ἄλλο μὲν ὅτι δὴ[1] ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐροῦντας, ἐν παραβύστῳ δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου τὰ πιστὰ ληψομένους, ὡς ἄχαρί τε αὐτῶν ἐργάσεται οὐδένα καὶ βασιλεὺς τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτὸς καὶ Γότθων εἴη, οὕτω τε ξὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐς Ῥάβενναν
27 ἥξοντας. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὤμοσεν ἅπαντα, καθάπερ οἱ πρέσβεις ἠξίουν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς
28 ἄρχουσιν ὀμεῖσθαι ἔφη. καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ πρέσβεις οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἀποσείεσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν οἰόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐφίεσθαι αὐτῆς πάντων μάλιστα, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκέλευον ἰέναι.
29 καὶ τότε δὴ Βελισάριος Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ναρσῆν καὶ Ἀράτιον (τούτους γάρ οἱ ὡς μάλιστα δύσνους εἶναι ὑπώπτευεν) ἄλλον ἀλλαχόσε ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τά τε ἀναγκαῖα σφίσι πορίζεσθαι· αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐκέτι ἔφασκε δυνατὰ εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ χωρίον παντὶ
30 τῷ στρατῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζεσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, ξὺν Ἀθανασίῳ τῷ τῶν πραιτωρίων ὑπάρχῳ, ἄρτι ἥκοντι ἐκ Βυζαντίου, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατεύματι σὺν Γότθων τοῖς
31 πρέσβεσιν ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦει. καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐμπλησάμενος σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐκέλευε κατὰ τάχος ἐς Κλάσσες τὸν λιμένα ἐσπλεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ Ῥαβέννης προάστειον καλοῦσιν οὗ ὁ λιμήν ἐστιν.
32 Ἐμοὶ δὲ τότε διασκοπουμένῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥάβενναν εἴσοδον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔννοιά τις ἐγένετο,

[1] ὅτι δὴ K: τι οὐδὲν L.

they again sent envoys to the camp of the Romans, with instructions to make some vague statement openly, but in secret to receive pledges from Belisarius, both that he would do no harm to anyone of the Goths, and that thenceforth he himself would be king of the Goths and Italians; this accomplished, they were to come with him and the Roman army into Ravenna. As for Belisarius, he swore to everything else, just as the envoys required of him, but concerning the kingship he said that he would swear to Vittigis himself and the rulers of the Goths. And the envoys, thinking that he would never reject the kingship, but that he would strive for it above all other things, made not the least hesitation in urging him to come with them into Ravenna. Then Belisarius ordered Bessas and John and Narses and Aratius to go with their several commands to different places (for these were the men whom he suspected of being exceedingly hostile to him), and to provide provisions for themselves; for he alleged that it was no longer possible for him, in the place where he was, to bring in provisions for the whole army. So these officers, as well as Athanasius, the pretorian prefect, who had recently come from Byzantium, proceeded to carry out the instructions given them, but he himself with the remainder of the army marched into Ravenna with the envoys of the Goths. And loading a fleet of ships with grain and other provisions, he gave orders that they should sail with all speed into the harbour of Classes; for thus the Romans call the suburb of Ravenna where the harbour is.

And while I watched the entry of the Roman army into Ravenna at that time, an idea came to

ἀνθρώπων μὲν ξυνέσει[1] ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ὡς ἥκιστα περαίνεσθαι τὰ πρασσόμενα, εἶναι δέ τι δαιμόνιον, ὅπερ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ στρέφον τὰς διανοίας ἐνταῦθα ἄγει οὗ δὴ κωλύμη τις τοῖς περαινομένοις[2]
33 οὐδεμία ἔσται. τοὺς γὰρ ἐναντίους οἱ Γότθοι πλήθει καὶ δυνάμει παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες καὶ οὔτε μάχῃ διακριθέντες, ἐπεὶ[3] ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ ἐγένοντο, οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν δεδουλωμένοι τὸ φρόνημα, δορυάλωτοί τε πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόνων ἐγίνοντο καὶ
34 τὸ τῆς δουλείας ὄνομα ἐν ὕβρει οὐδεμιᾷ ἦγον. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀκηκουῖαι[4] μεγάλους τε τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσους τοὺς πολεμίους εἶναι) ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης καθήμενοι εἶδον, ἔς τε τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πᾶσαι ἀπέπτυον,[5] καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνδεικνύμεναι τοὺς νενικηκότας τὴν ἀνανδρίαν[6] ὠνείδιζον.

35 Βελισάριος δὲ Οὐίττιγιν μὲν οὐ ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐντὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ ᾤκηντο, ἐς ἀγροὺς τοὺς σφετέρους ἰόντας,
36 ἐκέλευεν αὐτῶν κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. πολέμιον γάρ οἱ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπώπτευεν ἔσεσθαι, οὐδὲ Γότθους ποτὲ ταύτῃ ξυστήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς πρότερον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν. οἱ δὲ
37 κατὰ τάχος ἄσμενοι ἦεσαν. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἐγίνοντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι Γότθων ἔν γε

[1] ξυνέσει K: ἢ ἀνδρεία ἢ πληθύι L.
[2] περαινομένοις Wahler: περαιουμένοις KL: πεπρωμένοις V_1.
[3] ἐπεὶ K: ἀφ' οὗ L.
[4] ἀκηκουῖαι Maltretus: ἀκηκοέναι MSS.
[5] ἐπειδὴ—ἀπέπτυον V_1: τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἀνδρῶν πᾶσαι ἀπέπτυον

me, to the effect that it is not at all by the wisdom of men or by any other sort of excellence on their part that events are brought to fulfilment, but that there is some divine power which is ever warping their purposes and shifting them in such a way that there will be nothing to hinder that which is being brought to pass. For although the Goths were greatly superior to their opponents in number and in power, and had neither fought a decisive battle since they had entered Ravenna nor been humbled in spirit by any other disaster, still they were being made captives by the weaker army and were regarding the name of slavery as no insult. But when the women, as they sat at the gate, had seen the whole army (for they had heard from their husbands that the enemy were men of great size and too numerous to be counted), they all spat upon the faces of their husbands, and pointing with their hands to the victors, reviled them for their cowardice.

As for Belisarius, he held Vittigis under guard, but not in disgrace, and urged those of the barbarians who lived south of the river Po to go to their own lands and care for them unmolested. This he did because he felt that he would have no hostile force to deal with in that quarter, and that the Goths of that region would never unite, because he had, as it happened, previously established a large number of Roman troops in the towns there. So these Goths gladly made haste to return. And thus the Romans were now making their position secure, for in

---

ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως καθημένους εἶδον L, ἐπειδὴ—εἶδον om. K.

[6] ἀνανδρίαν Hoeschel: ἀνδρίαν K, ἀνδρείαν L.

Ῥαβέννῃ πλήθει ἠσσῶντο. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐν Παλατίῳ χρήματα ἔλαβεν, ἅπερ διακομίζειν βασιλεῖ
38 ἔμελλε. Γότθων γὰρ οὐδένα οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐληΐσατο οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῳ ληΐσασθαι ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν οὐσίαν κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα
39 διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅσοι ἐς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα[1] φυλακὴν εἶχον Ῥάβεννάν τε καὶ Οὐίττιγιν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἔχεσθαι ἤκουσαν, πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριον ἔπεμπον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς ὁμολογίᾳ παραδιδόναι καὶ ἅπερ ἐφύλασ-
40 σον ἀξιοῦντες. καὶ ὅς, ἅπασι τὰ πιστὰ προθυμότατα παρασχόμενος, Ταρβήσιόν τε καὶ εἴ τι[2] ἄλλο ἐν Βενετίοις ὀχύρωμα ἦν[3] παρεστήσατο. Καισῆνα γὰρ ἐν Αἰμιλίᾳ μόνη ἐλέλειπτο, ἣν δὴ πρότερον ξὺν Ῥαβέννῃ παραστησάμενος ἔτυχε.
41 καὶ Γότθοι μὲν ἅπαντες ὅσοι τούτων δὴ τῶν χωρίων ἦρχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὰ πιστὰ ἔλαβον, παρὰ Βελισάριον ἥκοντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον· Ἰλδίβαδος δέ, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὅσπερ φρουρᾶς τῆς ἐν Βερώνῃ ἦρχε, πρέσβεις μὲν ἐς Βελισάριον ἐφ' οἷσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ εὑρὼν Βελισάριος ἔσχεν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἦλθεν οὔτε Βελισαρίῳ ὑποχείριος γέγονε. τύχη γάρ τις αὐτῷ ξυνέβη ἣν δὴ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

[1] ἐχυρώτατα L: ἐχυρώματα K.
[2] εἴ τι Maltretus: om. MSS.
[3] ἦν K pr. m.: ὃν K corr., om. L.

Ravenna at least they were no longer outnumbered by the Goths. He next took possession of the money in the palace, which he intended to convey to the emperor. But as for the private property of the Goths, neither did he take plunder from any individual, nor would he permit any other Roman to take such plunder, but each one of them preserved his property according to the terms of the agreement. Now when those of the barbarians who were keeping guard in the strongest of the towns heard that both Ravenna and Vittigis were held by the Romans, they began to send envoys to Belisarius, craving permission to submit themselves by surrender and the places they guarded. And he most willingly furnished pledges to them all, and thus took over Tarbesium [1] and such other strongholds as there were in Venetia. For Caesena was the only one remaining in Aemilia, and this he had previously taken over along with Ravenna. And the Goths who commanded these towns, as soon as they received the pledges, came to Belisarius and remained with him—all except Ildibadus, a man of note, who commanded the garrison in Verona; for though he too sent envoys to Belisarius on the same mission as the others, especially because Belisarius had found his children in Ravenna and taken possession of them, still he did not either come to Ravenna or submit himself to Belisarius. For fortune brought him to a situation which I shall now describe.

[1] Modern Treviso.

XXX

Τινὲς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες βασκανίαν ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχοντες[1] διέβαλλον αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ, τυραννίδα οὐδαμόθεν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν
2 ἐπενεγκόντες. βασιλεὺς δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταύταις ἀναπεισθείς, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέκειτο ἤδη, Βελισάριον μὲν ὡς τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσειεν· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ Ἰταλίας Βέσσαν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε, καὶ Κωνσταντιανῷ ἐς
3 Ῥάβενναν ἐκ Δαλματίας ἐπέστελλεν ἰέναι. Γότθοι δὲ οἳ Πάδου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ῥαβέννης ἐκτὸς ἵδρυντο, ἀκούσαντες ὡς Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς μεταπέμποιτο, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶχον, οὐκ ἄν ποτε οἰόμενοι Βελισάριον τῆς ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν πίστεως περὶ ἐλάσσονος τὴν Ἰταλί-
4 ας βασιλείαν ποιήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πολλὴν τῆς ἀφόδου τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, ξυμφρονήσαντες, εἴ τι αὐτῶν καθαρὸν ἐνταῦθα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, ἐς Τικινὸν παρὰ Οὐραΐαν τὸν Οὐιττίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἦλθον, πολλά τε πρότε-
5 ρον ξὺν αὐτῷ κλαύσαντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· "Οὐκ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῷ Γότθων γένει αἰτιώτατος τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἢ σὺ γέγονας. ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὸν θεῖον τὸν σόν, οὕτως ἀνάνδρως[2] τε καὶ ἀτυχῶς[3] ἐξηγούμενον, πάλαι ἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς παρελύσαμεν, ὥσπερ Θευδάτον τὸν Θευδερίχου ἀδελφιδοῦν, εἰ μή σου τὸ δοκοῦν δραστήριον αἰσχυνόμενοι

[1] βασκανίαν—ἔχοντες K : om L.
[2] ἀνάνδρως K : ἄνανδρον L. [3] ἀτύχως K : ἄτυχον L.

XXX

Certain officers of the Roman army, out of malice toward Belisarius, began to slander him to the emperor, advancing against him a charge of usurpation for which there were no grounds whatever in his case. And the emperor, not so much because he was persuaded by these slanders as because the Medic war was already pressing upon him, summoned Belisarius to come as quickly as possible, in order to take the field against the Persians; meanwhile he commanded Bessas and John with the others to take charge of Italy, and directed Constantianus to go to Ravenna from Dalmatia. Now the Goths who inhabited the country to the north of the Po and of Ravenna, upon hearing that the emperor was summoning Belisarius, at first, indeed, paid no heed to the matter, thinking that Belisarius would never regard the kingdom of Italy as of less account than loyalty to Justinian. But when they learned that he was making preparations for his departure in real earnest, all the loyal Goths of that region who were still left formed a common purpose and went to Uraïas, the nephew of Vittigis, at Ticinum; and after first lamenting long with him, they spoke as follows: "The man who has proved to be chiefly responsible for the present misfortunes of the nation of the Goths is no other than you. For we, on our part, should have long ago removed that uncle of yours from the kingship, seeing that he has led us in such a cowardly manner and with such ill fortune, just as we removed Theodatus, the nephew of Theoderic, unless, out of respect for the natural vigour which you seemed to display, we had decided

Οὐιττίγιδι μὲν τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὄνομα ξυγχωρεῖν
ἔγνωμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ σοὶ μόνῳ παραδιδόναι τὴν
6 Γότθων ἀρχήν. ἀλλὰ περιέστηκεν ἡ τότε δοκοῦσα
ἡμῶν εὐγνωμοσύνη, νῦν ἄνοιά τε φαινομένη καὶ
7 τῶνδε ἡμῖν τῶν ξυμφορῶν αἰτία. Γότθων γάρ,
ὥσπερ οἶσθα, ὦ φίλε Οὐραΐα, τεθνάναι μὲν ἐν τῷ
πολέμῳ πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ξυμβαίνει, τῶν
δὲ περιόντων, εἴ τι μὲν ἄριστον ἀπολέλειπται, ξύν
τε Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ χρήμασι πᾶσι Βελισάριος ἄγων
8 οἰχήσεται. ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμᾶς
ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον πείσεσθαι, ὀλίγους τε καὶ λίαν
9 οἰκτροὺς[1] καθεστῶτας, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι. τοι-
ούτων τοίνυν περιεστηκότων δεινῶν, τὸ ξὺν εὐ-
κλείᾳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ παῖδάς τε καὶ
γυναῖκας πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τῆς γῆς τὰς ἐσχα-
10 τιὰς ἀγομένους ἰδεῖν. πράξομεν δέ τι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
ἀρετῆς ἄξιον, ἤν γέ σε τῶν ἔργων ἀρχηγὸν ἕξομεν."
Γότθοι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον.

11 Οὐραΐας δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· "Ὡς μὲν δεῖ ἐν
τοῖς παροῦσι δεινοῖς πρὸ τῆς δουλείας ἡμᾶς τὸν
κίνδυνον αἱρεῖσθαι, ταὐτά με ὑμῖν γινώσκειν
12 ξυμβαίνει. ἐς Γότθων δέ με τὴν βασιλείαν καθί-
στασθαι παντάπασιν οἶμαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι·
πρῶτα μέν, ὅτι Οὐιττίγιδος ἀδελφιδοῦς ὤν, ἀνδρὸς
οὕτως ἠτυχηκότος, εὐκαταφρόνητος ἂν τοῖς πολε-
μίοις εἶναι δοκοίην, ἐπεὶ ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας ἀεὶ τὰς
ὁμοίας[2] τύχας παραπέμπεσθαι οἴονται ἄνθρωποι·
13 ἔπειτα δὲ οὐδὲ ὅσια ποιεῖν δόξαιμι, ἐπιβατεύων
τῆς τοῦ θείου ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μοι ἀχθομέ-
14 νους ὑμῶν τοὺς πλείστους, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἕξω. ἐγὼ
δέ φημι χρῆναι Γότθων ἄρχοντα ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε

[1] οἰκτροὺς K : ἐχθροὺς L.

to concede to Vittigis merely the title of king, but in fact to entrust to you alone the rule of the Goths. What, however, seemed then consideration, now stands out clearly as folly and the cause of these misfortunes of ours. For very many of the Goths, as you know, dear Uraïas, and our noblest, have perished in the war, and such nobles as are left among the survivors Belisarius will lead away along with Vittigis and all our wealth. And no one could deny that we too shall suffer this same fate a little later, seeing that we are reduced to a small and pitiable band. Since, therefore, such a dire fate has encompassed us, it will be preferable for us to die with glory rather than to see our wives and children led by the enemy to the extremities of the earth. And we shall, in all probability, accomplish something worthy of valorous men, if only we have you as leader of our struggles." Thus spoke the Goths.

And Uraïas replied as follows: "You say that we ought in our present extremity to choose the peril of battle rather than slavery, and this opinion I share with you. But, on the other hand, I think it altogether inexpedient for me to ascend the throne of the Goths, in the first place because, being the nephew of Vittigis, a man who has been so unfortunate, I should appear to the enemy as worthy to be despised, since men believe that among kinsmen the like fortune is ever handed on from one to another; and, in the second place, I should seem to act impiously in usurping the rule of my uncle, and in case I do this I shall probably have the most of you angry with me. But my opinion is that Ildibadus must become ruler of the Goths for this

[2] *ὁμοίας* K: om. L.

Ἰλδίβαδον καθίστασθαι, ἄνδρα ἐς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς
15 ἥκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως δραστήριον. ᾧ δὴ καὶ
Θεῦδιν θεῖόν γε ὄντα τὸν τῶν Οὐισιγότθων ἡγού-
μενον ξυνάρασθαι τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς
οὐδὲν ἀπεικός. διὸ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ξὺν ἐλπίδι
ἀμείνονι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους διοίσομεν."
16 Τοσαῦτα καὶ Οὐραΐας εἰπὼν τὰ ξύμφορα Γότθοις
ἅπασι λέγειν ἔδοξε. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἰλδίβαδος ἐκ
17 Βερώνης αὐτίκα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ᾧ δὴ τὴν
πορφύραν περιβαλόντες, βασιλέα τε Γότθων[1]
ἀνεῖπον καὶ σφίσιν εὖ θέσθαι τὰ παρόντα
ἐδέοντο. ὧδε μὲν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἰλδίβαδος
18 κατέστη. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γότθους ἅπαντας
ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Ἅπαντας ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες
ξυστρατιῶται, πολλῶν ξυνεπίσταμαι εἶναι πολέ-
μων ἐμπείρους, ὥστε οὔποτε εἰκότως εἰς τὸ
πολεμεῖν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος χωρήσομεν. ἐμπειρία
γὰρ λογισμὸν φέρουσα θρασύνεσθαι ἥκιστα
19 εἴωθεν. ἄξιον δὲ ἀναμνησθέντας πάντων[2] ὑμᾶς
τῶν πρότερον ξυμπεπτωκότων, οὕτω ταὐτὸν ὑπὲρ
20 τῶν παρόντων βουλεύεσθαι. λήθη γὰρ πολλοῖς
τισιν ἐπιγενομένη τῶν ἤδη φθασάντων ἐπῆρε
μὲν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας τὰς γνώμας,
21 ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἱκανῶς ἔσφηλεν.[3] Οὐίττιγις
τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκόντων γε οὐδὲ ἀντιτεινόντων ὑμῶν
ἐς τῶν πολεμίων αὐτὸν[4] καθῆκε τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλ'
ἀπειπόντες τότε πρὸς τὰ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα

[1] γότθων K : om. L.
[2] πάντων K : πάντας L.
[3] ἔσφηλεν L : ἀφεῖλεν K.
[4] αὐτὸν L : αὐτῶν K.

perilous enterprise, a man who has attained the highest excellence and is conspicuously energetic. And it is to be expected with certainty that Theudis also, the ruler of the Visigoths, seeing that he is Ildibadus' uncle, will assist him in the war because of his kinship. And this indeed will be ground for more confident hope in carrying on the struggle against our opponents."

When Uraïas, in his turn, had spoken thus, it seemed to all the Goths that his words pointed out the course which would be to their advantage. And Ildibadus was straightway summoned by them and came from Verona. Then, after clothing him in the purple, they declared him king of the Goths and entreated him to take the situation in hand and set matters right for them. Thus did Ildibadus come into the royal power. But a short time after this, he called all the Goths together and spoke as follows: "All of you, fellow-soldiers, as I am well aware, have had experience in many wars, so that we shall probably never proceed to make war on the spur of the moment. For experience brings a man sober judgment, so that he is not wont to act rashly in any case. Now you ought, in fairness to yourselves, to call to recollection all that has befallen us heretofore, and make plans to meet the present situation with this in mind. For when forgetfulness of past events comes upon men, it often, through folly, exalts their minds at the wrong moment, and then, when their all is at stake, utterly overthrows them. Now when Vittigis placed himself in the hands of the enemy, it was not against your will nor did you strive to prevent him, but at that time you bowed before the adversities of fortune and con-

ξυμφορωτατον ἅπαν αὐτοῖς ἡγήσασθε εἶναι Βελισαρίῳ εἶκα καθῆσθαι ἐπακούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
22 σώμασι διακινδυνεύειν ἀπέραντα.[1] νῦν μέντοι αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη ἐς[2] Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, νεωτέρους πράγματα ἐγχειρεῖν ἐγνωκε. καίτοι ἐκ τῶν ἐνθυμίζεσθαι ἔωθεν ἕκαστον ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡ δόξει γέγραται, ἀλλὰ τῶν δεδογμένων παρὰ δόξαν πολλάκις ἡ τῶν πραγμα-
23 των ἀπόδασις ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐχώρησε. τυχὴ γὰρ καὶ μεταμέλος τὰ πολλὰ κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου τεφύκασιν ὄπερ καὶ νῦν Βελι-
24 σαρίῳ ξυμβήσεσθαι οἴδεν ἅπαντες. ἄμεινον τοίνυν τιθέσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ πρότερον, πεισθῆναι δὲ ἀντικαθίστασθαι τὸν ἀνδρωπον ἐπὶ τὰ πρώην ξυγκειμένα, οὕτω τε ἰσῶς ἐπὶ τῶν πραξέων τὰ δεύτερα ἰέναι."

25 Ταῦτα Ἰλδίβαδος εἰπὼν εὖ τε δεδουλεῦσθαι Γότθοις ἔδοξε καὶ πρέσβεις ἐς Ῥάβενναν κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ Βελισαρίῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες τῶν τε ξυγκειμένων σφίσιν ὑπέμνησαν καὶ ἅτε διαλυτὴν τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἐκάστοις αὐθαίρετοι μὲν ἀποκαλοῦντες ἀνδράποδον, ὀνειδίζοντες δὲ ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐρυθριᾷ πρὸ τῆς βασιλέως τὴν δουλείαν αἱρούμενος, ἀλλὰ τε τοιαῦτα πολλὰ
26 λέγοντες ἐπὶ τὴν δοχὴν παρεκάλουν. οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἰλδίβαδον ἐβούλοντο ἀφίξεσθαι, ἰσχυρίζοντο, τήν τε πορφίραν καταδήσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ βασιλέα Βελισάριον Γότθων τε καὶ
27 Ἰταλιωτῶν προσεννέσθαι. οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις

[1] διακινδυνεύειν ἀπέραντα K : διακινδυνεύειν ἀπείρατα τε L.
[2] ἐς K : καὶ ἐς L.

sidered that we should best consult our own interests by sitting at home and obeying Belisarius rather than by risking our lives in endless dangers. But now, upon hearing that Belisarius is setting out for Byzantium, you have decided to undertake a revolution. And yet each one of you ought to have taken into consideration that things do not always happen for men as they will them, but many times the outcome of events has unexpectedly gone contrary to what has been determined upon. For chance or a change of heart have a way of setting most things right when least expected; and even now it is by no means improbable that this is what will happen to Belisarius. It is better, therefore, to make enquiries of him first and to attempt to bring the man back to the earlier agreement, and only after this should you proceed to the next best step."

When Ildibadus had thus spoken, the Goths decided that he had counselled well, and he sent envoys to Ravenna with all speed. So these envoys, upon coming before Belisarius, reminded him of the agreement made with them and reproached him as a breaker of his promises, calling him a slave by his own choice, and chiding him because, they said, he did not blush at choosing servitude in place of the kingship; and with many other speeches of a similar sort they kept urging him to accept the rule. For, should he do so, they declared that Ildibadus would come of his own accord in order to lay down the purple at his feet and do obeisance to Belisarius as king of the Goths and Italians. So the envoys,

ταῦτα ἔλεγον, οἰόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ τῆς βασι-
λείας ὄνομα οὐδὲν μελλήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι[1]
28 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. ὁ δὲ οὐ προσδεχομένοις[2]
αὐτοῖς ἄντικρυς ἀπεῖπεν, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ζῶντος
Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως Βελισάριος ἐπιβατεύοι
29 τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματος. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα
ἀκούσαντες ἀπηλλάσσοντό τε ὡς τάχιστα καὶ
30 Ἰλδιβάδῳ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπήγγελλον. Βελι-
σάριος δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἤει καὶ ὁ χειμὼν
ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ
τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

[1] οὐδὲν μελλήσαντα ἐπισπάσασθαι K: καταδέχεσθαι οὐδὲν μελήσεσθαι L.

[2] προσδεχομένοις K: προσδοκωμένοις L.

on their part, kept making these speeches, thinking that the man would without any hesitation take upon himself the kingly title immediately. But he, contrary to their expectation, refused them outright, saying that never, while the emperor Justinian lived, would Belisarius usurp the title of king. So they, upon hearing this, departed as quickly as possible and reported the whole matter to Ildibadus. And Belisarius took his way to Byzantium; and the winter drew to its close and the fifth year ended in 540 A.D. this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK VII

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΣ

I

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος, ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων
ἠωρημένων, ξύν τε Οὐιττίγιδι καὶ Γότθων τοῖς
δοκίμοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰλδιβάδου παισὶ τὰ χρήματα
πάντα ἐπαγόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκε, καὶ οἱ
Ἰλδιγέρ τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτῖνος ξὺν
2 Ἡρωδιανῷ εἵποντο μόνοι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστι-
νιανὸς Οὐίττιγιν μὲν ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἀσμένως εἶδε,
καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ὅμιλον κάλλους τε
3 σώματος καὶ μεγέθους πέρι ἐθαύμασε. τὸν δὲ
Θευδερίχου πλοῦτον ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα δεξάμενος
ἐν Παλατίῳ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐν παραβύστῳ
θέαμα προὔθηκεν, ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ τῶν πεπραγμένων
φιλοτιμούμενος, οὔτε δὲ ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐξήνεγκεν
οὔτε τὸν θρίαμβον Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο, ὥσπερ
ἡνίκα[1] Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους νενικηκὼς
4 ἦλθε. πᾶσι μέντοι ἐν διηγήμασι Βελισάριος ἦν,
νίκας τε δύο ἀναδησάμενος, οἵας οὔπω πρότερον
ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ διαπεπρᾶχθαι ξυνέπεσε, καὶ
βασιλεῖς μὲν ἀγαγὼν αἰχμαλώτους ἐς Βυζάντιον
δύο, Γιζερίχου δὲ καὶ Θευδερίχου τό τε γένος καὶ
τὰ χρήματα λάφυρον Ῥωμαίοις παρὰ δόξαν

[1] ἡνίκα K : ὅτε L.

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK VII

THE GOTHIC WAR (*continued*)

I

Thus Belisarius departed, though the situation was still unsettled, and he arrived at Byzantium in company with Vittigis and the notables of the Goths and the children of Ildibadus, bringing with him all the treasure; and he was escorted by Ildiger, Valerian, Martinus, and Herodian only. Now the Emperor Justinian did indeed take pleasure in seeing Vittigis and his wife, and marvelled at both the beauty and the great stature of the barbarian throng. But upon receiving the wealth of Theoderic, a notable sight in itself, he merely set it forth for the members of the senate to view privately in the palace, being jealous because of the magnitude and splendour of the achievement; and neither did he bring it out before the people, nor did he accord to Belisarius the customary triumph, as he had done when he returned from his victory over Gelimer and the Vandals. However, the name of Belisarius was on the lips of all: to him were ascribed two victories, such as had never before fallen to the lot of any one man to achieve; he had brought two kings captive to Byzantium, and unexpectedly had made both the race and the possessions of Gizeric and of Theoderic Roman spoil—two kings than whom none,

πεποιημένος, ὧν δὴ ἐπιφανέστερος ἔν γε βαρβάροις οὐδεὶς πώποτε γεγονὼς ἔτυχε, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλοῦτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων αὖθις ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποκομίσας, γῆς τε καὶ θαλάσσης τὴν ἡμίσειαν μάλιστα μοῖραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ
5 ἀνασωσάμενος. ἦν τε Βυζαντίοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν[1] Βελισάριον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας προϊόντα ἰδεῖν, ἢ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπανήκοντα, κόρον τε αὐτῶν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου οὐδεὶς ἔλαβε.
6 πομπῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροτάτῃ[2] ἡ πρόοδος ἐῴκει, ἐπεί οἱ Βανδίλων τε πλῆθος καὶ Γότθων τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων ἀεὶ εἵπετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καλός τε καὶ μέγας καὶ εὐπρόσωπος πάντων μάλιστα.
7 οὕτω δὲ πρᾷόν τε καὶ εὐπρόσοδον παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὥστε ἀνθρώπῳ πένητί τε λίαν καὶ ἀδόξῳ ἐμφερὴς[3] εἶναι.
8 Ἔρως δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρχῆς πρός τε στρατιωτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ ἀγροίκων ἄμαχός τις ἐγένετο, ὅτι δὴ ἐς μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας φιλοδωρότατος ἐγεγόνει ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων· τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν ξυμβολῇ ἠτυχηκότων χρήμασι μεγάλοις παρεμυθεῖτο τὰ πρότερα τραύματα καὶ τοῖς εὐδοκιμήσασι ψέλλιά τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς ἔχειν ἆθλα παρεῖχεν,[4] ἵππου δὲ ἢ τόξου ἢ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν στρατιώτου ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπολωλότος ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισαρίου αὐτίκα ὑπῆρχεν· ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἀγροίκους ὅτι δὴ τοσαύτῃ φειδοῖ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ ἐχρῆτο ὥστε βιασθῆναι μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν[5] πώποτε

[1] ἡδονὴν K : ἡδονῆς L.
[2] αὐτοῦ ἰσχυροτάτῃ L : αὐτῶν ἰσχυρότατα K.
[3] ἐμφερὴς K : ἐμφερῆ L and Suidas.
[4] ἔχειν ἆθλα παρεῖχεν L : ἔχειν ἆθλα K, παρεῖχεν ἀθλα Krašeninnikov, παρείχετο Suidas.

among barbarians at least, has ever been more illustrious; and he had brought back their wealth from the enemy and restored it once more to the state, and recovered for the empire in a short space of time almost one half of its territory on land and sea. And the Byzantines took delight in watching Belisarius as he came forth from his house each day and proceeded toward the market-place or as he returned to his house, and none of them could get enough of this sight. For his progress resembled a crowded festival procession, since he was always escorted by a large number of Vandals, as well as Goths and Moors. Furthermore, he had a fine figure and was tall and remarkably handsome. But his conduct was so meek and his attitude toward those who met him so affable that he seemed like a very poor man and one of no repute.

As a commander the love ever felt for him both by soldiers and peasants was irresistible, seeing that, in his treatment of his soldiers on the one hand, he was surpassed by none in generosity; (for when any had met with misfortune in battle, he used to console them by large presents of money for the wounds they had received, and to those who had distinguished themselves he presented bracelets and necklaces to wear as prizes, and when a soldier had lost in battle horse or bow or anything else whatsoever, another was straightway provided in its place by Belisarius); and in his treatment of the peasants, on the other hand, he won their affection because he shewed so much restraint and such consideration for them that it never fell to their lot to suffer any

---

[5] *αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν* K : *αὐτῶν οὐδένα* L, *αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν* Suidas.

στρατηγοῦντος Βελισαρίου τετύχηκε, πλουτεῖν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ξυνέβαινε πᾶσιν οἷς ἂν αὐτοῦ[1]
9 ἐπιδημοίη στρατιᾶς πλῆθος.[2] ἀπεδίδοντο γὰρ αὐτοῖς κατὰ γνώμην τὰ ὤνια πάντα. καὶ ἡνίκα μὲν ἀκμάζοι τὰ λήϊα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διεφύλασσε
10 μή τινι παριοῦσα ἡ ἵππος λυμήνηται. τῶν δὲ ὡραίων ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ὄντων ἅψασθαι αὐτῶν
11 οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐξουσία ἐγίνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ σωφροσύνης ὑπερφυῶς μετεποιεῖτο·[3] οὐδὲ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ ἄλλης ὅτι μὴ τῆς γεγαμημένης γυναικὸς
12 ἥπτετο. αἰχμαλώτους οὖν ἔκ τε Βανδίλων καὶ Γότθων ἑλὼν τοσαύτας τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαύτας τὰ πρόσωπα, οἵας οὐδείς που ἀνθρώπων εἶδεν, οὔτε οἱ ἐς ὄψιν αὐτῶν τινα ἥκειν οὔτε ἄλλως
13 ἐντυχεῖν εἴασεν. ἦν δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀγχίνους τε διαφερόντως κἀν τοῖς ἀπόροις
14 ἐπινοῆσαι τὰ βέλτιστα ἱκανώτατος. ἐν μέντοι κινδύνοις πολέμου εὔψυχός τε ἦν ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ξὺν λογισμῷ εὐτολμότατος, ὀξύς τε καὶ μελλητὴς ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀεὶ ἐγχειρήσει,
15 κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἑκάτερον. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐελπίν τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ ταραχῆς παρείχετο κρείσσω, εὐημερῶν δὲ οὔτε ἐπῆρτο οὔτε ἐτρύφα· μεθύοντα γοῦν Βελισάριον οὐδείς ποτε εἶδεν.

16 Ὅσον μὲν οὖν χρόνον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ

[1] αὐτοῦ K : αὐτὸς L.
[2] πλῆθος K : πλήθει L.
[3] ἐξουσία—μετεποιεῖτο MSS. : ἐξῆν. ἦν δὲ καὶ σώφρων καὶ λίαν ἐνάρετος Suidas.

violence when Belisarius was general—nay, rather, all those whose land was visited by a large body of troops under his command unexpectedly found that they were enriched; for they always set their own price upon everything sold to the soldiers. And whenever the crops were ripe, Belisarius used to watch closely that the cavalry in passing should not damage any man's grain. Also, when the fruit was ripe on the trees, not a single man was permitted to touch it. Furthermore, he possessed the virtue of self-restraint in a marvellous degree; and hence it was that he never would touch any woman other than his wedded wife. And so, although he took captive such great numbers of women from both the Vandals and the Goths, and such beautiful women as no man in the world, I suppose, has ever seen, he refused to allow any of them to come into his presence or meet him in any other way. In addition to all his other qualities, he was also remarkably shrewd, and in difficult situations he was able with unerring judgment to decide upon the best course of action. Furthermore, in the dangers of war he was both courageous without incurring unnecessary risks and daring to a degree without losing his cool judgment, either striking quickly or holding back his attack upon the enemy according to the requirements of the situation. Nay more, in desperate situations, on the one hand he shewed a spirit which was both full of confidence and unruffled by excitement, and in the fulness of success, on the other hand, he neither gave way to vanity nor rushed into indulgence; at any rate no man ever saw Belisarius intoxicated.

Now as long as he was in command of the Roman

ἔν τε Λιβύῃ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ προὔστη, νικῶν τε
17 διετέλει καὶ τὰ ἐν ποσὶν ἀεὶ κτώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ
πρότερον αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐγνώσθη.
18 αὐτός τε γὰρ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ προὶὼν καὶ πλούτου
μὲν πολλοῦ ἐξουσίᾳ, δυνάμει δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν τε
καὶ δορυφόρων τοὺς πώποτε στρατηγοὺς ὑπερ-
αίρων, φοβερός, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἄρχουσί τε πᾶσι
19 καὶ στρατιώταις ἐγένετο. ἀντιτείνειν τε γὰρ
ἐπιτάττοντι,[1] οἶμαι, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα, ἐπιτελῆ τε
πράσσειν ὅσα ἐπίταττοι οὐδαμοῦ ἀπῄξιουν, τήν
τε ἀρετὴν αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ δεδιότες τὴν δύναμιν.
20 ἑπτακισχιλίους γὰρ ἱππέας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας παρεί-
χετο· ὧν δὴ ἀποβλητος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐγεγόνει,
αὐτῶν δὲ ἕκαστος πρῶτός τε ἐν τῇ παρατάξει
ἑστάναι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων
21 ἀρίστους ἠξίουν. Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι,
ἡνίκα πρὸς Γότθων πολιορκούμενοι τὰ ποιούμενα
ἐν ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου ξυμβολαῖς ἔβλεπον, ἐν
θαύματι μεγάλῳ ποιούμενοι ἀνεφθέγγοντο ὡς
οἰκία μία τὴν Θευδερίχου δύναμιν καταλύοι.
22 Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ
γνώμῃ, ὥσπερ ἐοικὸς ἦν, δυνατὸς γεγονὼς τά τε
ξυνοίσοντα τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν ἐβουλεύετο
καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ἐπρασσεν ἀεὶ αὐτονόῳ γνώμῃ.
23 οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ κέρδη οἰκεῖα ἐν

[1] ἐπιτάττοντι K : ἐπιτάττοντος L.

[1] His official retinue.
[2] Described in Book V. xix.—VI. x.

army both in Libya and in Italy, he was continually victorious and always acquired whatever lay before him. But when he had been brought back to Byzantium by imperial summons, his ability was recognized still more fully than in previous times and received most generous appreciation. For since by his own outstanding merit in every field he was prominent above all his fellows, and surpassed the generals of all time in the vastness of his wealth and the number of his bodyguards and spearmen, he was naturally looked upon by all officers and soldiers alike as a formidable person. For no one, I am sure, had the hardihood to resist his commands, and his men never refused to carry out whatever orders he gave, both respecting as they did his ability and fearing his power. For he used to equip seven thousand horsemen from his own household,[1] and not one of these was an inferior man, but each of them could claim to stand first in the line of battle and to challenge the best of the enemy. Indeed, when Rome was beleaguered by the Goths, and the Roman elders were watching the progress of the struggle through the various engagements,[2] they marvelled greatly and cried out that one man's household was destroying the power of Theoderic.

So Belisarius, having become, as was noted above, a man of power, both because of the respect accorded him and because of his sound judgment, continued to advise such measures as would prove in the interest of the emperor's cause and to carry out with independent judgment the decisions reached. But the other commanders, being, unlike him, on an equality with one another, and having no single thought in mind except to make sure of their own personal gain, had

νῷ ἔχοντες διαπράσσεσθαι, τούς τε Ῥωμαίους
λῃΐζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνδιδόναι τοὺς
κατηκόους[1] ἤδη ἤρξαντο, καὶ οὔτε αὐτοὶ[2] ἐφρό-
νουν τὰ δέοντα ἔτι οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας τῶν
24 παραγγελλομένων ἐπακούοντας εἶχον. διὸ δὴ
πολλά τε αὐτοῖς ἡμαρτήθη καὶ τὰ πράγματα
διεφθάρη Ῥωμαίοις ξύμπαντα ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ.
ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

25 Ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀναστάντα
ὁδῷ ἰέναι Ἰλδίβαδος ἐπύθετο, τούς τε βαρβάρους
ξυνῆγεν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
στρατιωτῶν ὅσους νεώτερα πράγματα ἤρεσκε.
26 καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ὡς μάλιστα ἐπεμελεῖτο,
ἀνασώσασθαι δὲ Γότθων τῷ γένει τὸ Ἰταλιωτῶν
27 κράτος ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν
οὐ πλέον ἢ χίλιοι αὐτῷ εἵποντο καὶ πόλιν μίαν
Τικινὸν[3] εἶχον, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ προσεχώρησαν
αὐτῷ ἅπαντες ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Λιγουρίᾳ καὶ Βενετίαις
ἦσαν.

28 Ἦν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρός τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τοῖς δημο-
σίοις ἐφεστὼς λογισμοῖς· λογοθέτην τὴν τιμὴν
29 ταύτην ἑλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. οὗτος
ἀεὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπεκάλει
ζημίαν. τοιούτων δὲ ἀδικημάτων αὐτοὺς ὑπάγων,
αὐτὸς μὲν ἔνδοξος ἐξ ἀδόξων ταχὺ γέγονεν, ἐκ

[1] κατηκόους K : κατηκόους ἀδικεῖν L.
[2] αὐτοὶ Haury : αὐτοῖς MSS.
[3] Τίκινον Dindorf : πικηνῶν K, πιγκηνῶν L.

already begun both to plunder the Romans [1] and to put the civil population at the mercy of the soldiers, and neither were they themselves any longer giving heed to the requirements of the situation, nor could they secure obedience to their commands on the part of the soldiers. Consequently, many blunders were committed by them, and the entire fabric of the Roman power was utterly destroyed in a short space of time. And I shall now proceed to recount the story of these events as best I can.

When Ildibadus learned that Belisarius had departed from Ravenna and was on his way, he began to gather about him all the barbarians and as many of the Roman soldiers as were inclined to favour a revolution. And he sought by every means to strengthen his rule, and laboured diligently to recover for the Gothic nation the sovereignty of Italy. Now at the first not more than a thousand men followed him and they held only one city, Ticinum, but little by little all the inhabitants of Liguria and Venetia came over to his side.

Now there was a certain Alexander in Byzantium who held the office of comptroller of the state treasury; this official the Romans call "logothete," [2] using a Greek name. This man was always making charges against the soldiers for the losses they caused to the treasury of the state.[3] And by subjecting them to trial for offences of this sort, he on his part quickly rose from obscurity to fame and

[1] In Italy.

[2] "One who audits accounts."

[3] The maintenance of the army seemed to John to involve unnecessary details of expenditure.

πενήτων ἀτεχνῶς πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ χρήματα μεγάλα, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος, ἐπράξατο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ὀλίγους τε καὶ πτωχοὺς εἶναι καὶ ὀκνηρῶς εἰς τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχειν
30 αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. Βυζάντιοι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ψαλίδιον ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἀποτεμνομένῳ κύκλῳ τὸ χρυσοῦν νόμισμα ἔλασσον μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς ὅσον βούλοιτο ἐξεργάζεσθαι, φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ ὡς τὸ κυκλοτερὲς σχῆμα ἐφ' οὗπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν.
31 ψαλίδιον γὰρ τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ ὄργανον, ὅτῳ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα[1] ἐργάζεται. τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπειδὴ Βελισάριον μετεπέμψατο,
32 ἐς Ἰταλίαν πέμπει. ὁ δὲ γεγονὼς ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ λογισμοὺς προὔθηκε λόγον οὐκ ἔχοντας. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἰταλιώτας οὔτε τῶν βασιλέως ἁψαμένους χρημάτων οὔτε τι ἄτοπον[2] εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ὑπουργήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἐκάλει, τὴν ἐς Θευδέριχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Γότθων ἄρχοντας ἀδικίαν ἐπικαλῶν, ἀναγκάζων τε ἀποτινύναι, εἴ τι ἐκείνους ἐξαπατήσαντες,[3] ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν,
33 ἐκέρδαινον.[4] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τά τε τραύματα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τῇ τῶν λογισμῶν μικρολογίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἠμείβετο. διὸ δὴ οἵ τε Ἰταλιῶται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ δύσνοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστασθαι ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελοκακοῦντες ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν ἐποίουν ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ πράγματα.

[1] ὅτῳ τις τὰ τοιαῦτα K : ᾧ ταῦτά τις L.
[2] τι ἄτοπον K : τινὰς αὐτῶν L.
[3] ἐξαπατήσαντες K : ἐξαπαιτήσαντες L.

from poverty to immense wealth, and not only this, but he also succeeded in collecting great sums of money for the emperor, surpassing all predecessors in this; but it was he, more than any other man, who was chiefly responsible for the deterioration of the army, in that the soldiers were both few and poor and reluctant to face the perils of war. The Byzantines indeed went so far as to call him by the name "Snips," because it was an easy feat for him to cut off the edge all around a golden coin, and while thus making it as much smaller as he wished, still to preserve the circular shape it originally had. For they call the tool with which such work is done "snips." This Alexander, then, it was whom the emperor sent to Italy after summoning Belisarius to return. And directly upon his arrival at Ravenna, he published an altogether unreasonable financial reckoning. For though the Italians had neither laid hands upon the emperor's money nor committed any offence against the state, he summoned them, first of all, to face an investigation, laying to their charge the wrongs they had done Theoderic and the other Gothic rulers, and compelling them to pay whatever gains they had made, as he alleged, by deceiving the Goths. In the second place, he disappointed the soldiers by the niggardliness of the reckoning with which he repaid them for their wounds and dangers. Hence not only did the Italians become disaffected from the Emperor Justinian, but not one of the soldiers was willing any longer to undergo the dangers of war, and by wilfully refusing to fight, they caused the strength of the enemy to grow continually greater.

[4] ἐκέρδαινον Haury: εἶ ἐκέρδαινον K, ἐσύλησαν ἢ ἐκέρδανον L.

34 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες διὰ ταῦτα ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Βιτάλιος δὲ μόνος (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν Βενετίοις ἄλλο τε πλῆθος στρατιᾶς ἔχων καὶ βαρβάρων Ἐρούλων πολύν τινα ὅμιλον) διὰ μάχης ἐλθεῖν Ἰλδιβάδῳ ἐτόλμησε, δείσας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μὴ ἐπὶ μέγα δυνάμεως χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ αὐτὸν ἥκοντα
35 οὐκέτι ἀναστέλλειν οἷοί τε ὦσι. μάχης δὲ καρτερᾶς ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταρβήσιον γενομένης Βιτάλιος παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθεὶς ἔφυγεν, ὀλίγους μέν τινας σώσας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσας. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ἐρουλοί τε πολλοὶ πίπτουσι καὶ Οὐίσανδος
36 ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἀρχηγὸς θνήσκει. Θευδιμοῦνδος δὲ ὁ Μαυρικίου τοῦ Μούνδου υἱός, μειράκιον ὢν ἔτι, ἐς κίνδυνον μὲν θανάτου ἦλθεν, ὅμως δὲ ξὺν Βιταλίῳ διέφυγεν. Ἰλδιβάδου τε ὄνομα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου παρά τε βασιλέα ἦλθε καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους.

37 Ὕστερον δὲ Οὐραΐαν Ἰλδιβάδῳ προσκεκρουκέναι ξυνέπεσεν ἀπ' αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. ἦν τῷ Οὐραΐᾳ γυνὴ πλούτῳ τε καὶ σώματος κάλλει τὰ πρωτεῖα φερομένη ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις
38 πασῶν μάλιστα. αὕτη ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον κατῆλθέ ποτε, κόσμου τε περιβεβλημένη πολύ τι χρῆμα καὶ θεραπείαν ἐπαγομένη λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν.
39 τήν τε Ἰλδιβάδου γυναῖκα ἐν ἱματίοις λιτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἰδοῦσα, οὔτε ὡς ξυνοικοῦσαν βασιλεῖ προσεκύνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλως ὑπεριδοῦσα ἐς αὐτὴν ὕβρισεν. ἔτι γὰρ Ἰλδίβαδος πενίᾳ ξυνῆν
40 ὡς ἥκιστα βασιλικοῖς ἐντυχὼν χρήμασι. περιαλγὴς δὲ γενομένη τῆς ὕβρεως τῇ ἀτοπίᾳ τοῦ Ἰλδιβάδου γυνή, παρά τε τὸν ἄνδρα δεδακρυμένη

While the other commanders were remaining quiet on account of this situation, Vitalius alone (for he happened to have in Venetia a numerous army comprising with others a great throng of barbarian Eruli) had the courage to do battle with Ildibadus, fearing, as actually happened, that at a later time when his power had grown greatly they would be no longer able to check him. But in the fierce battle which took place near the city of Tarbesium,[1] Vitalius was badly defeated and fled, saving some few men, but losing the most of them there. In this battle many Eruli fell and among them Visandus, the leader of the Eruli, was killed. And Theudimund, the son of Mauricius and grandson of Mundus, a mere lad at the time, came indeed into danger of death, but succeeded in making his escape in company with Vitalius. As a result of this achievement the name of Ildibadus reached the emperor and spread over the whole world.

But after a time it so fell out that enmity sprang up between Uraïas and Ildibadus for the following reason. Uraïas had a wife who in wealth and personal beauty was adjudged first among all the women of these barbarians. This woman once went down to the bath clad in great magnificence of ornament and taking with her a very notable company of attendants. And seeing the wife of Ildibadus there in plain garments, she not only did her no obeisance as the consort of the king but otherwise too ignored and did her insult. For Ildibadus was still in poverty, having by no means come into royal wealth. And the wife of Ildibadus, being very much offended by the uncalled-for insult, came to

[1] Modern Treviso.

ἦλθε καὶ οἱ ἀμῦναι τὰ ἀνήκεστα πρὸς τῆς
41 Οὐραΐου γυναικὸς παθοῦσῃ ἠξίου. διὸ δὴ τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα Ἰλδίβαδος Οὐραΐαν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους
διέβαλεν, ὡς δὴ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτομολεῖν
μέλλοι, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον δόλῳ ἔκτεινε καὶ ἀπ'
42 αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος ἐνέπεσε. βουλομένοις
γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν οὕτως ἀνεπισκέπτως
Οὐραΐαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι. πολλοί τε
ἤδη ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ξυνιστάμενοι Ἰλδιβάδῳ ἅτε
ἀνόσια εἰργασμένῳ ἐλοιδοροῦντο. τίσασθαι μέν-
τοι τοῦτον δὴ τοῦ φόνου αὐτὸν[1] οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν.
43 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς Οὐέλας, Γήπαις μὲν γένος,
ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων ἀξίωμα ἥκων.
44 οὗτος ἀνὴρ, μνησθεὶς γυναικὸς[2] εὐπρεποῦς τὴν
ὄψιν, ἐξαίσιόν τινα ἔρωτα ἦρα, ἐσταλμένου δὲ
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐφ' ᾧ τινα ποιοίη ξὺν
ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔφοδον, τὴν μνηστὴν
ἑτέρῳ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὶ Ἰλδίβαδος, εἴτε ἀγνοίᾳ
45 εἴτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἡγεμόνος, ξυνῴκισεν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπανήκων Οὐέλας ἤκουσε,
θυμοειδὴς ὢν φύσει, τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου ὕβριν οὐκ
ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτίκα κτεῖναι Ἰλδίβαδον ἔγνω,
46 χαριεῖσθαι Γότθοις ἅπασι[3] ταύτῃ οἰόμενος. καί
ποτε αὐτὸν Γότθων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἑστιῶντα
47 τηνίκα τῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν.[4] ἀριστῶντα
γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα πολλοί τε ἄλλοι καὶ τοὺς

[1] αὐτὸν L : αὐτῶν K.
[2] μνησθεὶς γυν. K : μνησθὲν γυν. γεγονὼς L.
[3] γότθοις ἅπασι K : γότθους ἅπαντας L.
[4] ἐπεχείρησεν K : ἐνεχείρησεν L.

her husband in tears and demanded that he avenge her for the outrageous treatment she had received from the wife of Uraïas. Accordingly Ildibadus first slandered Uraïas to the barbarians, imputing to him that he was intending to desert to the enemy, but a little later he put him to death by treachery, and thereby incurred the enmity of the Goths. For it was by no means in accordance with their wish that Uraïas should be thus unceremoniously removed from the world. And forthwith a large number of them formed a party and began to denounce Ildibadus vehemently as having committed an unholy deed. However, no one was willing to exact vengeance from him for this murder.

But there was one among them, Velas by name, who, though a Gepid by birth, had attained the dignity of serving among the king's guards. This man had wooed a woman fair to look upon, and he loved her with an extraordinary love ; but while he was off on an expedition against the enemy, in order to make some attack upon them in company with certain others, Ildibadus, meantime, either through ignorance or prompted by some other motive, married his intended bride to someone else among the barbarians. And when Velas, returning from the army, heard this, being passionate by nature, he could not bear the insult thus done him, but decided immediately to kill Ildibadus, thinking that he would thereby render a welcome service to all the Goths. And so, when the king on a certain occasion was entertaining the noblest of the Goths at a banquet, he watched for an opportunity and put his plot into execution. For while the king is dining, it is customary for many persons to stand about him and

δορυφόρους περιίστασθαι[1] νόμος. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὴν
χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν ἐς τὰ βρώματα ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος
πρηνὴς ἔκειτο, Οὐέλας δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄφνω τῷ ξίφει
48 τὸν τράχηλον παίει. ὥστε, τῶν βρωμάτων ἔτι
ἐχομένων ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου δακτύλοις, ἡ
κεφαλὴ εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν καταρραγεῖσα ἐξέπληξέ
τε καὶ ἐς θάμβος τι μέγα τοὺς παρόντας ἤνεγκεν
49 ἅπαντας. αὕτη μὲν τίσις Ἰλδίβαδον περιῆλθε
τοῦ Οὐραΐα φόνου. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ
τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προ-
κόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

II

Ἐράριχος δὲ ἦν τις ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ
Ῥογὸς μὲν γένος, δύναμιν δὲ περιβεβλημένος ἐν
τούτοις δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην. οἱ δὲ Ῥογοὶ
οὗτοι ἔθνος μέν εἰσι Γοτθικόν, αὐτόνομοί τε τὸ
2 παλαιὸν ἐβίουν. Θευδερίχου δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ κατ'
ἀρχὰς ἑταιρισαμένου σὺν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἔθνεσιν, ἔς
τε τὸ Γότθων ἀπεκέκριντο γένος καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς
3 τοὺς πολεμίους ἅπαντα ἔπρασσον. γυναιξὶ μέντοι
ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμιγνύμενοι ἀλλοτρίαις, ἀκραιφνέσι
παίδων διαδοχαῖς τὸ τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα ἐν σφίσιν
4 αὐτοῖς διεσώσαντο. τοῦτον[2] Ἐράριχον, ἐπεὶ ἐς
ταραχὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰλδιβάδου φόνῳ καθεστήκει τὰ
πράγματα, βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οἱ Ῥογοὶ
5 ἀνεῖπον. ὅπερ τοῖς Γότθοις οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ εἰς πολλὴν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀθυμίαν κατέστησαν

[1] περίστασθαι K : παρίστασθαι L.
[2] τοῦτον K : τοῦτον τὸν L.

among them his bodyguards. So when he had stretched out his hand to the food as he lay reclining upon the couch, Velas suddenly smote his neck with his sword. And so, while the food was still grasped in the man's fingers, his head was severed and fell upon the table, and filled all those present with great consternation and amazement. Such, then, was the vengeance which overtook Ildibadus for the murder of Uraïas. And the winter drew to a close and the sixth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 541 A.D.

II

There was a certain Eraric in the Gothic army, one of the Rogi by birth, a man possessed of great power among these barbarians. Now these Rogi are indeed a Gothic nation, but in ancient times they used to live as an independent people. But Theoderic had early persuaded them, along with certain other nations, to form an alliance with him, and they were absorbed into the Gothic nation and acted in common with them in all things against their enemies. But since they had absolutely no intercourse with women other than their own, each successive generation of children was of unmixed blood, and thus they had preserved the name of their nation among themselves. This Eraric, in the midst of the turmoil consequent upon the murder of Ildibadus, was suddenly proclaimed king by the Rogi. This act pleased the Goths not at all; however, the most of them had in fact fallen into great despondence be-

ἅτε τῶν ἐλπίδων σφίσι διεφθαρμένων ἅσπερ ἐπι
'Ιλδιβάδῳ τὰ πρότερα ἔσχον, ὃς δὴ τήν τε ἀρχὴν
καὶ τὸ 'Ιταλίας κράτος Γότθοις[1] ἀνασώσασθαι
6 ἱκανὸς ἦν. 'Εράριχος μέντοι οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ λόγου
ἄξιον ἔδρασε· μῆνας γὰρ πέντε ἐπιβιοὺς ἐτελεύ-
7 τησε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Τουτίλας ἦν τις, 'Ιλδιβάδου
ἀνεψιός, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνέσεως ἥκων καὶ τὸ
δραστήριον ὡς μάλιστα ἔχων καὶ λόγου ἐν
Γότθοις πολλοῦ ἄξιος. οὗτος ὁ Τουτίλας Γότθων
μὲν τηνικαῦτα τῶν ἐν Ταρβησίῳ ἄρχων ἐτύγχανεν.
8 ἐπεὶ δὲ[2] ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι 'Ιλδίβαδον
οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπύθετο, πέμψας πρὸς
Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐς 'Ράβενναν, τὰ πιστὰ οἱ δοθῆναι
ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐδεῖτο,[3] ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτόν τε καὶ
Γότθους, ὧν ἦρχε, ξὺν Ταρβησίῳ παραδώσει
9 'Ρωμαίοις. ἅπερ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀσμένως ἀκού-
σας ὤμοσεν ἅπαντα καθάπερ ὁ[4] Τουτίλας ᾔτησε,
τακτή τε ἡμέρα ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀμφοτέροις ξυνέκειτο,
ἐν ᾗ ἔμελλε Τουτίλας τε καὶ Γότθοι οἱ ἐν Tαρ-
βησίῳ φρουρὰν ἔχοντες δέξασθαι τῇ[5] πόλει τινὰς[6]
τῶν Κωνσταντιανῷ ἐπιτηδείων καὶ σφᾶς γε
αὐτοὺς ξὺν αὐτῇ ἐγχειρίσαι.
10 Ἦδη δὲ Γότθοι τῇ 'Εραρίχου ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο,
οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων τὸν ἄνδρα ὁρῶντες τὸν πόλεμον
πρὸς 'Ρωμαίους διενεγκεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοῦς οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκάκιζον ἅτε μεγάλων
ἔργων ἐμπόδιον γεγονότα σφίσιν, ὅτι δὴ ἐκποδὼν
11 'Ιλδίβαδον πεποίηται. τέλος δὲ ξυμφρονήσαντες[7]

[1] Γότθοις K : γότθος L.
[2] ἐπεὶ δὲ L : ἐπειδὴ K.
[3] ἐδεῖτο K : ἠτεῖτο L.
[4] καθάπερ ὁ K : ὅσα L.
[5] τῇ K : τε τῇ L.
[6] τινὰς K : τινὰ L.
[7] ξυμφρονήσαντες L : ξυμφωνήσαντες K.

cause the hopes they had formerly placed in Ildibadus had been frustrated; for he, they felt, would have been able to recover the kingdom and the sovereignty of Italy for the Goths. Eraric, however, did nothing at all worthy of note; for after living in office five months he died in the following manner. There was a certain Totila, a nephew of Ildibadus, a man gifted with remarkable discretion, energetic in the extreme, and held in high esteem among the Goths. This Totila happened at that time to be in command of the Goths in Tarbesium. But when he learned that Ildibadus had been removed from among men in the manner described, he sent to Constantianus at Ravenna asking that pledges be given him for his safety, on condition that he hand over to the Romans both himself and the Goths whom he commanded along with Tarbesium. This proposal Constantianus heard gladly and swore to everything just as Totila requested, and a fixed day for the transaction was agreed upon by both, on which Totila and the Goths who were keeping guard in Tarbesium were to receive into the city some of the associates of Constantianus and put themselves and the city into their hands.

But already the Goths were becoming dissatisfied with the rule of Eraric, seeing the man to be incompetent to carry on the war against the Romans, and the most of them were openly abusing him as one who had stood in their way to great achievements, alleging that he had done away with Ildibadus.[1] And finally they made an agreement among them-

[1] This is the first intimation that Eraric had had anything to do with the murder of Ildibadus, which in the previous chapter was ascribed to Velas.

πέμπουσι παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐς Ταρβήσιον, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακαλοῦντες. πολὺν γὰρ ἤδη πόθον τῆς Ἰλδιβάδου ἀρχῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τὸν ἐκείνου ξυγγενῆ ἔτρεπον, εὐέλπιδες ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
12 γενόμενοι τῷ βούλεσθαι[1] ταὐτά.[2] ὁ δὲ τοῖς παρ' αὐτὸν ἥκουσιν[3] ἄντικρυς τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ὁμολογίαν ἀποκαλύψας ἔφασκεν ὡς, ἢν Γότθοι Ἐράριχον τῆς κυρίας ἐντὸς κτείνουσιν, ἕψεταί τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πάντα ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσει ἧ αὐτοὶ
13 βούλοιντο. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐραρίχου[4] καταστροφὴν εἴχοντο. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Γότθων στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο.
14 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολαύοντες ἀσχολίας οὔτε ξυνίσταντο οὔτε τι δρᾶν ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους
15 διενοοῦντο. Ἐράριχος δὲ Γότθους ἅπαντας συγκαλέσας πρέσβεις ἀνέπεισε[5] πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι, δεησομένους ἐφ' ᾧ εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεται, ἐφ' οἷσπερ Οὐιττίγιδι τὰ πρότερα σπένδεσθαι ἤθελεν· ὥστε τὰ ἐκτὸς Πάδου ποταμοῦ Γότθους ἔχοντας ἀπαλλάσ-
16 σεσθαι Ἰταλίας τῆς ἄλλης. καὶ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι ταῦτα ἐπῄνεσαν, ἀπολέξας τινὰς τῶν οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείων, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψεν ἄλλους
17 τε καὶ Καβαλλάριον ὄνομα. οἱ δὲ πρὸς βασιλέα ταῦτα δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ πράξειν ἔμελλον ἅπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, λάθρα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο μηδὲν

[1] βούλεσθαι K : βουλεύεσθαι L.
[2] ταὐτά Christ : ταῦτα MSS.
[3] ἥκουσιν L : ἤκουσεν K.
[4] ἐραρίχου K : ἐκείνου L.
[5] πρέσβεις ἀνέπεισε KW : βουλὴν προὔθετο πρέσβεις L.

selves and sent to Totila at Tarbesium, urging him to assume the royal power. For by now they were beginning to feel generally a keen sense of regret for the lost rule of Ildibadus, and so they began to turn their hope of victory toward his relative Totila, having come to feel confidence in the man because his wish was the same as theirs. As for Totila, when the messengers came before him, he, without any concealment, disclosed his agreement with the Romans, but said that, if the Goths should kill Eraric before the appointed day, he would both follow them and carry out everything in accordance with their desires. When the barbarians heard this, they set about forming a plot to compass the destruction of Eraric. Such was the progress of events in the Gothic camp.

But in the meantime the Roman armies, though enjoying security as a result of the preoccupation of the enemy, were neither moving to unite their forces, nor were they planning any action against the barbarians. As for Eraric, he called together all the Goths and persuaded them to send envoys to the Emperor Justinian, who should beg him to make peace with them on the same terms on which he had been willing previously to conclude a treaty with Vittigis, on the condition, namely, that the Goths, holding the territory north of the Po, should withdraw from the rest of Italy. And since this was approved by the Goths, he chose out some of those especially intimate with him, including one Caballarius by name, and sent them as envoys. Now these envoys were ostensibly to treat of those matters which I have mentioned above, but secretly he instructed them to treat with the emperor of nothing

πρὸς βασιλέα πράσσειν ἐπέστελλε, πλήν γε δὴ ὅπως χρήματά τε αὐτὸς πολλὰ λήψεται καὶ ἐς πατρικίους ἀνάγραπτος εἴη ἐφ' ᾧ Ἰταλίαν παραδοὺς ξύμπασαν τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατάθοιτο σχῆμα.
18 οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις ἐπειδὴ[1] ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐγένοντο,[2] κατὰ ταῦτα ἔπρασσον. ἐν τούτῳ Γότθοι Ἐράριχον κτείνουσι δόλῳ. τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε[3] κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα σφίσι τὴν ἀρχὴν Τουτίλας.[4]

III

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε τά τε ἀμφὶ Ἐραρίχῳ ξυνενεχθέντα καὶ ὅτι Γότθοι Τουτίλαν σφίσιν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατεστήσαντο, κακίζων τε καὶ ἐρεσχελῶν τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας
2 οὐκέτι ἀνίει.[5] διὸ δὴ φυλακτήρια καταστησάμενοι ἐν πόλει ἑκάστῃ Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ Βέσσας καὶ Βιτάλιος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες ἐς Ῥάβενναν ξυνελέγοντο, οὗ δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οὗ πρόσθεν
3 ἐμνήσθην, διατριβὴν εἶχον. ἐπειδή τε ἅπαντες ξυνελέγησαν, ἔδοξε σφίσιν ἄμεινον εἶναι πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βερώνην, ἣ ἐν Βενετίαις ἐστί, στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτήν τε καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐξέλωσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἐπί τε Τουτίλαν[6] καὶ Τικι-
4 νοὺς[7] ἰέναι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς εἰς δισχιλίους τε καὶ μυρίους ξυνείλεκτο, ἄρχοντες

[1] ἐπειδὴ KL : om. W.
[2] ἐγένοντο KL : ἐγένοντο καὶ W.
[3] παρέλαβε K : om. L.
[4] τουτίλας K : τωτίλας λαμβάνει L.
[5] ἀνίει Haury : ἀνήει K, ἀνείη L.

else than how he might himself receive a great sum of money and be enrolled among the patricians in return for handing over the whole of Italy and laying aside his official title. So the envoys, upon reaching Byzantium, proceeded to treat of these matters. It was at this time that the Goths killed Eraric by treachery. And after his death, Totila took over the rule in accordance with the agreement made with them.

III

Now when the Emperor Justinian learned of the fate which had befallen Eraric and that the Goths had established Totila as ruler over them, he began to rebuke and censure the commanders of the army in Italy and gave them no respite. The consequence of this was that John, the nephew of Vitalian, and Bessas and Vitalius and all the others, after establishing garrisons in each city, gathered at Ravenna, where Constantianus and Alexander, whom I have mentioned previously,[1] were quartered. And when they were all gathered together, it was decided that the best procedure for them was to march first against Verona, which is in Venetia, and then, after capturing that city and the Goths there, to move against Totila and Ticinum. So this Roman army was assembled with a strength of twelve thousand men, and its commanders were eleven in number,

[1] Chap. i. 28, foll., above.

[6] Τουτίλαν editors : τουτίλα K, τωτίλαν L.
[7] Τικινοὺς Maltretus : πικηνοῖς K, πιγκηνοὺς L.

δὲ αὐτῶν ἕνδεκα ἦσαν, ὧν οἱ πρῶτοι ἐτύγχανον Κωνσταντιανός τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος, οἳ καὶ εὐθὺ πόλεως Βερώνης ἐχώρουν. γενόμενοι δὲ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ ταύτῃ[1] πεδίῳ. τούτου γὰρ πανταχόσε τοῦ χωρίου πεδία ἱππήλατά ἐστι, διήκοντα ἐς Μάντουαν πόλιν, ἥπερ διέχει πόλεως Βερώνης ἡμέρας ὁδῷ.

6 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Βενέτοις ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Μαρκιανὸς ὄνομα, ὅσπερ ἐν φρουρίῳ μὲν κατῴκητο πόλεως Βερώνης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔχων τὴν πόλιν παραδοῦναι τῷ 7 Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. καί, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν τις φυλάκων ἐκ παιδὸς γνώριμος, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς χρήμασιν ἀναπείθει τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ πόλει τὸ 8 βασιλέως στράτευμα δέξασθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὡμολόγει ὁ τῶν πυλῶν φύλαξ, πέμπει τοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν[2] πράξαντας[3] ὁ Μαρκιανὸς παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε ξυγκείμενα ἐσαγγείλωσι καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν 9 εἰσβάλλωσι νύκτωρ. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι ξύμφορον εἶναι προτερῆσαι μὲν αὐτῶν ἕνα ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἦν δέ γε ὁ φύλαξ αὐτοῖς ἀνακλίνῃ τὰς πύλας, ἔχεσθαί τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει ξὺν 10 τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸν στρατὸν δέξασθαι. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ὑποστῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδεὶς ἤθελεν, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ μόνος Ἀρμένιος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν

[1] ταύτῃ K : ταύτης L.
[2] αὐτὸν K : αὐτὸ δὴ L.

the first of whom were, as it happened, Constantianus and Alexander; and they marched straight toward the city of Verona. And when they had come to a place close to the city, about sixty stades away, they made camp in the plain there. For plains which are suitable for cavalry stretch out in every direction from this place and extend as far as the city of Mantua, which is one day's journey distant from the city of Verona.

Now there was a man of note among the Veneti, Marcian by name, who lived in a fortress not far distant from the city of Verona, and being as he was a staunch adherent of the emperor, he eagerly undertook to hand over the city to the Roman army. And since one of the guards had been known to him from childhood, he sent to him some of his intimates and persuaded the man by means of a bribe to receive the emperor's army into the city. Then, when the guard of the gate had agreed, Marcian sent those who had arranged the matter with the guard to the commanders of the Roman army, in order both to report to them the arrangements made and to join them in forcing an entrance into the city by night. The commanders then decided that it was advisable for one of their number to go in advance with some few men; and if the guard should set the gates open for them, they were to hold them fast and receive the army in safety into the city. Now no one among them all was willing to undertake this perilous enterprise except Artabazes alone, an Armenian by birth but a man of exceptional ability in war, who not at all unwillingly offered himself for

[3] πράξαντας Haury: πράξοντας K, ξυμπράξοντας L, ξυμπράξαντας Maltretus.

11 οὔτι ἀκουσίως[1] καθῆκεν αὐτόν. οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ
Περσῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον
ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν γῆς σὺν τῷ Βλησχάμῃ ὀλίγῳ
ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας, τὸ Σισαυράνων
12 ἐξελὼν φρούριον. τότε δὲ ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν ἐκ τοῦ
παντὸς στρατοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἀωρὶ τῶν
13 νυκτῶν ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένετο. καὶ
ἐπεὶ ὁ φύλαξ ἦπερ ξυνέκειτο ἀνεπέτασε σφίσι
τὰς πύλας, οἱ μέν τινες ἐνταῦθα ἑστῶτες τὸ
στράτευμα μετεπέμποντο, οἱ δὲ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ
τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ταύτῃ φυλάσσοντας ἔκτειναν
14 ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γότθοι
ἅπαντες ᾔσθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ, διὰ πυλῶν ἑτέρων
φεύγοντες ὤχοντο.

Πέτρα[2] δέ τις ἐς ἄγαν ὑψηλὴ πρὸ τοῦ περι-
βόλου ἀνέχει, ὅθεν ἅπαντα κατανοεῖν πάρεστι τὰ
ἐν Βερώνῃ πρασσόμενα καὶ ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς
ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ
15 πλεῖστον ὁρᾶν. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Γότθοι καταφυγόντες
τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἡσύχαζον. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων
στρατὸς ἀπὸ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα τῆς πόλεως
ἦκον οὐκέτι ἐπίπροσθεν ᾔει, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
χρημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀμφισβητούντων τῶν στρατη-
16 γῶν. ἔτι[3] τε αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ ταύτῃ διαμαχομένων
τῇ λείᾳ ἡμέρα τε ἤδη διαφανῶς γέγονε καὶ οἱ
Γότθοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανενοη-
κότες τῶν τε ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πολεμίων καὶ ὅσον
Βερώνης τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα διέχον εἱστήκει,
δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρουν[4] δι' αὐτῶν τῶν

[1] οὔτι ἀκουσίως L : οὔτοι ἀκούσιος K.
[2] πέτρα K : ἄκρα L.
[3] ἔτι K : οὔτω L.
[4] ἐχώρουν K : ἐχώρησαν L.

the undertaking. This man commanded some Persians whom Belisarius had, as it happened, sent to Byzantium from Persian territory along with Bleschames a little before this, after his capture of the fortress Sisauranon.[1] So he on the present occasion selected one hundred men from the whole army and at a late hour of the night went up close to the fortifications. And when the guard, true to his agreement, opened the gate for them, some of them took their stand there and were urging the army to come, while the others mounted the wall and killed the men on guard there, assailing them as they did without warning. Then the whole Gothic force, upon perceiving their evil plight, rushed off in flight through another gate.

Now there is a certain rock which rises to a great height facing the fortifications of Verona, from which it is possible to observe everything which is taking place in the city and to count the people in it, and, besides, to see for a very great distance over the plain. Thither the Goths retreated and remained quiet during the whole night. As for the Roman army, it advanced to a point within forty stades of the city, but proceeded no further, the generals being engaged in a dispute among themselves over the money in the city. And they still continued to wrangle over this plunder until day had now clearly dawned; but the Goths, after observing accurately from the height both the number of the enemy scattered through the city and the distance at which the rest of the army had halted from Verona, made a rush toward the city, and passed through the very

[1] Cf. Book II. xix. 24.

πυλῶν ὅθεν[1] ἀπαλλαγέντες πρότερον ἔτυχον· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐσεληλυθότες ἔχεσθαι ἴσχυσαν.
17 Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ξυμφρονήσαντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις κατέφυγον, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων αὐτοῖς πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς χεῖρας ἰόντων οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀρταβάζης πάντων μάλιστα ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐνδεικνύμενοι[2] καρτερώτατα τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἠμύνοντο.
18 Καὶ τότε δὴ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Βερώνῃ χρημάτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διοικησάμενοι παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν
19 πόλιν χωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. ἀποκεκλεισμένας δὲ σφίσι τὰς πύλας εὑρόντες ἰσχυρότατά τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμυνομένους ὀπίσω κατὰ τάχος ἀπήλαυνον, καίπερ μαχομένους ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τοὺς ἑτέρους[3] θεώμενοι καὶ δεομένους μὴ σφᾶς ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν, ἕως ἂν κατα-
20 φυγόντες ἐς αὐτοὺς σώζοιντο. διὸ δὴ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζην τῷ τε πλήθει βιαζόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπογνόντες τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπικουρίαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔξω ἤλαντο ἅπαν-
21 τες. οἷς μὲν οὖν καταπεσεῖν ἐφ' ὁμαλοῦ χωρίου ξυνέβη, οὗτοι δὴ ἀθῷοι[4] ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἐκομίσθησαν, ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀρταβάζης ἦν· ὅσοι μέντοι ἐς δυσχωρίας κατέπεσον, αὐτοῦ
22 ἅπαντες διεφθάρησαν. ἐπεί τε Ἀρταβάζης ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἦλθε, πολλά τε ὀνειδίσας καὶ λοιδορησάμενος ἅπασι ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦει, τόν τε Ἠριδανὸν διαβάντες ἐν Φαβεντίᾳ πόλει ἐγένοντο,

[1] ὅθεν K : ὥνπερ L.
[2] ἐνδεικνύμενοι K : ἐνδειξάμενοι L.
[3] ἑτέρους K : ἑταίρους L.

gate through which, as it happened, they had previously departed; for those who had entered the city were unable even to hold this gate. So the Romans, taking counsel together, hastily sought safety on the parapet along the circuit-wall; and when the barbarians in great numbers assailed them at close quarters, they all, and Artabazes especially, made a display of remarkable deeds and warded off their assailants most vigorously.

At that moment the commanders of the Roman army had at last reached an agreement with each other regarding the money in Verona, and decided to proceed against the city with all the rest of the army. But finding the gates closed to them and the enemy warding them off most vigorously, they quickly marched to the rear, although they saw the others fighting inside the fortifications and begging them not to abandon them, but to remain there until they should save themselves by fleeing to them. So Artabazes and his men, being overcome by the numbers of the enemy and despairing of assistance from their own army, all leaped down outside the wall. Now all those who had the fortune to fall on smooth ground betook themselves unscathed to the Roman army, among whom was Artabazes also, but as many as fell on rough ground were all killed instantly. And when Artabazes had reached the Roman army, he proceeded with them, having heaped abuse and contumely upon them all; and after crossing the Eridanus,[1] they entered the city of Faventia,[2] which

[1] Modern Po. [2] Modern Faenza.

[4] ἀθῷοι L : ἀθρόοι K.

ἡ χώρας[1] μὲν τῆς Αἰμιλίας ἐστί, σταδίους δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν Ῥαβέννης διέχει.

IV

Τουτίλας δὲ τὰ ἐν Βερώνῃ ξυμπεσόντα μαθὼν Γότθων τε τῶν ἐκ Βερώνης πολλοὺς μετεπέμπετο,[2] καὶ ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ὄντι, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἤει. ὃ δὴ μαθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες τὰ
2 παρόντα σφίσιν ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρταβάζης ἔλεξε[3] τοιάδε· "Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν,[4] ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες, ὑπερφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἅτε ἡμῶν τῷ πλήθει ἐλασσουμένων τανῦν ἀξιούτω, μηδέ,[5] ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς Βελισαρίῳ δεδουλωμένους ἀγωνίζεται, λογισμῷ ἀναπεπτωκότι ἐπ'
3 αὐτοὺς ἴτω. πολλοὶ γὰρ δόξῃ οὐκ ἀληθεῖ ἐξηπατημένοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔσφηλαν, καὶ καταφρόνημά τισιν οὐκ ἐν δέοντι γινόμενον[6] τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καταλῦσαι δύναμιν ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἡ προλαβοῦσα κακοπραγία τούσδε
4 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς εὐτυχίαν παρακαλεῖ. τύχη γὰρ εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἐλθοῦσα[7] ἐς
5 εὐτολμίας ὑπερβολὴν[8] περίσταται. καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ὑποψίᾳ τανῦν ἡγμένος ἐν ὑμῖν εἴρηκα, ἀλλ' οἷς δι[illegible]ακινδυνεύσας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔναγχος ἐκμε-

[1] χώρας K : χώρα L.
[2] μετεπέμπετο K : μετεπέμψατο L.
[3] ἔλεξε K : ἔλεξε πρὸς αὐτοὺς L.
[4] ὑμῶν K : ἡμῶν L.
[5] ἀξιούτω μηδὲ L : ἀξιοῖ. μὴ δὲ K.
[6] γινόμενον K : ἐγγινόμενον L, ἐγγενόμενον V_1.

is in the land of Aemilia, one hundred and twenty stades distant from Ravenna.

IV

Totila, upon learning what had taken place at Verona, summoned many of the Goths from that city, and upon their arrival moved with his whole army, amounting to five thousand men, against his opponents. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned this, they began to deliberate over their situation. And Artabazes came forward and spoke as follows: "Fellow-commanders, let no one of you think fit at the present time to despise the enemy because they are inferior to us in number, nor, because he is fighting against men enslaved by Belisarius, let him advance against them in a reckless frame of mind. For many a man, deceived by a false estimate of a situation, has brought about his own downfall, while others who have been filled with unjustified contempt of their foes have seen their whole power ruined thereby; and even apart from this, the very fact of their previous ill fortune lures these men on to attain a fairer lot. For when fortune has reduced a man to despair and robbed him of his fair hopes, it changes his nature and leads him to feel an extraordinary degree of daring. And it is not because I am moved by mere suspicion that I have made these statements before you, but because of the thorough acquaintance I have recently made with the daring of these men while engaged in

---

[7] ἐλθοῦσα V_1 : om. KL.
[8] ὑπερβολὴν KL : ἀφορμὴν V_1.

6 μαθηκα τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τόλμαν. καί με[1] νομιζέτω μηδεὶς ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἡσσηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων θανμάσαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὴ καὶ πλήθει ὑπεραιρόντων καὶ τούτῳ[2]
7 ἐλασσουμένων τοῖς γε πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμαχησομένοις ἔνδηλος γίνεται. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τηρήσασι τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἐπειδὰν ἐς ἥμισυ διαβαίνοιεν, ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι ἢ πᾶσιν ἀθρόοις ἤδη γεγενημένοις.
8 μηδενί τε ἄδοξος εἶναι ἡ τοιαύτη δεδόχθω νίκη. δόξαν τε γὰρ καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποβασις ὀνομάζειν φιλεῖ, καὶ τοὺς νενικηκότας εἰωθασιν ἐπαινεῖν ἄνθρωποι, οὐ διερευνώμενοι τῆς
9 νίκης τὸν τρόπον." Ἀρταβάζης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοντες τῷ διαμαχομένῳ τῆς γνώμης τῶν δεόντων οὐδὲν ἔπρασσον, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένοντες τὸν καιρὸν ἔτριβον.
10 Ἤδη δὲ ὁ τῶν Γότθων στρατὸς ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει, καὶ ἐπεὶ διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔμελλον, ξυγκαλέσας Τουτίλας ἅπαντας τοιαῦτα παρεκελεύσατο· "Αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι ξύμπασαι μάχαι, ὦ ἄνδρες ξυγγενεῖς, ὁμοίαν τινὰ μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐπαγγελλόμεναι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὁρμῶσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τῷ διαλλασσοντι χρώμενοι ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάμεθα
11 τόνδε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡσσηθέντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἕξουσιν.

[1] με Haury : μὴ K, μοι L.

mortal combat with them. And let no one think that I now marvel at their power because I was defeated along with a handful of men. For it is to those who shall come to blows with them that men's valour becomes revealed, whether those men are superior in number or inferior. My opinion then is that it will be more to our advantage to watch for the crossing of the river by the barbarians, and, while the crossing is in progress, and about half their men are across, to engage with them then, rather than after they have already assembled, all in one body. And let no man consider such a victory inglorious. For the outcome of events alone is wont to decide whether a deed shall be named glorious or inglorious, and it is the victors whom men are accustomed to praise without investigating the manner of the victory." So spoke Artabazes. But the commanders, owing to the divergence of their opinions, did nothing that they should, but continued to remain where they were and lose their opportunity by delay.

And now the army of the Goths had come very near, and when they were about to cross the river, Totila called them all together and exhorted them as follows: "My kinsmen, all other battles give promise, as a general thing, of a contest that will be more or less even and thereby incite the contending armies to the struggle, but we are entering this combat, not on an equality with our enemy as regards the advantages of fortune, but facing a very different situation. For they, even in case of a possible defeat, will be able after no long time to renew the fight

[2] τούτῳ Dindorf, from an inferior MS. : τούτων KL.

ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν Ἰταλίας ἁπάσης πλῆθος αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἀπολέλειπται καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐπιβοηθήσειν οὐδὲν ἀπεικός. ἡμῶν δὲ ταὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντων τὸ Γότθων ὄνομα μετὰ τῆς
12 ἐλπίδος ἀπολωλέναι λελείψεται. ἐκ μυριάδων γὰρ εἴκοσιν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμᾶς ἀποκεκρίσθαι ξυμβέβηκε. τοσαῦτα ὑπειπὼν κἀκεῖνο ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου οἶομαι εἶναι, ὡς ἡνίκα μὲν ξὺν Ἰλδιβάδῳ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν βασιλεῖ ἔγνωτε, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὑμῖν οὐ πλέον ἢ ἐς χιλίους ξυμβιοῦν ἔτυχεν, ἡ δὲ χώρα περιίστατο ξύμπασα
13 ἐς Τικινὸν[1] πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ξυμβολῇ γεγόνατε κρείσσους, ἐπίπροσθεν ἡμῖν[2] τά τε τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ τῆς χώρας κεχώρηκεν. ὥστε ἦν καὶ νῦν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἢ βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, προϊόντος, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τοῦ πολέμου πάμπαν[3] κρατήσειν τῶν
14 ἐναντίων ἐλπίδα ἔχω. τοῖς γὰρ νενικηκόσιν ἀεὶ τὸ πλείοσί τε καὶ δυνατωτέροις γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει. προθυμείσθω τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος παντὶ σθένει τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖν τὴν μάχην ἐξεπιστάμενος τὴν νῦν οὐκ εὐδοκιμηκόσιν ἡμῖν[4] ἀναμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀμήχανον.
15 ἄξιον δὲ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀδικίᾳ
16 θαρροῦντας. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς[5] τὰ ἐς τοὺς κατηκόους βεβίωται ὥστε Ἰταλιώταις τανῦν τῆς

[1] Τικινὸν Haury: πικηνῶν K, πιγκηνῶν L, Τίκινον Maltretus.
[2] ἡμῖν K: ὑμῖν L.
[3] πάμπαν K: τὸ πάντως L.
[4] ἡμῖν L: ὑμῖν K.

against us. For there is left behind for them a numerous army quartered in the strongholds throughout the whole of Italy, and, furthermore, it is not at all improbable that another army will at a very early date come to their assistance from Byzantium. But if we, on the other hand, suffer this same fate, there will be a final end of the name and hopes of the Goths. For from an army of two hundred thousand we have been reduced in the course of events to five thousand men. Having made such a preface, I think it not inappropriate to recall to your minds this fact also, that when you decided to take up arms with Ildibadus against the emperor, the number of your band amounted to no more than one thousand men, while your entire territory consisted of the city of Ticinum. But since you came off victors in the engagement, both our army and our territory have increased. So that if you are willing in this battle to display the same spirit of manly courage, I am hopeful that, as the war goes on, following its natural course, we shall accomplish the complete defeat of our opponents. For it always proves true that the victors increase both in numbers and in power. Let each one of you, therefore, be eager to join battle with the enemy with all your strength, understanding clearly that if we do not succeed in the present battle, it will be impossible to renew the struggle against our opponents. It is reasonable, furthermore, for us to grapple with the enemy with high hopes, taking courage from the unjust acts committed by them. For such has been their conduct towards their subjects that the Italians at the

[5] αὐτοῖς Hoeschel in marg. : αὐτοὺς MSS.

τετολμημένης οὐ δέον αὐτοῖς ἐς Γότθους προδοσίας κολάσεως οὐδεμιᾶς ἑτέρας προσδεῖ·[1] οὕτω ξυλλήβδην εἰπεῖν ξύμπαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ κακὰ πρὸς
17 τῶν ὑποδεχθέντων γενέσθαι ξυνέβη. τί δ' ἂν πολεμίων εὐαλωτότερον γένοιτο οἷς γε τὰ ἐκ θεοῦ δῆτα πεπραγμένα οὐχ ὑγιῶς ἔχει; καὶ μὴν καὶ τῷ[2] ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς δέει[3] εὐέλπιδας[4] ἂν ἡμᾶς
18 ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα γίνεσθαι πρέποι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἄλλους τινὰς ἀνθρώπων χωροῦμεν ἢ ὅσοι ἔναγχος ἐν μέσῃ Βερώνῃ γενόμενοι μεθέντες τε οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, καίπερ διώκοντος τῶν πάντων αὐτοὺς οὐδενός, οὕτω δὴ αἰσχρῶς ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο."

19 Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας παρακελευσάμενος τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τριακοσίους ἐκέλευεν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνοντας, κατόπισθεν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γένηται, κατὰ νώτου αὐτῶν ἰόντας βάλλειν τε καὶ ἐνοχλεῖν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ξυνταραχθέντες οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς
20 μνήσονται.[5] αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα τὸν ποταμὸν διαβὰς εὐθὺ τῶν ἐναντίων
21 ἐχώρει· οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐθὺς ὑπηντίαζον. ἐπειδή τε ἀμφότεροι ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐγγυτέρω ἀλλήλων ἐγένοντο, Γότθος ἀνήρ, Οὐάλαρις ὄνομα, μέγας τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ εἶδος φοβερὸς ἄγαν,[6] ἔτι μέντοι δραστήριός τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας πρὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ ἐν μεταιχμίῳ

[1] προσδεῖ K : προσδεῖν L.
[2] τῷ Krašeninnikov : τὸ MSS.
[3] δέει K : δέος L.
[4] εὐέλπιδας Haury : ἐλπίδας K, ἐλπίδα L.
[5] μνήσονται K : μνήσωνται L. [6] ἄγαν K : ἅμα L.

present time need no further punishment for the flagrant treason which they dared to commit against the Goths; so true is it that every form of evil, to put all in a word, has fallen to their lot from the hands of those whom they cordially received. And what enemy could be more easy to overcome than men whose deeds, even those done in God's name, are utterly wicked?[1] Nay more, the very fear we inspire in them should properly be a further cause for confidence on our part as we enter the struggle. For those against whom we proceed are no other men than those who recently first penetrated into the middle of Verona, then abandoned it for no good reason, and, although not a man pursued them, yet even so rushed off in a disgraceful flight."

After delivering this exhortation Totila commanded three hundred of his troops to cross the river at a distance of about twenty stades from where he stood and get behind the enemy's camp, and when the battle should come to close quarters, to fall upon their rear, harassing them with their missiles and assailing them with all their strength, in order that the Romans might be thrown into confusion and abandon all thought of resistance. He himself, meanwhile, with the rest of the army straightway crossed the river and advanced directly upon his opponents; and the Romans immediately came out to meet him. And when, as both armies advanced, they came nearer to each other, a Goth, Valaris by name, tall of stature and of most terrifying mien, an active man withal and a good fighter, rode his horse out before the rest of the army and

[1] Referring to their violation of their oaths.

ἔστη, τεθωρακισμένος τε καὶ κράνος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
ἔχων, καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας προὐκαλεῖτο, εἴ
22 τίς οἱ βούλοιτο ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι
κατωρρωδηκότες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ
23 αὐτῷ ἐς ἀγῶνα κατέστη μόνος. ἄμφω τοίνυν
τὼ ἵππω κατ' ἀλλήλοιν ἐλάσαντε, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστα
ἵκοντο,[1] τὰ δόρατα ὤθουν, Ἀρταβάζης δὲ προ-
τερήσας ἔφθασε τὸν Οὐάλαριν ἐς πλευρὰν τὴν
24 δεξιὰν παίσας. ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος καιρίαν τυπεὶς
ὕπτιος ἐς τὴν γῆν πεσεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀλλά οἱ τὸ
δόρυ ἐξόπισθεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐπὶ πέτρας τινὸς
25 ἐρεισθὲν πεσεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδαμῇ εἴα. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτα-
βάζης ἐνέκειτο ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ δόρυ ἐς τὰ τοῦ
ἀνδρὸς ὠθῶν ἔγκατα. οὔπω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἁλῶ-
26 ναι καιρίᾳ πληγῇ ὑπετόπαζεν. οὕτω τε ξυνέβη
Οὐαλάριδος τὸ τοῦ δόρατος ἄκρον[2] σιδήριον
σχεδόν τι ὀρθὸν γεγενημένον τοῦ Ἀρταβάζου
θώρακος ἅπτεσθαι, κατὰ βραχύ τε προϊὸν
διελθεῖν μὲν τὸν θώρακα ὅλον, ὀλισθῆσαν δὲ τοῦ
δέρματος ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάζου αὐχένα ψαῦσαι.
27 τύχῃ τέ τινι ἀρτηρίαν ἐνταῦθά πη οὖσαν ἐπί-
προσθεν ἰὼν ὁ σίδηρος τέμνει, καὶ ῥύσις αὐτίκα
28 πολλοῦ αἵματος ἦν. αἴσθησις δὲ ὀδύνης οὐδε-
μία τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγίνετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς τὸ
Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλαυνεν,
29 Οὐάλαρις δὲ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε. καὶ Ἀρτα-
βάζης δέ, τοῦ αἵματος οὐκέτι λωφήσαντος, τρίτῃ
ὕστερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, Ῥωμαίοις
τε κατέσεισε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τότε
ἀπόμαχος[3] ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ ταύτῃ γενόμενος οὐκ

[1] ἵκοντο L: ἥκοντο K. [2] ἄκρον K: om. L.
[3] ἀπόμαχος L: ἄμαχος K.

took his stand in the open space between the armies, clad in a corselet and wearing a helmet on his head; and he challenged all the Romans, if anyone was willing to do battle with him. Whereupon all remained quiet, being stricken with terror, save Artabazes alone, who advanced to fight the man. So they rode their horses toward each other, and when they came close, both thrust their spears, but Artabazes, anticipating his opponent, delivered the first blow and pierced the right side of Valaris. And the barbarian, mortally wounded, was about to fall backward to the earth, but his spear, resting on the ground behind him and being braced against a rock, did not permit him to fall. As for Artabazes, he continued to press forward still more vigorously, driving the spear into the man's vitals; for as yet he did not suppose that he had already suffered a mortal wound. Thus it came about that Valaris' spear stood practically upright and its iron point encountered the corselet of Artabazes, and first, entering little by little, it went clear through the corselet, and then, slipping further, grazed the skin of Artabazes' neck. And by some chance the iron, as it pushed forward, cut an artery which lies in that region, and there was immediately a great flow of blood. However, the man experienced no feeling of pain, and he rode back to the Roman army, while Valaris fell dead on the spot. But the flow of blood from Artabazes' wound did not abate and on the third day afterwards he departed from among men; and this mishap shattered all the hopes of the Romans, since he was rendered unfit for fighting in the engagement which followed, and

30 ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὰ πράγματα αὐτὸς ἔσφηλεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔξω βελῶν γεγονὼς τοῦ τραύματος ἐπεμελεῖτο, τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα ἄμφω[1] ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον.[2]

31 Καρτερᾶς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ξυμβολῆς οἱ τριακόσιοι βάρβαροι κατόπισθεν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐφάνησαν, οὓς δὴ κατιδόντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος εἶναι τῶν σφίσι μαχομένων οἰόμενοι ἔς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἔπεσον καὶ αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο,

32 ὥσπερ ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε. φεύγοντάς τε οἱ βάρβαροι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔκτεινον, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ζωγρήσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχον, τὰ δὲ σημεῖα ξύμπαντα ἔλαβον, ὅπερ οὔπω πρότερον Ῥωμαίοις ξυνέπεσε. τῶν τε ἀρχόντων ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔφευγε, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅπη ἔτυχον διασωθέντες ἐφύλασσον.

V

Χρόνῳ δὲ Τουτίλας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον στράτευμα ἐπί τε Ἰουστῖνον καὶ Φλωρεντίαν ἔπεμψεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντας Γότθων τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἐπέστησε, Βλέδαν καὶ Ῥουδέριχον καὶ Οὐλίαριν. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐς Φλωρεντίαν ἦλθον, ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο.

2 Ἰουστῖνος δὲ ξυνταραχθεὶς[3] ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐσκομισάμενος οὐδὲν ἔτυχεν, ἔπεμψεν ἐς Ῥάβεν-

[1] ἄμφω K : ξυννηνέχθη L. [2] ἦλθον K : ἐλθεῖν L.
[3] ξυνταραχθεὶς K : ξὺν ταραχαῖς L.

himself injured their cause in no small degree. For while he went out of range of missiles and was caring for his wound, the two armies engaged with each other.

But when the engagement was hottest, the three hundred barbarians suddenly appeared advancing behind the Roman army; and when the Romans saw these men, supposing as they did that their assailants were a great multitude, they fell into a panic and straightway rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. And the barbarians kept up a slaughter of Romans as they fled in complete disorder, and many of them they captured and held under guard, and they captured all the standards besides, a thing which had never before happened to the Romans.[1] As for the commanders, each one of them as he could fled with only a few men, and finding safety in whatever cities they happened to reach they continued to guard them.

V

Not long after this Totila sent an army against Justinus and Florentia,[2] putting in command of the force the most warlike of the Goths, Vledas, Roderic, and Uliaris. And when they came to Florentia, they established themselves in camp about the wall and entered upon a siege. Thereupon Justinus, in great agitation because, as it happened, he had brought no provisions at all into the city, sent to Ravenna to the commanders of

[1] Incorrect of course; the loss of the standards by Crassus in 53 B.C. and by Varus in 9 A.D. should have been known to Procopius.

[2] Modern Florence.

ναν πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντας,
3 βοηθεῖν σφίσι κατὰ τάχος δεόμενος. νύκτωρ τε
ὁ σταλεὶς τοὺς πολεμίους λαθὼν ἐς Ῥάβεννάν τε
4 ἀφίκετο καὶ τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀπήγγειλε. διὸ
δὴ στράτευμα Ῥωμαίων λόγου ἄξιον εὐθὺς ἐς
Φλωρεντίαν ἦει, ὧν δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ Κυπριανὸς
καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦς ἡγοῦντο.
5 ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γότθοι πρὸς τῶν κατασκόπων ἐπύθοντο,
λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς χωρίον
Μουκέλλιν ὄνομα, Φλωρεντίας διέχον ἡμέρας ὁδόν.
6 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς Ἰουστίνῳ ξυνέμιξεν,
ὀλίγους μέν τινας τῶν αὐτῷ ἑπομένων ἐπὶ φυλακῇ
τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ εἴασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἐπαγόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν.
7 Καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ πορευομένοις ξυμφορώτατον
ἔδοξεν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕνα παντὸς τοῦ
στρατοῦ τοὺς λογιμωτάτους[1] ἀπολεξάμενον[2]
πρόσω ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν[3] μὲν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητον[4] ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, τὸ δὲ
ἄλλο στράτευμα σχολῇ βαδίζον ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι.
κλήρους τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐμβεβλημένοι τὴν τῆς
8 τύχης ἐκαραδόκουν ἐς τοῦτο γνώμην. ὁ μὲν οὖν
κλῆρος ἐκπεπήδηκεν ἐς Ἰωάννην, οὐκέτι δὲ βου-
λομένοις τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἦν ἐπιτελεῖν τὰ ξυγκεί-
9 μενα. διὸ δὴ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις Ἰωάννης
ἠνάγκαστο ἐπίπροσθεν ἰὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
χωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων ἔφοδον
γνόντες τὸ μὲν πεδίον, οὗ δὴ ἐνστρατοπεδευσά-

[1] τοὺς λογιμωτάτους K: τὸν λογιμώτατον L.
[2] ἀπολεξάμενον Haury: ἀπολεξαμένων K, ἀπολεξαμένοις L.
[3] αὐτὸν L: αὐτοὶ K.
[4] ἀπροσδόκητον L: ἀπροσδόκητοι K.

the Roman army, begging them to come to his assistance with all speed. And the messenger slipped unobserved through the enemy's lines by night, and upon reaching Ravenna reported the situation which confronted the garrison. As a result of this intelligence a considerable Roman army immediately started on the way to Florentia, under command of Bessas, Cyprian and John the nephew of Vitalian. When the Goths learned of this army through their scouts, they broke up the siege and withdrew to a place called Mucellis,[1] one day's journey distant from Florentia. And when the Roman army had joined forces with Justinus, the commanders left there a few of his men to guard the city, but took the rest along with them and proceeded against the enemy.

And as they proceeded on their way it was decided that the most advantageous plan was for one of the commanders to choose out the most famous fighters in the whole army and with them go in advance of the others, and make a sudden and unexpected attack upon the enemy, while the rest of the army should proceed without quickening its pace and come upon the scene later. So they cast lots with this plan in view and awaited the decision of fortune in the matter. Now the lot fell out for John, but the commanders were no longer willing to carry out the agreement. Thus it was that John was compelled with his own troops alone to go in advance of the others and make an attack upon the enemy. But the barbarians, learning that their opponents were advancing upon them and being greatly terrified, decided to abandon the plain

[1] Modern Mugello (a valley).

μενοι ἐτύγχανον, δέει πολλῷ ἀπολιπεῖν ἔγνωσαν,
ἐς λόφον δὲ μέγαν τινὰ ὃς ταύτῃ ἀνέχει ξὺν
10 θορύβῳ ἀνέδραμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην
ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, ἀναδραμόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ
11 τοὺς πολεμίους ἔργου εἴχοντο. καρτερῶς δὲ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἀμυνομένων ὠθισμός τε πολὺς γέγονε
καὶ πολλοὶ ἑκατέρωθεν ἔργα ἐνδεικνύμενοι θαυ-
12 μαστὰ ἔπιπτον. Ἰωάννου δὲ κραυγῇ τε καὶ
ταραχῇ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν πολεμίους
ὁρμήσαντος ξυνέβη τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα
πρός του τῶν πολεμίων ἀκοντίῳ βληθέντα πεσεῖν·
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκρουσθέντες ὀπίσω
ἐχώρουν.

13 Ἤδη δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς
ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφικόμενοι φάλαγγά τε ποιησάμενοι
ἵσταντο. καὶ εἰ[1] μὲν φυγόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν
Ἰωάννην ἐδέξαντο, ξὺν[2] αὐτοῖς ἂν ὁμόσε τοῖς
πολεμίοις χωρήσαντες[3] ἐνίκησάν τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ
14 καὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντας ἑλεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἀλλὰ
τύχῃ τινὶ ξυνέβη ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον
φήμην οὐκ ἀληθῆ περιφέρεσθαι, ὡς δὴ Ἰωάννης
πρός του τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ
15 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθείη. ἐπεί τε ὁ λόγος ἐς
τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦλθε, μένειν ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι
ἠξίουν, ἀλλ' ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν αἰσχράν τινα ξύμπαντες
16 ἦεσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ξυντεταγμένοι οὐδὲ κατὰ ξυμ-
μορίας τινάς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ὥς πη ἐδύνατο
ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ

[1] εἰ L: οἱ K.
[2] ξὺν L: καὶ ξὺν K.
[3] χωρήσαντες L: ἐχώρησαν K.

where they had established their camp, and in confusion ran to the top of a high hill which rises near by. And when the force of John arrived there, they too ran up against the enemy and opened the attack. But since the barbarians defended themselves vigorously, a violent struggle took place and many men on both sides, while making a remarkable display of heroism, were beginning to fall. Now though John had led a charge with loud shouting and tumult against the enemy opposite him, it so happened that one of his bodyguards was hit by a javelin thrown by one of the enemy and fell; as a result of this the Romans, now repulsed, began to retire to the rear.

By this time the remainder of the Roman army also had reached the plain, where they formed a phalanx and stood waiting. And if they had stood fast to give support to John's troops, which were now in full flight, they could have advanced all together upon the enemy, and not only would they have defeated them in the battle, but they would have been able also to capture practically the whole force. But by some chance it so fell out that an untrue report was circulated through the Roman army to the effect that John had perished at the hand of one of his own bodyguards during the action then in progress. And when the report came to the commanders, they were no longer willing to hold their position, but they one and all began to retire in a disgraceful sort of retreat. For neither did they keep their troops in order, nor did they move off in any kind of groups, but each man for himself, just as he could, rushed off in headlong flight. And many indeed perished in

ταύτῃ ἀπώλοντο, ὅσοι μέντοι διεσώθησαν ἡμέρας
17 πολλὰς οὐδαμῇ διωκόμενοι ἔφευγον. χρόνῳ τε
ὕστερον ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔτυχεν ἐς ὀχυρώματά τινα
ἐσελθόντες ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς ἐντυγχά-
18 νουσιν ἢ ὅτι τεθνεὼς Ἰωάννης εἴη. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
οὔτε ξυνεμίγνυντο ἔτι ἀλλήλοις οὔτε ξυνίστασθαι
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους διενοοῦντο, ἀλλ'
ἕκαστος τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἔμενε
καὶ τὰ ἐς πολιορκίαν ἡτοίμαζε, δεδιὼς μὴ οἱ
19 βάρβαροι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴωσι. Τουτίλας δὲ φιλοφρο-
σύνην ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύ-
μενος, προσποιεῖσθαί τε αὐτοὺς[1] ἴσχυσε καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν ἐθελούσιοι ξὺν αὐτῷ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπὶ
Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ
ἕβδομον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν
Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

VI

Ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας Καισῆναν τε καὶ Πέτραν
τὰ φρούρια εἷλεν. ὀλίγον τε ὕστερον ἐς Τουσκίαν
ἀφίκετο, καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα χωρίων ἀποπειρασά-
μενος, ἐπεί οἱ προσχωρεῖν οὐδεὶς ἤθελε, Τίβεριν
ποταμὸν διαβάς, ἐς μὲν τὰ Ῥώμης ὅρια οὐδαμῇ
ἦλθεν, ἐς Καμπανοὺς δὲ καὶ Σαμνίτας αὐτίκα
ἦκων Βενεβεντὸν πόλιν ἐχυρὰν παρεστήσατο
οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ τείχη ἐς ἔδαφος
καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου
ἥκον ἔκ τε ὀχυροῦ ὁρμώμενον πράγματα Γότθοις
2 παρέχειν δύνηται. μετὰ δὲ Νεαπολίτας πολιορ-

[1] αὐτοὺς L: αὐτῶν K.

this flight, and as for the rest, all such as were saved continued their flight for many days although they were not pursued at all. And some time afterwards they entered such strongholds as each one happened upon, and the report they carried to those they chanced to meet was only this, that John was dead. And consequently they were no longer in contact with each other, nor had they any purpose of uniting thereafter against the enemy, but each remained inside the circuit-wall of his own fort and began to prepare for a siege, fearing that the barbarians would come against him. Totila, meanwhile, was shewing great kindness to his prisoners, and thereby succeeded in winning their allegiance, and henceforth the most of them voluntarily served under him against the Romans. And the winter drew to its close, and the seventh year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 542 A.D.

VI

After this Totila took the fortresses of Caesena[1] and Petra. And a little later he entered Tuscany and made trial of the places there; but since no one was willing to yield to him, he crossed the Tiber, and, carefully refraining from entering the territory of Rome at all, he advanced immediately into Campania and Samnium and with no trouble won the strong city of Beneventum, the walls of which he razed to the ground, in order that any army coming from Byzantium might not be able, by using this strong base, to cause trouble for the Goths. After this he decided to besiege Naples,

[1] Modern Cesena.

κεῖν ἔγνω, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει, καίπερ ἐπαγωγὰ πολλὰ λέγοντα, ὡς ἥκιστα ἤθελον. Κόνων γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐφύλασσε, Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ
3 Ἰσαύρων χιλίους ἔχων. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ἡσύχαζε, πέμψας δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς μοῖραν, Κύμην τε τὸ φρούριον καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ὀχυρώματα εἷλε, χρήματά τε ἐνθένδε περι-
4 βαλέσθαι μεγάλα ἴσχυσε. καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα εὑρὼν οὔτε ὕβρισε[1] καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐλευθέρας ἀφῆκε, μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἐπί τε ξυνέσει καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔσχε.

Καὶ ἐπεί οἱ πολέμιον οὐδὲν ὑπηντίαζεν, ὀλίγους ἀεὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ περιπέμπων ἔργα λόγου πολλοῦ
5 ἄξια ἔπρασσε. Βριττίους μὲν καὶ Λευκανοὺς παρεστήσατο, καὶ Ἀπουλίαν ξὺν Καλαβρίᾳ ἔσχε, τούς τε δημοσίους φόρους αὐτὸς ἔπρασσε, καὶ τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ἀντὶ τῶν τὰ χωρία κεκτημένων ἐφέρετο, καὶ τἄλλα καθίστη ἅτε τῆς
6 Ἰταλίας γεγονὼς κύριος. διὸ δὴ τῇ Ῥωμαίων στρατιᾷ χρόνοις τοῖς καθήκουσιν οὐ κομιζομένῃ τὰς συνειθισμένας συντάξεις χρήματα μεγάλα
7 βασιλεὺς ὤφειλε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μὲν Ἰταλιῶται τῶν τε προσηκόντων ἐκπεπτωκότες καὶ ἐς κινδύνου μέγεθος αὖθις ἐληλακότες ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ ἐγίνοντο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον παρεῖχον, ἔν τε ταῖς

[1] ὕβρισε K: ὕβρισεν, ἀλλὰ L.

because the inhabitants, in spite of his many winning words, were quite unwilling to receive him into the city. For Conon was keeping guard there with a force of a thousand Romans and Isaurians. And Totila himself with the greater part of the army made camp not far from the fortifications and remained quiet, but he sent off a part of the army and captured the fortress of Cumae and certain other strongholds, from which he succeeded in gathering in great sums of money. And finding the wives of the senators there, he not only refrained from offering them any insult, but actually shewed such kindness as to let them go free, and by this act he won a great name for wisdom and humanity among all Romans.

And since no hostile force was operating against him, he was constantly sending small detachments of the army round about and accomplishing results of great importance. In this way he brought the Brutii and Lucani under his sway, and gained Apulia as well as Calabria. And he himself collected the public taxes and also received the revenues from the land instead of those who owned the estates, and in all other matters he conducted himself as having become master of Italy. In consequence of this the Roman soldiers naturally did not receive their customary payments at the times appointed, and the emperor owed them great sums of money. Because of this situation the Italians, on the one hand, having been evicted from their property and finding themselves for the second time in very grave peril, were beginning to feel greatly dejected, while the soldiers, on the other hand, were shewing themselves increasingly insubordinate to their commanders, and were

8 πόλεσιν ἄσμενοι ἔμενον. Κωνσταντιανὸς μὲν οὖν
Ῥάβενναν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ Ῥώμην, Σπολίτιον
δὲ Βέσσας, καὶ Ἰουστῖνος Φλωρεντίαν, Κυπριανὸς
δὲ Περυσίαν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστος ὅπη φυγών
τε καὶ διασωθεὶς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε.

9 Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς μαθών τε καὶ ἐν ξυμφορᾷ
πεποιημένος τῶν Ἰταλίας πραιτωρίων ἔπαρχον
Μαξιμῖνον ὡς τάχιστα κατεστήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς
τε ἄρχουσιν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιστάτης εἴη καὶ
τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ τὴν χρείαν
10 πορίζηται. καί οἱ νεῶν ξυνέπεμψε στόλον,
Θρᾳκῶν τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων στρατιωτῶν[1] ἐμπλησά-
μενος. ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν Θρᾳκῶν Ἡρωδιανός,
τῶν δὲ Ἀρμενίων Φάζας Ἴβηρ, Περανίου ἀδελφι-
δοῦς· ξυνέπλεον δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Οὖννοι ὀλίγοι.
11 Μαξιμῖνος μὲν οὖν ἄρας ἐκ Βυζαντίου παντὶ τῷ
στόλῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐς τὴν Ἤπειρον ἦλθεν·
ἔνθα δὴ τὸν καιρὸν κατατρίβων ἐκάθητο οὐδενὶ
12 λόγῳ. ἦν γὰρ πολεμίων ἔργων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρος
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δειλός τε καὶ μελλητὴς ἐς τὰ
μάλιστα.

13 Μετὰ δὲ καὶ Δημήτριον στρατηγὸν βασιλεὺς
ἔπεμψεν, ὃς δὴ τὰ πρότερα ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἐστρά-
14 τευε καταλόγου πεζικοῦ ἄρχων. καταπλεύσας
οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος ἐς Σικελίαν, ἐπεὶ Κόνωνά τε
καὶ Νεαπολίτας πικρότατα πολιορκεῖσθαι τῶν
ἐπιτηδείων παντάπασι σπανίζοντας ἤκουσε, βοη-

[1] στρατιωτῶν Comparetti: στρατὸν MSS., στρατοῦ Maltretus.

glad to remain inside the cities. So Constantianus was holding Ravenna, John Rome, Bessas Spolitium,[1] Justinus Florentia, and Cyprian Perusia;[2] and each one of the others was holding whatever town had originally provided him shelter and safety in his flight.

Upon hearing of these things, the emperor, in sore distress, made all haste to appoint Maximinus pretorian prefect[3] of Italy, commissioning him to exercise authority over the commanders for the purpose of carrying on the war, and to furnish the soldiers with provisions according to their needs. And he sent a fleet of ships with him, manning them with Thracian and Armenian soldiers. The leader of the Thracians was Herodian, and of the Armenians Phazas the Iberian, nephew of Peranius;[4] and a few Huns also sailed with them. So Maximinus sailed forth from Byzantium with the whole fleet and reached Epirus in Greece, where for no good reason he proceeded to settle down and waste precious time. For he was utterly inexperienced in warlike deeds, and was consequently both timid and exceedingly prone to delay.

Later on the emperor sent Demetrius also as general, a man who had previously served under Belisarius as commander of a detachment of infantry.[5] So Demetrius sailed to Sicily, and, upon learning that Conon and the inhabitants of Naples were exceedingly hard pressed by the siege, being altogether out of provisions, he wished indeed to go to their

[1] Modern Spoleto. [2] Modern Perugia.

[3] *Praefectus praetorio*, though the praetorians in Italy were no longer an imperial bodyguard.

[4] See Book I. xii. 11, etc. [5] See Book V. v. 3.

θεῖν μὲν κατὰ τάχος ἤθελεν, ἀδύνατος δὲ ὤν, ἐπεί οἱ στράτευμα βραχύ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόλογον εἵπετο, 15 ἐπενόει τοιάδε. ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας ἐκ Σικελίας ἁπάσης ἀγείρας σίτου τε αὐτὰς ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἔπλει, δόκησιν παρέχων τοῖς ἐναντίοις πάμπολύ τι στράτευμα ἐν ταῖς 16 ναυσὶν εἶναι. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐννοίας. μέγαν γὰρ σφίσιν ἐπιέναι στρατὸν ᾠοντο, τεκμαιρόμενοι ὅτι δὴ στόλου πολύ τι 17 χρῆμα πλεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπύθοντο. καὶ εἰ μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺ Νεαπόλεως ἰέναι[1] Δημήτριος ἤθελεν,[2] οἶμαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἐκπλῆξαί τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν διασώσασθαι, οὐδενός οἱ 18 ἀντιστατοῦντος. νῦν δὲ κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον καταίρειν μὲν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἥκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Ῥώμης καταπλεύσας λιμένα, στρατιώτας 19 ἐνθένδε ἀγείρειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. οἱ δὲ ἅτε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἠσσημένοι τε[3] καὶ μέγα δέος ἔτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, ἔπεσθαι Δημητρίῳ ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν τε καὶ Γότθους οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. διὸ δὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ ἤκουσιν ἐς Νεάπολιν ἰέναι ἠνάγκαστο.

20 Ἦν δέ τις Δημήτριος ἕτερος, Κεφαληνὸς γένος, ναύτης μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔργων τε καὶ κινδύνων ἀκριβῶς ἔμπειρος, πλεύσας δὲ ξὺν Βελισαρίῳ ἔς τε Λιβύην καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐγένετο ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν δόκιμος,[4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίτροπον βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Νεαπόλεως 21 κατεστήσατο. ἐπειδή τε οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ χωρίον πολιορκεῖν ἤρξαντο, ἀσελγείᾳ πολλῇ ἐχόμενος ἐς

[1] ἰέναι K : om. L.
[2] ἤθελεν K : ἦλθεν L.
[3] τε K : τε ἤδη L.
[4] δόκιμος K : εὐδόκιμος L.

assistance with all speed, but was unable to do so because the force which followed him was so small as to be of little consequence, and so devised the following plan. Gathering as many ships as possible from all Sicily and filling them with grain and other provisions, he set sail, making it appear to his opponents that some enormous army was aboard the ships. And he judged the mind of the enemy correctly; for they thought that a great army was coming upon them, reaching this conclusion just because they had learned that a huge fleet was sailing from Sicily. And if Demetrius had been willing at the very first to steer straight for Naples, I believe that he would have both struck terror into the enemy and saved the city, without a man opposing him. But as it was, he felt that the danger involved was too great, and so did not put in to Naples at all, but sailing to the harbour of Rome began hastily to gather soldiers from there. But the soldiers at Rome, having been defeated by the barbarians and still regarding them with great awe, were by no means willing to follow Demetrius against Totila and the Goths. Thus it came about that he was compelled to go to Naples with only the troops who had come with him from Byzantium.

Now there was another Demetrius, a Cephalenian by birth, who had previously been a sailor and was thoroughly skilled in all matters pertaining to the sea and its dangers, and having sailed with Belisarius to Libya and to Italy, he had become noted for this skill of his; and for this reason the emperor had appointed him governor of Naples. And when the barbarians began to besiege the town, he was so carried away by a spirit of utter wantonness that

τὸν Τουτίλαν συχνὰ ὕβριζε, λίαν τε ἀθυρόγλωσσος
ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὤφθη.
22 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας
τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπὶ μέγα χωρούσης γνώμῃ
Κόνωνος ἐς λέμβον τινὰ λάθρα ἐσβὰς[1] ἐτόλμησε
23 παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν Δημήτριον ἰέναι μόνος. ἐκ
δὲ τοῦ παραδόξου σωθείς τε καὶ ξυγγενόμενος τῷ
Δημητρίῳ ἐθάρσυνέ τε μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ταύτην δὴ
24 τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνῆγε. Τουτίλας δὲ τὸν πάντα λόγον
ἀμφὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀκούσας δρόμωνας μὲν
πολλοὺς ἄριστα πλέοντας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν,
ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατῆραν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν οἱ πολέμιοι
Νεαπόλεως οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, ἐλιὼν ἐκ τοῦ
ἀπροσδοκήτου κατέπληξέ τε καὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἅπαντας
25 ἔτρεψε. καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὺς μὲν ἔκτεινεν, ἐζώ-
γρησε δὲ πλείστους, διέφυγον δὲ ὅσοι ἐς τῶν νεῶν
τοὺς λέμβους ἐσπηδῆσαι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἴσχυσαν, ἐν
τοῖς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦν. τὰς γὰρ
ναῦς ἁπάσας σὺν αὐτοῖς φορτίοις, αὐτοῖς ἀν-
26 δράσιν, οἱ βάρβαροι εἷλον. οὗ δὴ καὶ Δημήτριον
τὸν Νεαπόλεως ἐπίτροπον εὗρον. γλῶσσάν τε
καὶ χεῖρας ἄμφω ἀποτεμόντες οὐκ ἔκτειναν μέν,
οὕτω δὲ λωβησάμενοι ὅπη βούλοιτο ἀφῆκαν
ἰέναι. ταύτην τε Τουτίλᾳ τὴν δίκην Δημήτριος
γλώσσης ἀκολάστου ἐξέτισεν.

VII

Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Μαξιμῖνος πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ
Σικελίᾳ προσέσχεν, ἔς τε τὰς Συρακούσας

[1] ἐσβὰς K: ἐμβὰς L.

he commenced to heap insults upon Totila, and continued often to do so, and the man was observed to have an exceedingly reckless tongue during this time of stress.

As the situation became worse and the loss of life among the besieged was becoming serious, this man, acting on the advice of Conon, had the daring to embark secretly on a skiff and go alone to the general Demetrius. And having, to everybody's surprise, made the voyage in safety and coming before Demetrius, he endeavoured with all his power to stir him to boldness, and urged him on to undertake the task before him. But Totila had heard the whole truth about this fleet and was holding many ships of the swiftest sort in readiness; and when the enemy put in at that part of the coast, not far from Naples, he came upon them unexpectedly, and filling them with consternation turned the whole force to flight. And although he killed many of them, he captured a very large number, and there escaped only as many as succeeded at the first in leaping into the small boats of the ships, among whom was Demetrius the general. For the barbarians captured all the ships with their cargoes, crews and all, among whom they found Demetrius, the governor of Naples. And cutting off his tongue and both his hands, they did not indeed kill him, but released him thus mutilated to go where he would. This then was the penalty which Demetrius paid to Totila for an unbridled tongue.

VII

Later on Maximinus also put in at Sicily with all his ships, and upon reaching Syracuse he remained

ἀφικόμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε, κατορρωδῶν τὰ πολέμια.
2 ἃ δὴ μαθόντες οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπον, βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος δεόμενοι οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Κόνων ἐκ Νεαπόλεως ἰσχυρότατα πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων πολιορκούμενος· ἤδη γὰρ ἅπαντα σφᾶς τὰ
3 ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει. ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ κατατρίψας τῇ ὀρρωδίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τάς τε βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς ἔδεισε καὶ κακιζόμενος πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεῖπεν, αὐτὸς μὲν[1] οὐδέν τι ἧσσον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, τὸν δὲ στρατὸν ἅπαντα ξύν τε Ἡρωδιανῷ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ Φάζᾳ ἐς Νεάπολιν ἔπεμψε, σφοδρότατα ἐγκειμένης ἤδη τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥρας.
4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Νεαπόλεως ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, κατέβαινε σκληρὸς ἄνεμος, ἐξαίσιόν τινα
5 χειμῶνα ἐγείρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ζόφος[2] ἅπαντα ἐνεδίδου,[3] ὁ δὲ κλύδων τὰς κώπας ἀνασπᾶν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐνεργεῖν τοὺς ναύτας οὐκ εἴα. διά τε τῶν ῥοθίων τὸν κτύπον ἔτι ἀλλήλων κατακούειν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξύγχυσίς τε λαμπρῶς ἐκράτει καὶ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπρυτάνευε βία, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθελουσίους[4] ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν οὗ δὴ
6 ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ πολέμιοι. ἐπιβαίνοντες οὖν κατ' ἐξουσίαν οἱ βάρβαροι τοῖς σκάφεσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔκτεινόν τε καὶ κατέδυον οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἐζώγρησαν δὲ ἄλλους τε πολ-
7 λοὺς καὶ Δημήτριον τὸν στρατηγόν. Ἡρωδιανὸς δὲ καὶ Φάζας ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν,

[1] μὲν L: μέντοι K. [2] ζόφος K: φάζας L.
[3] ἐνεδίδου MSS.: εἶλνεν Christ.
[4] ἐθελουσίους Krašeninnikov: ἰθελουσίως MSS.

quiet, being terrified at the perils of war. Now when the commanders of the Roman army learned of his coming, they all sent to him with great eagerness, begging him to come to the rescue with all speed; and Conon sent a particularly urgent message from Naples, where he was most vigorously besieged by the barbarians; for by this time all their provisions had been exhausted. But Maximinus, after delaying through the whole critical period in such a state of terror, was finally moved by his fear of the emperor's threats and gave way before the abuse of the other commanders; so, while he himself still remained just where he was, he sent the whole army to Naples with Herodian, Demetrius and Phazas, the winter season being already very close upon them.

But when the Roman fleet had reached a point close to Naples, a violent wind came down upon them, raising an extraordinarily severe tempest. And the darkness covered[1] everything, while the surging waters prevented the sailors from pulling their oars or handling the ships in any other way. And because of the roar of foaming waves they were no longer able to hear one another, but complete confusion prevailed and they were at the mercy of the wind's violence, which carried them, little as they wished it, to the very shore where the enemy were encamped. The barbarians, therefore, boarding the craft of their opponents at their leisure, began to kill the men and sink the ships without meeting any opposition. And they also captured along with many others the general Demetrius. But Herodian and Phazas with some few men succeeded in making

[1] The MSS. do not offer a readable text; the translation represents Christ's conjecture.

ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν αἱ νῆες οὐ λίαν που[1] ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου ἦλθον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

8 Τουτίλας δὲ καλῶδιον ἀναψάμενος ἐς τὸν Δημητρίου αὐχένα, ἔς τε τὸν Νεαπόλεως περίβολον εἶλκε[2] καὶ παραινεῖ τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐκέλευε μηκέτι ἀνονήτοις ἐλπίσι πιστεύοντας διαφθείρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ὅτι τάχιστα Γότθοις ἐνδιδόντας μεγάλων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν.

9 ἀδύνατον γὰρ βασιλέα[3] τὸ λοιπὸν ἄλλην σφίσιν ἐπικουρίαν πέμψαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς τήν τε δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα διολωλέναι. Δημήτριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ὅσα

10 Τουτίλας ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τῷ τε λιμῷ ἤδη καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀπορίᾳ ὑπερφυῶς πιεζόμενοι, ἐπεὶ τό τε πάθος Δημητρίου εἶδον καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἅπαντας ἤκουσαν, ἀπογνόντες ἐλπίδος ἀπάσης ἔς τε οἰμωγὰς καὶ ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτον, ἥν τε ἡ πόλις θορύβου πολλοῦ καὶ κωκυτοῦ ἔμπλεως.

11 Μετὰ δὲ καὶ Τουτίλας αὐτοὺς ξυγκαλέσας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ἢ μέμψιν ἐς ὑμᾶς ἔχοντες, ἄνδρες Νεαπολῖται, ταυτὶν ἐς πολιορκίαν τήνδε κατέστημεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐχθίστων ὑμᾶς ἀπαλλάξαντες δεσποτῶν οἷοί τε ὦμεν τάς τε[4] χάριτας ὑμῖν ἐκτινύναι,[5] ὧνπερ ἡμᾶς δεδρακότες ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ τὰ χαλεπώτατα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων πεπόνθατε.

12 μόνους γὰρ Ἰταλιωτῶν ὑμᾶς ἁπάντων εὔνοιάν τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐς Γότθων τὸ ἔθνος ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι

[1] αὐτῶν αἱ νῆες οὐ λίαν K : αὐτοὶ ἐς οὐλίαν που L.
[2] εἶλκε L : ἦλθε K.

their escape, because their ships did not come very close to the enemy's camp. Such was the fate of the Roman fleet.

And Totila fastened a cord about Demetrius' neck and so dragged him up to the wall of Naples, where he ordered him to advise the besieged no longer to ruin themselves by trusting in hopes of no avail, but to hand the city over as quickly as possible to the Goths and thus rid themselves of bitter hardships; for the emperor, he said, was unable thereafter to send them further aid, but in this fleet both their strength and their hope had utterly perished. So Demetrius spoke the words which Totila commanded. And the besieged, being now exceedingly hard pressed by famine and utter destitution, upon seeing the fate of Demetrius and hearing all his words, began to despair of every hope, and gave way to sorrowing and helplessness, and the city was filled with loud tumult and lamentation.

Afterwards Totila himself called them up to the battlement, and addressed them as follows: "Men of Naples, it is not because we have any charge or reproach to bring against you, that we have undertaken this present siege, but in order that we may be able, by freeing you from most hated masters, to repay you for the service you have rendered us during this war—a service which has induced the enemy to treat you with the utmost severity. For it has come about that you alone among all the Italians have manifested the greatest loyalty to the

[3] *βασιλέα* K : *βασιλεῖ* L.

[4] *τάς τε* MSS. : Dindorf would delete *τε*, *τάς γε* or *ταύτῃ* Krašeninnikov.

[5] *ὑμῖν ἐκτιννύναι* K : *ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ τιννύναι κατ' ἐξουσίαν* L.

καὶ ἀκουσίους μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐναντίοις
13 γεγενῆσθαι ξυμβέβηκεν. ὥστε καὶ νῦν πολιορκεῖν ὑμᾶς ξὺν ἐκείνοις ἠναγκασμένοι τὸ πιστὸν ὑμῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, αἰσχυνόμεθα, καίπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ πονηρῷ Νεαπολιτῶν τὴν προσεδρείαν
14 ποιούμενοι. μὴ τοίνυν ἀχθόμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας δεινοῖς Γότθους οἴεσθε δεῖν δι' ὀργῆς ἔχειν. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετεῖν ἐπειγόμενοι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν εἰσὶν ἄξιοι πρὸς αὐτῶν φέρεσθαι, κἂν μὴ διὰ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀναγκάζωνται τὴν
15 πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαπράσσεσθαι χάριν. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὡς ἥκιστα ὑμᾶς δέος εἰσίτω, μηδὲ τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν ἡγμένοι κρατήσειν αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν οἴεσθε· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ βίου παράλογα τύχῃ τινὶ παρὰ δόξαν ἐλθόντα τῷ χρόνῳ αὖθις καταρρεῖν
16 εἴωθεν. οὕτω δὲ ὑμῖν εὖνοι[1] καθέσταμεν[2] ὥστε καὶ Κόνωνα καὶ πάντας στρατιώτας κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὅπη βούλοιντο συγχωροῦμεν ἰέναι, ἤν γε τὴν πόλιν ἐνδόντες ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσοιντο,[3] πάντα τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἡμᾶς καὶ τῆς Νεαπολιτῶν σωτηρίας[4] ὁμεῖσθαι οὐδὲν κωλύσει."

17 Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν, ἐπῄνεσαν δὲ οἵ τε Νεαπολῖται καὶ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Κόνωνι στρατιῶται πάντες. πολλὴ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη τοῦ λιμοῦ
18 ἐπίεζε. πίστιν μέντοι ἐς βασιλέα φυλάσσοντες καὶ βοήθειάν τινα ἔτι παρέσεσθαι σφίσι καρα-

[1] εὖνοι K : om. L.
[2] καθέσταμεν K : κατέστημεν L.
[3] ἀπαλλάσσοιντο K : ἀπαλλάσσοιντο ὅτι τάχιστα L.
[4] τῆς—σωτηρίας Dindorf : τὴν—σωτηρίαν MSS.

Gothic nation and have fallen most unwillingly under the power of our opponents. So that, in the present circumstances, when we have been compelled to besiege you along with them, we naturally have a feeling of reluctance on account of your loyalty to us, although we are not carrying on the siege in order to harm the Neapolitans. Do not, therefore, in vexation at the miseries arising from the siege, think that you ought to regard the Goths with anger. For those who are striving to benefit their friends merit from them no blame, even though they be compelled to use unpleasant means in accomplishing the service they afford them. And as for the enemy, let not the least fear of them enter your hearts, and be not led by past events to think that they will gain the victory over us. For the unreasonable events of life,[1] which are due to chance and contrary to expectation, are apt as time goes on to come to naught again. And such is the good-will which we feel toward you that we make the concession that both Conon and all his soldiers may go free from harm wherever they may wish, on the one condition that they yield the city to us and depart hence, taking with them all their own possessions; and nothing shall prevent our taking an oath to secure these promises and to guarantee the safety of the Neapolitans."

Thus spoke Totila; and both the Neapolitans and all the soldiers under command of Conon expressed approval; for the keen necessity of famine was pressing them hard. However, by way of guarding their allegiance to the emperor, and still expecting, as they did, that some assistance would come to

[1] He means the Roman successes.

δοκοῦντες τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ὡμολόγουν ἐνδώσειν
19 τὴν πόλιν. Τουτίλας δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ
βασιλέως[1] ἀνασοβεῖν ἐλπίδα ἐθέλων τριῶν
μηνῶν ἔταξε χρόνον, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτον τὰ
ὡμολογημένα ποιήσωσι. πρότερον δὲ οὐ προσβο-
λήν τινα κατὰ τοῦ περιβόλου ποιήσεσθαι
ἰσχυρίζετο, οὐδὲ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτοὺς
20 χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐδέδοκτο. οἱ δὲ
πολιορκούμενοι οὐκ ἀναμείναντες τὴν κυρίαν
(λίαν γὰρ ἐβιάζοντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ)
ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον τῇ πόλει Τουτίλαν τε καὶ τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἐδέξαντο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ
ὄγδοον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν
Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

VIII

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Νεάπολιν Τουτίλας εἶλε, φιλαν-
θρωπίαν ἐς τοὺς ἡλωκότας ἐπεδείξατο οὔτε
2 πολεμίῳ οὔτε βαρβάρῳ ἀνδρὶ πρέπουσαν. τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαίους λιμῷ νενοσηκότας λαβών, οἷς
δὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς ὀπίσω
ἤδη ἐκεχωρήκει, δείσας μὴ βρώσεως ἐκ τοῦ
αἰφνιδίου ἐς κόρον ἐλθόντες, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
3 ἀποπνιγεῖεν, ἐπενόει τάδε. φυλακὰς ἔν τε τῷ
λιμένι καὶ ταῖς πύλαις καταστησάμενος ἐκέλευε
4 μηδένα πη ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. αὐτὸς δὲ ἅπασι μικρο-
λογίᾳ τινὶ προμηθεῖ ἐνδεεστέρως[2] ἢ κατὰ τὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν τὰ σιτία παρείχετο, προσεπιβάλλων
ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ τοσοῦτον τοῦ μέτρου ὅσον οὐ

[1] ἐκ βασιλέως K : om. L.

them, they agreed to give up the city after thirty days. But Totila, wishing to dispel from their minds every hope of assistance from the emperor, appointed three months' time, with the stipulation that after this time they should do as had been agreed. He declared, further, that until the time was accomplished he would make no assault on the wall, nor employ any stratagem of any kind. The agreement was accordingly approved in this sense. But the besieged, without awaiting the appointed day (for they were utterly overcome by the lack of necessities), a little later received Totila and the barbarians into the city. And the winter drew to its close, and the eighth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 543 A.D.

VIII

Now when Totila captured Naples, he made a display of kindness to his captives which was to be expected neither from an enemy nor from a barbarian. For finding sickness prevalent among the Romans owing to famine—and indeed their bodily strength had already been reduced by it—he feared lest, if they suddenly sated themselves with food, they would in all probability choke to death, and so he devised the following plan. Stationing guards both at the harbour and at the gates, he gave orders that no one should go away from the city. Then he himself, with a sort of provident parsimony, proceeded to issue food more sparingly than they desired it, adding each day only so much to the quantity

---

2 ἐνδεεστέρως K : ἐνδεέστερον L.

δοκεῖν αἴσθησίν τινα τῶν ἐντιθεμένων ἐς ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι. οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἕκαστον ὅπη βούλοιτο ἀφῆκεν ἰέναι.

6 Κόνωνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας, ὅσους δὴ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἥκιστα ἤρεσκεν, ἐς ναῦς ἐμβιβάσας πλεῖν κατ' ἐξουσίαν ἐκέλευε. καὶ οἱ μὲν αἰσχύνην σφίσι φέρειν οἰόμενοι τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀναχώρησιν, πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ 7 Ῥώμης[1] διενοοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος ἀπαίρειν ἐνθένδε οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες διηποροῦντο, δεδιότες μή τι Τουτίλαν τῶν ὁμολογημένων ὀλιγωρεῖν διὰ τὸ κεκρατηκέναι ξυμβαίη, καὶ κακόν τι μέγα πρὸς αὐτοῦ λάβωσιν. 8 ὅνπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ᾔσθετο, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας παρηγόρει τε[2] καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐπιρρώσας, θαρσεῖν μὲν ἤδη ἐκέλευε καὶ τῷ Γότθων στρατῷ φόβῳ οὐδενὶ ἀναμίγνυσθαι, τά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθένδε ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου δέοιντο, ἅτε παρὰ φίλων κομίζεσθαι. 9 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα ἔτι σφίσιν ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἐφέρετο καὶ χρόνος ἐτρίβη συχνός, ἵππους τε καὶ ὑποζύγια παρασχόμενος, ἐφοδίοις[3] τε αὐτοὺς[4] δωρησάμενος, ἐς Ῥώμην[5] ἐκέλευεν ὁδῷ ἰόντας πορεύεσθαι, πομπούς τινας τῶν ἐν Γότθοις δοκίμων σφίσι ξυμπέμψας.

10 Τὸ δὲ Νεαπόλεως τεῖχος καθελεῖν[6] ἐς ἔδαφος ἐνεχείρησεν,[7] ὅπως αὐτὴν μὴ καταλαβόντες αὖθις

[1] ῥώμης K : ῥώμην L.
[2] παρηγόρει τε K : παρηγορεῖν τε ἤρξατο L.
[3] ἐφοδίοις K : ἐφόδια L.
[4] αὐτοὺς Haury : αὐτοῖς MSS.

that the increase from day to day seemed not to be noticed at all. And only after having thus built up their strength did he open the gates and allow each man to go wherever he wished.

As for Conon and the soldiers under his command, as many as were by no means satisfied to remain there he embarked on ships and bade them sail wherever they chose. And thinking that the return to Byzantium would bring disgrace upon them, they were purposing to sail with all speed for Rome. But since the wind stood against them and they were consequently quite unable to put out from the harbour, they were in great perplexity, fearing lest Totila, seeing he had been victorious, should decide to disregard his agreement in some measure, and they should suffer some great harm at his hand. When Totila perceived this, he called them all together and reassured them and gave still further confirmation of the pledges he had given, bidding them take courage immediately, mingle with the Gothic army with no fear, and buy from them their provisions and procure whatever else they lacked as from friends. But later, since the wind was still blowing against them and much time had been wasted, he provided them with both horses and pack animals, presented them with travelling-money, and bade them make the journey to Rome by land, sending with them some of the Gothic notables as an escort.

And he set about razing the wall of Naples to the ground, so that the Romans might not take

---

5 ῥώμην K: ῥώμην αὐτίκα L.
6 καθελεῖν K: καθελὼν L.
7 ἐνεχείρησεν K: ἀνεχώρησεν L.

Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὁρμώμενοι πράγματα
11 Γότθοις παράσχωσιν. ἐν πεδίῳ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκ
τοῦ εὐθέος διακρίνεσθαι μάχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἤθελεν
ἢ τέχναις τισὶ καὶ σοφίσμασι διαμάχεσθαι.
μοῖραν μέντοι αὐτοῦ καθελὼν πολλὴν τὸ λοιπὸν
εἴασεν.

12 Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ῥωμαῖός τις αὐτῷ
προσελθών, Καλαβρὸς γένος, ἠτιᾶτο τῶν δορυ-
φόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ τινα τὴν παῖδα παρθένον οὖσαν
13 οὔτι ἑκουσίαν βιάσασθαι. καὶ ὃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον
οὐκ ἀπαρνηθέντα τὸ ἔγκλημα τίσασθαι τῆς
ἁμαρτάδος ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
14 καθεῖρξε. δείσαντες δὲ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τῶν βαρβάρων
οἱ δοκιμώτατοι (δραστήριος γάρ τις ἀνὴρ ἐτύγ-
χανεν ὢν καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια) ξυλλεγέντες
εὐθὺς καὶ Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἐδέοντο τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφεῖναι.

15 Ὁ δὲ πρᾴως τε καὶ ταραχῇ οὐδεμιᾷ τῶν
λεγομένων τὴν μάθησιν ποιησάμενος ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
"Οὐκ ἀπανθρωπίας ὑπερβολῇ εἴκων οὐδὲ ξυγ-
γενῶν ὑπερηδόμενος ξυμφοραῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι
μάλιστα δεδιὼς μή τι Γότθοις ξυμβήσεται
φλαῦρον, ἐς λόγους τούσδε, ὦ ξυστρατιῶται,
16 καθίσταμαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οἶδα, ὡς τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ὁ πολὺς ὅμιλος τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων
17 ὀνόματα μεταβάλλουσιν ἐπὶ [1] τοὐναντίον. φιλ-
ανθρωπίαν μὲν γὰρ καλεῖν τὴν παρανομίαν
εἰώθασιν, ἐξ ἧς διεφθάρθαι τε τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα
καὶ ξυντεταράχθαι ξυμβαίνει, σκαιὸν δὲ καὶ

[1] ἐπὶ K : ἐς πᾶν LV_1.

possession of it again and, by using it as a strong base, make trouble for the Goths. For he preferred to reach an outright decision by a battle with them on a plain rather than to carry on a long contest by means of sundry devices of craft and cunning. But after tearing down a large part of it he left the rest.

While Totila was thus engaged, a certain Roman came before him—a Calabrian by birth—and made the charge that one of Totila's bodyguards had violated his daughter, who was a maiden, utterly against her will. Whereupon, seeing that the man did not deny the charge, Totila made haste to punish him for the offence and confined him in prison. But the most notable men among the barbarians began to feel alarm for him (for he was, as it happened, an active fellow and a good warrior), and so they straightway gathered together and went before Totila with the request that he dismiss the charge against the man.

But he, gently and with no excitement, after hearing their statement, spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the reason for my speaking as I now do is not that I am yielding to a harsh inhumanity, or taking especial delight in the misfortunes of my kinsmen, but it is that I feel the greatest possible apprehension lest some mischance befall the Goths. Now I, for my part, know this, that the great majority of mankind twist and turn the names of things until they reverse their meaning. For, on the one hand, they are accustomed to call kindness that which is really lawlessness, the outcome of which is that everything respectable is brought to utter confusion; and, on the other hand, they call

ἀτεχνῶς δύσκολον, ὃς ἂν τὰ νόμιμα περιστέλλειν
ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς βούληται, ὅπως δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι
τούτοις παραπετάσμασιν ἐς τὴν ἀσέλγειαν
χρώμενοι ἀδεέστερον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τε ἱκανοὶ εἶεν
18 καὶ τὴν μοχθηρίαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. ὑμῖν δὲ παραινῶ
μὴ τῆς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίας ἁμαρτάδα ἑνὸς
ἀνδρὸς ἀνταλλάξασθαι, μηδὲ τοῦ μιάσματος
τοῦδε αὐτοὶ τὸ μέρος οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντες μεταλαχεῖν.
τό τε γὰρ ἐξαμαρτεῖν καὶ τὸ διακωλύειν τὴν ἐς
τοὺς ἐξημαρτηκότας τιμωρίαν, οἶμαι, ἐν ἴσῳ ἐστί.
19 βούλομαι τοίνυν οὑτωσὶ σκοπουμένους ὑμᾶς
ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων διάγνωσιν,
ὡς νῦν αἵρεσις ὑμῖν δυοῖν πρόκειται, ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα
τοῦτον ὧν ἠδίκηκε μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην, ἢ τὸ
Γότθων γένος[1] σεσῶσθαί τε καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου
20 κεκτῆσθαι κράτος. σκέψασθε γάρ· ἦν ἡμῖν κατ'
ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου στρατιωτῶν μὲν πλῆθος
δόξῃ τε καὶ τῇ ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους ἐμπειρίᾳ
λαμπρόν, χρήματα δὲ ξυνελόντα εἰπεῖν ἀριθμοῦ
κρείσσω, ἵππων δὲ καὶ ὅπλων περιουσίας
ὑπερβολή τις, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις
ὀχυρώματά ἐστιν.[2] καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ[3] οὐκ ἀχρεῖα
παντάπασιν εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐς πόλεμον καθι-
21 σταμένοις ἐφόδια. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπὸ Θευδάτῳ ταττό-
μενοι, ἀνδρὶ τὸ δίκαιον περὶ ἐλάσσονος τῆς ἐς τὸ
πλουτεῖν ἐπιθυμίας πεποιημένῳ, ἴλεων ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν παρανομίᾳ τῇ ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ὡς
ἥκιστα κατεστήσαμεν, ὅπη ποτὲ κεχώρηκεν
ἡμῖν ἡ τύχη ἐπίστασθε δή που, ὑφ' οἵων τε καὶ

[1] τὸ—γένος L: τῶ—γένει KV_1.
[2] ἐστιν K: ὄντα τυγχάνει L.
[3] καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ L: οὕτω καὶ ταῦτα K, εἴ τῳ καὶ ταῦτα V_1.

any man perverse and exceedingly difficult who wishes to preserve the lawful order with exactness—to the end, plainly, that by using these names as screens for their wanton deeds they may be able more fearlessly to do wrong and display their baseness. But I urge you not to sacrifice your own security for the sinful act of a single man, nor to assume any share yourselves in this foul sin, seeing that you have done no wrong. For the act of committing a sin and that of preventing the punishment of those who have committed sin are, in my judgment, on the same plane. I wish, accordingly, that you make your decision concerning the matter in hand taking this point of view—that two alternatives are now presented to your choice, either that this man should not pay the penalty for the wrong he has done or that the Gothic nation should be saved and achieve victory in the war. For I would have you consider this: we had, at the beginning of this war, a vast army unsurpassed both in renown and in actual experience of war; our wealth, to put all in a word, was too great to be reckoned; we possessed an extraordinary abundance of both horses and weapons; and, lastly, we held all the fortresses that there are in Italy. And truly these things are regarded as not entirely useless equipment when men are entering into a war. But while we were arrayed under Theodatus, a man who made less of justice than of his desire to become wealthy, the lawlessness of our daily conduct caused God to be in no wise propitious to us, and to what our fortune has come as a result of this you are, of course, well aware, as you know what kind of men and how few of them

22 ὁπόσων ἠσσημένοις ἀνδρῶν. νῦν δὲ τὴν δίκην παρ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς ὧν ἐξημάρτομεν ἱκανῶς ἔχων αὖθις ἡμῖν κατὰ τὸ βούλημα ῥυθμίζει τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν ἄμεινον ἡμῖν ἢ κατ' ἐλπίδα[1] τὰ πράγματα ἄγει, οἷς γε ὑπὲρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν νενικηκέναι τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε.
23 περιστέλλειν οὖν τὴν τῆς νίκης πρόφασιν τῷ τὰ δίκαια πράσσειν ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῇ ἰόντας φθονεροὺς ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς
24 γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἑκάστου ἡ τοῦ
25 πολέμου πρυτανεύεται τύχη." Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἐπαινέσαντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα οἱ Γότθων λόγιμοι τὸν δορυφόρον οὐκέτι ἐξητοῦντο, ἀλλ' εἴων ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ πράσσειν δοκοίη. καὶ ὃς τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν διεχρήσατο, τὰ δὲ χρήματα, ὅσα δὴ αὐτοῦ[2] ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα, τῇ βιασθείσῃ παρέσχετο.[3]

IX

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἔπρασσεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες ξὺν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὰ τῶν κατηκόων χρήματα ἥρπαζον, καὶ ὕβρεώς τε καὶ ἀσελγείας οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὑπελίποντο,[4] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασιν ἔχοντες ἐρωμένας[5] ἐκώμαζον, οἱ δὲ

[1] ἐλπίδα K : ἐλπίδας LV_1.
[2] αὐτοῦ K : αὐτῷ LV_1.
[3] παρέσχετο K : παρείχετο L.
[4] ὑπελίποντο K : ὑπελείποντο L.

have defeated us. But now that God has inflicted upon us sufficient punishment for the sins we committed, he is once more ordering our lives in accordance with our desire, and, to speak comprehensively, he is guiding our affairs in a better way than we could have hoped for, inasmuch as we have had the fortune to be victorious over our enemies beyond the measure of our actual strength. To preserve, therefore, the justification of our victory by acting righteously will be more to our interest than, by reversing our course, to let it seem that we have become envious of our own selves. For it is not possible, no, not possible, for a man who commits injustice and does deeds of violence to win glory in battle, but the fortune of war is decreed according to the life of the individual man." Thus then spoke Totila. And the notables of the Goths, approving his words, no longer begged for the bodyguard's release, but consented that he be treated in whatever manner Totila might deem best. And he executed the man not long afterwards, and gave to the injured girl all the money that belonged to him.

IX

While Totila was thus engaged, meantime the commanders of the Roman army, as well as the soldiers, were plundering the possessions of their subjects,[1] and they did not shrink from any act of insolence and licentiousness whatsoever, but the commanders, for their part, were revelling with mistresses inside the fortresses, while the soldiers,

[1] The civil population of Italy.

[5] ἐρωμένας K : ἐρρωμένως L.

στρατιῶται ἀπειθεστέρους αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρεχόμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἀτοπίας ἐνέπιπτον. 2 τοῖς τε Ἰταλιώταις περιῆν ἅπασι πίσχειν τὰ χαλεπώτατα πρὸς ἑκατέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων. 3 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγροὺς ἐστέρηντο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἔπιπλα πάντα. καὶ προσῆν αὐτοῖς αἰκίζεσθαί τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ διαφθείρεσθαι, τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ 4 ἀπορίᾳ πιεζομένοις. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ἀμύνειν σφίσι κακουμένοις πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅσον ἐρυθριᾶν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ποθεινοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι οἷς ἐξημάρτανον ἀπειργά- 5 ζοντο. οἷς δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς ἀπορούμενος γράμματα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, ἄντικρυς ἀποφαίνων ὅτι δὴ Γότθων τῷ πολέμῳ 6 ἀντέχειν ἀδύνατος εἴη. οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες, ὥσπερ τὴν γνώμην ἐπιψηφίζοντες,[1] ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ γραμματείῳ τὴν ὁμολογίαν ἐσήμαινον τῆς ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν ὀκνήσεως. Ἰταλιώταις μὲν τὰ πράγματα ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

Τουτίλας δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῇ βουλῇ ἐπιστολὴν 7 ἔπεμψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Ὅσοι μὲν ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς πέλας ἢ προλαβούσης ἀγνοίας ἴσως[2] ἢ λήθης ἐπιγενομένης τινός, τούτοις ἄξιον τοὺς τὰ δεινὰ πεπονθότας συγγνώμονας εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἁμαρτάδος ξυμπεσὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς παραιτεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον. 8 ἢν δέ τις ἐκ προνοίας ἀδικῇ μόνης, τούτῳ δὲ μηδὲ ἀντιλέγειν ποτὲ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων

[1] ἐπιψηφίζοντες K: ἐπιφημίζοντες L.
[2] ἴσως K: om. L.

shewing themselves more and more insubordinate to their commanders, were falling into every form of lawlessness. As for the Italians, the result of the situation for them was that they all suffered most severely at the hands of both armies. For while, on the one hand, they were deprived of their lands by the enemy, the emperor's army, on the other hand, took all their household goods. And they were forced besides to suffer cruel torture and death for no good cause, being hard pressed as they were by the scarcity of food. For the soldiers, though utterly unable to defend them when maltreated by the enemy, not only refused to feel the least blush of shame at existing conditions, but actually made the people long for the barbarians by reason of the wrongs they committed. And Constantianus, being at a loss because of this situation, sent a letter to the Emperor Justinian, setting forth plainly that he was unable to hold out in the war against the Goths. And the other commanders, as if giving their vote in support of this view, indicated in this same letter their reluctance to carry on the struggle. Such then were the fortunes of the Italians.

Meantime Totila sent a letter to the Roman senate written in the following terms. "Such men as wrong their neighbours, being either the victims of ignorance or blinded by some forgetfulness that has come upon them, may fairly be forgiven by the victims of their ill-treatment. For their ignorance or forgetfulness, which led to their wrongdoing, also excuses it for the most part. If, however, any man does wrong as a result of deliberate intent solely, such a man will have nothing left with which even

λελείψεται. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γνώμης αὐτὸς φέρεσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη. οὐκοῦν, ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, λογίζεσθε ἤδη τί ποτε ἄρα ὑμῖν ἀπολελογῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἐς Γότθους εἰργασμένα ξυμβήσεται· πότερα ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν τὰς Θευδερίχου τε καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθης εὐεργεσίας τετύχηκεν, ἢ χρόνῳ τε αὐτὰς καὶ λήθῃ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξιτήλους εἶναι; καίτοι οὐκ ἔστι τούτων οὐδέτερον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ φαύλοις τισὶν οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους[1] τὰς χάριτας αὐτούς, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι ξυνέβη, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἔς γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς[2] ἔναγχός τε καὶ ἐξ ὑπογυίου, ὦ φίλοι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀλλὰ τὴν Γραικῶν ἐς τὸ ὑπήκοον ἀρετὴν ἢ ἀκοῇ λαβόντες ἢ πείρᾳ μαθόντες οὕτω δὴ προήσεσθαι αὐτοῖς[3] τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν πράγματα ἔγνωτε; καίτοι ἐξεναγεῖσθε[4] μὲν ὑμεῖς αὐτούς, οἶμαι, ἄριστα,[5] ὁποίων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐτύχετε ξένων καὶ φίλων ἐπίστασθε δή που, εἴ τι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μέμνησθε λογισμῶν. ἐὼ γὰρ λέγειν τούς τε στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντας, ὧν τῆς τε φιλοφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ἀπώνασθε· ὧν δὴ αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα ἐς τοῦτο τύχης τὰ πράγματα ἥκει. ὑμῶν δὲ οἰέσθω μηδεὶς μήτε ὑπὸ νέου φιλοτιμίας τὰ ὀνείδη ταῦτα ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι μήτε με ἅτε βαρβάρων ἄρχοντα κομπωδεστέρους

[1] τοὺς ὑμετέρους K: τὰ ἐν μετρίοις L, τοὺς ὑμετέρους προγόνους or πατέρας Christ.

[2] ἔς γε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς K: ἔν γε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς L.

[3] οὕτω—αὐτοῖς Haury: οὕτω δὴ προιόντες, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς K, εἴσεσθε. καὶ αὐτοὶ γὰρ L.

[4] ἐξεναγεῖσθε Maltretus: ἐξαναγεῖσθαι K, ξεναγεῖτε L.

to defend his conduct. For it is not the deed alone, but also the intention, for which this man himself must, in justice, bear the responsibility. Therefore, since this is so, consider forthwith what defence you will possibly be able to make for your actions toward the Goths. Has it really come to pass that you are ignorant of the good deeds of Theoderic and Amalasuntha, or have they been blotted from your minds with the lapse of time and forgetfulness? No, indeed; neither one of these is true. For it was not in some small matter, nor toward your ancestors in olden times that their kindness was displayed, but it was in matter of vital importance, dear Romans, towards your very selves, recently and in days that are close at hand. But was it because you had been informed by hearsay or learned by experience the righteousness of the Greeks toward their subjects that you decided to abandon to them as you did the cause of the Goths and Italians? At any rate, you, for your part, have, I think, entertained them royally, but you know full well what sort of guests and friends you have found them, if you have any recollection of the public accounts of Alexander.[1] For I need make no mention of the soldiers and the commanders by whose friendliness and magnanimity you have profited; and it is precisely this conduct of these men which has brought their fortunes to such a pass. Now let no one of you think that I am moved by youthful ambition to bring these reproaches against them nor that I am inclined to boastful

[1] See chap. i. 32.

[5] ὑμεῖς—ἄριστα L: ὑμῖν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἄριστα οἶμαι K.
[6] κομπωδεστέρους Haury: κομποδεστέρους K, κομποδέστερον L.

16 ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. οὐ γὰρ ἡμετέρας ἀρετῆς
ἔργον εἶναί φημι τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπικράτησιν,
ἀλλὰ τίσιν τινὰ[1] ἰσχυρίζομαι τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς
17 ἀδικίας αὐτοὺς μετελθεῖν. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν
τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων δόξειεν εἶναι τὸν μὲν θεὸν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν αὐτοὺς τίννυσθαι, ὑμᾶς δὲ τῇ τούτων ἐμφι-
λοχωρεῖν ἀτοπίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἐθέλειν
ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν; δότε τοίνυν τινὰ πρόφασιν
ὑμῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Γότθους ἀπολογίας,
18 ἡμῖν δὲ τῆς ἐς ὑμᾶς συγγνώμης. δώσετε δέ, ἤν
γε μὴ ἀναμενοῦντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ἀλλ'
ἔτι βραχείας τινὸς καὶ ταύτης ἀνονήτου ὑμῖν
ἀπολελειμμένης ἐλπίδος ἕλησθε[2] μὲν τὰ κρείσσω,
ἐπανορθώσητε δὲ τὰ ἐς ἡμᾶς οὐ δέον ὑμῖν
πεπραγμένα."

19 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. ἐγχειρίσας δὲ
αὐτὴν τῶν τισιν[3] αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ
Ῥώμης ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας[4] τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς διδόναι.
20 καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. Ἰωάννης δὲ
τοὺς τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο ἰδόντας ἀποκρίνασθαί τι
πρὸς Τουτίλαν διεκώλυσε. διὸ δὴ αὖθις ὁ
Τουτίλας γράψας γραμμάτια πολλά, ὅρκους τε
αὐτοῖς τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐνθέμενος διαρρήδην ἀπώ-
μοσε μήποτε Ῥωμαίων τινὰ κακόν τι ἐργάσασθαι
21 Γότθους. οἵτινες μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπων ἐς Ῥώμην
τὰ βιβλίδια ταῦτα ἐκόμισαν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.
ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐν τοῖς διαφανέσι
τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις παγέντα, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα,
ἐγνώσθη· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες

[1] τίσιν τινὰ Comparetti: τισι τινὰ K, τὰς ποινὰς L.
[2] ἕλησθε Dindorf: ἑλοῖσθε K, ἕλοισθε L.
[3] τισιν L: τινι K. [4] ἰόντας L: ἰόντι (superscr. α) K.

speech merely because I am a ruler of barbarians. For the overmastery of those men, I say, has not been a work of our valour, but I confidently maintain that a sort of vengeance has overtaken them for the wrongs you have suffered at their hands. How then could it fail to appear a most atrocious act on your part, that you, while God is exacting vengeance from them in your behalf, should cling fondly to that atrocity of theirs and be unwilling to be rid of the ills arising therefrom? Give yourselves, therefore, some ground for the defence you must make to the Goths, and give us, on the other hand, some ground for forgiveness toward you. And you will give this if, without proposing to await the conclusion of the war, now that there is only scant hope left you, and that too of no avail, you choose the better course and set right the wrongs which you have committed against us."

Such then was the message which the writing set forth; and now Totila, placing it in the hands of some of the captives, commanded them to go to Rome and give it to the senators. And they did this. But John prevented those who saw this letter from making any reply to Totila. For this reason Totila made a second attempt, writing a large number of short letters, in which he gave expression to the most solemn oaths, swearing in explicit terms that never would the Goths do any harm to anyone of the Romans. Now as to what persons conveyed these writings to Rome, I cannot speak; for all of them were posted late at night in the conspicuous places in the city, and only when it came day were they discovered; but the commanders of the Roman

ὑποψίᾳ πολλῇ ἐς τῶν Ἀρειανῶν τοὺς ἱερέας ἐχόμενοι ἔξω τῆς πόλεως κατεστήσαντο[1] εὐθὺς ἅπαντας.

22 Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας μοῖραν μέν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας ἐς Καλαβρίαν ἀποπειράσασθαι τοῦ ἐν Δρυοῦντι φρουρίου ἐπέστελλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς ἥκιστά οἱ προσχωρεῖν ἤθελον οἱ φυλακτήριον ταύτῃ ἔχοντες, τοὺς μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐσταλμένους ἐκέλευεν ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ
23 Ῥώμης χωρία ᾔει. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Βασιλεὺς ἔμαθεν, ἔς τε ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπέπτωκε[2] καὶ Βελισάριον ἐπὶ Τουτίλαν πέμψαι, καίπερ ἔτι Περσῶν ἰσχυρότατα ἐγκειμένων, ἠνάγκαστο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἔνατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

X

Οὕτω μὲν Βελισάριος τὸ δεύτερον ἐς Ἰταλίαν ᾔει. ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατιώτας ὡς μάλιστα ὀλίγους εἶχε (τοὺς γάρ οἱ ἑπομένους τοῦ ἐν Μήδοις[3] στρατοπέδου ἀποστῆσαι[4] οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε) Θράκην ὅλην περιιὼν χρήματά τε προϊέμενος, ξυνῆγε νέους
2 ἐθελουσίους. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ Βασιλέως γνώμῃ καὶ Βιτάλιος ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν στρατηγός, ἄρτι ἐπανήκων ἐξ Ἰταλίας, οὗ δὴ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς
3 στρατιώτας ἀπολιπὼν ἔτυχεν. ἄμφω γοῦν ἐς τετρακισχιλίους ἀγείραντες ἐν Σάλωσιν ἐγένοντο,

[1] κατεστήσαντο MSS. : μετεστήσαντο Herwerden.
[2] ἐμπέπτωκε K : ἐκπέπτωκεν L.
[3] ἐν Μήδοις K : ἐς μήδιαν L.
[4] ἀποστῆσαι Haury : ἀποστῆναι MSS.

army entertained grave suspicions against the priests of the Arians, and consequently removed these all from the city immediately.

Totila, upon hearing this, sent a certain portion of his army into Calabria, bidding them make trial of the fortress at Dryus.[1] But since the troops keeping guard in this fortress absolutely refused to yield to him, he commanded the force which had been sent there to institute a siege, while he, with the greater part of the army, went to the vicinity of Rome. When the emperor heard this, he was greatly embarrassed, and, in spite of the fact that the Persians were still pressing him very hard, was compelled to send Belisarius against Totila. And the winter drew to a close, and the ninth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 544 A.D.

X

Thus Belisarius, for the second time, went to Italy. But since he had an exceedingly small number of soldiers—for it was quite impossible for him to detach his own troops from the army in Persia—he proceeded to travel about the whole of Thrace, and, by offering money, to gather fresh volunteers. And by the emperor's command he was accompanied by Vitalius, the General of Illyricum, who had recently returned from Italy, where he had left the Illyrian soldiers. So together they collected about four thousand men and went to Salones[2] with the in-

[1] Hydruntum; modern Otranto.
[2] Or Salona, near modern Spalato.

γνώμην ἔχοντες ἐπὶ Ῥαβέννης τὰ πρῶτα ἰέναι, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον ἐνθένδε ὅπη ἂν δυνατὸν[1] εἴη
4 διενεγκεῖν. τὸ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥώμης χωρία ἀποβαίνειν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυον, οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους λανθάνοντες (ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἔν τε Καλαβροῖς στρατοπεδεύεσθαι καὶ Καμπανοῖς ἤκουσαν) οὔτε αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ ὁτῳοῦν βιαζόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς[2] ἦσαν.
5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν Δρυοῦντι πολιορκούμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφᾶς παντάπασιν ἐκλελοιπότων βαρβάροις τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐς λόγους ξυνῆλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ φρούριον ὁμολογίᾳ ἐνδώσουσι, τακτή τε
6 ἀμφοτέροις ἐν τούτῳ ἡμέρα ξυνέκειτο. Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ μῆκος πλοίοις[3] ἐνθέμενος Βαλεντῖνον ξὺν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν εἰς Δρυοῦντα ἐκέλευε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προτέρους φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου ἐνθένδε ὑπεξαγαγεῖν ὅτι τάχιστα, οὓς δὴ νόσῳ τε ξυντετηκέναι καὶ λιμῷ ἔμαθε, τῶν δὲ[4] ξυμπλεόντων τινὰς ἐπὶ τῷ φυλακτηρίῳ ἀντ' αὐτῶν καταστήσασθαι· ῥᾷον γὰρ οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀκμῆτάς τε ὄντας καὶ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζοντας τὸ φρούριον ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διαφυλάξειν.
7 Βαλεντῖνος μὲν οὖν τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσε τέτρασι πρότερον τῆς κυρίας ἡμέραις, ἀφύλακτόν τε τὸν λιμένα εὑρὼν αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ πόνῳ
8 οὐδενὶ ἐς τὸ φρούριον εἰσελθεῖν ἴσχυσε. τοῖς γὰρ ὡμολογημένοις οἱ Γότθοι θαρσοῦντες οὐδέν τε μεταξὺ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζοντες σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι,

[1] ἂν δυνατὸν Haury: ἂν δυνατὸς K, δυνατὸν L.
[2] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Haury: ἐπ' αὐτοῖς K, αὐτοῖς L.
[3] μῆκος πλοίοις Haury: μῆκος MSS.

tention of going to Ravenna first of all and conducting the war from there in whatever manner might be possible. For they could in no wise effect a landing near Rome, either by keeping their movements secret from the enemy (since, as they had heard, the Goths were encamped both in Calabria and in Campania), nor by overpowering the enemy in any manner whatsoever; for they were going against them without sufficient strength to meet them on even terms.

In the meantime the Romans besieged in Dryus, seeing that their provisions had been absolutely exhausted, made an agreement with the besieging barbarians, stipulating that they would hand over the place by surrender, and a definite day was meanwhile agreed upon by both. But Belisarius loaded ships with provisions for a year's time and commanded Valentinus to sail with them to Dryus, and to remove the former garrison from the fortress as quickly as possible—for he learned that they had been much weakened by disease and famine—and to establish as a garrison in place of them some of the men sailing with him; for by this arrangement it would be comparatively easy for them, being fresh and not in want of any necessaries, to guard the fortress in security. So Valentinus, chancing to find a favourable wind, sailed with this fleet to Dryus, and arrived four days before the time appointed for the surrender; and finding the harbour unguarded, he took possession of it, and succeeded without trouble in entering the fortress. For the Goths, being confident in the agreement they had made, and supposing that they would encounter no obstacle in

[4] δὲ Hoeschel: τε MSS.

ὀλιγώρως ἤδη τὰ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα[1] διαθέμενοι
9 ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. τότε μέντοι καταπλέοντα ἐκ τοῦ
αἰφνιδίου τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες ἔδεισάν τε καὶ τὴν
προσεδρείαν διέλυσαν, μακράν τε ἄποθεν τοῦ
χωρίου γενόμενοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο καὶ πάντα
ἐς Τουτίλαν τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν.
παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Δρυοῦντος τὸ φρούριον κινδύ-
10 νου ἦλθε. τῶν δὲ ξὺν Βαλεντίνῳ τινὲς λῃΐσασθαι
βουλόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ἐπεκδρομὰς ἐποιή-
σαντο, τοῖς τε πολεμίοις τύχῃ τινὶ ὑπαντιάσαντες
πρὸς τῇ[2] τῆς θαλάσσης ἠϊόνι[3] ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον.
11 καὶ παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐς τὸ τῆς
θαλάσσης ὕδωρ οἱ πολλοὶ ἔφυγον, ἵνα δὴ
ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀποβαλόντες ἐς τὸ
φρούριον οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνεχώρησαν.

12 Βαλεντῖνος δὲ τοὺς μὲν πάλαι φρουροὺς ἐνθένδε
ἡμιθνῆτας εὑρὼν ὑπεξήγαγεν, ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντικα-
ταστησάμενος ἀκραιφνεῖς, καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε
Βελισάριος, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς χρόνον αὐτοῖς
ἀπολιπὼν ἐνιαύσιον, ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς
Σάλωνας ἦλθε.

13 Καὶ Βελισάριος παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθένδε ἄρας
Πόλῃ[4] προσέσχεν. οὗ δὴ τὸ στράτευμα διέπων
14 χρόνου τινὰ ἔμενε. Τουτίλας δὲ ἥκειν αὐτὸν
ἐνταῦθα ἀκούσας, τήν τε δύναμιν ἐθέλων γνῶναι
ἥντινα ἐπήγετο, ἐποίει τάδε. Βόνος ἦν τις Ἰωάννου
15 ἀνεψιὸς φρουρᾶς ἄρχων τῆς ἐν Γενούᾳ. τούτου
δὲ[5] τῷ ὀνόματι[6] χρησάμενος γράμματα δῆθεν τῷ
λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βελισάριον ἔγραψεν ἅτε

[1] τὸν δρυοῦντα K: τὴν πολιορκίαν L.
[2] τῇ Haury: τῷ K, τὴν L.
[3] ἠϊόνι K: ᾐόνα L. [4] Πόλῃ Maltretus: πύλῃ MSS.

the interval, were now giving little heed to their operations against Dryus and were remaining quiet. Then, however, upon seeing the fleet suddenly bearing down upon them, they took fright and abandoned the siege, and going to a great distance from the place, they made camp and reported to Totila all that had befallen them. So close was the peril from which the fortress of Dryus escaped. But some of Valentinus' men, wishing to plunder the adjoining country, began to make excursions; and by some chance they encountered the enemy near the shore of the sea, and engaged with them. And being badly defeated in the battle, the most of them fled into the sea-water; in this way they lost one hundred and seventy men, and the rest withdrew to the fortress.

Valentinus, upon finding the previous garrison half dead, removed them from the fortress, and substituted other fresh men, just as Belisarius had instructed him to do, and leaving them supplies for a year's time, returned with the rest of the army to Salones.

Then Belisarius, setting sail from there with the whole fleet, put in at Pola, where he remained for a short time, putting the army in order. But Totila, hearing that Belisarius had reached Pola, and wishing to discover the strength of the army which he was bringing, took the following measures. There was a certain Bonus, nephew of John, commanding the garrison in Genoa. He accordingly made use of this man's name and wrote a letter to Belisarius purporting to be from this Bonus, and urging him

[5] τούτου δὲ Haury : τούτου δὴ K, τούτῳ δὲ L.
[6] τῷ ὀνόματι Hoeschel : om. MSS.

παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα παραγενέσθαι
16 σφίσιν ἐν κινδύνοις τισὶ χαλεποῖς οὖσιν. ἄνδρας
τε ἀπολεξάμενος περιέργους ἐς τὰ μάλιστα πέντε
τά τε γράμματα ἐνεχείρισε καὶ δύναμιν ἀκριβῶς
κατανοεῖν τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπέστελλεν, ἐνδεικνυ-
17 μένους ὅτι δὴ ἀπὸ Βόνου σταλεῖεν. Βελισάριος
μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντας ξὺν
18 φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, εἶδεν. ἀνα-
λεξάμενός τε τὰ γράμματα Βόνῳ ἀπαγγέλλειν
ἐκέλευεν ὅτι δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
ἥξει. οἱ δὲ περισκοπήσαντες ἅπαντα, καθάπερ
σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε Τουτίλας, ἔς τε τὸ Γότθων
στρατόπεδον ἐπανῆκον [1] καὶ ὡς [2] ἥκιστα λόγου
ἀξίαν τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἰσχυρίζοντο [3]
εἶναι.
19 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Τίβουριν πόλιν, Ἰσαύ-
ρων φρουρὰν ἔχουσαν, προδοσίᾳ εἷλε τρόπῳ
τοιῷδε. τῶν τινες οἰκητόρων τὰς πύλας ξὺν τοῖς
20 Ἰσαύροις ἐφύλασσον. οὗτοι Ἰσαύροις τοῖς ξυμφυ-
λάσσουσι διάφοροι γεγενημένοι ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς πρὸς
αὐτῶν γινομένης [4] αἰτίας ἄγχιστά που ἐνστρατο-
πεδευομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπηγάγοντο νύκτωρ.
21 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴσαυροι ξυμφρονήσαντες ἁλισκομένης
τῆς πόλεως σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν.
22 τῶν δὲ οἰκητόρων οὐδενὸς οἱ Γότθοι ἐφείσαντο,
ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεῖ ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν
τρόπῳ δὴ ὅπερ ἐξεπιστάμενος ἔγωγε ὡς ἥκιστα
ἐπιμνήσομαι, ὡς μὴ ἀπανθρωπίας ἀπολείπω μνη-
μεῖα τῷ ὄπισθεν χρόνῳ· ἐν οἷς καὶ Κάτελλος ἀπω-

[1] ἐπανῆκον L: ἐπανήκων K.
[2] καὶ ὡς L: om. K.
[3] ἰσχυρίζοντο L: ἰσχυρίζετο K.
[4] αὐτῶν γινομένης K: αὐτοὺς διακεκριμένοι L.

to come with all possible speed to their assistance, as they were in some extreme peril. Then he chose out five men of an especially inquisitive nature, put the letter into their hands, and instructed them to observe accurately the force of Belisarius, while palming themselves off as having been sent from Bonus. So when the men came before Belisarius, he received them with great friendliness, as was his custom. And after reading the letter, he bade them report back to Bonus that he would come with the whole army after no long time. Then, after they had looked over everything exactly as Totila had directed them to do, they returned to the Gothic camp and declared that the force of Belisarius was by no means considerable.

Meanwhile Totila captured the city of Tibur, which contained a guard of Isaurians, through an act of treason; this happened in the following manner. Some of the inhabitants of the place were guarding the gates together with the Isaurians. These men, having quarrelled with the Isaurians who kept guard with them, although the Isaurians had given no cause for offence, now invited the enemy, who were encamped close by, to come in by night. But the Isaurians, on their part, adopted a common plan while the city was being captured, and practically all of them succeeded in making their escape. Among the inhabitants, however, not a man was spared by the Goths, but they were all killed, together with the priest of the city, in a manner which I shall by no means mention, although I know it well, in order that I may not leave records of inhuman cruelty to future times. Among these victims Catellus also perished, a man of note among

23 λετο ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἀνὴρ δόκιμος. καὶ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Τίβουριν ἔσχον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οὐκέτι ἠδύναντο ἐκ Τούσκων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διὰ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐσκομίζεσθαι. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ ποταμῷ ἡ πόλις κειμένη Ῥώμης ὑπερθεν ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἐνταῦθα εἰσπλεῖν βουλομένοις ἐγίνετο.

XI

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Τιβούρει οὕτω γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε. Βελισάριος δὲ παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀφικόμενος Γότθους τε τοὺς παρόντας καὶ Ῥωμαίων[1] στρατιώτας ξυναγαγὼν ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Οὐ νῦν πρῶτον,[2] ὦ ἄνδρες, τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔργα
2 πρὸς τῆς κακίας διερρυηκέναι ξυμβέβηκεν. ἄνωθεν γὰρ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἐμπέφυκεν ἀτεχνῶς πράγμασι, πολλάς τε ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πράξεις μοχθηρία τῶν πονηροτάτων ἀναχαιτίζειν τε καὶ διαφθείρειν ἱκανῶς ἴσχυσεν. ὅπερ καὶ νῦν τὰ
3 βασιλέως πράγματα ἔσφηλεν. ᾧ[3] δὴ τοσοῦτον τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν μέλει,[4] ὥστε τὴν Περσῶν ἐπικράτησιν περὶ ἐλάσσονος τούτων ποιούμενος ἀποστεῖλαί με τανῦν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἔγνωκεν, ὅπως ἐπανορθώσω καὶ ἰάσωμαι εἴ τι τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἢ εἰς
4 Γότθους εἴργασται. τὸ μὲν οὖν μηδὲν ὑφ' ὁτουοῦν[5] ἁμαρτάνεσθαι[6] οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον καὶ τῆς τῶν

[1] ῥωμαίων K: ῥωμαίους L. [2] πρῶτον K: πρώτως L.
[3] ᾧ K: ὃς L.
[4] μέλει Haury: μέλλει K, βούλεται L.
[5] μηδὲν ὑφ' ὁτουοῦν K: μηδ' ὁπωσοῦν L.
[6] ἁμαρτάνεσθαι K: ἁμαρτάνειν L.

the Italians. So the barbarians took possession of Tibur, and the Romans, in consequence, were no longer able to bring in their provisions from Tuscany by way of the Tiber. For the city, situated as it is fronting the river [1] about a hundred and twenty stades above Rome, became thereafter an outpost against those wishing to sail into Rome by that route.

XI

Such was the fate which befell Tibur. As for Belisarius, he arrived at Ravenna with the whole fleet; there he gathered those of the Goths who were in the city and the Roman soldiers, and spoke as follows: "This is not the first occasion on which it has come to pass that the achievements of virtue have been brought to naught by wickedness. For from of old this is wholly natural in human affairs, and many a time the depravity of persons of the basest sort has been quite sufficient to frustrate and destroy the deeds of good men. And now, too, this very thing has ruined the cause of the emperor. And he, for his part, is so deeply concerned to correct the mistakes which have been made that he has considered the task of defeating the Persians as of less moment than this situation, and so has decided at the present time to dispatch me to you, in order that I may be able to set right and remedy whatever has been wrongly done by the commanders in their treatment of his soldiers or of the Goths. Now it is not human that no mistakes at all should be committed by anyone, nor is it

[1] Hodgkin points out that Procopius here confused the Anio with the Tiber.

πραγμάτων φύσεως ἔξω, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἡμαρτημένα ἐπανορθοῦν βασιλεῖ τε διαρκῶς πρέπον καὶ παραψυχῆς
5 τοῖς ἠγαπημένοις ἱκανῶς ἄξιον. οὐ γὰρ ὅσον ὑμῖν τῶν δυσκόλων ἀπαλλαγῆναι ξυμβήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βασιλέως εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίας ξυνεῖναί τε καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτίκα προσέσται· οὗ τί ἂν ἀξιώτερον
6 γένοιτο ἀνθρώπῳ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων; ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ[1] ὑμῖν πάρειμι, προσήκει καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον πάσῃ δυνάμει χρήσασθαι,
7 ὅπως ἂν τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ὠφελείας ἀπόναισθε.[2] ὅτῳ τε ὑμῶν ξυγγενεῖς ἢ φίλοι παρὰ Τουτίλᾳ τῷ τυράννῳ τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, μεταπεμψάσθω τούτους ὅτι τάχιστα τὴν βασιλέως δηλώσας γνώμην.
8 οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν τά τε ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο. ὡς ἔγωγε οὔτε τῷ πολεμησείων ἐνθάδε ἀφῖγμαι οὔτ' ἂν ἑκών
9 ποτε τοῖς βασιλέως κατηκόοις πολέμιος εἴην. εἰ μέντοι καὶ νῦν παρὰ φαῦλον ἡγησάμενοι τὸ τὰ βελτίω σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἑλέσθαι οἵδε ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἡμῖν ἴωσιν, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς ὡς μάλιστα ἀκουσίους ὡς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι."
10 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος εἶπε. προσεχώρει δέ οἱ τῶν ἐναντίων οὐδεὶς οὔτε Γότθος οὔτε Ῥωμαῖος. ἔπειτα δὲ Θουριμούθ τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ τῶν
11 ἑπομένων τινὰς ξύν τε Βιταλίῳ καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς Αἰμιλίαν πέμψας, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων. Βιτάλιος οὖν ξὺν
12 τῷ στρατῷ τούτῳ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βονώνειαν γενόμε-

[1] αὐτῷ τούτῳ Haury: αὐτὸ τοῦτο MSS.
[2] ἀπόναισθε Haury: ἀπώνασθε MSS., ἀπόνησθε Wahler.

[1] Modern Bologna.

possible in the natural progress of events; but the task of setting right the mistakes which have been made is one eminently befitting an emperor, and also one which can well afford consolation to his beloved subjects. For not only will you find riddance from your distress, but you will also straightway be privileged to understand and enjoy the emperor's good-will toward you. And of all things in the world what could be a greater boon for a man than this? Seeing then that I am here with you for this very purpose, it is incumbent upon each one of you, in your turn, to exert himself to the utmost that you may profit by the service thus offered. If any one of you, then, chances to have relatives or friends with the usurper Totila, let him summon these as quickly as possible, explaining the emperor's purpose; for by such a course you could achieve both the blessings which flow from peace and those which fall from the hand of the mighty emperor. For I, for my part, have neither come here with a lust for war against anyone, nor should I ever, willingly at least, be an enemy of the subjects of the emperor. If, however, they consider it even now too trivial a thing to choose the course which is better for themselves, and if they take their stand against us, it will be necessary for us likewise, even though it be sorely against our will, to treat them as enemies."

So spoke Belisarius. But not one of the enemy came over to him, either Goth or Roman. Next he sent his bodyguard Thurimuth and some of his own troops with Vitalius and the Illyrian soldiers into Aemilia, commanding them to make trial of the towns there. So Vitalius with this force took up a position near the city of Bononia,[1] and, after taking

νός τινά τε τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρίων ὁμολογίᾳ ἑλὼν
13 ἐν Βονωνείᾳ πόλει ἡσύχαζε. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ
ὕστερον Ἰλλυριοὶ ξύμπαντες, ὅσοι ξὺν αὐτῷ
ἐστρατεύοντο, ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, κακὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε
παθόντες οὔτε ἀκούσαντες, λάθρα ἐνθένδε ἀναχω-
14 ρήσαντες ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. πρέσβεις
τε παρὰ βασιλέα πέμψαντες συγγνώμην διδόναι
σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐκ ἄλλου του[1] ἕνεκα εἰς τὰ
οἰκεῖα τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ[2] ἀφικομένοις[3] ἢ ὅτι συχ-
νὸν σφίσι χρόνον ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ στρατευομένοις τάς
τε συντάξεις ὡς ἥκιστα κομιζομένοις χρήματα δὴ
15 πολλὰ τὸ δημόσιον ὤφειλε. στρατεύματος δὲ
Οὐννικοῦ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς[4] ἐπισκήψαντος παῖδάς
16 τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραποδίσθαι τετύχηκεν. ἃ
δὴ πυθόμενοι καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔν γε Ἰταλιώται
σπανίζοντες ἀνεχώρησαν.[5] οἷς δὴ βασιλεὺς τὰ
πρῶτα χαλεπήνας, εἶτα συγγνώμων ἐγένετο.

Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἀναχώ-
ρησιν στράτευμα ἐπὶ Βονώνειαν ἔπεμψεν, ὡς
17 Βιτάλιον καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀναρπάσοντας. ἀλλὰ
Βιτάλιός τε καὶ Θουριμοὺθ προλοχίσαντες ἐνέ-
δραις τισὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας πολλοὺς μὲν διέφθειραν,
18 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. ἔνθα Ναζάρης,
ἀνὴρ λόγιμος, Ἰλλυριὸς γένος, στρατιωτῶν τε τῶν
ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἄρχων, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἐς τοὺς
πολεμίους πάντων μάλιστα ἐπεδείξατο. οὕτω
τε ὁ Θουριμοὺθ παρὰ Βελισάριον ἐς Ῥάβενναν
ἦλθε.

19 Τότε δὴ Βελισάριος τρεῖς τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν

[1] ἄλλου του K: ἄλλων τε L
[2] ῷ τρόπα τούτω K: τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ L.
[3] φικομένοις K: ἀφικόμενοι L.

some of the neighbouring fortresses by surrender, remained inactive in Bononia. But not long after this the whole body of the Illyrians who were serving under him, suddenly and without having either experienced any hard treatment or heard any rebuke, withdrew secretly from the town by night and betook themselves homeward. And sending envoys to the emperor, they begged him to grant them pardon, seeing that they had come to their homes in this manner for no other reason than that, after their long service in Italy without receiving the regular pay at all, the state now owed them a large sum of money. But it so happened that a Hunnic army had fallen upon the Illyrians and enslaved the women and children, and it was because of this intelligence, and also because they had a scarcity of provisions in Italy, that they withdrew. And though the emperor was at first angry with them, he afterwards forgave them.

Now Totila, upon learning of the withdrawal of the Illyrians, sent an army against Bononia in order to capture Vitalius and the troops with him by a swift attack. But Vitalius and Thurimuth laid ambuscades in several places and thus destroyed many of the attacking force and turned the rest to flight. There Nazares, a man of note and an Illyrian by birth, commander of the troops in Illyricum, surpassed all others by the remarkable exhibition he made of warlike deeds against the enemy. Thereupon Thurimuth came to Belisarius in Ravenna.

Then at length Belisarius sent three of his own

---

[4] τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς Haury: τοὺς ἰλλυριοὺς MSS.
[5] ἀνεχώρησαν Hoeschel: om. MSS., ἧεσαν Maltretus.

αὐτοῦ, Θουριμούθ τε καὶ Ῥικίλαν καὶ Σαβινιανόν, ἔστειλε[1] ξὺν χιλίοις στρατιώταις ἐς Αὔξιμον πόλιν,[2] Μάγνῳ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐνταῦθα[3] πολιορκουμένοις ἐπαμυνοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Τουτίλαν τε λαθόντες καὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον νύκτωρ ἐν Αὐξίμῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐπεκδρομάς τέ τινας ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους διενοοῦντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πυθόμενοι ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσην τῶν πολεμίων τινὰς ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι ἐξῆλθον μὲν ὡς ὑπαντιάσοντες, κατασκόπους δὲ πέμψαι πρότερον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνωσαν, κατασκεψομένους τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσι.

Ῥικίλας δὲ ὁ Βελισαρίου δορυφόρος (οἰνωμένος γὰρ τηνικαῦτα ἐτύγχανεν) ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ οὐκ εἴα ἰέναι, μόνος δὲ αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον ἐξελάσας κατὰ τάχος ἤει. Γότθοις τε τρισὶν ἐντυχὼν ἐν χώρῳ κρημνώδει τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος ἔστη· ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γὰρ ἀνδρίας ἐτύγχανεν ἥκων· πολλοὺς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἰδὼν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐπιρρέοντας ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμητο. τοῦ δέ οἱ ἵππου ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ ὀκλάσαντος, κραυγή τε πολλὴ τῶν πολεμίων γέγονε καὶ τὰ δοράτια ἠκόντιζον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἅπαντες. ὧν δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. καὶ Ῥικίλας μὲν δόρασι πολλοῖς κεκαλυμμένος θνήσκει, τρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους οἱ ἀμφὶ Θουριμούθ, ἄραντές τε τὸν νεκρόν, ἐς Αὔξιμον πόλιν ἐκόμισαν, οὐκ ἐπαξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν κληρωσάμενον.

Ἔπειτα Σαβινιανός τε καὶ Θουριμοὺθ Μάγνῳ

[1] Θουριμούθ—ἔστειλε L : om. K.
[2] πόλιν L : πόλιν ἔστειλε K.

bodyguards, Thurimuth, Ricilas and Sabinianus, with a thousand soldiers to the city of Auximus, in order to support Magnus and the Romans besieged there. This force, slipping past Totila and the enemy's camp by night, got inside of Auximus, and then began planning to make sallies against their opponents. So on the following day about noon, upon learning that some of the enemy were near at hand, they sallied forth with the purpose of confronting them; but, before proceeding, they decided to send scouts against them to spy out the enemy's strength so as not to make an attack on them without reconnoitring.

But Ricilas, the guardsman of Belisarius, who chanced to be drunk at the time, would not allow any others to go scouting, but he himself rode out alone on horseback and went on at full speed. And happening upon three Goths on a steep slope, he at first took his stand with the intention of opposing them; for he was a man of extraordinary bravery; but upon seeing many men rushing toward him from all sides, he made haste to flee. But his horse stumbled in a rough place, whereupon a great shout arose from the enemy and they all hurled their javelins at him. Then the Romans, hearing this uproar, came to the rescue on the run. And Ricilas was killed, being buried under a great number of spears, but the troops of Thurimuth routed their opponents, and lifting up the body carried it inside the city of Auximus; thus did Ricilas meet his death in a manner unworthy of his valour.

Thereupon Sabinianus and Thurimuth in con-

---

[3] ἐνταῦθα K : τοῖς ἐνταῦθα L.

κοινολογησάμενοι ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν εὕρισκον εἶναι περαιτέρω διατριβήν τινα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, λογισάμενοι ὅτι δὴ οὔτε[1] τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλοῖς γε οὖσιν[2] ἀξιόμαχοί ποτε γένοιντο καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιορκουμένων καταδαπανῶντες τροφὰς ἁλώσιμον ἔτι θᾶσσον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς
27 ἐναντίοις ποιήσονται. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐδέδοκτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ χίλιοι παρεσκευάζοντο εἰς τὴν ἄφοδον, ὡς νύκτωρ τῆς ἀποπορείας ἀρξόμενοι· αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν τις στρατιωτῶν αὐτομολήσας λάθρα ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἔκπυστα
28 ἐποίησε τὰ πρασσόμενα. Τουτίλας τοίνυν ἄνδρας δισχιλίους[3] ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος νυκτὸς ἐπιλαβούσης ἐφύλασσε τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀπὸ σταδίων Αὐξί-
29 μου τριάκοντα, οὐδενὶ αἴσθησιν παρεχόμενος. οἳ ἐπεὶ παριόντας ἀμφὶ νύκτα μέσην τοὺς πολεμίους
30 εἶδον, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔργου εἴχοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν διακοσίους μὲν ἔκτειναν, Σαβινιανὸς δὲ καὶ Θουριμοὺθ ξὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ λαθεῖν
31 τε καὶ φυγεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀρίμινον ἴσχυσαν. τῶν μέντοι ὑποζυγίων ἁπάντων Γότθοι[4] ἐκράτησαν, ἃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τήν τε θεραπείαν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια ἔφερεν.

32 Ἔστι δὲ πολίσματα δύο πρὸς τῇ ἀκτῇ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου, Πίσαυρός τε καὶ Φανός, μεταξὺ τῆς τε Αὐξίμου καὶ Ἀριμίνου πόλεως κείμενα. ὧν δὴ τὰς οἰκίας τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀρχὰς Οὐίττιγις ἐμπρήσας τὰ τείχη καθεῖλεν ἄχρι ἐς ἥμισυ μάλιστα, ὅπως μὴ καταλαβόντες αὐτὰ Ῥωμαῖοι

[1] οὔτε K: οὕτω L.
[2] πολλοῖς γε οὖσιν Haury: γε οὖσιν K, γε οὐκ L.
[3] δισχιλίους K: χιλίους L. [4] γότθοι K: οἱ γότθοι L.

ference with Magnus found it inadvisable for them to spend any more time there, reasoning that while clearly, owing to his numbers, they would never be a match for the enemy in battle, they would, on the other hand, by using up the supplies of the besieged, doom the city to still earlier capture by their opponents. And when this had been decided upon, they themselves and their thousand men began to prepare for their departure, intending to make the beginning of their journey at night; but one of the soldiers forthwith deserted secretly to the enemy's camp and made known the plans of the Romans. Totila accordingly picked out two thousand men distinguished for their valour and, as night came on, set guards upon the roads at a distance of thirty stades from Auximus, keeping his movements entirely secret. So when these guards at about midnight saw the enemy passing by, they drew their swords and began their attack. And they killed two hundred of them, but Sabinianus and Thurimuth, together with the rest, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in escaping and fleeing into Ariminum. However, the Goths captured all the pack animals which were carrying the servants, the weapons, and the clothing of the soldiers.

There are two fortresses on the coast of the Ionian Gulf, Pisaurus[1] and Fanus,[2] situated between the cities of Auximus and Ariminum. They had been dismantled at the beginning of this war by Vittigis, who had burned the houses in them and torn down their walls to about half their height, in order that the Romans might not, by seizing them, make

[1] Modern Pesaro.
[2] Fanum Fortunae: Modern Fano.

33 πράγματα Γότθοις παρέξωσι. τούτων θάτερον, Πίσαυρον, Βελισάριος καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω· ἔδοξε γάρ οἱ ἐς ἵππων νομὰς ἐπιτηδείως τὸ χωρίον κεῖσθαι. πέμψας οὖν νύκτωρ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εὗρός τε καὶ μῆκος πύλης
34 ἑκάστης ξυνεμετρήσατο λάθρα. τάς τε πύλας τεκτηνάμενος καὶ σιδήρῳ περιβαλὼν εἶτά τισιν ἀκατίοις ἐνθέμενος ἔπεμψεν, ἃς δὴ ἐκέλευε τοὺς[1] ἀμφὶ Σαβινιανόν τε καὶ Θουριμοὺθ κατὰ τάχος τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐναρμόσαντας ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου μένειν, ἔν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γενομένους ὅσα τοῦ περιβόλου κατεπεπτώκει, ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι τρόπῳ, λίθους τε καὶ πηλὸν καὶ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν ἐμβαλλομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.
35 Τουτίλας δὲ μαθὼν τὰ πρασσόμενα στρατῷ πολλῷ
36 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθε. καὶ ἀποπειρασάμενος χρόνον τε ἐνταῦθα διατρίψας τινά, ἐπεὶ ἐξελεῖν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, ἄπρακτος ἐν Αὐξίμῳ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν.
37 Ἐπεξῄει δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς τειχῶν ἕκαστοι ἔμενον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ δύο Βελισάριος ἐς Ῥώμην στείλας, Ἀρτασίρην τε, ἄνδρα Πέρσην, καὶ Βαρβατίωνα Θρᾷκα, ὡς ξυμφυλάξοντας Βέσσᾳ τὴν πόλιν ὃς ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, ἐπέστελλε τοῖς
38 πολεμίοις ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπεξιέναι. Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ ὁ Γότθων στρατός, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων ἀντιτάξασθαι σφίσι τὴν Βελισαρίου δύναμιν ἠσθοντο οὖσαν, τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἐχυρώτατα ἐνοχλεῖν ἔγνωσαν.
39 διὸ δὴ ἐν Πικηνοῖς ἀμφί τε Φίρμον καὶ Ἄσκουλον

[1] τοὺς Haury: τοῖς MSS.

trouble for the Goths. One of these fortresses, Pisaurus, Belisarius decided to seize ; for it seemed to him that the place was by its situation suitable for the pasturage of horses. So he sent by night some of his associates and secretly obtained the accurate measurements, as to breadth and height, of each one of the gate-ways. He next had gates made and bound with iron and then loaded them on boats and sent them off, commanding the men of Sabinianus and Thurimuth to fit these gates quickly to the walls and then to remain inside the circuit-wall, and, after thus insuring their safety, to build up in whatever manner possible such parts of the circuit-wall as had fallen down, putting in stones and mud and any other material whatsoever. So they carried out these instructions. But Totila, upon hearing what was going on, marched against them with a great army. And he made an attempt on the town and tarried near it for some time, but since he was unable to capture it, he returned baffled to his camp at Auximus.

The Romans, however, were no longer making sallies against the enemy, but at each fortress they were remaining inside the walls. Furthermore, even when Belisarius sent two of his guardsmen to Rome, Artasires, a Persian, and Barbation of Thrace, in order to assist Bessas in guarding the city, he instructed them by no means to make sallies against the enemy. As for Totila and the Gothic army, seeing that the force of Belisarius was not sufficient to array itself against them, they decided to harass the strongest of the towns. They accordingly made camp in Picenum before Firmum[1] and Asculum,[2]

[1] Modern Fermo. [2] Modern Ascoli.

ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XII

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις οὐδαμῇ ἔχων Ἰωάννην τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ ἀνεψιὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν, ὅρκοις[1] αὐτὸν δεινοτάτοις καταλαβὼν ὡς ἐπανήκειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐν σπουδῇ θήσεται, βασιλέως[2] δεησόμενον στρατιάν τε πολλὴν σφίσι καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα πέμψαι, καὶ
2 μέντοι καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵππους. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι λίαν ὄντες οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ μάχεσθαι ἤθελον, χρήματά τε πολλὰ φάσκοντες τὸ δημόσιον σφίσιν
3 ὀφείλειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἁπάντων ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. καὶ γράμματα ὑπὲρ τούτων βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε·

"Ἀφίγμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὦ βασιλεῦ[3] κράτιστε, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ χρημάτων χωρίς.[4] ὧν οὐδ' ἄν τις μὴ διαρκῶς ἔχων πόλεμον, οἶμαι, διενεγκεῖν οὐ μή ποτε
4 ἱκανὸς εἴη. Θρᾷκας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐνδελεχέστατα περιελθόντες[5] στρατιώτας ξυνήγομεν[6] κομιδῇ ὀλίγους[7] οἰκτροὺς οὐδέ τι ὅπλων ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας καὶ μάχης ὄντας παντάπασιν
5 ἀμελετήτους. ὁρῶμεν δὲ καὶ[8] τοὺς ἀπολελειμ-

[1] ὅρκοις L : ὅρκοις τε K.
[2] βασιλέως L : καὶ βασιλέως K.
[3] βασιλεῦ K : βασιλέων L.
[4] χωρίς K : ξὺν ἀπορίᾳ L.
[5] περιελθόντες K : περιόντες L.
[6] ξυνήγομεν Haury : om. MSS, cf. VII. x. 1.
[7] ὀλίγους MSS : ὀλίγους ἠγείραμεν. οὓς δὴ Maltretus.
[8] ἀμελετήτους—καὶ K : ἀμελετήτους ὁρῶμεν. καὶ L.

and commenced a siege. And the winter drew to a close, and the tenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 545 A.D.

XII

Now Belisarius, finding himself utterly unable to give support to the besieged towns, sent John the nephew of Vitalian to Byzantium, first binding him by the most solemn oaths that he would make every effort to return as quickly as possible; and his mission was to beg the emperor to send them a large army and a generous supply of money, and, furthermore, both arms and horses. For even the few soldiers he had were unwilling to fight, asserting that the state owed them much money and that they themselves were in want of everything. And this was true. Belisarius also wrote a letter to the emperor recording these matters; and the letter[1] set forth the following.

"We have arrived in Italy, most mighty emperor, without men, horses, arms, or money, and no man, I think, without a plentiful supply of these things, would ever be able to carry on a war. For though we did travel about most diligently through Thrace and Illyricum, the soldiers we gathered are an exceedingly small and pitiful band, men without a single weapon in their hands and altogether unpractised in fighting. And we see, on the other

[1] "The soul of an hero is deeply impressed on the letter, nor can we confound such genuine and original acts with the elaborate and often empty speeches of the Byzantine historian."—Gibbon, c. 43.

μένους ἐνταῦθα οὔτε αὐτάρκεις ὄντας καὶ κατεπτηχότας τοὺς πολεμίους δεδουλωμένους τε τὸ φρόνημα τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνων πολλάκις ἠσσῆσθαι, οἵ γε οὐδὲ εἰκῆ τοὺς ἐναντίους διέφυγον, ἀλλὰ τούς τε ἵππους ἀφέντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἐς τὴν γῆν
6 ῥίψαντες. χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδον ἐξ Ἰταλίας πορίζεσθαι ἡμῖν ἀδύνατά ἐστι, πάλιν πρὸς τῶν
7 πολεμίων κατειλημμένης. διὸ δὴ καὶ ὑπερήμεροι γεγενημένοι ἐς τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς συντάξεις ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς ἥκιστα ἔχομεν· ἀφείλετο γὰρ
8 ἡμῶν τὴν παρρησίαν τὸ ὄφλημα. εὖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ δέσποτα, ἴσθι, ὡς τῶν ὑπὸ σοὶ[1] στρατευομένων οἱ πλείους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
9 ηὐτομοληκότες τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔδει Βελισάριον ἐς Ἰταλίαν στέλλεσθαι μόνον, ἄριστά σοι τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασται· εἰμὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἰταλιώταις ἤδη που μέσοις· εἰ δὲ περιεῖναι βούλει τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ
10 τὰ ἄλλα ἐξαρτύεσθαι δεῖ. στρατηγὸς γάρ τις, οἶμαι, τῶν ὑπουργούντων χωρὶς οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. δορυφόρους τοίνυν καὶ ὑπασπιστὰς τοὺς ἐμοὺς μάλιστά μοι πάντων σταλῆναι προσήκει, ἔπειτα πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος Οὔννων τε καὶ ἄλλων βαρβάρων, οἷς καὶ χρήματα ἤδη δοτέον."
11 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ χρόνον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ διατρίψας πολὺν οὐδὲν μὲν διεπράξατο ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθεν, ἔγημε δὲ τοῦ
12 Γερμανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοῦ παῖδα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Τουτίλας Φίρμον τε καὶ Ἄσκουλον ὁμολογίᾳ

[1] σοὶ Haury: σοῦ MSS.

hand, that the men who were left in Italy are both insufficient in number and in abject terror of the enemy, their spirit having been utterly humbled by the many defeats they have suffered at their hands,—men who did not simply escape at random from their opponents, but even abandoned their horses and flung their weapons to the ground. And as for the revenue, it is impossible for us to derive any money from Italy, since it has again been taken by the enemy into their possession. Consequently, since we have fallen behind in regard to the payment of the soldiers, we find ourselves quite unable to impose our orders upon them; for the debt has taken away our right to command. And this also thou must know well, my master, that the majority of those serving in thy armies have deserted to the enemy. If, therefore, it was only necessary that Belisarius be sent to Italy, then thou hast made the best preparation possible for the war; for I am already in the very midst of Italy. If, however, it is thy will to overcome thy foes in the war, provision must also be made for the other necessary things. For no man could, I think, be a general without men to support him. It is therefore needful that, above all others, my spearmen and guards should be sent me, and, next to them, a very large force of Huns and other barbarians is needed, to whom money must also be given immediately."

Such was the letter written by Belisarius. But as for John, though he spent a long time in Byzantium, he accomplished none of the objects of his mission; but he married the daughter of Germanus, the nephew of the emperor. In the meantime Totila captured Firmum and Asculum by surrender; and

εἶλεν· ἐς Τούσκους τε ἀφικόμενος Σπολίτιόν τε καὶ Ἀσίσην ἐπολιόρκει. ἦρχε δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἐν Σπολιτίῳ φυλακτηρίου Ἡρωδιανός, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἀσίσῃ Σισίφριδος, Γότθος μὲν γένος, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ λίαν ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ τὰ βασιλέως
13 πράγματα ἔχων. Ἡρωδιανὸς μὲν οὖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τριάκοντα
14 ἡμέρας ἡσυχῇ μείνωσιν. ὧν ἦν μὴ ἐπικουρία τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγένηται, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξύν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι Γότθοις ἐνδώσειν. τόν τε παῖδα ὅμηρον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ
15 ὁμολογίᾳ παρέσχετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρῆν μὲν ἡ κυρία, στράτευμα δὲ οὐδαμόθεν Ῥωμαίων[1] ἦλθεν, Ἡρωδιανός τε καὶ ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα Τουτίλᾳ καὶ Γότθοις σφᾶς
16 τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Σπολίτιον ἐνεχείρισαν. φασὶ δὲ Ἡρωδιανὸν κατὰ τὸ ἐς Βελισάριον ἔχθος αὐτόν τε καὶ Σπολίτιον Γότθοις ἐνδοῦναι· λογισμοὺς γὰρ αὐτὸν Βελισάριος τῶν βεβιωμένων ἠπείλησε πράξειν.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Σπολιτίῳ ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε.
17 Σισίφριδος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐπεκδρομὴν[2] ποιησάμενος, τῶν τε ξὺν αὐτῷ πλείστους ἀπο-
18 βάλλει καὶ αὐτὸς θνήσκει. Ἀσίσηνοί τε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορούμενοι, αὐτίκα τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδοσαν. πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κυπριανὸν εὐθὺς Τουτίλας, ἐνδοῦναί οἱ αὐτῷ Περυσίαν ᾐξίου, δεδιττόμενος μὲν ἢν ἀπειθήσῃ, χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὸν δωρήσασθαι μεγάλοις ἐπαγ-

[1] Ῥωμαίων L : ῥωμαίοις K.
[2] ἐπεκδρομὴν Haury : ἐπιδρομὴν K, ἐπεκδρομὰς L.

advancing into Tuscany, he began the siege of Spolitium[1] and Asise.[2] Now the garrison in Spolitium was commanded by Herodian and that in Asise by Sisifridus, who, though a Goth by birth, was exceedingly loyal to the Romans and the emperor's cause. Herodian, for his part, came to terms with the enemy, the agreement being that they should remain quiet for thirty days; and if no assistance should come to the Romans within this time, he was to surrender both himself and the city together with the soldiers and the inhabitants to the Goths. And he furnished his son as a hostage for the keeping of this agreement. So when the appointed day came, and no Roman army had arrived from any quarter, Herodian and the whole garrison of Spolitium, in accordance with the agreement, put themselves and the city into the hands of Totila and the Goths. But they say that the hostility existing between Herodian and Belisarius was the real cause of his surrendering himself and Spolitium to the Goths; for Belisarius had threatened to call him to account for his previous record.

Such was the course of events as regards Spolitium. Sisifridus, on the other hand, in making a sally with his troops, lost the most of his men and perished himself. Thereupon the inhabitants of Asise, despairing of the situation, immediately handed the city over to the enemy. Totila also sent straightway to Cyprian, demanding that he surrender Perusia to him, attempting to terrify him in case he should disobey, but promising, on the other hand, to reward him with a large sum of money if he

[1] Modern Spoleto.
[2] Modern Assisi.

19 γελλόμενος, ἦν γε ταῦτα ἐπιτελοίη. ἐπεί τέ οἱ
πρὸς Κυπριανοῦ οὐδὲν προὐχώρει, τῶν ἐκείνου
δορυφόρων ἕνα, Οὔλιφον ὄνομα, χρήμασιν
ἀναπείθει δόλῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον διαχρήσασθαι.
20 Οὔλιφος μὲν οὖν μόνῳ τῷ Κυπριανῷ ἐντυχὼν
ἔκτεινέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν φεύγων
ᾤχετο. οὐδὲν δὲ ἧσσον οἱ Κυπριανοῦ στρα-
τιῶται βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον· διὸ δὴ
Γότθοι ἐνθένδε ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν.

XIII

Μετὰ δὲ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ Ῥώμην ᾔει, καὶ ἐπεὶ
ἀγχοῦ ἐγένετο, ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο· τοὺς
μέντοι γεωργοὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
Ἰταλίαν εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν ἀδεῶς ἐκέλευεν,
ἥπερ εἰώθασιν, ἐς ἀεὶ γεωργεῖν, τοὺς φόρους
αὐτῷ ἀποφέροντας[1] ὅσους τὸ πρότερον[2] ἔς τε τὸ
δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀποφέρειν
2 ἠξίουν. Γότθων δέ τινων ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥώμης
περιβόλου ἀφικομένων Ἀρτασίρης τε καὶ Βαρβα-
τίων, πολλούς τε τῶν ἑπομένων ἐπαγαγόμενοι,
Βέσσα ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος, ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐπ'
3 αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς
ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν.
οἷς δὴ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἔς τε τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐνέδραις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέ-
4 τυχον. οὗ δὴ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλόντες
αὐτοὶ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶ διέφυγον μόλις, καὶ τὸ
λοιπὸν ἐπεξιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καίπερ ἐγκει-
μένοις, οὐκέτι ἐτόλμων.

[1] ἀποφέροντας K : ἐπιφέροντας L.
[2] τὸ πρότερον K : τὰ πρότερα L.

should carry out this order. But since he met with no success in dealing with Cyprian, he bribed one of his bodyguard, Ulifus by name, to kill him by treachery. Ulifus accordingly, meeting Cyprian by chance alone, killed him and got away in flight to Totila. But nevertheless the soldiers of Cyprian continued to guard the city for the emperor, and the Goths, consequently, decided to retire from Perusia.

XIII

After this Totila moved against Rome, and upon coming near the city, he began a siege. He did no harm, however, to the farmers in this or any other part of Italy, but commanded them to continue tilling the soil without fear, just as they were accustomed to do, bringing to him the revenue which they had formerly brought to the public treasury and to the owners of the land. And when some Goths had come close up to the fortifications of Rome, Artasires and Barbation made a sally against them, though Bessas did not in the least approve their action, leading out a large number of their men to the attack. And they straightway killed many and turned the rest to flight. But in following up these men and allowing themselves to be drawn into a pursuit over a great distance, they fell into an ambush set by the enemy. Here they lost the most of their men, and they themselves, accompanied by a handful of men, succeeded only with difficulty in making their escape. And thereafter they no longer dared go out against their opponents, even though they were pressing their attack.

5 Καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λιμός τις ἀκριβὴς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
ἐπίεζεν, οὐκέτι δυναμένους τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκ
τῶν ἀγρῶν εἰσκομίζεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐκ θαλάσσης
6 ἀποκεκλεισμένων φορτίων.[1] ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Γότθοι
Νεάπολιν εἶλον, ναυτικὸν ἐνταῦθα καταστησά-
μενοι ἀκάτων πολλῶν κἀν ταῖς νήσοις ταῖς
Αἰόλου καλουμέναις καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τῇδε ἐπί-
κεινται, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὸν διάπλουν ἐφύλασσον.
7 ὅσαι οὖν νῆες ἐκ Σικελίας ἀναγόμεναι ἔπλεον
ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, πᾶσαι γεγόνασιν αὐτοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσί.

8 Τουτίλας δὲ στράτευμα ἐς Αἰμιλίαν πέμψας,
πόλιν Πλακεντίαν ἐξελεῖν ἢ βίᾳ ἢ ὁμολογίᾳ
9 ἐκέλευεν. αὕτη δὲ πρώτη μέν ἐστιν Αἰμιλίων
τῆς χώρας, ὀχύρωμα ἰσχυρὸν ἔχουσα. πρὸς δὲ
τῷ ποταμῷ Ἠριδανῷ κεῖται καὶ μόνη τῶν τῇδε
χωρίων Ῥωμαίων κατήκοος οὖσα ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο.
10 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ στρατὸς οὗτος Πλακεντίας ἀγχοῦ
ἐγένοντο,[2] λόγους προὔφερον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρου-
ροῖς, ὅπως τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογίᾳ Τουτίλᾳ τε καὶ
11 Γότθοις ἐνδοῖεν. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν σφίσι προὐχώρει,
αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν καθί-
σταντο, τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐνδεῖν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
αἰσθόμενοι.

12 Τότε τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατοῦ
ἄρχουσιν ὑποψία προδοσίας πέρι ἐγένετο ἐς
Κέθηγον, πατρίκιον ἄνδρα καὶ πρῶτον τῆς
Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς. διὸ δὴ ἐς Κεντουκέλλας
ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο.

13 Βελισάριος δὲ περί τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις

[1] ἀποκεκλεισμένων φορτίων L: ἀποκεκλεισμένων K, ἀποκε-
κλεισμένους Comparetti.

From this time on a severe famine afflicted the Romans, for they were no longer able to bring in any necessaries from the country and the traffic by sea was cut off. For after the Goths captured Naples, they had stationed a navy of many light craft both there and at the so-called Aeolian Islands and at such other islands as lie off this coast, and with these they were keeping a close watch over the sea-route. Consequently such ships as put out from Sicily and started to sail to the harbour of Rome fell one and all into the hands of these patrols together with their crews.

Totila now sent an army into Aemilia, with orders to take the city of Placentia[1] either by storm or by surrender. This is the chief city in the land of Aemilia and has strong defences, being situated on the river Eridanus, and it was the only city still left in that region subject to the Romans. So when this army came near Placentia, they offered terms to the garrison there to the end that they might hand over the city by surrender to Totila and the Goths. But since they met with no success, they made camp on the spot and began a siege, perceiving that the people in the city were in need of provisions.

At that time there arose a suspicion of treason among the commanders of the emperor's army in Rome against Cethegus, a patrician and leader of the Roman senate. For this reason he departed hastily for Centumcellae.[2]

But Belisarius became alarmed both for Rome and

[1] Modern Piacenza.
[2] Modern Civita-Vecchia.

[2] ἐγένοντο K : ἐγένετο L.

πράγμασι δείσας, ἐπεὶ ἐκ Ῥαβέννης ἀμύνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἀδύνατα[1] ἦν, ἀπανίστασθαί τε ἐνθένδε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, ὅπως δὴ ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ κάμνουσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν οἷός τε
14 εἴη. καί οἱ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐς Ῥάβενναν ἀφικομένῳ μετέμελεν, ἃ δὴ Βιταλίῳ ἀναπεισθεὶς ἔδρασε πρότερον οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ξυμφόρῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα καθείρξας
15 αὐτὸν ἐδεδώκει τοῖς πολεμίοις κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὴν τοῦ πολέμου διοικεῖσθαι ῥοπήν. καί μοι ἔδοξεν ἢ Βελισάριον ἑλέσθαι τὰ χείρω, ἐπεὶ χρῆν τότε Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι κακῶς, ἢ βεβουλεῦσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν τὰ βελτίω, ἐμπόδιον δὲ[2] τὸν θεὸν[3] γεγονέναι, Τουτίλα τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντα,[4] καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν βουλευμάτων
16 τὰ βέλτιστα ἐς πᾶν τοὐναντίον Βελισαρίῳ ἀποκεκρίσθαι. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιπνεῖ ἐξ οὐρίας τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς τύχης καὶ τὰ χείριστα βουλευομένοις οὐδὲν ἀπαντιάσει δεινόν,[5] ἀντιπεριάγοντος αὐτὰ
17 τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐς πᾶν ξύμφορον· ἀνδρὶ δέ, οἶμαι, κακοτυχοῦντι εὐβουλία οὐδαμῇ πάρεστι, παραιρουμένου αὐτὸν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ ἀληθῆ δόξαν
18 τοῦ χρῆναι παθεῖν. ἦν δέ τι καὶ βουλεύσηταί ποτε τῶν δεόντων, ἀλλὰ πνέουσα τῷ βουλεύσαντι ἀπ' ἐναντίας εὐθὺς ἡ τύχη ἀντιστρέφει αὐτῷ τὴν εὐβουλίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότατα τῶν ἀποβάσεων.

[1] ἀδύνατα K : ἀδύνατος L.
[2] δὲ K : δὲ καὶ ὡς L, δὲ οὐδ' ὡς V_1.
[3] τὸν θεὸν Hoeschel : τῷ θεῷ MSS.
[4] ἔχοντα Maltretus : ἔχοντι MSS.
[5] δεινὸν K : δύσκολον LV_1.

for the whole Roman cause, since it was impossible to lend assistance from Ravenna in any case, and especially with a small army; and so he decided to remove from there and take possession of the district about Rome, in order that by being near at hand he might be able to go to the rescue of those in difficulty there. Indeed he repented having ever come to Ravenna at all, a course which he had taken earlier through the persuasion of Vitalius and not to the advantage of the emperor's cause, since by shutting himself up in that place he had given the enemy a free hand to determine the course of the war as they wished. And to me it seemed either that Belisarius had chosen the worse course because it was fated at that time that the Romans should fare ill, or that he had indeed determined upon the better course, but God, having in mind to assist Totila and the Goths, had stood as an obstacle in his way, so that the best of the plans of Belisarius had turned out utterly contrary to his expectations. For those upon whom the wind of fortune blows from a fair quarter, even though they make the worst plans, will meet with no calamity, since Heaven reverses these plans and brings them to an entirely favourable issue; but a man, I believe, who is under the ban of fortune utterly lacks the ability to plan wisely, being bereft of understanding and insight into the truth by the fact that he is fated to suffer ill. And even if he ever does make some plan adapted to the needs of the situation, still fortune straightway breathes contrariwise upon him after he has made such a plan, and perverts his wise purpose so as to bring about the most dire

19 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἐκείνῃ ἔχει οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν.

Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰουστῖνον ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥαβέννης φυλακῇ καταστησάμενος ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν αὐτὸς ἐνθένδε διά τε Δαλματίας καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων κομίζεται ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον, ἵνα δὴ στράτευμα ἐκ Βυζαντίου καραδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. γράψας τε βασιλεῖ γράμματα, τύχας τὰς παρούσας ἐσήγ-
20 γελλεν. ὁ δέ οἱ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰωάννην τε τὸν Βιταλιανοῦ[1] ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Ἰσαάκην Ἀρμένιον Ἀρατίου τε καὶ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφὸν ξὺν στρατῷ ἔπεμψε βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν.
21 οἳ δὴ ἐς Ἐπίδαμνον ἀφικόμενοι Βελισαρίῳ ξυνέμιξαν.

Καὶ Ναρσῆν δὲ τὸν εὐνοῦχον παρὰ τῶν Ἐρούλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πείσει ἐς Ἰταλίαν στρα-
22 τεύεσθαι. καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν Ἐρούλων πολλοὶ εἵποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Φιλημοὺθ ἦρχον καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἦλθον. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διαχειμάσαντες ἔμελλον ἅμα ἦρι
23 ἀρχομένῳ παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὃν ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν Φαγᾶν. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ ξυνέβη τις τύχη[2] μεγάλα Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὰ ἐκ τοῦ
24 ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐργάσασθαι. βαρβάρων γὰρ Σκλαβηνῶν πολὺς ὅμιλος ἔτυχον ἔναγχος διαβάντες μὲν ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, ληϊσάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐξανδραποδίσαντες
25 πάμπολυ πλῆθος. οἷς δὴ Ἔρουλοι ἐκ τοῦ

[1] Βιταλιανοῦ Maltretus : *βιταλίου* MSS.

results. However, whether this is so or otherwise, I am unable to say.

Belisarius then appointed Justinus to command the garrison of Ravenna, and himself, with only a few men, journeyed thence through Dalmatia and the neighbouring lands to Epidamnus,[1] where he remained quiet expecting an army from Byzantium. And writing a letter to the emperor, he reported the present situation. The emperor, therefore, not long afterward, sent him John the nephew of Vitalian and Isaac the Armenian, brother of Aratius and Narses, together with an army of barbarian and Roman soldiers. These troops reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius there.

The emperor also sent Narses the eunuch to the rulers of the Eruli, in order to persuade the most of them to march to Italy. And many of the Eruli followed him, commanded by Philemuth and certain others, and they came with him into the land of Thrace. For the intention was that, after passing the winter there, they should be despatched to Belisarius at the opening of spring. And they were accompanied also by John whom they called the Glutton.[2] And it so fell out that during this journey they unexpectedly rendered a great service to the Romans. For a great throng of the barbarians, Sclaveni, had, as it happened, recently crossed the river Ister, plundered the adjoining country and enslaved a very great number of Romans. Now the Eruli suddenly came upon these barbarians and

[1] Dyrrachium : modern Durazzo.
[2] Cf. Book II. xix. 15, etc.

---

[2] τις τύχη K : τύχη τινὶ L.

αἰφνιδίου ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθόντες, νικήσαντές τε παρὰ δόξαν μέτρῳ[1] σφᾶς[2] πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντας, αὐτούς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐς
26 τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκαν ἰέναι. τότε δὲ ὁ Ναρσῆς καί τινα εὑρὼν ἐπιβατεύοντα τοῦ Χιλβουδίου ὀνόματος, ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ στρατηγήσαντος, διελέγξαι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ῥᾳδίως ἔσχε. τοῦτο δὲ ὅ τί ποτε ἦν αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

XIV

Χιλβούδιος ἦν τις ἐκ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκίας ἐσάγαν μὲν δραστήριος τὰ πολέμια, ἐς τόσον δὲ χρημάτων κρείσσων ὥστε ἀντὶ μεγίστου κτήματος ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῇ αὐτοῦ εἶχε
2 τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μηδέν· τοῦτον βασιλεὺς τὸν Χιλβούδιον, ὅτε δὴ τέταρτον ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα εἶχεν ἀρχήν, Θρᾴκης στρατηγὸν ἀνειπών, ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ φυλακῇ κατεστήσατο, φυλάσσειν κελεύσας ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς ἔσται, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν διάβασιν πολλάκις ἤδη Οὖννοί τε καὶ Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ πεποιημένοι
3 ἀνήκεστα[3] Ῥωμαίους[4] ἔργα εἰργάσαντο. Χιλβούδιος δὲ οὕτω τοῖς βαρβάροις φοβερὸς γέγονεν ὥστε ἐς τριῶν ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνον, ὅσον ξὺν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ τιμῇ τὴν διατριβὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχεν, οὐχ ὅσον διαβῆναι τὸν Ἴστρον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὐδεὶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ἤπειρον τὴν ἀντιπέρας σὺν Χιλβουδίῳ πολλάκις ἰόντες

[1] μέτρῳ Maltretus and Scaliger: μετρίως K, ἀμετρίᾳ L.

joined battle with them, and, although far outnumbered, they unexpectedly defeated them, and some they slew, and the captives they released one and all to go to their homes. At that time also Narses found a certain man who was pretending to the name of Chilbudius, a man of note who had once been a general of the Romans, and he easily succeeded in unmasking the plot. Here I shall give the facts of this story.

XIV

THERE was a certain Chilbudius of the household of the Emperor Justinian, who was exceedingly efficient in war, and, at the same time, so far superior to the lure of money that instead of a great property in his own right he had no possessions at all. This Chilbudius was appointed by the emperor, in the fourth year of his reign, to be General of Thrace, 531 A.D. and was assigned to guard the river Ister, being ordered to keep watch so that the barbarians of that region could no longer cross the river, since the Huns and Antae and Sclaveni had already made the crossing many times and done irreparable harm to the Romans. And Chilbudius became such an object of terror to the barbarians that for the space of three years, during which time he remained there holding this office, not only did no one succeed in crossing the Ister against the Romans, but the Romans actually crossed over to the opposite side many

---

[2] *σφᾶς* K : *σφῶν* L.
[3] *ἀνήκεστα* K : om. L.
[4] *Ῥωμαίους* Dindorf : *ῥωμαίοις* MSS.

ἔκτεινάν τε καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους. ἐνιαυτοῖς δὲ τρισὶν ὕστερον διέβη μὲν ὁ Χιλβούδιος τὸν ποταμὸν ἧπερ εἰώθει ξὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ, Σκλαβηνοὶ δὲ πανδημεὶ ὑπηντίαζον. μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης Ῥωμαίων τε πολλοὶ ἔπεσον καὶ Χιλβούδιος ὁ στρατηγός. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅ τε ποταμὸς ἐσβατὸς ἀεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις κατ' ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα εὐέφοδα[1] γέγονε, ξύμπασά τε ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἀρετῇ ἀντίρροπος γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσε.

Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἄνται καὶ Σκλαβηνοὶ διάφοροι ἀλλήλοις γενόμενοι ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ἔνθα δὴ τοῖς Ἄνταις ἡσσηθῆναι τῶν ἐναντίων τετύχηκεν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Σκλαβηνὸς ἀνὴρ τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα, Χιλβούδιον ὄνομα, αἰχμάλωτον εἷλεν, ἔς τε τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼν ᾤχετο. οὗτος ὁ Χιλβούδιος προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου εὔνους τε ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους[2] δραστήριος. πολλάκις τε τοῦ δεσπότου προκινδυνεύσας ἠρίστευσέ τε διαφερόντως καὶ κλέος ἴσχυσε περιβαλέσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μέγα. ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἄνται ἐπισκήψαντες εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία πολλοὺς ἐλήϊσαντο καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν τῶν ἐκείνῃ Ῥωμαίων. οὕσπερ ἐπαγόμενοι ἀπεκομίσθησαν εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη.

Τούτων δὲ ἕνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων εἰς φιλάνθρωπόν τινα ἤγαγεν ἡ τύχη καὶ πρᾷον δεσπότην. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ κακοῦργός τε λίαν καὶ οἷος

[1] εὐέφοδα L: om. K.
[2] πολεμίους K: πολέμους L.

times with Chilbudius and killed and enslaved the barbarians there. But three years later, when Chilbudius crossed the river, as was his custom, with a small force, the Sclaveni came against him with their entire strength; and a fierce battle taking place, many of the Romans fell and among them the general Chilbudius. Thereafter the river became free for the barbarians to cross at all times just as they wished, and the possessions of the Romans were rendered easily accessible; and the entire Roman empire found itself utterly incapable of matching the valour of one single man in the performance of this task.

But later on the Antae and Sclaveni became hostile to one another and engaged in a battle, in which it so fell out that the Antae were defeated by their opponents. Now in this battle one of the Sclaveni took captive a certain young man of the enemy named Chilbudius, who was just wearing his first beard, and took him off to his home. This Chilbudius, as time went on, became devoted to his master to an extraordinary degree and proved himself a vigorous warrior in dealing with the enemy. Indeed he exposed himself to danger many times to save his master, distinguishing himself by his deeds of valour, through which he succeeded in winning great renown. At about this time the Antae descended upon the land of Thrace and plundered and enslaved many of the Roman inhabitants; and they led these captives with them as they returned to their native abode.

Now chance brought one of these captives into the hands of a kind and gentle master. This man was a great rascal and one capable of circumventing

13 ἀπάτῃ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας[1] περιελθεῖν. ἐπειδή τε βουλόμενος ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ εἶχεν, ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τῷ κεκτημένῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων τῆς τε φιλανθρωπίας ἐπῆνεσε καὶ πολλὰ μέν οἱ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἰσχυρίσατο τἀγαθὰ[2] ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἀχάριστον δεσπότῃ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ φανήσεσθαι, ἀλλ', ἤν γε αὐτῷ τὰ βέλτιστα εἰσηγουμένῳ ἐπακούειν ἐθέλῃ, κύριον αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς
14 μακρὰν καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σκλαβηνῶν ἔθνει Χιλβούδιον, τὸν[3] Ῥωμαίων στρατηγήσαντα, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ, πάντας βαρβάρους λανθάνοντα ὅστις ποτέ ἐστιν.
15 ἦν τοίνυν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη προέσθαι τε τὰς τοῦ Χιλβουδίου τιμὰς καὶ διακομίζειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, δόξαν τε ἀγαθὴν καὶ πλούτου αὐτὸν πάμπολυ χρῆμα περιβαλέσθαι
16 πρὸς βασιλέως οὐκ ἀπεικὸς εἶναι. ταῦτα ὁ Ῥωμαῖος εἰπὼν τὸν κεκτημένον εὐθὺς ἔπεισε, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ γίνεται ἐν Σκλαβηνοῖς μέσοις· ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο γὰρ ἤδη καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀνεμίγνυντο ἀδεῶς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι. χρήματα γοῦν πολλὰ τῷ Χιλβούδιον κεκτημένῳ προέμενοι[4] τὸν ἄνδρα ὠνοῦντο καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀπιόντες εὐθὺς ᾤχοντο.
17 ἐπεί τε ἐν ἤθεσι τοῖς σφετέροις ἐγένοντο, ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ πριάμενος, εἰ Χιλβού-
18 διος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἴη. καὶ ὃς οὐκ ἀπηξίου τὰ ὄντα καταλέγειν[5] ξὺν τῷ ἀληθεῖ

[1] ἐντυχόντας K : ἐντυγχάνοντας L.
[2] τἀγαθὰ K : ἀγαθὰ L.
[3] τὸν K : τὸν τῶν L.
[4] προέμενοι K : προϊέμενοι L.
[5] καταλέγειν Haury : λέγειν καταλέγει K, καὶ λεγειν. καταλέγειν τε L, λέγειν καὶ καταλεγειν Christ.

and deceiving those who fell in his way. And since he was unable by any device to effect his return to the land of the Romans, much as he wished it, he conceived the following plan. Coming before his master, he praised him for his kindness and declared that God on account of this would bestow upon him blessings in abundance, and that he for his part would shew himself by no means ungrateful to a most kindly master; but, if only he was willing to give ear to the excellent suggestion which he had to offer, he would shortly put him in possession of a great sum of money. For there was, he said, among the nation of the Sclaveni one Chilbudius, the former general of the Romans, in the condition of a slave, while all the barbarians were ignorant as to who in the world he was. If, therefore, he was willing to pay out the price set upon Chilbudius and convey the man to the land of the Romans, it was not unlikely that he would acquire for himself from the emperor not only a fair reputation but also an enormous amount of money. By these words the Roman speedily persuaded his master, and he went with him into the midst of the Sclaveni; for these barbarians were already on peaceful terms and were mingling with one another without fear. Consequently they were able, by paying out a large sum of money to the master of Chilbudius, to purchase the man, and they departed with him immediately. And when they had come into their own country, the purchaser enquired of the man whether he was Chilbudius himself, the general of the Romans. And he did not hesitate to state truly all the facts in order, saying that he too was

λόγῳ ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὡς εἴη μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς Αντης τὸ γένος, μαχόμενος δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ὁμογενέσι πρὸς Σκλαβηνούς, τότε πολεμίους σφίσιν ὄντας, πρός του τῶν ἐναντίων ἁλώη, ταυτὸν δέ, ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, ἐλεύθερος τὸ λοιπὸν κατά γε τὸν νόμον καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται.

19 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ χρυσίον[1] προέμενος εἰς ἀφασίαν ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἤσχαλλεν, ἐλπίδος ἀπο-
20 τυχὼν οὐ μετρίας τινός. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος τόν τε ἄνθρωπον παρηγορεῖν τήν τε ἀλήθειαν ἐκκρούειν ἐθέλων, ὡς μή τι αὐτῷ τῆς ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανόδου χαλεπὸν[2] εἴη, Χιλβούδιον μὲν ἐκεῖνον ἔτι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα ἰσχυρίζετο εἶναι, δεδιότα δὲ ἅτε δὴ ὄντα ἐν μέσοις βαρβάροις ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθέλειν ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν πάντα λόγον, ἣν μέντοι γένηται ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀποκρύψεσθαι τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοτιμήσεσθαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ὀνόματι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κρύφα ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων.

21 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθεν, ἠγείροντο μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἄνται σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, κοινὴν δὲ εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἠξίουν, μεγάλα σφίσιν οἰόμενοι ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, κυρίοις ἤδη τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ Χιλβουδίου γεγενη-
22 μένοις. τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα, Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται, οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνός, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ τά τε ξύμφορα καὶ τὰ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ἄγεται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ

[1] χρυσίον K : τὸ χρυσίον L.

by birth of the Antae, and that while fighting with his compatriots against the Sclaveni, who were then at war with them, he had been captured by one of the enemy, but now, upon arriving in his native country, he too according to the law would be free from that time forth.

Thereupon the man who had paid out gold for him became speechless with vexation, seeing that he had failed of a hope of no moderate sort. But the Roman, wishing to reassure the man and to controvert the truth, so that no difficulty might arise to prevent his return to his home, still insisted that this man actually was that Chilbudius, but that he was afraid, clearly because he was in the midst of the barbarians, and so was quite unwilling to reveal the whole truth; if, however, he should get into the land of the Romans, he would not only not conceal the truth, but in all probability would actually take pride in that very name. Now at first these things were done without the knowledge of the other barbarians.

But when the report was carried about and reached the entire nation, practically all the Antae assembled to discuss the situation, and they demanded that the matter be made a public one, thinking that great benefit would come to them from the fact that they had now become masters of the Roman general Chilbudius. For these nations, the Sclaveni and the Antae, are not ruled by one man, but they have lived from of old under a democracy, and consequently everything which involves their welfare, whether for good or for ill, is referred to the people.

---

[2] χαλεπὸν K: ἐμποδὼν L.

ἄλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἑκατέροις ἐστί τε καὶ
23 νενόμισται τούτοις ἄνωθεν τοῖς βαρβάροις. θεὸν
μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν
ἁπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ
θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα· εἱμαρ-
μένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν[1] ἔν
γε ἀνθρώποις ροπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν
αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἢ νόσῳ
ἁλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλ-
λονται μέν, ἢν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ
τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσειν, διαφυγόντες δὲ
θύουσιν ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν
σωτηρίαν ταύτης δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι.[2]
24 σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ
ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι,
τάς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις
ποιοῦνται. οἰκοῦσι δὲ ἐν καλύβαις οἰκτραῖς
διεσκηνημένοι πολλῷ μὲν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀμεί-
βοντες δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τὸν τῆς ἐνοικήσεως
25 ἕκαστοι χῶρον. ἐς μάχην δὲ καθιστάμενοι πεζῇ
μὲν ἐπὶ[3] τοὺς πολεμίους οἱ πολλοὶ ἴασιν ἀσπίδια
καὶ ἀκόντια ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες, θώρακα δὲ οὐδαμῇ
26 ἐνδιδύσκονται. τινὲς δὲ οὐδὲ χιτῶνα οὐδὲ τρι-
βώνιον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ μόνας τὰς ἀναξυρίδας
ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς τὰ αἰδοῖα, οὕτω δὴ ἐς
ξυμβολὴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις καθίστανται. ἔστι δὲ
27 καὶ μία ἑκατέροις φωνὴ ἀτεχνῶς βάρβαρος. οὐ
μὴν οὐδὲ τὸ εἶδος ἐς ἀλλήλους τι διαλλάσσουσιν.
εὐμήκεις τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλκιμοι διαφερόντως εἰσὶν

[1] ὁμολογοῦσιν K: om. L.
[2] ἐωνῆσθαι K: ὠνεῖσθαι L.

It is also true that in all other matters, practically speaking, these two barbarian peoples have had from ancient times the same institutions and customs. For they believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as for fate, they neither know it nor do they in any wise admit that it has any power among men, but whenever death stands close before them, either stricken with sickness or beginning a war, they make a promise that, if they escape, they will straightway make a sacrifice to the god in return for their life; and if they escape, they sacrifice just what they have promised, and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice. They reverence, however, both rivers and nymphs and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to all these also, and they make their divinations in connection with these sacrifices. They live in pitiful hovels which they set up far apart from one another, but, as a general thing, every man is constantly changing his place of abode. When they enter battle, the majority of them go against their enemy on foot carrying little shields and javelins in their hands, but they never wear corselets. Indeed some of them do not wear even a shirt or a cloak, but gathering their trews up as far as to their private parts they enter into battle with their opponents. And both the two peoples have also the same language, an utterly barbarous tongue. Nay further, they do not differ at all from one another in appearance. For they are all exceptionally tall and stalwart men, while

[3] ἐπὶ K: ἐς L.

ἅπαντες, τὰ δὲ σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας οὔτε λευκοὶ ἐσάγαν ἢ ξανθοί εἰσιν οὔτε πη ἐς τὸ μέλαν αὐτοῖς παντελῶς τέτραπται, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθροί εἰσιν
28 ἅπαντες. δίαιταν δὲ σκληράν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένην, ὥσπερ οἱ Μασσαγέται, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχουσι, καὶ ῥύπου ἧπερ ἐκεῖνοι [1] ἐνδελεχέστατα γέμουσι,[2] πονηροὶ μέντοι ἢ κακοῦργοι ὡς ἥκιστα τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, ἀλλὰ κἀν τῷ ἀφελεῖ διασώζουσι τὸ
29 Οὐννικὸν ἦθος. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὄνομα Σκλαβηνοῖς τε καὶ Ἄνταις ἓν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἦν· Σπόρους γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλουν, ὅτι δὴ σποράδην, οἶμαι, διεσκηνημένοι τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦσι.
30 διὸ δὴ καὶ γῆν τινα πολλὴν ἔχουσι· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον τῆς ἑτέρας τοῦ Ἴστρου ὄχθης αὐτοὶ νέμονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν λεὼν τοῦτον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
31 Ἄνται δὲ τότε ἀγειρόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἠνάγκαζον ὁμολογεῖν σφίσιν ὅτι Χιλβούδιος αὐτὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἴη.
32 ἀρνηθέντα τε κολάζειν ἠπείλουν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς πρέσβεις τινὰς παρὰ τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους στείλας ἠξίου ξυνοικίζεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς πόλιν ἀρχαίαν, Τούρριν ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις αὐτὴν δειμαμένου, ἔρημος δὲ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, λῃϊσα-
33 μένων αὐτὴν τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων. ταύτῃ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρᾳ [3] Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἅτε προσηκούσῃ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίοις

[1] ἐκεῖνοι K : ἐκεῖνοι πλήρεις L. [2] γέμουσι K : μένουσι L.
[3] τῇ—χώρᾳ Hoeschel in marg. : τῇ—χώραν K, τὴν—χωρία L.

their bodies and hair are neither very fair or blonde, nor indeed do they incline entirely to the dark type, but they are all slightly ruddy in colour. And they live a hard life, giving no heed to bodily comforts, just as the Massagetae do, and, like them, they are continually and at all times covered with filth; however, they are in no respect base or evil-doers, but they preserve the Hunnic character in all its simplicity. In fact, the Sclaveni and Antae actually had a single name in the remote past; for they were both called Spori in olden times, because, I suppose, living apart one man from another, they inhabit their country in a sporadic fashion. And in consequence of this very fact they hold a great amount of land; for they alone inhabit the greatest part of the northern bank of the Ister. So much then may be said regarding these peoples.

So on the present occasion the Antae gathered together, as has been said, and tried to compel this man to agree with them in the assertion that he was Chilbudius, the Roman general himself. And they threatened, if he denied it, to punish him. But while this affair was progressing in the manner described, meantime the Emperor Justinian had sent some envoys to these very barbarians, through whom he expressed the desire that they should all settle in an ancient city, Turris by name, situated to the north of the river Ister. This city had been built by the Roman emperor Trajan in earlier times, but for a long time now it had remained unoccupied, after it had been plundered by the barbarians of that region. It was this city and the lands about it that the Emperor Justinian agreed to give them, asserting that it had belonged to the Romans

ὡμολόγει δεδωρήσεσθαι[1] καὶ σφίσι ξυνοικιεῖν μὲν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ, χρήματα δὲ μεγάλα σφίσι προΐεσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἔνσπονδοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὄντες Οὔννοις ἐμπόδιοι ἐς ἀεὶ γένωνται, καταθεῖν βουλομένοις τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν.

34 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἤκουσαν, ἐπήνεσάν τε καὶ πράξειν ἅπαντα ὑπέσχοντο, εἴπερ αὐτοῖς τὸν Χιλβούδιον στρατηγὸν Ῥωμαίων αὖθις καταστησάμενος ξυνοικιστὴν δοίη, αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἰσχυριζόμενοι, ἥπερ ἠβούλοντο, Χιλβούδιον εἶναι.

35 ταύταις δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπαρθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἤδη καὶ αὐτὸς ἤθελέ τε καὶ ἔφασκε Χιλβούδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς εἶναι. ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτὸν στελλόμενον ἐς Βυζάντιον Ναρσῆς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ

36 πορείᾳ καταλαμβάνει. καὶ ξυγγενόμενος, ἐπεὶ φενακίζοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εὗρε (καίπερ τήν τε Λατίνων ἀφιέντα φωνὴν καὶ τῶν Χιλβουδίου γνωρισμάτων πολλὰ ἐκμαθόντα τε ἤδη καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοντα) ἔν τε δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖρξε καὶ τὸν πάντα ἐξειπεῖν λόγον ἠνάγκασεν, οὕτω τε ἐς Βυζάντιον ξὺν αὐτῷ ἤγαγεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

XV

Βασιλεὺς μὲν ταῦτα ἅπερ[2] μοι δεδήλωται ἔπρασσεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Βαλεντῖνόν

[1] δεδωρήσεσθαι K : δωρήσασθαι L. [2] ἅπερ K : ἥπερ L.

originally; and he further agreed to give them all the assistance within his power while they were establishing themselves, and to pay them great sums of money, on condition that they should remain at peace with him thereafter and constantly block the way against the Huns, when these wished to overrun the Roman domain.

When the barbarians heard this, they expressed approval and promised to carry out all the conditions, provided that he restore Chilbudius to the office of General of the Romans and assign him to assist them in the establishment of their city, stoutly maintaining, what they wished was so, that the man there among them was Chilbudius. Thereupon the man himself, being lifted up by these hopes, began now to claim and to assert, as well as the others, that he was Chilbudius the Roman general. Indeed he was setting out for Byzantium on this mission when Narses, in the course of his journey, came upon him. And when he met the man and found him to be playing the part of an imposter, although he spoke in the Latin tongue and had already learned many of the personal peculiarities of Chilbudius and had been very successful in assuming them, he confined him in prison and compelled him to confess the whole truth, and thereafter brought him in his own train to Byzantium. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

XV

While the emperor was taking such measures as have been described, Belisarius on his part sent an army to the harbour of Rome under command of

τε καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα, Φωκᾶν ὄνομα, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, ξὺν στρατεύματι ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τό τε ἐν Πόρτῳ φρούριον ξυμφυλάξουσι τοῖς ἐνταῦθα φρουροῖς, ὥνπερ Ἰννοκέντιος ἦρχε, καὶ ὅπη ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ ᾖ[1] ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιούμενοι ξυνταράξουσι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατό-
2 πεδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Βαλεντῖνόν τε καὶ Φωκᾶν πέμψαντες λάθρα ἐς Ῥώμην σημαίνουσι Βέσσᾳ ὡς αὐτίκα δὴ ἐπιέναι τῶν ἐναντίων τῷ χαρακώματι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου μέλλουσι· δεήσει οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενον, ἡνίκα αἴσθηται τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς, βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ, ὅπως τι καὶ δρᾶν τοὺς
3 βαρβάρους ἑκάτεροι δυνήσονται μέγα. Βέσσᾳ δὲ ταῦτα οὐδαμῇ ἤρεσκε, καίπερ ἐς τρισχιλίους στρατιώτας ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχοντι. διὸ δὴ καὶ Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ξὺν πεντακοσίοις ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐπισκήψαντες τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ ὀλίγους μέν τινας ἔκτειναν, αἴσθησίς τε τοῦ ἐνθένδε θορύβου τοῖς πολιορκου-
4 μένοις ταχὺ γέγονεν. ὡς δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεξῄει, κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸν λιμένα κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἀνεχώρησαν.

5 Πέμψαντές τε παρὰ Βέσσαν αὖθις ἠτιῶντο μὲν ὄκνησίν τινα οὐ δέον αὐτῷ ἐμπεπτωκέναι, ἰσχυριζόμενοι δὲ ὡς ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον ἑτέραν ἐπεκδρομὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ποιήσονται παρεκάλουν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐς καιρὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιθέσθαι δυνάμει
6 τῇ πάσῃ. ὁ δὲ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τὸ μὴ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπεξιόντα διακινδυνεύειν ἀπεῖπεν. οἱ

[1] ᾖ L: ἦν K.

Valentinus and one of his own bodyguards, Phocas by name, an exceptionally able warrior, with instructions to join the garrison in Portus, which was commanded by Innocentius, and to assist them in guarding that fortress; and wherever they found it possible, they were to make excursions and harass the enemy's camp. Consequently, Valentinus and Phocas secretly sent a messenger into Rome bearing the intelligence to Bessas that they were at that moment about to make a sudden attack upon the stockade of their opponents; he should, therefore, on his part, select the most warlike of the soldiers in Rome, and, whenever he observed their assault, rush to their assistance, so that each of the two forces might be able to inflict some great injury upon the barbarians. Bessas, however, was by no means taken with this plan, notwithstanding the fact that he had as many as three thousand soldiers under him. Thus it was that Valentinus and Phocas with a force of five hundred descended unexpectedly upon the enemy's camp and killed a few men, and the tumult occasioned thereby soon reached the ears of the besieged.[1] But seeing that no one came out from the city against the camp, they quickly retired to the harbour without suffering any loss.

So they sent to Bessas a second time, and first charging him with having had a regrettable attack of timidity, they declared that they would soon make another assault upon the enemy and urged that he too should fall upon the barbarians with all his strength at the proper moment. Bessas, however, still refused to make a sally against his opponents

[1] *i.e.* in Rome.

μέντοι ἀμφὶ Βαλεντῖνόν τε καὶ Φωκᾶν ξὺν στρατῷ πλείονι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπεσεῖσθαι διενοοῦντο καὶ
7 ἐν παρασκευῇ ἤδη ἐγένοντο. στρατιώτης δέ τις ὑπὸ Ἰννοκεντίῳ ταττόμενος αὐτόμολος παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἦκων ἀγγέλλει ὡς ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἔφοδος ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔσται.
8 καὶ ὃς τῶν χωρίων ὅσα ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο εἶχεν ἐνέδραις ἔγνω προλοχίζειν ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. οὗ δὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Βαλεντῖνός τε καὶ Φωκᾶς ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐμπεπτωκότες τούς τε πλείστους ἀποβάλλουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ θνήσκουσιν. ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μόλις διαφυγόντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον κομίζονται.
9 Τότε καὶ Βιγίλιος, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεύς, ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴν ἔχων ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας σίτου ἐμπλησάμενος ἔπεμψεν, οἰόμενος ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τοῖς τὰ φορτία παραπέμπουσιν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
10 ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. αἱ μὲν οὖν νῆες αὗται ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα, αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι χρόνῳ τε βραχεῖ προτερήσαντες ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἐγένοντο καὶ τῶν τειχῶν[1] ἐντὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψαν, ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αἱ νῆες ἐνταῦθα
11 κατάρωσι, κρατήσωσιν αὐτῶν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. ὅπερ κατιδόντες ὅσοι φρουρὰν ἐν Πόρτῳ εἶχον, ἔς τε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀνέβαινον ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια σείοντες τοῖς ἐν[2] ταῖς ναυσὶ σημαίνειν ἐβούλοντο μὴ πρόσω ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἑτέρωσε,[3] ὅπη παρατύχῃ,
12 ἐκτρέπεσθαι. οἱ δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων οὐ ξυνιέντες, ἀλλὰ χαίρειν τε τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πόρτῳ Ῥωμαίους

[1] τειχῶν Herwerden : τείχων K, τοίχων L.
[2] τοῖς ἐν L : om. K.
[3] ἑτέρωσε L : ἑτέρωθι K.

and risk a battle. Still Valentinus and Phocas were purposing to assail the enemy in larger force and had already made their preparations. But a certain soldier of Innocentius' command went as a deserter to Totila and carried the news that on the following day there would be an attack upon them from Portus. So Totila decided to fill with ambuscades of soldiers all the places which were adapted for this purpose. On the following day, therefore, Valentinus and Phocas fell into these ambuscades, and not only lost the most of their men, but were also killed themselves. And only a small handful made their escape with difficulty and betook themselves to Portus.

It was at this time that Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome,[1] who was then sojourning in Sicily, filled with grain as many ships as he could and sent them off, thinking that in some way or other those who were conveying the cargoes would be able to get into Rome. So these ships were sailing toward the Roman harbour, but the enemy spied them and got to the harbour a short time before the ships arrived; there they concealed themselves inside the walls, their purpose being that, as soon as the ships should come to the land there, they might capture them with no difficulty. And when all the men keeping guard in Portus observed this, they went up to the battlement, every man of them, and by waving their cloaks strove to signal the men on the ships not to come ahead, but to turn aside and go elsewhere—anywhere in fact, where chance might lead them. But the men on the ships failed to comprehend what they were doing, supposing that the Romans

[1] Vigilius was Pope from 537–555.

οἰόμενοι καὶ σφᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα παρακαλεῖν, τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφόρου ὄντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ
13 λιμένος κατὰ τάχος ἐγένοντο. ἔπλεον δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἄλλοι τε Ῥωμαίων πολλοὶ καί τις ἐπίσκοπος Βαλεντῖνος ὄνομα. ἔκ τε τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν πλοίων ἁπάντων
14 οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐκράτησαν. καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπίσκοπον ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ τὸν Τουτίλαν ἤγαγον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἔκτειναν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς σὺν τοῖς φορτίοις ἐφέλκοντες ᾤχοντο.
15 τούτου ὁ Τουτίλας ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερέως ὅσα ἐβούλετο, ἐπενεγκών[1] τε[2] αὐτῷ, ὅτι δὴ ὡς ἥκιστα
16 ἀληθίζεται, ἄμφω τὼ χεῖρε ἀπέκοψε.[3] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ ἐνδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

XVI

Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεύς, βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐκ Σικελίας μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ πολύν τινα χρόνον διὰ τοῦτο ἐν Σικελίᾳ διατριβὴν[4] ἔχων.
2 Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον[5] Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ πολιορκούμενοι ἁπάντων ἤδη σφᾶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντων ἐς βρώσεις οὐχ ὁσίας
3 τινάς, βιαζόμενοι τῷ λιμῷ, ἦλθον. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφᾶς τε

[1] ἐπενεγκὼν K: ἐπενεγκόντες L.
[2] τε K, Suidas: δὲ L.
[3] ἀπέκοψε K: ἀπέκοψαν L.
[4] διατριβὴν Braun: τριβὴν MSS.

in Portus were rejoicing and inviting them to the harbour, and since they had a favouring wind they quickly got inside the harbour. Now there were many Romans on board the ships, and among them a certain bishop named Valentinus. Then the barbarians arose from their hiding place and took possession of all the boats without encountering any resistance. And as for the bishop, they took him prisoner and led him before Totila, but all the rest they killed, and drawing the boats up on shore with their cargoes still in them, they departed. And Totila made such enquiries of this priest as he wished, and then accused him of not telling the truth in any respect and so cut off both his hands. Such was the course of these events. And the winter drew to a close, and the eleventh year ended 546 A.D. in this war, the history of which Procopius has written.

XVI

And Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, in obedience to the emperor's summons, came to Byzantium from Sicily; for he had been waiting a considerable time in Sicily for this summons.

It was at about this time that the Romans besieged in Placentia, seeing that all their provisions had now been completely exhausted, resorted to foods of an unnatural sort under constraint of famine. In fact they had actually tasted each other's flesh. And it was because of this situation that they came to terms with the Goths and

---

[5] *τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον* K, correction in red, L: *τούτων τῶν χρόνων* K.

αὐτοὺς καὶ Πλακεντίαν ὁμολογίᾳ Γότθοις παρέδωκαν.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε καὶ Ῥώμην πρὸς
Τουτίλα πολιορκουμένην ἅπαντα ἤδη τὰ ἀναγκαῖα
5 ἐπελελοίπει. ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Ῥώμης ἱερεῦσιν,
ὄνομα μὲν Πελάγιος, διάκονος δὲ τὴν τιμήν, ὃς δὴ
ἐν Βυζαντίῳ χρόνον διατρίψας συχνὸν φίλος μὲν
ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονε,
χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένος μεγάλα ἐς Ῥώμην
6 ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἐτύγχανεν ἀφικόμενος. ἐν
ταύτῃ τε τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων
ἀπορουμένοις πλεῖστα τῶν χρημάτων προέμενος,[1]
ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἔν γε Ἰταλιώταις ἅπασι δόκιμος,
μεῖζον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ κλέος
7 ἀπήνεγκε. τοῦτον Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Πελάγιον, ἐπειδὴ
τὰ ἀμήχανα τῷ λιμῷ ἔπασχον, πείθουσι παρὰ
Τουτίλαν τε ἰέναι καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τινῶν
ἐκεχειρίαν διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ, ἢν μή
τις αὐτοῖς ἐπικουρία ταύτης δὴ ἐντὸς τῆς ἐκεχειρίας ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀφίκηται, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς
ὁμολογίᾳ καὶ τὴν πόλιν Γότθοις ἐνδώσουσιν.
8 ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ Πελάγιος παρὰ[2]
Τουτίλαν ἦλθεν. ἥκοντά τε αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας
ἀσπασάμενος αἰδοῖ τε καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ πολλῇ
πρῶτος[3] ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

9 "Πᾶσι μέν, ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εἰπεῖν, νόμος
βαρβάροις τὸ χρῆμα τῶν πρέσβεων σέβειν, ἐμοὶ
δὲ τοὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιουμένους, οἷος αὐτὸς
εἶ, καὶ ἄλλως τιμᾶν ἐν σπουδῇ ἄνωθεν γέγονε.
10 τιμὴν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν ἐς ἄνδρα πρεσβευτὴν οὐ

[1] προέμενος KH : προϊέμενος L.
[2] παρὰ LH : ἐπὶ K.

surrendered both themselves and Placentia to them. Such was the course of events here.

At Rome likewise, as it laboured under the siege of Totila, all the necessaries of life had already failed. Now there was a certain man among the priests of Rome, Pelagius by name, holding the office of deacon; he had passed a considerable time in Byzantium and had there become especially intimate with the Emperor Justinian, and it so happened that he had a short time previously arrived at Rome possessed of a great fortune. And during this siege he had bestowed a great part of his fortune upon those destitute of the necessaries of life; and thus, though he had been a notable person even before that time, among all the Italians, now quite naturally he won still greater renown for philanthropy. So the Romans, finding their situation desperate by reason of the famine, persuaded this Pelagius to go before Totila and negotiate for them an armistice of only a few days, the understanding to be that, if within the time of that armistice no help should reach them from Byzantium, they would surrender both themselves and the city to the Goths. Pelagius accordingly went on this mission to Totila. And when he came, Totila greeted him with great respect and friendliness, and then spoke first as follows:

"Among all barbarian peoples it is a well-nigh universal custom to reverence the office of ambassadors, and I for my part have always been eager to honour particularly those, such as yourself, who can lay claim to excellence. Now it is my opinion that the distinction between honour and insult to a man

[3] πρῶτος K, corr., LH : πρώτως K pr. m.

πραότητι προσώπων οὐδὲ ῥημάτων ὄγκῳ τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων διακεκρίσθαι οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ ἀληθίζεσθαι ἢ λόγοις οὐχ ὑγιαίνουσιν ἐς αὐτὸν
11 χρῆσθαι. τετιμῆσθαι μὲν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἐκείνῳ ξυμβαίνει, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀποκαλύψαντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, οὕτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποπέμποιντο, περιυβρίσθαι δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ, ὃς ἂν ὑπούλων τε καὶ ξυμπεπλασμένων [1] ἀκούσας ῥημάτων ἀπιὼν
12 οἴχοιτο. τριῶν τοίνυν ἐκτός, ὦ Πελάγιε, τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, ὅτου ἂν δεηθείης, οὐ μή ποτε
13 πρὸς ἡμῶν ἀτυχήσεις. ἃ δὴ φυλασσόμενόν σε σιωπᾶν ἄμεινον, ὅπως μὴ σαυτῷ αἰτιώτατος γεγονὼς τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνύειν ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθες τὴν
14 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μέμψιν ἡμῖν ἀναθήσεις. τῷ γὰρ μὴ ἐπιτηδείως τοῖς παροῦσιν αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν κατορθοῦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμπέφυκε. λέγω δὲ ὅπως μήτε Σικελιωτῶν τινος ἕνεκα μήτε τῶν Ῥώμης περιβόλων, ἢ τῶν προσκεχωρηκότων ἡμῖν
15 οἰκετῶν, τοὺς λόγους ποιήσεις.[2] οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἢ Γότθους φειδοῖ [3] ἐς [4] Σικελιωτῶν τινα [5] χρήσεσθαι,[6] ἢ τόδε τὸ τεῖχος ἑστάναι, ἢ δούλους τοὺς [7] ξὺν ἡμῖν στρατευσαμένους τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις δουλεύειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀλογίστῳ ταῦτα προτείνεσθαι γνώμῃ τῷ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτίκα ἐξειπεῖν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκλύσομεν.

[1] ξυμπεπλασμένων KL : ξυμπεπλεγμένων H.
[2] ποιήσεις Hoeschel : ποιήσειν KL, ποιῇ H.
[3] φειδοῖ H : om. KL.
[4] ἐς KH : ἐκ L.
[5] τινα KH : τινι L.
[6] χρήσεσθαι KH : χαρίσεσθαι L.

clothed with the office of ambassador is not made by a smiling countenance or bombastic utterances on the part of those who receive him, but either by simply speaking the truth or, on the other hand, by addressing him with insincere speeches. For signal honour, on the one hand, is conferred upon him who has not been dismissed until the truth has been disclosed to him with directness, but the greatest possible insult, on the other hand, has been heaped upon that ambassador who takes his departure after hearing only deceitful and insincere phrases. Now, therefore, O Pelagius, with the exception of three things you will never fail to receive from us whatever you may crave. These things, then, you had best avoid and pass by without mention, so that you may not, though having been yourself most to blame for failing to accomplish any of the objects of your coming, impute to us the blame for this failure. For the inevitable consequence of making a request inappropriate to the actual situation is generally failure to gain one's object. I warn you, then, that you are to make no plea in the interest of either anyone of the Sicilians, or the fortifications of Rome, or the slaves who have put themselves under our protection. For it is impossible either for the Goths to shew any mercy to anyone of the Sicilians or for this wall to remain standing or for the slaves who have been serving in our army to return to the service of their former masters. And in order to avoid the appearance of advancing these demands in a spirit of unreason, we shall clear ourselves of that suspicion by stating our grounds immediately.

[7] τοὺς KL : τοὺς πάλαι H.

16 "Ἦν μὲν ἡ νῆσος εὐδαίμων ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ καρπῶν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν ἐκεῖ φυομένων πασῶν μάλιστα, ὥστε οὐ τοῖς αὐτὴν ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπαρκεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς ἐνθένδε εἰσκομιζομένους ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων φορὰν[1] διαρκῶς ἔχειν. 17 διόπερ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐδέοντο Θευδερίχου Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ πολλῶν ἐνταῦθα Γότθων καταστῆναι φρουράν, ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαι- 18 μονίᾳ ἐμπόδιον εἴη. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων κατέπλευσεν ἐς Σικελίαν ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατός, οὔτε ἀνδρῶν πλήθει οὔτε ἄλλῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ 19 ἀξιόμαχοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὄντες. Σικελιῶται δὲ τὸν στόλον ἰδόντες οὐκ ἐς Γότθους ταῦτα ἀνήνεγκαν, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι καθεῖρξαν αὑτούς, οὐκ ἄλλο προσκρούειν τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐδὲν ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἀναπετάσαντες προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ τὰς τῶν πόλεων πύλας ἐδέξαντο ὑπτίαις χερσὶ τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στρατόν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τὰ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀπιστότατα, ἐκ χρόνου καιροφυλακοῦντες πολλοῦ δραπετεῦσαι μὲν τῆς τῶν κεκτημένων χειρός, νέους δέ τινας καὶ ἀγνῶτας αὐτοῖς 20 δεσπότας εὑρεῖν. ἐντεῦθέν τε ὁρμώμενοι καθάπερ ἐξ ἐπιτειχίσματος οἱ πολέμιοι τήν τε ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν ἀπονητὶ ἔσχον καὶ Ῥώμην τήνδε κατέλαβον, σῖτον ἐκ Σικελίας ἐπαγαγόμενοι[2] τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος, ὥστε πολιορκουμένοις[3] ἐς ἐνιαυτοῦ

[1] φορὰν KH: εἰσφορὰν L.
[2] ἐπαγαγόμενοι KH: ἐπαγόμενοι L.
[3] πολιορκουμένοις L: πολιορκουμένους KH.

[1] Sicily.

"In the first place, then, that island[1] from ancient times enjoyed an unrivalled degree of prosperity, as evidenced by its revenues and by the abundance of the crops produced therein, so that it not only provided enough for its inhabitants, but you Romans also were abundantly supplied by importing annually as tribute the produce of Sicilian fields. It was for this reason that the Romans begged Theoderic at the beginning of his reign that no numerous garrison of Goths should be placed there, so that no check might be put upon the freedom of the inhabitants or their general prosperity. In such circumstances the enemy's army put in at Sicily with a force which was a match for us neither in numbers of men nor in any other respect whatever. But the Sicilians, upon seeing the fleet, did not report this to the Goths, did not even shut themselves into their strongholds, did not consent to shew hostility to our adversaries in any other manner, but opening the gates of their cities with all zeal received the army of the enemy with open arms,[2] just as I suppose the most untrustworthy slaves would do, who had for a long time been watching for the favourable moment to escape from the hand of their owners and find some new and unknown masters. Then by using that island as a base, the enemy, as if fighting from an advanced fortress, without difficulty possessed themselves of all Italy and seized upon this city of Rome, having brought with them from Sicily such a great quantity of grain that, though they were besieged for an entire year, it continued to suffice for the whole

[2] Literally "upturned hands."

μῆκος ἀντέχειν ξύμπασι Ῥωμαίοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν Σικελιωτῶν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, ὧνπερ αὐτοῖς Γότθους[1] συγγνώμονας εἶναι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἔσται, τοῦ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ὄγκου παραιρουμένου τοῖς ἠδικηκόσι τὸν ἔλεον.

Τούτων δὲ τῶν περιβόλων ἐντὸς καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες παρατάσσεσθαι ἡμῖν οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, σοφίσμασι δὲ καὶ παραγωγαῖς ἀεί τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν Γότθους[2] ἐκκρούοντες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου γεγένηνται. ὅπως τοίνυν καὶ ὕστερον μὴ ταῦτα πάθοιμεν προνοεῖν ἄξιον. τοὺς γὰρ ἅπαξ ἀγνοίᾳ σφαλέντας ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν αὖθις ἐκπεπτωκέναι[3] κακοπραγίαν οὐ προειδομένους τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἤδη συνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς συμφοράν, οὐ τύχης ἐναντίωμα γεγενῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐς ἄνοιαν τῶν ἐπταικότων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, περιίστασθαι. προσθείη δ' ἄν τις ὡς καὶ τὸν Ῥώμης καθαιρεθῆναι περίβολον μάλιστα πάντων ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει. οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων γὰρ τὸ λοιπὸν καθειργμένοι πάντων τε ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων,[4] πολιορκηθήσεσθε πρὸς τῶν ἐπιόντων, ἀλλὰ κινδυνεύσουσι[5] μὲν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι, ἆθλον δὲ τῶν νικώντων ὑμεῖς οὐ μετὰ κινδύνων ὑμετέρων γενήσεσθε. τῶν μέντοι προσκεχωρηκότων ἡμῖν οἰκετῶν ἕνεκα τοσαῦτα ἐροῦμεν, ὡς, ἥνπερ[6] ἐκείνους συνταξαμένους τε

[1] Γότθους MSS.: ἡμᾶς Suidas.
[2] Γότθους MSS.: ἡμᾶς Suidas.
[3] ἐκπεπτωκέναι KL: ἐμπεπτωκέναι H.
[4] ἀναγκαίων LH: ἐναντίων K.
[5] κινδυνεύσουσι Maltretus: κινδυνεύουσι MSS.

population of the city. Such is the case of the Sicilians, whose misdeeds have been such that it will be utterly impossible for the Goths to shew them forgiveness, seeing that the gravity of the accusations sweeps away all compassion for the guilty.

"In the second place, it was within these walls that our enemy shut himself and from which he was quite unwilling to come down into the plain and array himself against us, but by crafty wiles and baffling tricks, he ever flouted the Goths from day to day, and thus became, quite undeservedly, master of our possessions. Consequently it is worth while for us to make provision that we shall not have this same experience a second time. For when men who have once met with a reverse through ignorance fall into the same evil plight again without providing against the calamity which has already become familiar to them by experience, men believe what has befallen them to be no adversity of fortune, but in all likelihood a proof of the folly of the victims of the disaster. And one might add that the destruction of the walls of Rome will benefit you above all others. For you will not hereafter be shut in with others and excluded from all the necessaries of life while you suffer siege at the hands of the assailants of the city, but, on the contrary, the two armies will stake their chances in open battle against one another, while you, without perils on your part, will simply become the prize of the victors. In the third place, regarding the slaves who have put themselves under our protection, we shall say only this, that if, after they have taken their places in

[6] ἤνπερ L: εἴπερ K, ἦν παρ' H.

ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὁμολογίαν κεκομισμένους[1] τοῦ μή ποτε αὐτοὺς τοῖς πάλαι κεκτημένοις προήσεσθαι[2] τανῦν ἐγχειρίσειν[3] ὑμῖν γνοίημεν, οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὸ
26 πιστὸν ἔξομεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι, τὸν τῶν ξυγκειμένων ἐς τοὺς ἁπάντων οἰκτροτάτους ὀλιγωροῦντα βέβαιον ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ γνώμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῆς φύσεως ἄλλο τι γνώρισμα ἐς πάντας τοὺς αὐτῷ ξυμβάλλοντας τὴν ἀπιστίαν ἀεὶ περιφέρειν[4] φιλεῖ."[5]

27 Τουτίλας μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε, Πελάγιος δὲ ἀμείβεται ὧδε· "Κατεσπουδάσθαι σοι μάλιστα πάντων ἐμέ τε, ὦ γενναῖε, καὶ τὸ τῆς πρεσβείας ὑπειπὼν ὄνομα ἐν μοίρᾳ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἀτιμοτάτῃ
28 ξυνέταξας. ὑβρίζειν γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρα φίλον τε καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἔγωγε οἶμαι οὐχ ὃς ἂν κατὰ κόρρης πατάξαι[6] καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀσελγείᾳ ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσαιτο, ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν ἄπρακτον ἀποπέμψασθαι
29 τὸν ἐς αὐτὸν ἥκοντα γνοίη. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως τιμῆς πρὸς τῶν ὑποδεξαμένων τινὸς τύχωσι, καθεῖναι αὑτοὺς ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' ὅπως τι ἀγαθὸν διαπεπραγμένοι τοῖς ἐσταλκόσιν
30 ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπανήξωσιν.[7] ὥστε προπηλακισθέντας ξυνοίσει μᾶλλον διαπεπρᾶχθαί τι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον ἢ λόγων ἐπιεικεστέρων[8] ἀκούσαντας τῆς ἐλπίδος

[1] κεκομισμένους KL: κεκοσμημένους H.
[2] προήσεσθαι KH: προέσθαι L.
[3] ἐγχειρίσειν K: ἐγχειριεῖν H.
[4] ἀεὶ περιφέρειν LH: εἰ περιφέρει K.
[5] φιλεῖ V_1 H: φιλεῖν KL.
[6] πατάξαι Haury: πατάξας MSS.
[7] ἐπανήξωσιν Scaliger: ἐπανήξουσιν MSS.

our ranks against our adversaries and have received from us the promise that we will never abandon them to their former masters, we should at the present juncture decide to put them into your hands, we shall have no right to be trusted by you either. For it is impossible—impossible, I say—for the man who makes light of his covenant with the most unfortunate of men to give evidence of a spirit that can be relied on in dealing with anyone else, but he always carries along with him his untrustworthiness, just as he does any other characteristic that reveals his true nature in all his dealings with other men."

Thus spoke Totila; and Pelagius replied as follows: "Though you began, excellent Sir, by saying that you have the very greatest admiration not only for me, but also for the ambassadorial title, you have in fact assigned us to the very lowest grade of dishonour. Indeed I for my part think that he who really insults one who is both friend and ambassador is not the man who may strike him on the head or otherwise maltreat him, but rather he who decides to allow his visitor to depart with his mission unaccomplished. For it is not with the purpose of achieving any honour at the hands of those who receive them that men are accustomed to submit to the labours of an embassy, but in order that they may return with some good accomplished to those who have sent them. Consequently, it will be more favourable to their purpose to have been treated with wanton contempt and still have accomplished some of the objects for which they came, than, after hearing more courteous words, to return disappointed in

[8] λόγων ἐπιεικεστέρων LH: λόγον ἐπιεικέστερον K.

ἀποτυχόντας ἐπανελθεῖν. παραιτεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν
οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ[1] περὶ τούτων ὧν αὐτὸς εἴρηκας.
31 τί γὰρ ἄν τις ἐνοχλοίη τόν γε πρὸ τῆς ἀπολογίας
ἀπειπόντα τὴν ξύμβασιν; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἂν
σιωπῴην, ὡς ἔνδηλος εἶ ὁπόσην ἐς Ῥωμαίους
τοὺς σοὶ ὅπλα ἀντάραντας φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνδείκνυ-
σθαι μέλλεις, ὃς ἐς Σικελιώτας τοὺς οὐδαμῇ σοι
ἀπηυτηκότας ἀκήρυκτον τὸ ἔχθος ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔγνως.
32 ἀλλ' ἔγωγε μεθεὶς τὴν πρὸς σὲ δέησιν τὴν πρεσ-
βείαν ἐς τὸν θεὸν μεταθήσομαι, ὃς δὴ τοῖς τὰς
ἱκεσίας[2] ὑπερφρονοῦσι νεμεσᾶν εἴωθε."

XVII

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπηλλάσσετο.
καὶ αὐτὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἄπρακτον ἐπανήκοντα
εἶδον, ἐν πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο. ἔτι τε
μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων ὁ λιμὸς[3] ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ ἀνήκεστα
αὐτοὺς ἔργα εἰργάζετο. τοὺς μέντοι στρατιώτας
οὔπω τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπελελοίπει, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀντεῖχον.
2 διὸ δὴ ἀθρόοι Ῥωμαῖοι γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς τοῦ
βασιλέως στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι, Βέσσᾳ τε καὶ
Κόνωνι, προσελθόντες, δεδακρυμένοι ξὺν οἰμωγῇ
πολλῇ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε· "Τοιαύτας μὲν οὔσας, ὦ
στρατηγοί, τύχας ἡμῖν τὰς παρούσας ὁρῶμεν,
ὥστε εἰ καί τι δρᾶν ὑμᾶς ἀνόσιον ἔργον ἰσχύομεν,
οὐκ ἄν τινα ἡμῖν τὸ ἔγκλημα τοῦτο μέμψιν
3 ἐπήνεγκεν. ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπερβολὴ τὴν

[1] ὅτι δεῖ H : ὅτι δὴ K : εἴ τί γε δεῖ L.
[2] ἱκεσίας KH : ἱκετείας L. [3] λιμὸς L : λοιμὸς K.

their hope. Turning now to the present situation, I know not what plea I ought to make concerning those things which you yourself have mentioned. For why should one importune him who had refused an agreement before hearing the plea? This, however, I could not leave unsaid, that it is clear what measure of kindness you are purposing to display toward the Romans who have taken up arms against you, seeing that, with regard to the Sicilians, you have determined to vent your enmity upon them without mercy, though they have in no way opposed you. But as for me, I shall give over my petition to you and refer my mission to God, who is accustomed to send retribution upon those who scorn the prayers of suppliants."

XVII

With such words Pelagius departed. And when the Romans saw him returning unsuccessful, they fell into a state of helpless despair. For the famine, becoming still more acute, was working terrible havoc among them from day to day. The soldiers, however, had not yet exhausted their supplies, but they could still hold out. The Romans therefore gathered in a throng and came before Bessas and Conon, the commanders of the emperor's army; there with weeping and loud lamentation they spoke to them as follows: "The fate, Generals, which we see to be upon us at the present time is such that, if we actually had the power to commit some unholy deed against you, such a crime would have brought upon us no reproach. For the overwhelming constraint of necessity furnishes of itself

ἀπολογίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἔχει. νῦν δὲ ἀμύνειν ἔργῳ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες, δηλώσοντές τε λόγῳ καὶ ἀποκλαύσοντες τὴν ξυμφορὰν παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥκομεν. ὅπως δὲ ἀκούσησθε[1] πρᾴως, οὐ ξυνταρασσόμενοι τῷ τῶν λόγων θράσει, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ πάθους ἀκμῇ τοῦτο σταθμώμενοι. ὁ γὰρ ἀπογνῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἠναγκασμένος οὐκ ἔργοις, οὐ ῥήμασι τὴν εὐκοσμίαν διασώσασθαι τὸ λοιπὸν δύναται. ἡμᾶς, ὦ στρατηγοί, μήτε Ῥωμαίους μήτε ξυγγενεῖς ὑμῖν νομίζετε εἶναι, μήτε ὁμοτρόπους τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας ἤθεσι γεγονέναι, μήτε ἀρχὴν ἑκόντας τῇ πόλει τὸν[2] βασιλέως δέχεσθαι στρατόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμίους τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντας καὶ ὅπλα ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἀραμένους, εἶτα ἡσσηθέντας τῇ μάχῃ, ἀνδράποδα δορυάλωτα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κατά γε τὸν τοῦ πολέμου γενέσθαι νόμον. καὶ χορηγεῖτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αἰχμαλώτοις τροφὴν οὐ[3] κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἀποχρῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὥστε ἀποζῆν διαρκῶς ἔχουσαν, ὅπως δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς περιόντες ἀνθυπουργήσωμεν ὑμῖν ὅσα τοὺς οἰκέτας τοῖς κεκτημένοις ὑπηρετεῖν ἄξιον. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἢ[4] βουλομένοις ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι ἡμᾶς τῆς ὑμετέρας δικαιοῦτε χειρός, ἐκεῖνο κερδανοῦντες, τὸ μὴ περὶ τὰς τῶν δούλων πονεῖσθαι ταφάς· ἢν δὲ μηδὲ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἀπολέλειπται, ἀποκτιννύναι ἡμᾶς ἀξιοῦτε καὶ μὴ ἀποστερήσητε τελευτῆς σώφρονος μηδὲ θανάτου φθονήσητε τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου, ἀλλὰ

[1] ἀκούσησθε K : ἀκούσεσθε L.
[2] τὸν L : τῶν K pr. m., τοῦ K corr.
[3] οὐ K : οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν οὐδὲ L.

a sufficient defence. But now, seeing that our strength cannot suffice for our defence, we have resorted to words and have come before you to make our position clear and to lament over our misfortune; and do you hear us with forbearance, not being stirred up by the boldness of our words, but judging it with due regard to the acuteness of our suffering. For he who has been compelled to despair of safety can no longer control his actions —no, nor his words—so as to preserve decorum. As for us, Generals, do not consider us to be either Romans or fellow-countrymen of yours, or even to have assimilated our ways of government to yours, and do not suppose that in the beginning we received the emperor's army into the city willingly, but regard us as enemies from the first and as men who have taken up arms against you, and later, when defeated in battle, have become your captive slaves simply in accordance with the customs of war. And do you furnish sustenance to these your captives, if not in quantities sufficient for our needs, at least in such measure as to make life possible, that by your so doing we too may survive and render you such service in return as it is fitting that slaves should render their masters. But if you find this difficult or contrary to your wish, then at least consent to release us from your hands, by which action you will gain this advantage that you will not be troubled by the burial of your slaves. And if even this favour is not left us, deign to put us to death and do not deprive us of an honourable end nor begrudge us death, which to us is the sweetest

---

[a] ἢ Haury: ἢ K, om. L, ἢ οὐ Scaliger.

πράξει μιᾷ μυρίων ἀπαλλάξατε Ῥωμαίους
8 δυσκόλων." ταῦτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βέσσαν ἀκούσαντες
τὸ μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια χορηγεῖν σφίσιν ἀδύνατον,
τὸ δὲ ἀποκτιννύναι ἀνόσιον ἔφασαν εἶναι, οὐ
μέντοι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀφεῖναι ἀκίνδυνον. Βελισάριον
δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
παρέσεσθαι ἰσχυρίσαντο, ταύτῃ τε αὐτοὺς παρη-
γορήσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο.
9 Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκμάζων τε καὶ
μηκυνόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα κακοῦ ἤρετο, βρώσεις
ὑποβάλλων ἐκτόπους τε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπερ-
10 ορίους. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Βέσσας τε καὶ
Κόνων, οἵπερ τοῦ ἐν Ῥώμῃ φυλακτηρίου ἦρχον
(σίτου γὰρ πολύ τι μέτρον ἐντὸς τοῦ Ῥώμης
περιβόλου ἐναποθέμενοι σφίσιν ἔτυχον), καὶ οἱ
στρατιῶται χρείας τῆς οἰκείας ἀποτεμνόμενοι
ἀπεδίδοντο Ῥωμαίων τοῖς εὖ πράσσουσι χρημά-
των μεγάλων· μεδίμνου μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ ἑπτὰ
11 ἐγεγόνει χρυσοῖ. οἷς μέντοι οὐχ οὕτω τὰ κατὰ
τὴν οἰκίαν ἐφέρετο, ὥστε βρώσεως ἐς τόσον
ἀξιωτέρας μεταλαγχάνειν ἱκανοῖς εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τῆς
τιμῆς τὸ τεταρτημόριον κατατιθέντες πιτύρων τε
τὸ μέδιμνον ἐμπλησάμενοι ἤσθιον, τῆς ἀνάγκης
αὐτοῖς ἡδίστην τε καὶ τρυφερωτάτην ποιούσης
12 τὴν βρῶσιν. καὶ βοῦν δέ, ὃν ἂν ἐπεξιόντες οἱ
Βέσσα ὑπασπισταὶ λάβοιεν, ἀπεδίδοντο κατὰ[1]
πεντήκοντα χρυσῶν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἵππος τεθνεὼς ἢ
ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον ὑπῆρχεν, ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν εὐδαί-
μοσιν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οὗτος ἐτάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ κρέασι

[1] κατὰ K: ῥωμαίοις L.

of all things, but by a single act free the Romans from ten thousand troubles." When Bessas and his officers heard this, they asserted, firstly, that to furnish them with provisions was impossible, secondly, that to put them to death would be unholy, and, thirdly, that even to release them was not without danger. But they insisted that Belisarius with the army from Byzantium would arrive right speedily, and after thus consoling them sent them away.

But the famine, becoming more severe as time went on, was greatly increasing its ravages, driving men to discover monstrous foods unknown to the natural desires of man. Now at first, since Bessas and Conon, who commanded the garrison in Rome, had, as it happened, stored away a vast supply of grain for their own use within the walls of Rome, they as well as the soldiers were constantly taking from the portion assigned for their own needs and selling at a great price to such Romans as were rich; for the price of a bushel had reached seven gold pieces.[1] Those however, whose domestic circumstances were such that they were unable to partake of food which was so much dearer, were able, by paying in cash one fourth of this price, to get their bushel measures filled with bran; this was their food and necessity made it most sweet and dainty to their taste. As for beef, whenever the bodyguards of Bessas captured an ox in making a sally, they sold it for fifty gold pieces.[1] And if any man had a horse or any other animal which had died, this Roman was counted among those exceedingly fortunate, seeing that he was able to live luxuriously

[1] Presumably *solidi aurei*, at this time worth about 12s. 7d. or $3.06 each.

13 ζῳου τεθνηκότος ἐντρυφᾶν[1] εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ ἄλλος
ἅπας ὅμιλος τὰς ἀκαλήφας μόνας ἤσθιον, οἷαι
πολλαὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον κἀν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις
14 πανταχῇ τῆς πόλεως φύονται. ὅπως δὲ αὐτοῖς
μὴ τὸ τῆς πόας δριμὺ τά τε χείλη καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ
τὴν φάρυγγα δάκνῃ[2] οὐ παρέργως αὐτὰς ἕψοντες
ἤσθιον.
15 Τέως[3] μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ νόμισμα
εἶχον, οὕτως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, τὸν σῖτον καὶ τὰ
πίτυρα ὠνούμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο
αὐτοὺς ἤδη ἐπελελοίπει, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν
ἀγορὰν τὰ ἔπιπλα πάντα βίον αὐτῶν τὸν[4]
16 ἐφήμερον ἀντηλλάσσοντο. τελευτῶντες δέ, ἐπεὶ[5]
οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται[6] σῖτον οὐκ εἶχον,[7]
ὅνπερ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπόδωνται,[8] πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι
τῷ Βέσσᾳ ὀλίγος ἔτι ἐλέλειπτο, οὔτε Ῥωμαῖοι
ὅτου ὠνοῖντο, ἐς τὰς ἀκαλήφας ἅπαντες ἔβλεπον.
17 ταύτης δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐ διαρκούσης τῆς βρώσεως, οἵ[9]
γε οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐς κόρον ἰέναι παντάπασιν εἶχον,
ἐξίτηλοι μὲν αἱ σάρκες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
ἐγίνοντο, τὸ δὲ χρῶμα ἐς τὸ πελιδνὸν κατὰ
βραχὺ ἦκον εἰδώλοις αὐτοὺς ἐμφερεστάτους
18 εἰργάζετο. πολλοί τε βαδίζοντες ἔτι καὶ τῶν
ὀδόντων αὐτοῖς μασσομένων τὰς ἀκαλήφας,
ἔθνησκόν τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἐς γῆν ἔπιπτον.
19 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλων τὴν κόπρον ἤσθιον. πολλοί
τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι διεχρήσαντο,

[1] ἐντρυφᾶν Haury : ἐντραγεῖν MSS.
[2] δάκνῃ K : δάκνηται L.
[3] τέως K : ἕως L.
[4] αὐτῶν τὸν K : αὐτοῖς L.
[5] ἐπεὶ K : ἐπεὶ οὔτε L.
[6] στρατιῶται K : στρατοῦ L.
[7] οὐκ εἶχον K : ἔτι L.

upon the flesh of a dead animal. But all the rest of the numerous inhabitants were eating nettles only, such as grow in abundance about the walls and among the ruins in all parts of the city. And in order to prevent the pungent herb from stinging their lips and throat they boiled them thoroughly before eating.

So long, then, as the Romans had their gold currency, they bought their grain and bran in the manner described and went their way; but when their supply of this had at length failed, then they brought all their household goods to the forum and exchanged them for their daily sustenance. But when, finally, the soldiers of the emperor had no grain which they could possibly sell to the Romans (except, indeed, that Bessas still had a little left), nor had the Romans anything with which to buy, they all turned to the nettles. But this food was insufficient for them, for it was utterly impossible to satisfy themselves with it, and consequently their flesh withered away almost entirely, while their colour, gradually turning to a livid hue, gave them a most ghostly appearance. And it happened to many that, even as they walked along chewing the nettles with their teeth, death came suddenly upon them and they fell to the ground. And now they were even beginning to eat each other's dung. There were many too, who, because of the pressure of the famine, destroyed themselves with their own

[8] *ἀπόδωνται* Editors: *ἀπόδονται* K corr., *ἀπώδονται* K pr. m., *ἀπόδονται εἶχον* L. [9] *οἵ* K: *ἐπεί* L.

ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε κύνας οὔτε μῦς εὕρισκον οὔτε ἄλλο τι ζῷον νεκρὸν[1] ὅτῳ σιτίζοιντο.

20 Ἦν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖος ἀνήρ, πέντε παίδων πατήρ, ὃν δὴ περιστάντες οἱ παῖδες καὶ
21 τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἁπτόμενοι τροφὴν ἔπραττον· ὁ δὲ οὔτε ἀνοιμώξας οὔτε ὅτι ξυνεταράχθη ἔνδηλος γεγονώς, ἀλλ' ἰσχυρότατα ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ πάθος ὅλον ἀποκρυψάμενος, ἔπεσθαί οἱ τοὺς παῖδας ὡς
22 δὴ τροφὴν ληψομένους ἐκέλευεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Τιβέριδος τὴν γέφυραν ἦλθε, δήσας ἐπὶ τῷ προσώπῳ θοιμάτιον, τούτῳ τε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καλυπτόμενος[2] ἤλατο ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὸ τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὕδωρ, θεωμένων τὰ δρώμενα τῶν τε παίδων καὶ πάντων Ῥωμαίων οἳ ταύτῃ ἦσαν.

23 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες λαμβάνοντες χρήματα ἕτερα μεθῆκαν Ῥωμαίους ὅσοις ἐνθένδε βουλομένοις ἦν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
24 ὀλίγων τε ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ᾤχοντο φεύγοντες ὡς πη ἕκαστος δυνατὸς[3] ἐγεγόνει. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῆς δυνάμεως καταμαρανθείσης αὐτοῖς τῷ λιμῷ ἤδη
25 πλέοντες ἢ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἀπέθανον. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ καταληφθέντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ διεφθάρησαν. Ῥωμαίων μὲν τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐκεχωρήκει ἐς τοῦτο ἡ τύχη.

XVIII

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Ἰσαάκῃ[4] στράτευμα ἐς Ἐπίδαμνόν τε ἀφίκετο καὶ Βελι-

[1] νεκρὸν K: om. L.
[2] καλυπτόμενος K: καλυψάμενος L.

hands; for they could no longer find either dogs or mice or any dead animal of any kind on which to feed.

Now there was a Roman in the city, the father of five children; and they gathered about him and, laying hold of his garment, kept demanding food. But he, without a word of lament and without letting it be seen that he was sorely troubled, but most steadfastly concealing all his suffering in his mind, bade the childern follow him as if for the purpose of getting food. But when he came to the bridge over the Tiber, he tied his cloak over his face, thus concealing his eyes, and leaped from the bridge into the waters of the Tiber, the deed being witnessed both by his children and by all the Romans who were there.

From that time on the imperial commanders, upon receiving further money, released such of the Romans as desired to depart from the city. And only a few were left in the city; for all the rest made their escape by flight in whatever manner proved possible for each one. But the most of these, since their strength had been utterly wasted away by the famine, perished as soon as they had begun their journey, whether by water or by land. Many too were caught on the road by the enemy and destroyed. To such a pass had come the fortune of the senate and people of Rome.

XVIII

When the army under John and Isaac had reached Epidamnus and joined Belisarius, John, on the one

[3] ἕκαστος δυνατὸς K: ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ L.
[4] καὶ ἰσαάκη K: om. L.

σαρίῳ ξυνέμιξεν, Ἰωάννης μὲν ἅπαντας διαπορθμευσαμένους[1] ἠξίου τὸν κόλπον πεζῇ ἰόντας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κοινῇ τὰ προσπίπτοντα φέρειν, Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ἀξύμφορον τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πλέουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην χωρία
2 μᾶλλον ξυνοίσειν· πεζῇ γὰρ ἰοῦσι χρόνον τε σφίσι τετρίψεσθαι πλείω καί τι[2] ὑπαντιάσειν ἴσως ἐμπόδιον· Ἰωάννην δὲ διά τε Καλαβρῶν καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ἐθνῶν ἰόντα ἐξελάσαι μὲν ὀλίγους κομιδῇ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάρους ὄντας, ὑποχείρια δὲ ποιησάμενον τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου ξυμμῖξαι σφίσιν ἥκοντα ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ Ῥώμην
3 χωρία. οὗ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς καταίρειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ διενοεῖτο. ᾤετο γὰρ πικρότατα πολιορκουμένων Ῥωμαίων, καί τινα, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, βραχυτάτην[3] τριβὴν τὰ ἀνήκεστα λυμανεῖσθαι
4 τοῖς πράγμασι. καὶ πλέουσι μὲν ἀνέμου τε σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπεσόντος πεμπταίοις[4] ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα καταίρειν δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι, στρατῷ δὲ ἐκ Δρυοῦντος πεζῇ ἰοῦσιν οὐδ' ἂν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ[5] γενέσθαι.

5 Ταῦτα Βελισάριος Ἰωάννῃ ἐπιστείλας παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρε· πνεύματος δὲ σκληροῦ
6 σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντος Δρυοῦντι προσέσχον. οὗπερ οἱ Γότθοι αἰσθόμενοι, ὅσοι δὴ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοῦ ἐνταῦθα φρουρίου, διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθὺς κομίζονται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Βρεντέσιον, δυοῖν μὲν ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Δρυοῦντος

[1] διαπορθμευσαμένους Haury: διαπορθμεύσας MSS.
[2] καί τι L: καί τι καὶ K.
[3] βραχυτάτην K: βραχυτάτην τούτων L.
[4] πεμπταίοις Hoeschel in marg.: πεμπταῖοι MSS.

hand, urged that they ferry all the troops across the gulf and proceed by land with the whole army, meeting together whatever opposition might develop against them; but Belisarius, on the other hand, considered this plan inexpedient, and thought that more was to be gained by sailing to the neighbourhood of Rome; for in going by land they would consume a longer time, and would perhaps be confronted by some obstacle; John meanwhile was to march through the territory of the Calabrians and the other peoples of that region, drive out the few barbarians who were there, and, after reducing to submission the territory south of the Ionian Gulf, march to the neighbourhood of Rome and rejoin his friends; it was here, indeed, that Belisarius purposed to land with the rest of the army. For he thought that, since the Romans were suffering most cruelly in the siege, even the smallest delay would, in all probability, bring disaster to their cause. And if they went by sea and met with a favouring wind, it would be possible to land at the harbour of Rome on the fifth day, while an army marching by land from Dryus could not reach Rome even within forty days.

So Belisarius gave these directions to John and set sail from there with his whole fleet; but a violent wind fell upon them, and they put in at Dryus. And when the Goths who had been stationed there to besiege the fortress saw this fleet, they abandoned the siege and straightway betook themselves to the neighbourhood of Brundisium, a city two days' journey distant from Dryus,[1] situated on the coast

[1] To the north.

[5] ἐν Ῥώμῃ Haury: om. MSS.

διέχουσαν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀκτῇ τοῦ κόλπου κειμένην, ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὑποτοπάζοντες Βελισάριον αὐτίκα δὴ διαβήσεσθαι τὸν ἐκείνῃ πορθμόν, ἔς τε
7 Τουτίλαν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. ὁ δὲ πάντα τε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ὑπαντιάσων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιήσατο καὶ Γότθους τοὺς[1] ἐν Καλαβρίᾳ ἐκέλευεν, ὅπη ἂν σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη, τὴν δίοδον ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν.

8 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Βελισάριος πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἐκ Δρυοῦντος ἀπέπλευσεν, οἵ τε Γότθοι ἀφροντιστήσαντες δίαιταν οὐ κατεσπουδασμένην ἐν Καλαβροῖς εἶχον καὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἡσυχῇ μένων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐφύλασσε τὰς ἐς Ῥώμην εἰσόδους, ὡς μή τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
9 δυνατὰ εἴη. ἔν τε τῷ Τιβέριδι ἐπενόει τάδε. χῶρον κατανοήσας ᾗ μάλιστα ὁ ποταμὸς ἐν στενῷ κάτεισιν, ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐνενήκοντα, δοκοὺς ἐσάγαν μακρὰς ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας ὄχθης ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐξικνουμένας ἐνταῦθα
10 ἐς γεφύρας κατέθετο σχῆμα. πύργους τε δύο ξυλίνους παρ' ἑκατέραν ὄχθην τεκτηνάμενος φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς μηκέτι ἀκάτοις τισὶν ἢ πλοίοις ἄλλοις ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἀναγομένοις ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιτητὰ εἴη.

11 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος μὲν ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λιμένα κατῆρε, καὶ τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στράτευμα ἔμενεν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἐς Καλαβρίαν διαπορθμεύεται, Γότθων ἥκιστα αἰσθομένων, οἳ δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, διατριβὴν
12 εἶχον. δύο τε τῶν πολεμίων λαβὼν ἐπὶ κατα-

[1] Γότθους τοὺς K: γότθοις τοῖς L.

of the gulf and without walls; for they supposed that Belisarius would immediately pass through the strait at Dryus;[1] and they reported their situation to Totila. He, for his part, put his own army in readiness to oppose Belisarius and commanded the Goths in Calabria to keep the passes under guard as best they could.

But when Belisarius, finding a favourable wind, sailed away from Dryus, the Goths in Calabria thought no more of him and began to conduct themselves carelessly, while Totila was content to remain quiet and to guard still more closely the approaches to Rome, so that it might be impossible to bring any kind of provisions into the city. And he devised the following structure on the Tiber. Observing a place where the river flows in a very narrow channel, about ninety stades distant from the city, he placed very long timbers, reaching from one bank to the other, so as to form a bridge at that point. Then he constructed two wooden towers, one on either bank, and placed in each one a garrison of warlike men, so that it might be no longer possible for boats of any kind whatever to make their way up from Portus and so enter the city.

Meanwhile Belisarius, on his part, landed at the harbour of Rome, while John with his army was remaining where he was. Then John ferried his force over to Calabria, quite unobserved by the Goths, who, as stated above, were waiting in the neighbourhood of Brundisium. And he captured two of the enemy who were going out as scouts,

[1] The Strait of Otranto; Belisarius would be hastening southward and so would leave them unmolested.

σκοπῇ ὁδῷ ἰόντας τὸν μὲν ἕνα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινεν, ἄτερος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων λαβόμενος
13 ζωγρεῖσθαι ἠξίου. "Οὐ γὰρ ἀχρεῖός σοι," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἔσομαι." ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰωάννου, τί δὲ[1] οὐκ ἀπολούμενος συνοίσειν ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ αὐτῷ μέλλει, Γότθοις ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡς ἥκιστα προσδεχομένοις
14 ἐπιστήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὃς ἀτυχήσειν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς δεήσεως οὐδαμῆ ἔφασκε, χρῆναι δέ οἱ πρῶτα τὰς τῶν ἵππων νομὰς ἐνδεικνύναι. ἐπεὶ οὖν ὡμολόγει καὶ ταῦτα ὁ βάρβαρος σὺν
15 αὐτῷ ἥξει. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς ἵππους νεμομένους καταλαβόντες ἀναθρώσκουσιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πεζοὶ ὄντες ἐτύγχανον· οἳ δὴ πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι ἦσαν. ἔπειτα δὲ χωροῦσι δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων[2] στρατό-
16 πεδον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἄνοπλοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι παντάπασιν ὄντες καὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καταπλαγέντες αὐτοῦ μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς μεμνημένοι, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες διαφυγόντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐκομίσθησαν.
17 Ἰωάννης δὲ Καλαβροὺς ἅπαντας παρηγορῶν τε καὶ τιθασσεύων ἐς εὔνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπηγάγετο, πολλὰ σφίσιν ὑποσχόμενος πρός τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἀγαθὰ
18 ἔσεσθαι. ἄρας τε ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου, πόλιν καταλαμβάνει Κανούσιον ὄνομα, ἣ κεῖται μὲν ἐν Ἀπουλίοις που μέσοις, πέντε δὲ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Βρεντεσίου διέχει ἐς τὰ
19 πρὸς ἑσπέραν τε καὶ Ῥώμην ἰόντι. τούτου

[1] δὲ MSS.: δὴ Herwerden.
[2] ἐναντίων K: πολεμίων L.

one of whom he killed immediately; but the other laid hold of his knees and begged to be made a prisoner. "For," he said, "I shall not be uselsss to you and the Roman army." And when John asked him what advantage he could possibly confer upon the Romans and him if he was not destroyed, the man promised to enable him to fall upon the Goths while they had not the least expectation of such a thing. Then John said that his prayer should not fail to be heard, but first he must shew him the pastures of their horses. This too the barbarian agreed to do and so he went with him. And first, upon finding the enemy's horses pasturing, all the men who happened to be on foot leaped upon their backs; and there was a large number of such men comprising some of the best troops. Next they advanced at full speed upon the camp of their opponents. And the barbarians, being unarmed and utterly unprepared, and terror-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, were most of them destroyed where they stood, utterly forgetful of their valour, and only a small number succeeded in escaping and made their way to Totila.

Then John began to console and pacify all the Calabrians, endeavouring to win them to loyalty to the emperor and promising that they would receive many benefits both from the emperor and from the Roman army. Then, departing as quickly as he could from Brundisium, he captured a city, Canusium[1] by name, which is situated approximately at the centre of Apulia and is distant from Brundisium five days' journey as one goes westward toward Rome. Twenty-

[1] Modern Canosa.

Κανουσίου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχουσι Κάνναι, ἵνα δὴ λέγουσι Λιβύων στρατηγοῦντος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἀννίβαλος τὸ μέγα πάθος ξυμβῆναι Ῥωμαίοις.

20 Ἐνταῦθα Τουλλιανός τις, Βεναντίου παῖς, ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, δύναμιν πολλὴν ἔν τε Βριττίοις καὶ Λευκανοῖς ἔχων, Ἰωάννῃ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων ἠτιᾶτο μὲν τὸν βασιλέως στρατὸν τῶν πρόσθεν ἐς Ἰταλιώτας αὐτοῖς εἰργασμένων, ὡμολόγει δέ, ἤν τινι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιεικείᾳ ἐς αὐτοὺς χρήσωνται, Βριττίους τε καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐγχειριεῖν σφίσι, κατηκόους βασιλεῖ αὖθις ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν

21 ἐσομένους οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἢ πρότερον ἦσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἑκόντας αὐτοὺς προσκεχωρηκέναι βαρβάροις τε καὶ Ἀρειανοῖς οὖσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα πρὸς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων βιαζομένους, πρὸς δὲ τῶν

22 βασιλέως στρατιωτῶν ἀδικουμένους. Ἰωάννου δὲ πάντα ἰσχυριζομένου πρὸς αὐτῶν[1] τὸ λοιπὸν Ἰταλιώταις τἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι, ξὺν αὐτῷ ὁ Τουλ-

23 λιανὸς ἦει. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑποψίᾳ οἱ στρατιῶται οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς Ἰταλιώτας ἔτι εἴχοντο, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ[2] Ἰονίου φίλιά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει κατήκοα.

24 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Τουτίλας ἤκουσε, Γότθων τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Καπύην πέμπει. οἷς δὴ ἐπέστελλεν, ἐπειδὰν τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στράτευμα ἐνθένδε ἴδοιεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντας, ἔπεσθαι σφίσιν αἴσθησιν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμίαν παρε-

25 χομένους· αὐτῷ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα μελήσειν. δείσας τε διὰ ταῦτα Ἰωάννης μὴ ἐς κύκλωσιν τῶν πολε-

[1] αὐτῶν Maltretus: αὐτὸν MSS.
[2] τοῦ Haury: om. MSS.

five stades away from this city of Canusium is Cannae, where they say the Romans in early times suffered their great disaster at the hand of Hannibal, the general of the Libyans. 216 B.C.

In that city a certain Tullianus, son of Venantius, a Roman who possessed great power among the Brutii and Lucani, came before John and made charges against the emperor's army for the treatment they had previously meted out to the Italians, but he agreed that, if the army thereafter should treat them with some degree of consideration, he would hand over Bruttium and Lucania to the Romans, to be again subject and tributary to the emperor no less truly than they had been before. For it was not, he said, by their own will that they had yielded to men who were both barbarians and Arians, but because they had been placed under most dire constraint by their opponents, and had also been treated with injustice by the emperor's soldiers. And upon John's declaration that thereafter the Italians would receive every blessing from the army, Tullianus went with him. Consequently the soldiers no longer entertained any suspicion as regards the Italians, but the most of the territory south of the Ionian Gulf had become friendly to them and subject to the emperor.

But when Totila heard this, he selected three hundred of the Goths and sent them to Capua. These men he instructed that, whenever they saw the army of John marching thence toward Rome, they should simply follow him without drawing attention to themselves; for he himself would attend to the rest. In consequence of this John became afraid that he would fall into some trap and be

μίων τινὰ ἐμπέσῃ,[1] παρὰ Βελισάριον μὲν οὐκέτι ἥξει, ἐς δὲ Βριττίους καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἐχώρει.

26 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν Γότθοις Ῥεκιμοῦνδος, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὅνπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἐπὶ τῇ Βριττίων φρουρᾷ καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Γότθων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καὶ Μαυρουσίων αὐτομόλων τινὰς ἔχοντα, ἐφ' ᾧ ξὺν αὐτοῖς τόν τε κατὰ Σκύλλαν φυλάξει[2] πορθμὸν καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ ἠϊόνα, ὡς μήτε ἐνθένδε τινὲς ἀπαίρειν ἐς Σικελίαν μήτε ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἐνταῦθα καταπλεῖν ἀδεέστερον
27 οἱοί τε ὦσι. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ μεταξὺ Ῥηγίου τε καὶ Βέβωνος ἀπροσδόκητος καὶ αὐτάγγελος[3] Ἰωάννης ἐπιπεσὼν κατέπληξέ τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου οὐδεμιᾶς ἀλκῆς[4] αὐτοὺς[5] μεμνημένους, καὶ αὐτίκα
28 ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, δύσβατόν τε ὂν καὶ ἄλλως κρημνῶδες, κατέφυγον, Ἰωάννης δὲ διώξας τε καὶ ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει γενόμενος, οὔπω τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις κρατυναμένους[6] ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθών, πλείστους μὲν τῶν τε Μαυρουσίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἔκτεινεν, ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένους, Ῥεκιμοῦνδον δὲ καὶ Γότθους ξὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ὁμολογίᾳ εἷλεν.

29 Ἰωάννης μὲν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, Βελισάριος δὲ Ἰωάννην ἐς ἀεὶ καραδοκῶν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν. ἐμέμφετό τε ὅτι δὴ οὐ διακινδυνεύσας τε καὶ τοῖς ἐν Καπύῃ φυλάσσουσι

[1] ἐμπέσῃ K: ἐμπέσοι L. [2] φυλάξει L: φυλάξῃ K.
[3] αὐτάγγελος K: ἀκατάγγελτος L.
[4] ἀλκῆς L: ἄλλης ἀλκῆς K. [5] αὐτοὺς K: om. L.
[6] κρατυναμένοις Maltretus: κρατυομένοις K, κρατυναμένους L.

surrounded by the enemy, and so discontinued his movement to join Belisarius, and instead marched into the territory of the Bruttii and Lucani.

Now there was a certain Rhecimundus among the Goths, a man of note whom Totila had appointed to keep guard over Bruttium; he had under him some of the Goths as well as Roman soldiers and Moors who had deserted, and his instructions were to guard with these troops the Strait of Scylla[1] and the adjoining coast, so that no one might be able fearlessly to set sail from there for Sicily nor to land there from the island. This army was surprised by John, whose presence had not been reported to them; and he fell upon them at a point between Rhegium and Vevon, threw them into consternation by a sudden attack, utterly heedless as they were of their valour, and turned them immediately to flight. And they sought refuge by fleeing to the mountain which rises near by, a difficult one to climb and generally precipitous; but John pursued them and reached the steep slopes along with the enemy, and thus, before they had as yet secured their position on the rough mountain-side, he engaged with them and killed many of the Moors and Roman soldiers, though they offered a most vigorous resistance, and captured by surrender Rhecimundus and the Goths together with all who remained.

After accomplishing this feat, John still continued to remain where he was, while Belisarius, constantly expecting John, remained inactive. And Belisarius kept reproaching him because he would not take the risk of meeting in battle the force on guard at Capua, only three hundred in number, and endeavour

[1] Messina.

τριακοσίοις οὖσιν ἐς χεῖρας ἥκων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν
δίοδον[1] ἐνεχείρησε, καίπερ βαρβάρους ἀριστίνδην
ξυνειλεγμένους ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων. Ἰωάννης δὲ τὴν
δίοδον ἀπογνοὺς ἐπὶ Ἀπουλίας ἐχώρησεν, ἔν τε
χωρίῳ Κερβαρίῳ καλουμένῳ ἡσύχαζε.

XIX

Δείσας οὖν Βελισάριος ἀμφὶ τοῖς πολιορκου-
μένοις, μή τι ἀνήκεστον δράσωσι τῶν ἀναγκαίων
τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐς Ῥώμην
2 εἰσκομίζειν διενοεῖτο. καὶ ἐπεὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον
πρός γε τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ὥστε μάχῃ
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακρίνεσθαι, πρότερον
3 ἐπενόει τάδε. ἀκάτους δύο ἐσάγαν εὐρείας ζεύξας
τε καὶ λίαν ἐς ἀλλήλας ξυνδήσας, πύργον ξύλινον
ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐτεκτήνατο, πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον τῶν
4 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν τῇ γεφύρᾳ πεποιημένων. ξυμ-
μετρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἔτυχε
πρότερον, πέμψας τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων τινάς, οἵπερ
εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους αὐτόμολοι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ
5 ἐστέλλοντο. δρόμωνάς τε διακοσίους τείχεσι
ξυλίνοις περιβαλὼν ἐς Τίβεριν καθῆκε, παντα-
χόθι τῶν ξυλίνων τειχῶν τρυπήματα ποιησά-
μενος, ὅπως δὴ βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνθένδε
σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη. σῖτόν τε οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τῶν
ἐπιτηδείων πολλὰ τοῖς δρόμωσι τούτοις ἐνθέμενος
στρατιωτῶν αὐτοὺς τῶν μαχιμωτάτων ἐπλήρου.
6 στρατιώτας δὲ ἄλλους πεζούς τε καὶ ἱππεῖς
ἑκατέρωθεν ἐν χωρίοις ἐχυροῖς τισιν ἀμφὶ τὰς

[1] δίοδον L: δίωξιν K.

to make his way through, in spite of the fact that he had barbarians under his command who were men selected for their valour. But John abandoned that plan, and proceeded to a place in Apulia, called Cervarium,[1] where he remained in idleness.

XIX

Belisarius, therefore, dreading that the besieged would do something desperate because of the lack of provisions, began to make plans to convey his supplies into Rome by some means or other. And since he plainly had no force sufficient to pit against the enemy, so that he could fight a decisive battle with them in the plain, he first arranged the following plan. He chose two skiffs of very unusual breadth and, after fastening them together and lashing them very firmly to one another, constructed a wooden tower upon them, making it much higher than those made by the enemy at their bridge. For he had previously had them accurately measured by sending some of his men, who, as it was made to appear, were going over to the barbarians as deserters. Next he built wooden walls upon two hundred swift-sailing boats and launched them in the Tiber, having caused openings to be made in all parts of the wooden walls, in order that his men might be able to shoot at the enemy through them. Finally he loaded grain and many other kinds of provisions on these boats and manned them with his most warlike soldiers. He also stationed other troops, both infantry and cavalry, on either side of the river in certain strong positions near the

[1] Modern Cervaro.

τοῦ Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἔστησεν, οὓς [1] δὴ ἐκέλευσε μένειν τε αὐτοῦ καί, ἢν τῶν πολεμίων τινὲς ἐπὶ τὸν Πόρτον ἴωσι, διακωλύειν δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ.
7 τὸν δὲ Ἰσαάκην ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἐσαγαγὼν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέδωκε καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων ἐτύγχανε. καί οἱ ἐπέστελλε μηδεμιᾷ ἐνθένδε μηχανῇ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, μηδ' ἢν Βελισάριον πύθηται πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς ἀεὶ ἔχεσθαι, ὅπως, ἤν τι σφίσιν ἐναντίωμα ὑπαντιάσῃ, ἔξουσιν
8 ὅπη διαφυγόντες σωθήσονται. ὀχύρωμα γὰρ ἄλλο ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφίσι πανταχόσε [2] πολέμια ἦν.
9 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς ἕνα τῶν δρομώνων ἐσβὰς [3] τοῦ τε στόλου ἡγεῖτο καὶ τὰς ἀκάτους ἐφέλκειν ἐκέλευεν,
10 οὗ δὴ τὸν πύργον ἐτύγχανε τεκτηνάμενος. τοῦ δὲ πύργου ὕπερθεν λέμβον τινὰ ἔθετο, πίσσης τε καὶ θείου καὶ ῥητίνης αὐτὸν ἐμπλησάμενος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὅσα δὴ τοῦ πυρὸς βρῶσις
11 ὀξυτάτη γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην, ἥ ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντι ἐν δεξιᾷ,[4] καὶ πεζὸς παραβεβοηθήκει
12 στρατός. πέμψας δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βέσσαν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐκέλευε τῇ ἐπιγενησομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πολλῷ στρατῷ ἐπεξιόντα [5] ξυνταράξαι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδα, ὅπερ οἱ καὶ πρότερον ἐπιστείλας
13 πολλάκις ἤδη ἐτύγχανεν. ἀλλὰ Βέσσας οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἐπιτελῆ ποιεῖν τὰ
14 ἐπαγγελλόμενα ἔγνω. ἔτι γάρ οἱ μόνῳ τι τοῦ

[1] οὓς K : οἷς L.
[2] πανταχόσε K : πανταχόθεν L.
[3] ἐσβὰς K : ἐμβὰς L.
[4] ἐν δεξιᾷ Haury : om. MSS.

mouth of the Tiber, commanding them to remain at their posts and, if any of the enemy should threaten Portus, to prevent them with all their strength. But he stationed Isaac inside Portus, and it was to him that he entrusted both the city and his wife and whatever else he happened to possess there. And he directed him in no circumstances to go away from the city, not even if he learned that Belisarius had perished at the hand of the enemy, but to maintain a close and constant guard, so that, if any reverse should befall the Romans, they might have a place where they could take refuge and save themselves. For they held no other stronghold at all in that region, but the whole country in every direction was hostile to them.

Then he himself embarked on one of the swift boats and led on the fleet, giving orders to tow the boats on which he had constructed the tower. Now he had placed on the top of the tower a little boat which he had caused to be filled with pitch, sulphur, resin, and all the other substances on which fire naturally feeds most fiercely. And on the other bank of the river—that on the right as one goes from Portus to Rome—a force of infantry was also drawn up along the stream to support him. But he had sent word to Bessas the day before commanding that on the following day he should make a sally with a strong force and throw the enemy's camp into confusion; and indeed this was the same command that he had already sent him many a time before. But neither on previous occasions nor during the present battle did Bessas see fit to carry out his orders. For now he was the only one who

[5] ἐπεξιόντα K: ἐξιόντι L.

σίτου ἐλέλειπτο, ἐπεὶ ὅσον ἐς Ῥώμην οἱ Σικελίας ἄρχοντες πρότερον ἔπεμψαν τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπαρκέσοντα καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντί, αὐτὸς ὀλίγον μὲν κομιδῇ τῷ δήμῳ ἀφῆκε, τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον κεκομισμένος ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγῳ ἀπέκρυψεν, ὅνπερ τοῖς ἐκ βουλῆς ἀποδιδόμενος[1] χρημάτων μεγάλων διαλύεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίαν ἥκιστα ἤθελε.

15 Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στόλος πόνῳ ἀναπλέοντες ἅτε τοῦ ῥεύματος σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος ἥεσαν. Γότθοι δὲ οὐδαμῇ ὑπηντίαζον, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς χαρακώμασιν ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον.
16 ἤδη δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἄγχιστα τῆς γεφύρας γενόμενοι φρουρᾷ πολεμίων ἐνέτυχον, οἳ[2] δὴ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σειρᾶς σιδηρᾶς[3] ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο, ἣν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἐναποθέμενος Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν, ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας τοῦ Τιβέριδος ὄχθης ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐξικνουμένην, ὅπως δὴ μηδὲ ὅσον ἐς τὴν γέφυραν ἰέναι
17 οἱ ἐναντίοι εὐπετῶς δύνωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν βάλλοντες τοὺς μὲν ἔκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὴν ἄλυσιν ἀνελόμενοι εὐθὺ τῆς γεφύρας ἐχώρησαν. ἐπειδή τε τάχιστα ἐς αὐτὴν ἦλθον, ἔργου εἴχοντο, οἵ τε βάρβαροι ἐκ τῶν πύργων ἠμύνοντο καρτερώ-
18 τατα. ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων[4] ἐξαναστάντες ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν.

Τότε δὴ Βελισάριος τὰς ἀκάτους, ἐφ' ὧν οἱ ὁ πύργος πεποίηται, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἀγαγὼν θατέρου τῶν πολεμίων πύργου, ὃς δὴ ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν

[1] ἀποδιδόμενος Haury : ἀποδεδομένος MSS.
[2] οἳ : οὗ L. [3] σειρᾶς σιδηρᾶς K : σειρὰ σιδηρὰ L.
[4] χαρακωμάτων L : κατορθωμάτων K.

still had any grain left, since of all the grain which the magistrates of Sicily had previously sent to Rome to suffice both for the soldiers and for the whole population, he had let an exceedingly small amount go to the populace, while he had taken for himself the largest part on the pretext of providing for the soldiers and had hidden it away; and since he was selling this reserve to the senators at high prices, he by no means wished the siege to be broken.

Meanwhile Belisarius and the Roman fleet were making their way upstream in spite of the difficulty caused by the adverse current. The Goths, however, offered no opposition, but remained quietly in their fortified camps. But immediately upon coming close to the bridge, the Romans encountered a hostile guard; this force had been stationed on either side of the river to protect an iron chain which Totila had put in place there not long before, the which chain reached from one bank of the Tiber to the other, and its purpose was to make it difficult for the enemy to get even as far as the bridge. And they killed some of the guards with their missiles and turned the rest to flight, then lifted out the chain and went straight on toward the bridge. And as soon as they came up to it, they opened their attack, while the barbarians, shooting from the towers, were striving most vigorously to drive them back. By this time, too, the barbarians had started out from their fortified camps and were rushing to the bridge.

Just at that moment Belisarius brought the skiffs on which the tower had been built as close as possible to one of the towers of the enemy—the

Πόρτον ὁδοῦ ἐπ' αὐτο[1] τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ εἰστήκει, ἐκέλευε τὸν λέμβον ὑφάψαντας ὕπερθεν
19 τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ πύργου ῥίπτειν. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ἐμπεσὼν δὲ τῷ πύργῳ ὁ λέμβος αὐτόν τε αὐτίκα μάλα ἐνέπρησε καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Γότθους ἅπαντας, ἐς διακοσίους μάλιστα
20 ὄντας. ἐκαύθη δὲ καὶ Ὄσδας σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὃς αὐτῶν ἦρχε, Γότθων ἁπάντων μαχιμώτατος ὤν. θαρσήσαντες δὲ ἤδη Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν χαρακωμάτων ἐπιβεβοηθηκότας βαρβάρους ἔτι μᾶλλον
21 ἢ πρότερον ἔβαλλον. οἱ δὲ καταπεπληγμένοι τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι στρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἠδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο· τῆς τε γεφύρας Ῥωμαῖοι ἥπτοντο καὶ αὐτὴν ἔμελλον αὐτίκα μάλα διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἰέναι, ἔς τε Ῥώμην κομί-
22 ζεσθαι οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀντιστατοῦντος. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ταῦτα βουλομένῃ τῇ τύχῃ, τῶν τινος φθονερῶν[2] δαιμόνων μηχανὴ γέγονεν, ἣ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἔφθειρε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
23 Ἐν ᾧ τὰ στρατόπεδα τῇδε, ᾗπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐφέρετο, ἐν τούτῳ τις φήμη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ[3] Ῥωμαίων ἐς Πόρτον ἐλθοῦσα περιήγγελλεν, ὡς νικῴη μὲν Βελισάριος, ἀνέλοιτο δὲ τὴν ἅλυσιν, διαφθείρας τοὺς ταύτῃ βαρβάρους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, ἅπερ μοι
24 ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. Ἰσαάκης δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ μένειν, ἀλλὰ κλέους τοῦδε μεταλαχεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχε. τάς τε Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς[4] ἀλογήσας, ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν
25 ἑτέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθην ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὕσπερ ἐνταῦθα Βελισάριος

[1] αὐτὸ K : αὐτοῦ L.
[2] φθονερῶν K : φανερῶν L.
[3] τῷ L : τῶν K.
[4] τάς—ἐντολὰς K : τῶν—ἐντολῶν L.

one which stood on the road to Portus at the very edge of the water—and gave orders to set fire to the little boat and throw it on top of the enemy's tower. And the Romans carried out this order. Now when this little boat fell upon the tower, it very quickly set fire to it, and not only was the tower itself consumed, but also all the Goths in it, to the number of about two hundred. And among those thus burned was Osdas, their commander, who was the most warlike of all the Goths. Whereupon the Romans took courage and began to discharge their missiles still faster than before against the barbarians who had come to the support of their comrades. As for the Goths, they were struck with consternation at the turn of events, and facing about rushed off in flight, each man as best he could. The Romans then began to destroy the bridge and were ready, after wrecking it in a twinkling, to go ahead and proceed into Rome with no further opposition. But, since this was not the will of fortune, some envious spirit interposed and contrived to ruin the cause of the Romans in the following manner.

While the two armies were engaged in the operations just described, meantime a report fraught with ill for the Romans reached Portus and the tidings spread that Belisarius was victorious and had taken up the chain after destroying the barbarians at that point, and all the rest which I have told above. Now when Isaac heard this, he could no longer contain himself, but was eager to have a hand in that glorious victory. So, disregarding the instructions of Belisarius, he was off as quickly as possible to the other side of the river. And he took with him a hundred horsemen from among the troops

καταστησάμενος ἔτυχεν, ἱππεῖς ἐπαγόμενος ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα ἤλαυνεν, οὗ Ῥουδέριχος ἦρχεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια.
26 ἐπελθών τε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις ἄλλους τέ τινας [1] καὶ Ῥουδέριχον ὑπαντιάσαντα
27 ἔπληξεν. οἱ δὲ Γότθοι εὐθὺς λιπόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπεχώρησαν, ἢ πλῆθος πολεμίων ὑποτοπήσαντες ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰσαάκην ὄπισθεν εἶναι, ἢ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐξαπατῶντες, ὅπως δὴ αὐτούς, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, ἐλεῖν δύνωνται.
28 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ξὺν τῷ Ἰσαάκῃ εἰσδύσαντες [2] ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων χαράκωμα τόν τε ἄργυρον ὅσπερ ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα χρήματα ἥρπαζον.
29 ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ αὐτίκα οἱ Γότθοι πολλοὺς μὲν κτείνουσι τῶν ἐναντίων, ζῶντα δὲ Ἰσαάκην ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν οὐ πολλοῖς εἷλον. ἥκοντές τε ἱππεῖς παρὰ [3] Βελισάριον δρόμῳ ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι δὴ
30 ἔχοιτο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων Ἰσαάκης. Βελισάριος δὲ καταπλαγεὶς οἷς ἠκηκόει καὶ οὐ διερευνησάμενος ὁποίᾳ ποτὲ μηχανῇ Ἰσαάκης ἁλῴη, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος τόν τε Πόρτον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα [4] ἀπολωλέναι καὶ ἅπαντα διεφθάρθαι σφίσι τὰ πράγματα ἄλλο τε οὐδὲν ἀπολελεῖφθαι ὀχύρωμα, ὅποι ἂν καταφυγόντες [5] τὸ λοιπὸν σώζοιντο, ἐς ἀφασίαν ἐμπέπτωκεν οὐ γεγονὸς αὐτῷ πρότερον τοῦτό γε.
31 διὸ δὴ κατὰ τάχος ὀπίσω ὑπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ὡς ἐπιθησόμενος μὲν ἀτάκτοις [6] ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἀνασωσόμενος δὲ πάσῃ μηχανῇ τὸ χωρίον.

Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτοι

[1] ἄλλους τέ τινας L : om. K.
[2] εἰσδύσαντες L : δείσαντες K.
[3] παρὰ K : κατὰ L.

which Belisarius had stationed there, and advanced against the enemy's stockade, which was commanded by Ruderic, a capable warrior. Then he made a sudden assault upon the barbarians in the camp and smote a certain number of them, including Ruderic who had come out against him. The Goths, for their part, immediately abandoned the camp and withdrew, either because they supposed that Isaac had a very large hostile force in the rear, or by way of deceiving their opponents so that they might be able to capture them, as actually happened.

So Isaac's men penetrated the hostile camp, and began to plunder the silver which lay there and the other valuables. But the Goths immediately returned and slew many of their opponents, but took Isaac alive along with some few others. Horsemen then hastened to Belisarius and reported that Isaac was in the hands of the enemy. Belisarius was thunderstruck at what he heard, and, without investigating in what manner Isaac could have been captured, but thinking that both Portus and his wife were lost and that complete disaster had fallen upon the Romans, in that no other stronghold remained where they could now take refuge and save themselves, he fell into a state of speechlessness, an experience which he had never had before. It was for this reason that he hastily withdrew his forces to the rear, with the intention of attacking the enemy while they were still in disorder and recovering the town at all costs.

So the Roman army withdrew from the bridge

---

[4] γυναῖκα K: γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ L.
[5] καταφυγόντες L: καταλιπόντες K.
[6] ἀτάκτοις K: ἀπαρασκεύοις L.

32 ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόρτῳ γενόμενος Βελι-
σάριος, τήν τε Ἰσαάκου μανίαν ἔγνω καὶ τῆς οὐ
δέον οἱ αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης ταραχῆς ᾔσθετο, τῷ τε
τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματι περιώδυνος γεγονὼς ἐνόσει
33 τὸ σῶμα. πυρετὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενόμενος ἐς χρόνου
μῆκος ὑπερφυῶς τε αὐτὸν ἠνία καὶ ἐς κίνδυνον
34 θανάτου ἦγεν. ἡμέραιν δὲ δυοῖν ὕστερον Ῥου-
δερίχῳ τε ξυνέβη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ὁ
Τουτίλας περιαλγήσας τῇ ξυμφορᾷ τὸν Ἰσαάκην
διέφθειρε.

XX

Βέσσας τε τὸν σῖτον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεμπολῶν
ἐπλούτει, πρυτανευούσης αὐτῷ τὰς τιμὰς τῆς τῶν
δεομένων ἀνάγκης. καὶ ὅλος[1] εἰς μέριμναν τὴν
περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπουδακὼς οὔτε φυλακῆς τοῦ περι-
βόλου οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἀσφαλείας[2] πέρι
ἐπεμελεῖτο, ἀλλὰ ἀναπεπτωκέναι μὲν τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν τοῖς γε βουλομένοις ἐξῆν, φυλακτήριον δὲ
ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ
2 ἀπημελημένον ὡς μάλιστα. οἷς γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν
φυλακὴν ἐπικεῖσθαι ξυνέβαινε, πολλὴ ἐξουσία τοῦ
καθεύδειν ἐγίνετο, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφειστήκει,
ὅστις ἂν καὶ λόγον τινὰ τοῦ τοιούτου ποιοῖτο·
οὐδὲ περιιόντες τινὲς κύκλῳ τῶν περιβόλων, ἥπερ
εἰώθει, διερευνᾶσθαι τοὺς φύλακας ὅ τί ποτε
ποιοῦσιν ἠξίουν, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τις τῶν οἰκητόρων
3 αὐτοῖς ξυμφυλάσσειν ἠδύνατο. ὀλίγοι τε γὰρ

[1] ὅλος L : ὅλως K.
[2] ἀσφαλείας K : om. L.

without accomplishing its object. But when Belisarius reached Portus, he learned of the madness of Isaac and perceived that his own excitement had been without reason; whereupon he was so overcome with sorrow at this adversity of fortune that he fell sick. For a fever came on which by its long continuance harassed him sorely and brought him into danger of death. Two days later it came about that Ruderic died, and Totila, being exceedingly grieved at his loss, put Isaac to death.

XX

Meanwhile Bessas continued to grow more wealthy than ever by retailing his grain, since his prices were fixed by the necessity of those who wanted it. And since he was entirely wrapped up in his concern for this traffic, he neither paid heed to the defence of the walls nor concerned himself with any other measures for security whatsoever, but any of the soldiers who so wished were allowed to neglect their duties; and meanwhile there was only an insignificant garrison on the walls, and even this received very little attention. For those who chanced from day to day to be assigned to guard duty were freely permitted to sleep, since no one was put in command of them who might possibly take some notice of such an act; nor did any officers consent to go the rounds of the fortifications, as had been customary, and inspect the guards to see what they were doing, and furthermore not one of the citizens was able to assist them in keeping guard;

κομιδῇ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἐλείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπερφυῶς κεκακωμένοι.

4 Τέσσαρες οὖν Ἴσαυροι, ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀσιναρίαν φυλακὴν ἔχοντες, τηρήσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐχομένοις καθεύδειν ἐπέβαλλεν, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ἐκείνῃ τείχους ἐπέκειτο, κάλως τε ἐκ τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀναρτήσαντες ἄχρι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξικνουμένους, καὶ τούτων χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις λαβόμενοι ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἀφικόμενοι δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει αὐτόν τε ὡμολόγουν καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατόν· δυνατοὶ γὰρ εἶναι
5 τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. καὶ ὃς χάριτας σφίσιν ἀδρὰς ἔξειν ὁμολογήσας, ἥνπερ ἐπιτελῇ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κυρίους τε αὐτοὺς καταστήσεσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, δύο τῶν ἑπομένων ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε κατασκεψομένους τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι Γότθοις ἔφασκον ἐς
6 τὴν πόλιν ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. οἵπερ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἀφίκοντο, τῶν καλωδίων λαβόμενοι ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, οὐδενὸς ἐνταῦθα ἢ φθεγγομένου ἢ τῶν ποιουμένων αἴσθησιν ἔχοντος.
7 ἐπειδή τε ἐνταῦθα ἐγένοντο, τοῖς βαρβάροις οἱ Ἴσαυροι πάντα ἐδείκνυον, ὡς ἀνιέναι μὲν βουλομένοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐμπόδιον εἴη, ἀνελθοῦσι δὲ πολλὴ ἂν ἐξουσία γένοιτο σφίσιν, οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ταῦτά τε αὐτοὺς ἀπαγγέλλειν Τουτίλᾳ κελεύσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο.

8 Ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἥσθη μέν πως

for an exceedingly small number, as I have said, were left in the city and these were wasted to the last degree by the famine.

Thus it came about that four Isaurians who were keeping guard by the Asinarian Gate did as follows: having waited carefully for that part of the night during which it always fell to the lot of the soldiers next them to sleep while the guarding of that portion of the wall devolved upon them, they fastened ropes to the battlement long enough to reach down to the ground, and laying hold of these with both hands got outside the fortifications; then they went before Totila and agreed to receive him and the Gothic army into the city; for, as they declared, they were able to do this without any trouble. And Totila promised that he would be exceedingly grateful to them if they made good these promises and that he would put them in possession of great sums of money; he then sent with them two of his men to look over the place from which these men claimed that the Goths could effect an entrance into the city. So this party came up beside the wall and, laying hold of the ropes, ascended to the battlement, where not a man uttered a sound or observed what was going on. So when they reached the top, the Isaurians shewed the barbarians everything, namely that those who wished to ascend would meet with no obstacle, and that after they had come up they would have complete freedom of action, meeting as they would with not the least resistance; then, after bidding them carry this report to Totila, they sent them away.

Now when Totila heard this report, he was, in a

τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ, ὑποψίᾳ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐς τοὺς Ἰσαύρους
9 ἐχόμενος οὐ λίαν αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν ἠξίου. ἡμέραις
τε οὐ πολλαῖς[1] ὕστερον αὖθις οἱ ἄνθρωποι παρ'
αὐτὸν ἦκον, ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ
ὃς ἑτέρους δύο ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἅπαντα διερευνησάμενοι
10 ἀπαγγείλωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπανήκοντες
ἅπαντα ὁμοίως τοῖς προτέροις ἤγγελλον. ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιῶται πολλοὶ ἐπὶ κατα-
σκοπῇ στελλόμενοι τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν
Γότθοις δέκα ὁδῷ ἰοῦσιν ἐνέτυχον, οὓς δὴ ἑλόντες
11 παρὰ τὸν Βέσσαν εὐθὺς ἄγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν
ἀνεπυνθάνετο τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ὅ τί ποτε
ὁ Τουτίλας διανοοῖτο, οἱ δὲ Γότθοι ἐν ἐλπίδι
ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τινας σφίσιν Ἰσαύρων ἐνδώσειν
τὴν πόλιν· ἤδη γὰρ ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος[2] ἐς τῶν
12 βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἐγεγόνει. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα
Βέσσας τε καὶ Κόνων ἀκούσαντες ἔν τε πολλῇ
ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἔσχον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐντροπὴν οὐδεμίαν
πεποίηντο. καὶ τρίτον οἱ[3] Ἴσαυροι Τουτίλᾳ ἐς
ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἐς τὸ ἔργον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνῆγον.
13 ὁ δὲ ἄλλους τε ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ
κατὰ γένος προσηκόντων τινά, οἵπερ ἐς αὐτὸν
ἐπανήκοντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλαντες ἐς
τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπέρρωσαν.
14 Τουτίλας δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νὺξ ἐγεγόνει,
ἅπαν ἡσυχῇ ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ἐπῆγεν[4]
ἀμφὶ πύλην Ἀσιναρίαν. καὶ τέσσαρας τῶν ἐν
Γότθοις ἀνδρίας τε καὶ ἰσχύος πέρι εὖ ἡκόντων[5]

[1] οὐ πολλαῖς L : οὔπω πολλαῖς K.
[2] ἔκπυστος ὁ λόγος K : ἔκπυστον L.
[3] οἱ K : οὖν L.
[4] ἐπῆγεν Haury : ἀπῆγεν MSS.

way, pleased at the intelligence, but, notwithstanding this, he felt a suspicion as regards the Isaurians and was not inclined to place very much confidence in them. Not many days later these men came to him again, urging him to undertake the enterprise. Totila thereupon sent two other men with them, with instructions that they too should make a thorough investigation of the whole situation and bring back a report. And these men, upon returning to him, made a report in all respects like that of those previously sent. But during this time a large force of Roman soldiers, who were out on a reconnoitering expedition, charged upon ten Goths walking along a road not far from the city, and they took them prisoners and straightway brought them before Bessas. And he enquired of these barbarians what Totila's purpose really was; and the Goths said that he was in hopes that some of the Isaurians would deliver the city to him: for the story had already become known to many of the barbarians. But even when Bessas and Conon heard this, they treated the matter with great unconcern and took no heed of the report. And a third time the Isaurians came into the presence of Totila and tried to induce the man to do the deed. So he sent with them a number of men and among them one related to him by blood, and they, upon returning to him, reported the whole situation and encouraged him to proceed.

Totila, then, as soon as night came on, put his whole force under arms in silence and led them up near the Asinarian Gate. And he commanded four men who were conspicuous among the Goths for

[5] ἡκόντων suggested by Haury : ἥκοντας MSS.

ξὺν τοῖς Ἰσαύροις διὰ τῶν βρόχων ἀναβαίνειν ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευεν, ἐς ἐκεῖνον δηλονότι τῆς νυκτὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἐς ὃν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς Ἰσαύροις ἡ φυλακὴ τοῦ ταύτῃ τείχους ὕπνον ἐκ περιτροπῆς
15 τῶν ἄλλων αἱρουμένων ἐπέβαλεν. οἵπερ, ἐπειδὴ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο, καταβαίνουσι μὲν ἐς πύλας τὰς Ἀσιναρίας, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τό τε ξύλον πελέκεσι[1] διαφθείρουσιν ᾧπερ[2] ἐνέρσει τοίχου ἑκατέρου ἐναρμοσθέντι τὰς πύλας ἐπιζευγνύναι εἰώθεσαν, τά τε σιδήρια ξύμπαντα οἷς δὴ τὰς κλεῖς ἀεὶ οἱ φύλακες ἐμβαλλόμενοι ἔκλειόν τε τὰς πύλας καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν
16 ἀνέῳγον. οὕτω δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσαντες, ἥπερ ἐβούλοντο, τῇ πόλει Τουτίλαν τε καὶ τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐδέξαντο.

Τουτίλας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐς ἕνα χῶρον ξυναγαγὼν σκεδάννυσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἴασεν· ἔδεισε γὰρ μή τις ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι
17 ξυμβαίνῃ.[3] ταραχῆς δέ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῇ πόλει καὶ θορύβου ἐπιπεσόντος οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν διὰ πύλης ἑτέρας ξὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἔφευγον, ὥς πῃ ἑκάστῳ εὐπετὲς γέγονεν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες ξὺν Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ
18 ἱερὰ καταφεύγουσι. τῶν δὲ πατρικίων Δέκιος καὶ Βασίλειος ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν (ἵπποι γὰρ σφίσι παρόντες ἔτυχον) ξὺν τῷ Βέσσα φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν.
19 Μάξιμος δὲ καὶ Ὀλύβριος καὶ Ὀρέστης καί τινες ἄλλοι ἐς τὸν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου νεὼν ἔφυγον. τοῦ μέντοι δήμου πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν

[1] πελέκεσι MSS. : σιδήρῳ Suidas.
[2] ᾧπερ L and Suidas : ὅπερ K.
[3] ξυμβαίνῃ Dindorf from an inferior MS. : ξυμβαίνει KL.

their bravery and strength to climb up the ropes with the Isaurians to the battlements, during that part of the night, of course, in which the guarding of that portion of the wall fell to the Isaurians while the others were taking their turn at sleeping. And when these men got inside the fortifications, they descended to the Asinarian Gate without meeting any opposition; there they shattered with axes both the wooden beam with which the Romans customarily made the gates fast by fitting it into recesses in the wall on either side, and also all the ironwork into which the guards always inserted their keys to shut the gates or open them according to the need of the moment. Then they swung the gates open, just as they wished to do, and without any trouble received Totila and the Gothic army into the city.

But Totila collected his men there in one place and would not allow them to scatter at all, for he feared that they would fall into some ambush set by the enemy. And tumult and confusion, as was natural, fell upon the city, and the most of the Roman soldiers were fleeing with their commanders through another gate, each one taking whatever course he found easy to follow, while only a few with the rest of the Romans were taking refuge in the sanctuaries. Among the patricians Decius and Basilius, in company with a few others (for horses happened to be at hand for them) succeeded in escaping with Bessas. But Maximus, Olyvrius, Orestes, and some others fled to the church of the Apostle Peter.[1] Among the common people, however, it so fell out that only five hundred men had

[1] The Basilica commenced by Constantine, on the site of St. Peter's.

τὴν πόλιν ἀπολελεῖφθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οἵπερ ἐς τὰ
20 ἱερὰ κατέφυγον μόλις. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἁπάντων
οἱ μὲν ἀπιόντες ἤδη πρότερον ἐς ἑτέρας ᾤχοντο
χώρας, οἱ δὲ τῷ λιμῷ διεφθάρησαν, ὥσπερ μοι
ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλᾳ
νύκτωρ ἤγγελλον ὅτι δὴ Βέσσας τε καὶ οἱ
πολέμιοι φεύγουσιν. ὁ δὲ χαρίεντα τὸν λόγον
21 αὐτοὺς εἰρηκέναι εἰπὼν οὐκ εἴα διώκειν. τί γὰρ
ἂν ἥδιον ἀνθρώπῳ γένοιτο, ἔφη, πολεμίων
φευγόντων;
22 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ οὐδεμία ἔτι
ἐνέδρας τινὸς ὑποψία ἐλέλειπτο, Τουτίλας μὲν ἐς
τὸν Πέτρου νεὼν τοῦ ἀποστόλου εὐξόμενος ᾔει,
Γότθοι δὲ τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας διέφθειρον.[1]
23 ἀπέθανόν τε τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν μὲν στρατιω-
τῶν ἓξ καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἑξήκοντα. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ὁ Τουτίλας ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, Πελάγιος αὐτῷ
ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε τὰ Χριστιανῶν[2] λόγια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ
φέρων, παντί τε τρόπῳ[3] τὴν ἱκεσίαν[4] προτεινό-
24 μενος "Φείδου τῶν σῶν, ὦ δέσποτα" εἶπε. καὶ
ὃς ἐπιτωθάζων τε καὶ ἐνδιαθρυπτόμενος[5] ἔφη
"Νῦν με, ὦ Πελάγιε, ἱκετεύσων ἐλήλυθας."
"Ὅτε με" ὁ Πελάγιος ἀπεκρίνατο "δοῦλον σὸν ὁ
25 θεὸς εἶναι πεποίηκεν. ἀλλὰ δούλων τῶν σῶν τὸ
λοιπόν, ὦ δέσποτα, φείδου." ταύτην ὁ Τουτίλας
τὴν ἱκεσίαν δεξάμενος ἀπεῖπε Γότθοις μηδένα τὸ
λοιπὸν ἀποκτιννύναι τῶν πάντων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ
τῶν χρημάτων αὐτῷ μὲν τὰ τιμιώτατα ἐξελεῖν, τὰ
δὲ ἄλλα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐξουσίαν ληΐζεσθαι.

[1] διέφθειρον L : διέφυγον K.
[2] χριστιανῶν K : τοῦ χριστοῦ L.
[3] παντί τε τρόπῳ L : παντί τε K, ταύτῃ τε V_1.
[4] ἱκεσίαν K : ἱκετείαν L.

been left throughout the whole city, and these with difficulty found refuge in the sanctuaries. For all the rest of the population were gone, some having departed to other lands and some having been carried off by the famine, as I have stated above. Now many persons during that night kept reporting to Totila that both Bessas and the enemy were fleeing. But he, saying the report they had given was a pleasing one, would not permit a pursuit. "For what could be sweeter for a man," he said, "than a fleeing enemy?"

When it was already day and there was now no suspicion left of any ambush, Totila, for his part, went to the church of the Apostle Peter to pray, but the Goths began to slay those who fell in their way. And in this manner there perished among the soldiers twenty-six, and among the people sixty. And when Totila had come to the sanctuary, Pelagius came before him carrying the Christian scriptures in his hand, and, making supplication in every manner possible, said "Spare thine own, O Master." And Totila, mocking him with a haughty air of indifference, said "Now at last, Pelagius, you have come to make yourself a suppliant before me." "Yes" replied Pelagius, "at a time when God has made me your slave. Nay, spare your slaves, O Master, from now on." And Totila received this supplication with favour and forbade the Goths thereafter to kill any Roman at all, but he permitted them, while setting aside for him the most valuable of the property, to have unrestricted authority to plunder all the rest for themselves.

---

[5] *ἐνδιαθρυπτόμενος* V_1, Scaliger : *ἐνδιαθρύπτως* KL.

26 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς πατρικίων οἰκίαις εὗρε, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα οὗπερ ὁ Βέσσας κατέλυε. τὰς γὰρ ἀνοσίας, ὡς γε δεδήλωται, τοῦ σίτου
27 τιμὰς ὁ κακοδαίμων Τουτίλα ἤθροιζεν. οὕτω τε περιέστη[1] τοῖς τε ἄλλοις Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα Ῥουστικιανῇ, τῇ Βοετίου μὲν γαμετῇ γενομένῃ, παιδὶ δὲ Συμμάχου, καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀεὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προϊεμένῃ,[2] δούλων τε καὶ ἀγροίκων ἀμπεχομένους ἱμάτια, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἄρτον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν
28 ἀναγκαίων αἰτουμένοις βιοῦν. ἔς τε τὰς οἰκίας περιιόντες καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐς ἀεὶ κόπτοντες τροφὴν διδόναι σφίσιν ἐδέοντο, οὐ φέροντος αὐτοῖς αἰσχύνην τοῦ ἔργου.

29 Καὶ Γότθοι μὲν Ῥουστικιανὴν κτείνειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιοῦντο, ἐπικαλοῦντες ὅτι δὴ χρήματα προϊεμένη τοῖς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἄρχουσι τὰς Θευδερίχου εἰκόνας διαφθείρειε, τοὺς φόνους ἀμυνομένη Συμμάχου τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Βοετίου
30 τοῦ ξυνοικήσαντος. Τουτίλας δὲ οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παθεῖν αὐτὴν ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτήν τε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁπάσας ὕβρεως ἐκτὸς διεφύλαξε, καίπερ Γότθων ἐς κοίτην ὡς μάλιστα ἐφιεμένων
31 αὐταῖς ξυνελθεῖν. διόπερ αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾷ ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσθαι[3] ξυνέβη οὔτε ἀνδρὶ ξυνοικούσῃ οὔτε παρθένῳ ἢ χήρᾳ οὔσῃ, μέγα τε κλέος ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου Τουτίλας ἔσχε.

[1] περιέστη K : περιῆν L.
[2] προϊεμένῃ K : προτεινομένη L.
[3] ὑβρίσθαι K : ὑβρίζεσθαι L.

Now he found much of value in the houses of patricians, but most of all in the house where Bessas had lodged. For that ill-starred wretch had been only collecting for Totila the outrageous sums which, as set forth above, he had charged for the grain. And thus the Romans in general, and particularly the members of the senate, found themselves reduced to such straits that they clothed themselves in the garments of slaves and rustics, and lived by begging bread or any other food from their enemies; a very notable example of this change of fortune being that of Rusticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, who had been wife of Boethius, a woman who was always lavishing her wealth upon the needy. Indeed these wretches went about to all the houses and kept knocking at the doors and begging that they give them food, feeling no shame in doing so.

Now the Goths, on their part, were eager to put Rusticiana to death, bringing against her the charge that after bribing the commanders of the Roman army, she had destroyed the statues of Theoderic, her motive in so doing having been to avenge the murder not only of her father Symmachus, but also of her husband Boethius. But Totila would not permit her to suffer any harm, but he guarded both her and all the other women safe from insult, although the Goths were extremely eager to have intercourse with them. Consequently not one of them had the ill fortune to suffer personal insult, whether married, unwed, or widow, and Totila won great renown for moderation from this course.

XXI

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Γότθους ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας
ὁ Τουτίλας ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Οὐ καινήν τινα οὐδὲ
ἀγνῶτα ὑμῖν παραίνεσιν ποιησόμενος ἐνθάδε ὑμᾶς,
ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ξυνήγαγον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα
ἐρῶν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ μὲν πολλάκις ἐς ὑμᾶς εἶπον, ὑμῖν
δὲ αὐτὰ ἐνδεξαμένοις τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν
2 ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. μὴ τοίνυν τινὶ ὀλιγωρίᾳ
διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παραίνεσιν ταυτὶν χρήσησθε.
3 λόγων γὰρ τῶν ἐς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀγόντων κόρον
οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀνθρώπῳ γενέσθαι, κἂν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ[1]
τις ἀποκναίειν δοκῇ· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν
4 εὐεργεσίαν ἀπειπεῖν ἄξιον. λέγω δὲ ὅτι πρώην
μὲν ἐς μυριάδας εἴκοσι μαχιμωτάτων ξυνιόντες
στρατιωτῶν πλούτῳ τε ὑπερφυεῖ χρώμενοι καὶ
ἵππων τε καὶ ὅπλων[2] περιουσίαν τινά, ὡς ἔνι
μάλιστα, ἐνδεικνύμενοι, καὶ γερόντων ξυνετωτάτων
πολὺν ὅμιλον, ὅπερ τοῖς ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένοις
ξυμφορώτατον εἶναι δοκεῖ, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἑπτα-
κισχιλίων Γραικῶν ἡσσηθέντες, τήν τε ἀρχὴν
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἀφῃρήμεθα.
5 νῦν δ' ἡμῖν ἐς ὀλίγους ἀπολειφθεῖσι γυμνούς τε
καὶ οἰκτροὺς καὶ οὐδ' ὁτουοῦν τῶν πάντων ἐμπεί-
ρους κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων πλέον ἢ δισμυρίων
6 ὄντων τετύχηκε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πεπραγμένα συλ-

[1] τῇ πολυλογίᾳ L: τι ἀλογίᾳ K.
[2] ὅπλων K: ἄλλων L.

[1] Cf. Book IV. xxvii. 38, note.

XXI

On the day following the capture Totila gathered all the Goths together and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is not with the purpose of making to you any new or unknown exhortation that I have brought you together in this place, but in order to say those very things which I have often said to you, and which you for your part have heeded with the result that the greatest of blessings have fallen to your lot. Do not, therefore, on this account regard this present exhortation as of little moment. For when words lead to good fortune, men ought not to feel surfeit of them, even though the speaker seem to wear out his hearers with much speaking; for they cannot reasonably reject the benefit gained from such words. Now what I would say is this: only yesterday, as it were, we assembled a host of two hundred thousand most warlike soldiers, we had at our disposal enormous wealth, and could display a lavish abundance of both horses and arms, we had a numerous company of mature men of the greatest discretion—a circumstance considered most advantageous for those entering upon a war—and yet, with all this in our favour, we were vanquished by five thousand Greeklings,[1] and for no good reason were stripped of our power and everything else that was ours. But now it has been our fortune, though reduced to a small number, destitute of arms and in pitiable plight and without any experience at all, to gain the mastery over an enemy more than twenty thousand strong. Our experience, then, to put it in a word, has been such

λήβδην εἰπεῖν τοιαῦτά ἐστι· τὰς δὲ τῶν οὕτω ξυμβαινόντων[1] αἰτίας ἐν[2] εἰδόσιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα δηλώσω· ὅτι Γότθοι μὲν πρότερον τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων περὶ ἐλάσσονος πεποιημένοι τὸ δίκαιον, ἔπρασσον ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς κατηκόους Ῥωμαίους ἀνόσια ἔργα, οἷς δή, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἡγμένος ὁ θεὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τότε ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις
7 ἐστράτευσε. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλήθει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ τῶν ἐναντίων παρὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίροντες δυνάμει τινὶ ἀφανεῖ τε
8 καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα γινωσκομένῃ ἡσσήθημεν. οὐκοῦν τὸ φυλάξαι τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐφ' ὑμῖν[3] κείσεται, διασώζουσι δηλονότι τὸ δίκαιον. μεταβαλλομένοις γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πολέμια
9 ἔσται. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γένει οὐδὲ φύσει ἐθνῶν ξυμμαχεῖν εἴωθεν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος τιμῷτο. πόνος τε οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ
10 τἀγαθὰ ἐφ' ἑτέρους μετενεγκεῖν. ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν μόνον[4] ἐν γνώμῃ ἐστί, θεῷ δὲ ξύμπαντα[5] ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ πέφυκε κεῖσθαι.
11 φημὶ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς[6] χρῆναι τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς κατηκόους τηρεῖν. ταὐτὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη λέγειν τὴν εὐημερίαν ἐς ἀεὶ διασώζεσθαι."

12 Τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἐς τοὺς Γότθους εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων βουλῆς ξυγκαλέσας πολλὰ ὠνείδισέ τε καὶ ἐκάκισεν,[7] οἳ[8] δὴ πολλὰ

[1] ξυμβαινόντων K : ξυμβάντων L.
[2] ἐν MSS. : εὖ editors ; cf. VII. xxxiv. 28, Thucyd. IV. 59.
[3] ὑμῖν L : ἡμῖν K.
[4] μόνον K corr., L : μόνῳ K pr. m.
[5] ξύμπαντα K : πάντα L.

as I have described. But the causes of this outcome, though you know them full well, I must now state to you. The Goths in earlier times paid less heed to justice than to any other thing, and treated each other and their Roman subjects as well in an unholy manner; wherefore God was then moved to take the field against them on the side of their enemies. And so, although we were far superior to our opponents in number and in valour and in the general equipment for war, we were defeated by a power which was invisible and quite uncomprehended. It will therefore rest with you to guard your blessings—manifestly by continuing to observe justice. For if you change your course, God too will instantly change His favour and become hostile to you. For it is not His wont to fight with a race of men or a particular nation, but with such as shew the greater honour to justice. And for Him it is no labour to transfer his blessings from one people to the other. For whereas only to refrain from wrong-doing inheres in the will of man, God by His very nature has all things in His power. I say, therefore, that you must observe justice strictly both in your dealings with each other and with your subjects; for it would amount to the same thing to tell you to preserve your good fortune for ever."

After Totila had made this speech before the Goths, he likewise called together the members of the Roman senate, and reproached and abused them at length, saying that, although they had

---

[6] *ὑμᾶς* K corr., L: *ἡμᾶς* K. pr. m.
[7] *ἐκάκισεν* K: *ἐπιτωθάζων ἐκάκισεν* L.
[8] *οἳ* K: *ὡς* L.

πρός τε Θευδερίχου καὶ Ἀταλαρίχου ἀγαθὰ πεπονθότες, ἐπί τε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης αὐτοὶ ἐς ἀεὶ καταστάντες καὶ τήν τε πολιτείαν διοικησάμενοι, πλούτου τε περιβεβλημένοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, εἶτα[1] ἐς[2] Γότθους τοὺς εὐεργέτας πολλῇ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἐχόμενοι, ἐς ἀπόστασίν τε οὐ δέον ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ πονηρῷ ἴδοιεν[3] καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πατρίδι ἐπαγάγοιντο, προδόται σφῶν
13 αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου γεγενημένοι. καὶ ἀνεπυνθάνετο μὲν εἴ τι πρὸς Γότθων πάθοιεν αὐτοὶ
14 κακὸν πώποτε. λέγειν δὲ ἠνάγκαζεν, εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν σφίσι πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ξυμβαίνοι,[4] καταλέγων ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅτι δὴ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀφῄρηντο σχεδόν τι ἁπάσας, πρὸς δὲ τῶν καλουμένων λογοθετῶν αἰκιζόμενοι λογισμοὺς ἐκτίνειν τῶν σφίσιν ἐς Γότθους πεπολιτευμένων ἀναγκασθεῖεν καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένοι φόρους τοὺς δημοσίους οὐδέν τι ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ τοῖς Γραικοῖς φέροιεν· ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐνετίθει τῷ λόγῳ, ὅσα δεσπότην δυσμενῆ τοὺς
15 δεδουλωμένους ὀνειδίζειν εἰκός. Ἡρωδιανόν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ παραδόντας Ἰσαύρους "Ὑμεῖς μέν" ἔφη "ξύντροφοι Γότθοις γεγενημένοι οὐδὲ χῶρόν τινα ἔρημον ἐς τήνδε ἡμῖν ἐνδιδόναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐγνώκατε, οἵδε δὲ ἡμᾶς Ῥώμῃ τε αὐτῇ καὶ Σπολιτίῳ
16 ἐδέξαντο. διόπερ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐν οἰκετῶν λόγῳ

[1] εἶτα K : om. L.
[2] ἐς K : ἐς τοὺς L.
[3] ἴδοιεν K : εἶδον L.
[4] ξυμβαίνοι K : ξυμβαίη L.

[1] Cf. Book IV. xxvii. 38, note.
[2] Cf. chap. i. 32.

received many benefits from both Theoderic and Atalaric, in that they themselves had always been appointed to the chief offices throughout the kingdom and had thus administered the government, and had, furthermore, amassed vast wealth, still they had acted with such ingratitude toward the Goths, their benefactors, that, regardless of their obligations, they had planned a revolt to their own harm, and brought in the Greeks[1] to attack their fatherland, thus turning traitors to themselves on the impulse of the moment. Then, after enquiring whether they had ever suffered any personal harm at the hands of the Goths, he compelled them to state whether any good thing came to them from the Emperor Justinian, reviewing all that had happened in order: first, they had, he said, been stripped of practically all the offices; second, they had been maltreated by the logothetes,[2] as they were called, in that they had been compelled to settle accounts for their treatment of the Goths during their official careers; and, third, although they were in dire straits on account of the war, they were paying the Greeks not a whit less in public taxes than in times of peace. And he included many other things too in his speech, such things as an angry master might be expected to say in upbraiding men who have become his slaves. Then he set before them Herodian and the Isaurians who had handed over the city to him, and said: "You, who have been reared together with the Goths, have not up to the present day seen fit to surrender to us even one empty town, but these men have received us into Rome itself and Spolitium. By this action you have been reduced to the rank of household slaves,

γεγένησθε, οὗτοι δὲ Γότθοις φίλοι τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ ξυγγενεῖς γεγενημένοι τὰς ὑμετέρας
17 ἀρχὰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξουσιν." οἱ μὲν οὖν πατρίκιοι ταῦτα ἀκούοντες[1] σιωπῇ εἶχοντο. Πελάγιος δὲ Τουτίλαν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν ἐπταικότων τε καὶ δεδυστυχηκότων παραιτούμενος οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἕως αὐτοὺς φιλανθρωπίας ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησάμενος ἀπεπέμψατο.

18 Ἔπειτα δὲ Πελάγιόν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ῥητόρων ἕνα, Θεόδωρον ὄνομα, πρέσβεις ἐς βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἔστειλεν, ὅρκοις αὐτοὺς δεινοτάτοις καταλαβών, ὅτι τε εὐνοίᾳ ἐς αὐτὸν χρήσονται καὶ ἀναστρέφειν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν
19 Ἰταλίαν ἐν σπουδῇ ἕξουσιν. ἐπέστελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὴν εἰρήνην οἱ παντὶ σθένει παρὰ βασιλέως πορίζεσθαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ αὐτὸς ἀναγκάζηται Ῥώμην ἐς ἔδαφος καθελὼν ξύμπασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου διαφθείρας βουλῆς ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγειν. καὶ γράμματα δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ
20 βασιλεῖ ἔγραψεν. ἤδη μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς ἠκηκόει τὰ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ξυμπεπτωκότα. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθον, ἀπήγγειλάν τε[2] ὅσα ὁ Τουτίλας σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισαν.

21 Ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Ὅσα μὲν ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ μεμα-
22 θηκέναι[3] σε ἅπαντα οἶμαι, σιωπᾶν ἔγνωκα.[4] ὧν δὲ ἕνεκα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπέσταλκα τούσδε αὐτίκα εἴσῃ.[5] αἰτούμεθα τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης καλὰ[6] σέ τε

[1] ἀκούοντες K: ἀκούσαντες L. [2] τε Haury: δὲ K, om. L.
[3] ἐπεὶ μεμαθηκέναι K: ἐπιμεμαθηκέναι L.
[4] σιωπᾶν ἔγνωκα K: καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔγνωκας L.

while these men, seeing that they have really proved themselves friends and kinsmen of the Goths, will hold your offices hereafter." Now when the patricians heard this, they sat in silence. But Pelagius began to plead with Totila for them as men who had suffered reverse and misfortune, and would not let him go until he made them a promise of kind treatment and thus sent them away.

After this he sent Pelagius and one of the Roman orators, Theodorus by name, as envoys to the Emperor Justinian, having bound them by most solemn oaths that they would remain loyal to him and would make every effort to return to Italy as quickly as possible. And he instructed them to exert themselves to the utmost to secure peace for him from the emperor, in order, as he said, that he, for his part, might not be compelled to raze Rome entirely to the ground, to destroy the members of the senate, and to carry the war into Illyricum. And he also wrote a letter to the Emperor Justinian. Now the emperor had already heard of what had taken place in Italy. But when later on the envoys came before him, they delivered the message which Totila had instructed them to bring and put the letter into his hands.

Now the contents of the letter were as follows: "As to what has transpired in the city of Rome, since I suppose thou hast learned everything, I have decided to remain silent. But as to the purpose for which I have sent these envoys, thou shalt straightway be informed. We demand that thou, for thy part, take to thyself the advantages

---

[5] αὐτίκα εἶση K: ταῦτά εἰσιν L.
[6] καλὰ K: ἀγαθὰ L.

προσίεσθαι[1] αὐτὸν καὶ ἡμῖν ξυγχωρεῖν. ὧνπερ μνημεῖά τε καὶ παραδείγματα κάλλιστα ἔχομεν Ἀναστάσιόν τε καὶ Θευδέριχον, οἳ βεβασιλεύκασι μὲν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ ἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων ἅπαντα ἐνεπλήσαντο τὸν κατ' αὐτοὺς χρόνον. ἦν γάρ σοι ταῦτά ποτε βουλομένῳ εἴη, πατήρ τε ἂν ἐμὸς εἰκότως καλοῖο καὶ ξυμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἐφ' οἷς ἂν βούλοιο τὸ λοιπὸν ἕξεις." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων ἅπαντας ἤκουσεν, ἀπεπέμψατο αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, τοῦτό τε[2] μόνον αὐτοῖς ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ Τουτίλᾳ γράψας, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου πεποίηται Βελισάριον,[3] κύριός τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος εἴη τὰ πρὸς Τουτίλαν ὅπως βούλοιτο[4] διοικήσασθαι.

XXII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις οὗτοι ἐς Βυζάντιον[5] καὶ αὖθις ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστέλλοντο, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν Λευκανοῖς[6] τάδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Τουλλιανὸς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ ἀγροίκους ἀγείρας τὴν εἴσοδον στενοτάτην οὖσαν ἐφύλασσεν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι κακουργήσοντες ἴοιεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Λευκανίας χωρία. καὶ Ἄνται δὲ αὐτοῖς τριακόσιοι ξυνεφύλασσον, οὕσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα δεηθέντι Τουλλιανῷ ἀπολιπὼν πρότερον ἔτυχεν· ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μάχεσθαι ἐν δυσχωρίαις πάν-

[1] προσίεσθαι Hoeschel in marg. : προΐεσθαι MSS.
[2] τοῦτό τε K : τοῦτο τότε L.
[3] αὐτοκράτορα—βελισάριον K : αὐτοκράτωρ—βελισάριος L.

which flow from peace and also grant them to us. These advantages are recalled and exemplified most admirably in the lives of Anastasius and Theoderic, who ruled as kings not long ago, and filled their whole reigns with peace and prosperity. And if this same condition should perchance please thee, thou wouldst properly be called my father, and thou wilt also have us hereafter as allies against whomsoever thou mayest wish to use us." When the Emperor Justinian saw this letter thus brought to him, and heard all the words of the envoys, he dismissed them instantly, giving them only this reply and writing it to Totila, that he had made Belisarius supreme commander in the war, and that he, consequently, had full power to make such settlement with Totila as he wished.

XXII

But while these envoys were travelling to Byzantium and returning to Italy, the following events took place in Lucania. Tullianus gathered the rustics of that region and set a guard upon the pass (a very narrow one) which gives access to the district, with the purpose of preventing the enemy from entering to devastate the land of Lucania. And three hundred Antae also were helping them to keep guard, men whom John had left there previously, as it happened, at the request of Tullianus; for these barbarians excel all others in

[4] ὅπως βούλοιτο L: ὅπη βούλεσθαι K.
[5] ἐς Βυζάντιον Comparetti: βυζάντιον K, ἐκ βυζαντίου L.
[6] ἐν λευκανοῖς K: ἐν om. L.

4 των μάλιστα. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔμαθε, Γότθους μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔργον καθεῖναι ἀξύμφορον ᾤετο εἶναι, ἀγοίκων δὲ πλῆθος ἀγείρας, Γότθων τε ξυμπέμψας αὐτοῖς ὀλίγους τινάς, ἐκέλευε τῆς
5 εἰσόδου σφέσιν παυτὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι. οἵπερ ἐπεὶ δὴ ἀλλήλοις ξυνέμιξαν, ὠθισμὸς μὲν ἀμφοτέρων πολὺς ἐγένετο. Ἄνται δὲ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς δυσχωρίας σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης, ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Τουλλιανὸν ἀγοίκοις τοὺς ἐναντίους
6 ἐτρέψαντο. φόνος τε αὐτῶν ἐγένετο πολύς.

Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας ἔγνω Ῥωμην μὲν καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπολιπεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ
7 ἐπί τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Λευκανοὺς ἰέναι. τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χωρίοις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν ὅσον ἐς τὸ τυφρίον τοῦ παιτὸς μάλιστα. ἐμπιπρὰν δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομῶν τὰ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ἔκαλλε. Ῥωμην τε μηλόδοτον καταστρέσασθαι, ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος μαθὼν πρέσ-
8 βεις τε καὶ γράμματα[2] παρ' αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. οἵπερ ἐπεὶ δὴ[3] Τουτίλᾳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθον, εἶπόν τε ὧν ἕνεκα ἥκοιεν καὶ τὰ γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε·

"Πόλεως[4] μὲν καλλη οὐκ ὄντα ἐπαίρεσθαι ἀνθρώποις ἀν φρονήμασι εἰώθασι καὶ πολιτικῶς διατελεῖν ἐπισταμένοις. ὄντα δὲ ἀφαμαρτεῖν τοῦτο γε ἀξιώτατον εἰκὸς καὶ γνώρισμα τοῦτο τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως οὐκ αἰσχυνομένους[5]
9 χρεών τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀπολιπεῖν. Ῥωμη μέντοι

[1] τοῦ δὲ Comparetti: τοῦ δὲ τοῦ K, τοῦ τε L.
[2] γράμματα LH: πράγματα K.
[3] οἵπερ ἐπεὶ δὴ L: οἳ K, οἵπερ ἐπεὶ H.

their ability to fight on rough ground. When Totila learned this, though he considered it inexpedient to assign Goths to the task, he gathered a multitude of rustics, and sent them with a very few Goths, with orders to try with all their strength to force the pass. When these two forces engaged in battle, a violent struggle ensued, each side striving to force the other back, but the Antae by their valour, and also because the very roughness of the ground was to their advantage, together with the rustics under Tullianus turned their opponents to flight; and a great number of them were slaughtered.

But when Totila learned this, he decided first to raze Rome to the ground, and then, while leaving the most of his army in that neighbourhood, to march with the rest against John and the Lucanians. Accordingly he tore down the fortifications in many places so that about one third of the defences were destroyed. And he was on the point also of burning the finest and most noteworthy of the buildings and making Rome a sheep-pasture, but Belisarius learned of his design and sent envoys with a letter to him. When these envoys came before Totila, they stated why they had come and delivered the letter, which conveyed the following.

"While the creation of beauty in a city which has not been beautiful before could only proceed from men of wisdom who understand the meaning of civilization, the destruction of beauty which already exists would be naturally expected only of men who lack understanding, and who are not ashamed to leave to posterity this token of their character.

[4] πόλεως KH: πόλεων L.
[5] αἰσχυνομένους KH: αἰσχυνομένων L.

πόλεων ἁπασῶν, ὅσαι ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τυγχάνουσιν
οὖσαι, μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη ὡμολόγηται[1]
10 εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς ἀρετῇ εἴργασται οὐδὲ
χρόνου βραχέος δυνάμει ἐς τόσον μεγέθους τε
καὶ κάλλους ἀφῖκται, ἀλλὰ βασιλέων μὲν πλῆθος,
ἀνδρῶν δὲ ἀρίστων συμμορίαι πολλαί, χρόνου τε
μῆκος καὶ πλούτου ἐξουσίας ὑπερβολὴ τά τε
ἄλλα πάντα ἐκ πάσης τῆς γῆς καὶ τεχνίτας
11 ἀνθρώπους ἐνταῦθα ξυναγαγεῖν ἴσχυσαν. οὕτω
τε τὴν πόλιν τοιαύτην, οἵανπερ ὁρᾷς, κατὰ βραχὺ
τεκτηνάμενοι, μνημεῖα τῆς πάντων ἀρετῆς τοῖς
ἐπιγενησομένοις ἀπέλιπον, ὥστε ἡ ἐς ταῦτα
ἐπήρεια εἰκότως ἂν ἀδίκημα μέγα ἐς τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος δόξειεν εἶναι·
12 ἀφαιρεῖται γὰρ τοὺς μὲν προγεγενημένους τὴν
τῆς ἀρετῆς μνήμην, τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγενησο-
13 μένους τῶν ἔργων τὴν θέαν. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων
ὄντων ἐκεῖνο εὖ ἴσθι, ὡς δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον
εἶναι. ἢ γὰρ ἡσσηθήσῃ βασιλέως ἐν τῷδε τῷ
14 πόνῳ, ἢ περιέσῃ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι. ἢν μὲν οὖν
νικῷης, Ῥώμην τε καθελών, οὐ τὴν ἑτέρου του,
ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀπολωλεκὼς ἄν, ὦ βέλτιστε,
εἴης, καὶ διαφυλάξας, κτήματι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν[2]
πάντων καλλίστῳ πλουτήσεις· ἢν δέ γε τὴν
χείρω σοι τύχην πληροῦσθαι[3] ξυμβαίη, σώσαντι
μὲν Ῥώμην χάρις ἂν σώζοιτο παρὰ τῷ νενικηκότι
πολλή, διαφθείραντι δὲ φιλανθρωπίας τε οὐδεὶς
ἔτι λελείψεται λόγος καὶ προσέσται τὸ μηδὲν τοῦ

[1] ὡμολόγηται KL: ὁμολογεῖται H.
[2] τῶν KL: τῷ H.
[3] πληροῦσθαι KH: κληροῦσθαι L.

Now among all the cities under the sun Rome is agreed to be the greatest and the most noteworthy. For it has not been created by the ability of one man, nor has it attained such greatness and beauty by a power of short duration, but a multitude of monarchs, many companies of the best men, a great lapse of time, and an extraordinary abundance of wealth have availed to bring together in that city all other things that are in the whole world, and skilled workers besides. Thus, little by little, have they built the city, such as you behold it, thereby leaving to future generations memorials of the ability of them all, so that insult to these monuments would properly be considered a great crime against the men of all time; for by such action the men of former generations are robbed of the memorials of their ability, and future generations of the sight of their works. Such, then, being the facts of the case, be well assured of this, that one of two things must necessarily take place: either you will be defeated by the emperor in this struggle, or, should it so fall out, you will triumph over him. Now, in the first place, supposing you are victorious, if you should dismantle Rome, you would not have destroyed the possession of some other man, but your own city, excellent Sir, and, on the other hand, if you preserve it, you will naturally enrich yourself by a possession the fairest of all; but if, in the second place, it should perchance fall to your lot to experience the worse fortune, in saving Rome you would be assured of abundant gratitude on the part of the victor, but by destroying the city you will make it certain that no plea for mercy will any longer be left to you, and in addition to this you

15 ἔργου ἀπόνασθαι. καταλήψεται δέ σε καὶ δόξα
τῆς πράξεως ἀξία πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἥπερ
ἐφ' ἑκατερά[1] σοι τῆς γνώμης ἑτοίμως ἔστηκεν,
16 ὁποῖα γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἀρχόντων τὰ ἔργα εἴη, τοιοῦτον
ἀνάγκη καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὄνομα φέρεσθαι." το-
σαῦτα μὲν Βελισάριος ἔγραψε.
17 Τουτίλας δὲ πολλάκις ἀναλεξάμενος τὴν
ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς παραινέσεως ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς
πεποιημένος τὴν μάθησιν, ἐπείσθη τε καὶ Ῥώμην
εἰργάσατο ἄχαρι περαιτέρω οὐδέν. σημήνας τε
Βελισαρίῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τοὺς πρέσβεις
18 εὐθὺς ἀπεπέμψατο. καὶ τοῦ μὲν στρατοῦ τὸ
πλεῖστον μέρος Ῥώμης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ἀλλ'
ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὰ πρὸς
δύοντα ἥλιον ἐνστρατοπεδευσαμένους ἐν χωρίῳ
Ἀλγηδόνι ἐκέλευεν ἡσυχῇ μένειν, ὅπως δὴ
μηδεμία ἐξουσία[2] τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἴη[3] ἔξω
πη τοῦ Πόρτου ἰέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ
στρατῷ ἐπί τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Λευκανοὺς ᾔει.
19 Ῥωμαίων μέντοι τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου
βουλῆς ξὺν αὐτῷ εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας
ξύν τε γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἔστειλεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ
Καμπανίας χωρία, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἄνθρωπον οὐδένα
ἐάσας, ἀλλ' ἔρημον αὐτὴν τὸ παράπαν ἀπολιπών.
20 Ἰωάννης δὲ Τουτίλαν οἱ ἐπιέναι μαθών, μένειν
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀπουλίας οὐκέτι ἠξίου, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸν
Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκετο. τῶν τε πατρικίων οἱ
ἐς Καμπανίαν ἀγόμενοι ἐς Λευκανοὺς πέμψαντες
τῶν οἰκείων τινάς, Τουτίλα γνώμῃ, τοὺς σφετέρους
ἀγροίκους ἐκέλευον μεθίεσθαι μὲν τῶν πρασ-

[1] ἑκατερά KL: ἑτέρας H.
[2] ἐξουσία KH: μηχανὴ δυνατὰ εἴη L. [3] εἴη H: om. KL.

will have reaped no benefit from the deed. Furthermore, a reputation that corresponds with your conduct will be your portion among all men, and it stands waiting for you according as you decide either way. For the quality of the acts of rulers determines, of necessity, the quality of the repute which they win from their acts." Such was the letter of Belisarius.

And Totila, after reading it over many times and coming to realize accurately the significance of the advice, was convinced and did Rome no further harm. So he sent a statement of his decision to Belisarius and immediately dismissed the envoys. And he commanded the main body of the army to make camp not far from Rome at the town of Algedon,[1] which is about one hundred and twenty stades distant from the city toward the west, and to remain quietly there, in order that the troops of Belisarius might have no freedom to go anywhere outside Portus; but with the rest of the army he himself marched against John and the Lucanians. As for the Romans, however, he kept the members of the senate with him, while all the others together with their wives and children he sent into Campania, refusing to allow a single soul in Rome, but leaving it entirely deserted.

When John learned that Totila was marching against him, he refused to remain longer in Apulia, but went hastily to Dryus. Now those patricians who were being taken into Campania sent certain of their domestics into Lucania, by direction of Totila, and bade their tenants abandon their

[1] Perhaps Mt. Algidus (modern Ceraso), though this lies east, not west, of Rome and is remote from Portus.

σομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς γεωργεῖν ἧπερ εἰώθεσαν· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς τἀγαθὰ[1] ἀπήγγελλον τῶν
21 κεκτημένων. οἱ δὲ ἀπετάξαντο μὲν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον·[2] Τουλλιανὸς δὲ φυγὼν ᾤχετο, καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι Ἄνται
22 παρὰ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. οὕτω μὲν ἅπαντα τὰ ἐντὸς κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου, πλὴν τοῦ Δρυοῦντος, αὖθις ὑποχείρια Γότθοις τε καὶ Τουτίλᾳ γέγονε. θαρσοῦντες δὲ ἤδη οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ κατὰ συμμορίας σκεδαννύμενοι περιήεσαν
23 κύκλῳ ἅπαντα. ὅπερ Ἰωάννης μαθὼν τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν. οἳ δὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες[3] πολ-
24 λοὺς ἔκτειναν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δείσας ὁ Τουτίλας, ἅπαντάς τε τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἀγείρας, ἀμφὶ ὄρος τὸ Γάργανον, ὅπερ ἐν Ἀπουλίοις που μέσοις ἀνέχει, ἐν τῷ Ἀννίβαλος τοῦ Λίβυος χαρακώματι στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενεν.

XXIII

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν τις ξὺν τῷ Κόνωνι ἐκ Ῥώμης φυγόντων, ἡνίκα ἡ πόλις ἡλίσκετο, Μαρτινιανὸς ὄνομα, Βυζάντιος γενος, Βελισαρίῳ προσελθὼν στέλλεσθαι αὐτόμολος δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἠξίου, μεγάλα Ῥωμαίους ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀγαθὰ δράσειν· δόξαν τε τοῦτο Βελι-

[1] αὐτοῖς τἀγαθὰ K: αὐτοὺς L.
[2] ἀπήγγελλον—ἔμενον L: om. K.
[3] ἐπιπεσόντες K: ἐπεισπεσόντες L.

present machinations, and till the fields as they were accustomed; for, the message announced, they would have the property of their masters. So they detached themselves from the Roman army, and remained quietly on the land; whereupon Tullianus made off in flight, and the three hundred Antae decided to follow John in his retreat. In this way the whole territory south of the Ionian Gulf, with the exception of Dryus, became once more subject to the Goths and Totila. And the barbarians by this time were filled with confidence and, scattering in small bands, began to overrun the whole country round about. When John learned this, he sent a numerous force of his men against them. And this force, falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, killed a large number. And Totila, as a result of this experience, became cautious and gathered all his troops together in the neighbourhood of Mt. Garganon,[1] which rises near the centre of Apulia, and encamping in the fortified enclosure of Hannibal the Libyan, he remained quiet.

XXIII

At this time one of the men who had fled from Rome with Conon while the city was being captured —he was named Martinianus, a Byzantine by birth— came before Belisarius and asked permission to go to the enemy, pretending to be a deserter, and he promised to render the Romans a great service; and since this met with the approval of Belisarius, he

[1] Modern Gargano.

σαρίῳ, ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας ἰδὼν
2 ὑπερφυῶς ἤσθη. εὐδοκιμοῦντα γὰρ ἐν μονομαχίαις τὸν νεανίαν ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδε πολλάκις. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῷ παίδων τε δύο καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις, τὴν μὲν γυναῖκα καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν ἕτερον εὐθὺς τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν ὁμήρου λόγῳ ἐφύλασσεν, ἕς τε Σπολίτιον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν.
3 Ἐτύγχανον δὲ Γότθοι, ἡνίκα Ἡρωδιανοῦ ἐνδιδόντος Σπολίτιον εἶλον, τῆς μὲν πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος καθελόντες, τοῦ δὲ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κυνηγεσίου, ὅπερ καλεῖν ἀμφιθέατρον νενομίκασι, τάς τε εἰσόδους ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀποφράξαντες καὶ φρουρὰν ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι Γότθων τε[1] καὶ Ῥωμαίων τῶν αὐτομόλων,
4 ἐφ' ᾧ φυλάξωσι[2] τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. Μαρτινιανὸς οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς Σπολίτιον ἦλθε, στρατιώτας πεντεκαίδεκα[3] ἑταιρίσασθαι ἴσχυσεν, οὕσπερ ἀνέπειθε[4] δράσαντάς τι ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους μέγα οὕτω δὴ
5 ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. στείλας δέ τινας καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Περυσίᾳ φυλακτηρίου ἐκέλευέν οἱ στράτευμα ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς Σπολίτιον πέμψαι, τοῦ παντὸς λόγου τὴν
6 δήλωσιν ποιησάμενος. Ὀδολγὰν δὲ Οὔννος ἦρχε τότε τῆς ἐν Περυσίᾳ φρουρᾶς, Κυπριανοῦ πρός του τῶν αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων, ὥς μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, δόλῳ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ὅσπερ
7 ξὺν στρατεύματι ἐπὶ τὸ Σπολίτιον ᾔει. Μαρτι-

[1] τε K: τε αὐτῶν L.
[2] φυλάξωσι K: φυλάξουσι L.
[3] εἰς Σπολίτιον ἦλθε, στρατιώτας πεντεκαίδεκα Haury: καὶ K, τινας L, cf. sec. 7.

went off. Now when Totila saw him, he was exceedingly pleased. For he heard that the youth had won fame in single combats, and he had also seen him many times. And since the man had two children and his wife among the captives, Totila immediately restored to him his wife and one of the children, but the other he continued to guard as a hostage, and sent Martinianus to Spolitium with a few others.

Now it so happened that when the Goths captured Spolitium by the surrender of Herodian, they had indeed razed the whole circuit-wall of the city to the ground, but they had thoroughly walled up the entrances of the structure in front of the city, which served for the keeping of wild animals and has come to be called an amphitheatre, and had established in it a garrison both of Goths and of Roman deserters, for the purpose of guarding the country round about. So when Martinianus had come to Spolitium, he succeeded in winning the friendship of fifteen soldiers, whom he persuaded to return to the Roman army after first accomplishing some great exploit against the barbarians. And he also sent some men to the commander of the garrison in Perusia, bidding him send an army to him at Spolitium with all possible speed, and explaining to him the whole situation. Now the garrison in Perusia was at that time commanded by Odalgan, a Hun, Cyprian having been treacherously removed from the world, as has been stated above,[1] by one of his own bodyguards. And he came himself with an army to Spolitium.

[1] Cf. chap. xii. 20.

[4] *οὕσπερ ἀνέπειθε* K: *τούτους ἀνέπεισε* L.

νιανὸς δὲ ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο αἰσθόμενος, ἅμα τοῖς πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιώταις[1] τοῦ τε φυλακτηρίου τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου διέφθειρε καὶ τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐδέξατο. οἱ δὴ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων πλείστους, τινὰς δὲ ζωγρήσαντες παρὰ Βελισάριον ἦγον.

8 Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ ἔννοια γέγονεν ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀναβῆναι καὶ ἐς ὅ τι τύχης ἐληλύθει θεάσασθαι. τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὖν χιλίους ἀπο-
9 λεξάμενος ἐνταῦθα ἦει. Ῥωμαῖος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀφικόμενος δρόμῳ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἵπερ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν Ἀλγηδόνι, τὸ[2] Βελισαρίου
10 στράτευμα ἤγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προλοχίσαντες ἐνέδραις τισὶ τὰ πρὸ τῆς Ῥώμης χωρία, ἐπειδὴ ἄγχιστά πη ἀφικομένους τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον εἶδον, ἐκ τῶν ἐνεδρῶν ἀναστάντες ἐπ'
11 αὐτοὺς ἦεσαν. μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης, τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἀρετῇ Ῥωμαῖοι τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψάμενοι, πλείστους τε διαφθείραντες ἐς τὸν Πόρτον εὐθὺς ἀνεχώρησαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν.[3]

12 Ἔστι δὲ Καλαβρῶν ἐπιθαλασσία πόλις ὁ Τάρας, δυοῖν σχεδόν τι ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Δρυοῦντος διέχουσα, ἐπί τε Θουρίους καὶ Ῥηγίνους ἐνθένδε
13 ἰόντι. ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισί, Ταραντηνῶν αὐτὸν[4] ἐπαγαγομένων, ἀφίκετο, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Δρυοῦντος φυλακῇ
14 καταστησάμενος. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὴν πόλιν εἶδε

[1] στρατιώταις K: στρατιώταις τοσούτους γὰρ ἑταιρίσασθαι ἴσχυσε L.
[2] τὸ L: τοῦ K.

Then, when Martinianus ascertained that this army was close at hand, he in company with the fifteen soldiers suddenly slew the commander of the garrison and, opening the gates, received all the Romans into the fortress. And the most of the enemy they slew, but they made some prisoners and brought them before Belisarius.

Shortly after this Belisarius conceived the idea of going up to Rome and seeing into what condition it had fallen. So he selected a thousand of his soldiers and with them went to the city. But a man of Rome went in haste to the enemy who were in camp at Algedon, and reported the presence of Belisarius' army. So the barbarians occupied the district in front of Rome with several ambuscades, and, when they saw that the force of Belisarius had come close upon them, they rose from their places of ambush and attacked them. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued, in which the Romans by their valour routed their enemy, and, after destroying the most of them, they withdrew immediately to Portus. Such was the course of events at Rome.

There is a city on the coast of Calabria called Tarentum, about two days' journey distant from Dryus, on the road from there to Thurii and Rhegium. Thither John came with a few men, at the invitation of the Tarentines, having established the rest of his command as a garrison in Dryus. And when he saw

---

[3] *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησεν* L: om. K.
[4] *αὐτὸν* K: *αὐτῶν* L.

μεγίστην τε ὑπερφυῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, πᾶσαν μὲν φυλάξαι οἷός τε ἔσεσθαι οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ ᾤετο, ἰδὼν δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον ἀμφί τινα χῶρον στενὸν μάλιστα ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς κόλπον ἰοῦσαν, οὗ δὴ Ταραντηνῶν ὁ λιμήν ἐστιν, ἰσθμόν τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τὸν ἐν μέσῳ χῶρον οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ
15 σταδίων εἴκοσιν ὄντα, ἐπενόει τάδε. ἀποτεμὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τὴν τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ μοῖραν τειχίσματί τε αὐτὴν περιέβαλεν ἐκ θατέρου θαλάσσης[1] μέρους ἄχρι ἐς ἕτερον καὶ τάφρον
16 βαθεῖαν ἀμφὶ τὸ τείχισμα ὤρυσσεν. ἐνταῦθά τε οὐ Ταραντηνοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ᾤκουν συνήγαγε, καὶ φυλακὴν αὐτοῖς
17 λόγου ἀξίαν ἐλίπετο. ταύτῃ τε Καλαβροὶ ἅπαντες ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη γενόμενοι Γότθων ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.
18 Τουτίλας δὲ φρούριον ἐν Λευκανοῖς καταλαβὼν ἐχυρώτατον ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Καλαβρίας ὁρίων κείμενον, ὅπερ Ἀχεροντίδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐνταῦθά τε φυλακτήριον ἀνδρῶν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τετρακοσίων καταστησάμενος αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ᾔει, τῶν βαρβάρων τινὰς ἀπολιπὼν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία, οἵσπερ ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέκειτο φυλακή, τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα ὄντων.

XXIV

Βελισαρίῳ δὲ τόλμα προμηθὴς γέγονε τότε ἀρχὴν μὲν μανιώδης δόξασα εἶναι τοῖς τε ὁρῶσι

[1] θαλάσσης K: τῆς θαλάσσης L.

that this city was exceedingly large and entirely without defences, he thought that he would be utterly unable to defend the whole of it; but he observed that the sea to the north of the city formed a bay on either side of a very narrow strip of land, where the port of Tarentum is situated, and thus the space between the bays naturally forms an isthmus for a distance of not less than twenty stades; so he formed the following plan. He cut off from the rest of the city that portion which lay on the isthmus, and enclosed it by means of a wall extending from one bay to the other and along the wall he dug a deep trench. There he collected not only the Tarentines but also all the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and he left them a garrison of considerable size. In this way all the Calabrians were now in a secure position and they consequently purposed to revolt from the Goths. Such was the course of events in this quarter.

Totila, for his part, occupied a very strong fortress in Lucania, situated close to the boundaries of Calabria, called Acherontis by the Romans; and after establishing there a garrison of not less than four hundred men, he himself with the rest of his army marched against Ravenna, leaving in Campania some of the barbarians, who were charged with the guarding of Roman prisoners, the members of the senate being in that place.

XXIV

At that time Belisarius conceived a daring and far-seeing plan, which in the beginning indeed appeared insane to those who first saw and heard of his actions,

καὶ ἀκούουσι πρῶτον, ἐκβᾶσα δὲ ἐς ἀρετῆς ἔργον
2 ὑψηλόν τε καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπέρογκον. τῶν γὰρ
στρατιωτῶν ὀλίγους τινὰς φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐν
Πόρτῳ ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς
Ῥώμην ἦλθε, προσποιεῖσθαί τε αὐτὴν σθένει
3 παντὶ ἤθελεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν ὅσα
καθελὼν τοῦ περιβόλου Τουτίλας ἔτυχε βραχεῖ
4 ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι χρόνῳ, ἐποίει τάδε. λίθους
ἄγχιστά πη ὄντας ξυναγαγὼν ἐπ᾽ ἀλλήλους
οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ξυνέβαλεν, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐντὸς
ἔχοντας, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τίτανον εἶχεν[1] οὔτε τι ἄλλο
τοιοῦτον,[2] ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως μόνον τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας
σώζοιτο πρόσωπον, σκολόπων τε μέγα τι χρῆμα
5 ἔξωθεν ἵστη. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ τάφρους βαθείας
ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὅλον ὀρύξας πρότερον, ὥσπερ
6 μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη. παντὸς δὲ
τοῦ στρατοῦ προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ταῦτα ἐργαζο-
μένου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν ὅσα τοῦ
περιβόλου καθήρητο τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τετέλεστο.
7 τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων ὅσοι ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία
ᾤκηντο ἐνταῦθα ἠγείροντο, τῆς τε ἐν Ῥώμῃ
οἰκήσεως ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τέως
σπανίζοντες ἀφθονίαν ἐνταῦθα εὗρον, ἥνπερ
Βελισάριος ποιεῖν ἴσχυσε, ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας
πάντων ἐμπλησάμενος τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἔς τε
Ῥώμην διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐσκομίσας.[3]
8 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τουτίλας ἤκουσεν, ἄρας αὐτίκα
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ῥώμην[4]

[1] εἶχεν K: om. L.
[2] τοιοῦτον K: τοιοῦτον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν L.
[3] ἐσκομίσας followed by a blank space of one word L: ἐσκομίσας εἰσῆξε K.

but its outcome proved to be a splendid achievement of marvellous importance. For he sallied forth, leaving behind only a few of his soldiers to keep guard in Portus, and went himself with the rest of his army to Rome, with the intention of trying with all his strength to establish himself in possession of the city. And since he was unable in a short time to rebuild all the portions of the wall which Totila had torn down, he did as follows. Gathering stones which lay close by, he threw them one on top of the other, regardless of order, without putting anything at all between the stones, since he had neither lime nor anything else of the sort, but caring only that the face of the masonry should be preserved, and he set a great quantity of stakes on the outside. Now he had previously, as it happened, dug deep trenches around the entire circuit-wall, as stated in the previous narrative.[1] And since the whole army carried out this work with unbounded enthusiasm, in twenty-five days such parts of the fortifications as had been torn down had been finished in this manner. And all the Romans who lived in the neighbourhood gathered in the city, both because of their desire to make their homes in Rome, and also because they had for a time been scantily supplied with provisions and they found abundance there; for Belisarius had been able to bring this about by loading a great number of boats with all manner of provisions and bringing them up to Rome by the river.

When Totila heard this, he immediately set his whole army in motion and marched against Belisarius

[1] Cf. Book V. xiv. 15.

[4] *ῥώμην* K: *πόλιν* L.

ἦλθεν, οἵ τῳ Βελισαρίου τὰς πύλας ἐναρμόσασθαι
9 τῷ περιβόλῳ ἰσχυσαντος. πασας γὰρ διαφθείρας
Τουτίλας ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἅσπερ οὐκ ἐφθη τεχνιτῶν ἀπορία
10 Βελισαριος τεκτηνάμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο,[1] τότε μὲν ἐστρατοπεδευσαμενοι ηὐλίσαντο παρὰ Τίβεριν ποταμὸν, ἅμα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι, δυοῖν τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἐχόμενοι
11 ἀμφὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἦεσαν. Βελισάριος δὲ τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μαχιμωτατους ἀπολεξαμενος ἐς τὴν χώραν τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀνωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περιβόλων ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς
12 ἐπιόντας παντι δυνάμει ἐκέλευε. γέγονε τοίνυν καρτερὰ μάχη. οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐλπίδα εἶχον αὐτοβοεὶ τὴν πόλιν αἱρησειν, τοῦ δὲ πραγματος σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἰσχυρότατα ἀμυνομένων, ὀργῇ χρώμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέκειντο, τοῦ θυμοῦ σφᾶς παρὰ
13 δύναμιν ἐς τὴν εὐτολμίαν ὁρμῶντος. οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχοντο, τοῦ κινδύνου, ὡς
14 τὸ εἰκός, ἐς τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐπάγοντος.[2] γέγονεν οὖν φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ βαλλομένων πολύς, κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἑκάτεροι[3] εἶχοντο καὶ ἡ μάχη πρωὶ
15 ἀρξαμένη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἔπειτα[4] οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γενόμενοι ἐνυκτέρευσαν, τῶν ἐν σφίσι τραυματιῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, Ῥωμαίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐφύλαττον, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρίας περὶ μάλιστα

[1] ἐγένοντο K : ἐγένετο L.

[2] ἀντεῖχοντο—ἐπάγοντος L : τυγχάντες τοῦ κινδύνου, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐς τὴν εὐψυχίαν ἐπῆγοντο K.

and Rome, before Belisarius had as yet been able to fit the gates to the wall. For it so happened that Totila had destroyed them all, and Belisarius had not up to that time succeeded in having gates built because of the lack of artisans. And when the barbarian army came near the city, they made camp for the moment and bivouacked on the bank of the Tiber, but on the following day at sunrise they advanced, filled with great fury and shouting as they came, to a position before the walls. But Belisarius had selected the most warlike of his soldiers and stationed them in the open gateways, commanding the rest to stand above and ward off the assailants from the wall with all their force. So a fierce battle ensued; for the barbarians, on their part, at first entertained the hope that they would capture the city at the first shout, but since the attempt proved difficult, and the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance, they gave way to rage and began to press upon the foe, their fury inspiring them to daring beyond their strength. The Romans, meanwhile, resisted with unexpected determination, the danger naturally arousing them to bravery. Consequently a great slaughter of the barbarians took place, since they were being shot at from a high position, and both armies were becoming very weary and distressed; and the battle, which had begun in the morning, ended at night. Thereupon the barbarians repaired to their camps and passed the night there, caring for their wounded; as for the Romans, some were keeping guard on the wall, while others, who were the men most con-

[3] ἑκάτεροι K : τὰ στρατεύματα ἑκάτερα L.
[4] ἔπειτα K : ἐπεί τε ξυνεσκόταζεν ἤδη L.

πάντων εὖ ἥκοντες ἐν περιτροπῇ τὰς τῶν πυλῶν χώρας ἐφύλασσον, τριβόλους ἔμπροσθεν πολλοὺς θέμενοι, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν.

16 Οἱ δὲ τρίβολοι τοιοίδε εἰσί. σκολόπων τεττάρων ἰσομήκων μάλιστα τὰ ὄπισθε πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναρμοσάμενοι τριγώνου σχῆμα τὰς αὐτῶν εὐθείας πανταχόθεν ἐργάζονται, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν
17 ὅπου παρατύχῃ ῥίπτουσι. ταύτῃ τε τῶν σκολόπων οἱ μὲν τρεῖς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἰσχυρότατα ἑστήκασι πάντες, ὁ δὲ λειπόμενος ἀνέχων μόνος ἐμπόδιον ἀνδράσι τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐς ἀεὶ γίγνεται.
18 ὁσάκις δέ τις τοῦτον δὴ κυλίνδει τὸν τρίβολον, ὁ μὲν τέως ἐκ τῶν σκολόπων τὴν[1] τοῦ ἀέρος ὄρθιον[2] κληρωσάμενος χώραν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἕστηκεν, ἄλλος δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενος ἄνω τοῖς ἐπιέναι βουλομένοις ἐμπόδιόν ἐστιν. οἱ μὲν τρίβολοι τοιοίδε εἰσίν. ἑκάτεροι δὲ οὕτω μετὰ τὴν μάχην ηὐλίσαντο.

19 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Τουτίλας αὖθις παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω, οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἠμύνοντο. καθυπέρτεροί τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ γεγενημένοι ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις
20 ἐθάρσησαν. καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὑποχωρούντων διώκοντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων τινὲς πόρρω που τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο. οὓς δὴ κυκλώσεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι ἔμελλον, ὡς μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν δυνατοὶ εἶεν. ἀλλὰ Βελισάριος (κατενόησε γὰρ τὰ ποιούμενα) τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα στείλας διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας

[1] τὴν K : τὴν εὐθὺ L. [2] ὄρθιον L : τρίβολον K.

spicuous of all for their bravery, were guarding the open gateways in relays, having placed *triboli* in great numbers in front of them, so that the enemy might not make a surprise attack upon them.

Now these *triboli*[1] are of the following sort. Four spikes of equal length are fastened together at their butts in such a manner that their points form the outline of a triangle on every side. These they throw at random upon the ground, and because of their form three of the spikes all plant themselves very firmly upon the ground, while the remaining one stands up alone and always proves an obstacle for both men and horses. And as often as anybody rolls over one of these *triboli*, the spike which hitherto has chanced to stand up straight in the air becomes planted on the ground, but another one takes its place above, as an obstacle to those who wish to advance to the attack. Such are the *triboli*. So both sides bivouacked thus after the battle.

On the following day Totila decided to storm the wall again with his whole army, and the Romans proceeded to ward them off in the manner described; and gaining the upper hand in the engagement, they plucked up courage to make a sally against their enemy. And as the barbarians retreated, some of the Romans, in pursuing them, went to a considerable distance from the fortifications. These the barbarians were on the point of surrounding, so that they might be unable to return to the city. But Belisarius, noting what was taking place, sent a large number of his men to that point and thus suc-

[1] Caltrops; used, for example, at Bannockburn.

21 ἴσχυσεν.[1] οὕτω τε ἀποκρουσθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνεχώρησαν, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβεβληκότες τῶν ἐν σφίσι μαχίμων, πλείστους δὲ τραυματίας ἐς τὸ
22 στρατόπεδον ἐπαγόμενοι. ἐνταῦθά τε ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, τά τε τραύματα θεραπεύοντες καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιμελούμενοι (πολλὰ γὰρ σφίσι διέφθαρτο ἤδη) καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐν παρασκευῇ πάσῃ ποιούμενοι.

Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον
23 ὡς τειχομαχήσοντες ἥεσαν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ σφίσιν ὑπαντιάσαντες ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον. τύχῃ τέ τινι ὁ τὸ Τουτίλα σημεῖον φέρων καιρίαν πληγεὶς αὐτός τε ἐκ τοῦ ἵππου ἐκπίπτει καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐς τὴν
24 γῆν ἔρριψε. καὶ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ὅσοι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ἐμάχοντο, ὥρμησαν ὥστε τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἁρπασόμενοι. φθάσαντες δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ εὐτολμότατοι τό τε σημεῖον ἁρπάζουσι καὶ τοῦ[2] νεκροῦ χεῖρα τὴν λαιὰν ἀποτεμόντες ξὺν
25 αὑτοῖς ἔλαβον. ψέλλιον γὰρ χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὁ πεπτωκὼς φορῶν ἔτυχε λόγου ἄξιον, ὥπερ ἐναβρύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἥκιστα ἤθελον, φεύγοντες δηλονότι τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργου αἰσχύνην.
26 καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατὸς ἐς ὑπαγωγὴν ἐτράποντο[3] οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τοῦ νεκροῦ σῶμα ἐσκύλευσαν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διώκοντες πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖς ἦλθον.

27 Τότε δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Γότθοις λόγιμοι ἦσαν Τουτίλα προσελθόντες ἐλοιδοροῦντό τε καὶ ἀνέδην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀβουλίαν ὠνείδιζον, ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμην ἑλὼν οὔτε

[1] ἴσχυσεν L : ἔσχεν K. [2] τοῦ Haury : om. MSS.
[3] ἐτράποντο K : ἐτράπετο L.

ceeded in rescuing the force. After being repulsed in this way the barbarians withdrew, having lost many of their able fighting men, and bringing with them a great number of wounded to their camp. There they remained quiet, caring for their wounds and attending to their arms, many of which had now been destroyed, and putting everything else in readiness.

Many days later they again advanced against the wall with the purpose of storming it. But the Romans came out to meet them and joined battle. And by some chance the man who was bearing the standard of Totila received a mortal wound and not only fell from his horse himself, but also threw the standard to the ground. Whereupon those of the Romans who were fighting at the front made a rush with the intention of seizing the standard and the corpse. But the most courageous of the barbarians got there first, seized the standard, and also cut off the left hand of the corpse and took it with them. For the fallen man was wearing upon this hand a notable bracelet of gold, over which they were quite unwilling that their opponents should exult, and they sought thus to avoid the disgrace which its loss would involve. Then the barbarian army was turned to retreat in complete disorder, while the Romans despoiled what was left of the corpse, and in pursuing the enemy to a great distance killed many of them, and then returned to the city without the slightest loss.

Then all the notable Goths came to Totila and inveighed against him and reproached him mercilessly for his lack of wisdom; after capturing Rome, they said, he had neither levelled the whole city

ξύμπασαν ἐς[1] ἕδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅπως μηκέτι τοῖς πολεμίοις καταληπτὴ εἴη, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πόνῳ τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ αὐτοῖς ἐργασθὲν ἔτυχε, τοῦτο λόγῳ αὐτὸς οὐδενὶ διαφθείρειεν.
28 οὕτω τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμπέφυκε πρὸς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰς ἀποβάσεις ἀεὶ τὴν γνώμην ῥυθμίζειν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τῷ τῆς τύχης ῥεύματι προσχωρεῖν, ἀγχιστρόφους τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταστάσεις
29 ποιεῖσθαι τῆς δόξης. διὸ δὴ καὶ Γότθοι εὐημεροῦντα μὲν τοῖς ἐγχειρήμασι Τουτίλαν ἐτεθήπεσαν ἴσα θεῷ, ἄμαχόν τινα καὶ ἀήττητον ἀποκαλοῦντες, ἡνίκα πόλεων τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἐκ μοίρας τινὸς τὰ τείχη διαφθείρειν εἶα, σφαλέντι δέ, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, λοιδορεῖσθαι οὐκ ἀπηξίουν τῶν ἔναγχος σφίσιν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εἰρημένων ἀμνημονοῦντες, ἀπ'
30 ἐναντίας τε αὐτῶν οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει ἰόντες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι μὴ οὐχὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς ἀεὶ ἁμαρτάνεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ φύσει γίγνεσθαι εἴωθε.
31 Τουτίλας δὲ καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι λύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν ἐς Τίβουριν πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, πάσας σχεδόν τι τὰς τοῦ Τιβέριδος γεφύρας διελόντες, ὅπως μὴ Ῥωμαῖοι εὐπετῶς σφίσιν ἐπίεναι οἷοί τε
32 ὦσι. γέφυραν μέντοι μίαν, ἣ Μολιβίου ἐπώνυμός ἐστι, διαφθεῖραι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ ἄγχιστα τῆς πόλεως ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα. τό τε ἐν Τιβούρει φρούριον ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σθένει παντὶ ἔγνωσαν·
33 καθελόντες γὰρ αὐτὸ πρότερον ἔτυχον· τά τε χρήματα ἐνταῦθα καταθέμενοι ἅπαντα ἡσυχῇ
34 ἔμενον. καὶ Βελισάριος ἀδεέστερον ἤδη τὰς

[1] ἐς L : ἐπ' K.

to the ground so that it might be no longer possible for the enemy to take possession of it, nor had himself held it, but that which they had accomplished by a great expenditure of both labour and time, this he himself had undone in an altogether unreasonable manner. Thus it is by nature inbred in men to accommodate their judgment in every case to the outcome of events and to allow their mind to be dominated by the current of fortune, and to make their changes of opinion instantly as a result of this. It was indeed for this reason that while Totila was succeeding in his undertakings, the Goths had reverenced him equally with God, calling him an unvanquished and invincible leader, at the time when he allowed them to destroy only a portion of the defences of captured cities, but when he met with the reverse above mentioned, they did not feel it improper to inveigh against him, unmindful of what they had recently said about him, and going contrary to these declarations without the least hesitation. But these errors of judgment and others like them must inevitably be constantly committed by men, since they are due to human nature.

So Totila and his barbarians broke up the siege and went to the city of Tibur, having torn down practically all the bridges over the Tiber, that it might not be easy for the Romans to make an attack upon them. One bridge, however, which bears the name of Mulvius, they were quite unable to destroy, since it was very close to the city. And they decided to rebuild the fortress in Tibur with all their might; for they had dismantled it previously; and they deposited there all their possessions and remained quiet. As for Belisarius, having now less

πύλας τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου[1] πανταχόθι ἐφαρμοσάμενος σιδήρῳ τε αὐτὰς περιβαλὼν αἶθις βασιλεῖ τὰς κλεῖς ἔπεμψε. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψεν.

XXV

Ἐτύγχανε δὲ πολλῷ πρότερον στράτευμα ἐπὶ Περυσίαν ὁ Τουτίλας στείλας, οἵπερ ἀμφὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους. 2 καὶ ἐπεὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοὺς σπανίζοντας ᾔσθοντο ἤδη, πέμψαντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐδέοντο παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἰέναι, ῥᾷον ἂν οὕτω καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐξελεῖν Περυσίαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα 3 Ῥωμαίους οἰόμενοι. Τουτίλας δὲ οὐ λίαν ἐς τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα προθυμουμένους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁρῶν παραίνεσίν τινα ποιεῖσθαι ἐς[2] αὐτοὺς 4 ἤθελε. διὸ δὴ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες ξυστρατιῶται, ἐμὲ μὲν οὐκ ὀρθῶς δι' ὀργῆς ἔχοντας, ἀγανακτοῦντας δὲ πρὸς τὸ τῆς τύχης ξυμπεπτωκὸς ἐναντίωμα, ξυναγαγεῖν τανῦν ἔγνωκα, ὅπως ὑμῶν δόξαν ὡς ἥκιστα ὀρθὴν ἀφελὼν ἀντικαθιστάναι τὴν γνώμην ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω δυνήσωμαι, καὶ μήτε ἀχαριστεῖν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσῆκον ἐς ἐμὲ δόξητε μήτε ἀγνω- 5 μοσύνῃ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὑπὸ ἀβελτερίας χρῆσθαι. τὰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπεια καὶ σφάλλεσθαί ποτε[3] πέφυκεν,

[1] τοῦ—περιβόλου K : τῶ—περιβόλω L.
[2] ἐς L : ἐπ' K.
[3] ποτε K : ξύμπαντα L.

cause for fear, he fitted gates to the circuit-wall of Rome on every side, bound them with iron, and once more sent the keys to the emperor. And the winter drew to a close, and the twelfth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 547 A.D.

XXV

Long before this Totila had, as it happened, sent an army against Perusia, and they had encamped about the circuit-wall of the city and were maintaining a close siege of the Romans there. And since they perceived that the city was scantily supplied with provisions, they sent to Totila and begged him to come there with his whole army, thinking that they would thus capture Perusia and the Romans in it with less difficulty and labour. Now Totila saw that the barbarians were not very eager to carry out his orders, and so he desired to deliver an exhortation to them. With this in view, he called them all together and spoke as follows.

"I have observed, fellow-soldiers, that you are cherishing toward me an unjustified anger, and at the same time that you bitterly resent that adversity of fortune which has befallen us; for this reason I have decided to bring you together on the present occasion, in order that I may be able to remove from your minds an impression which is absolutely wrong and bring you back to a better judgment, and also that you may appear neither to shew me an ingratitude which ill befits you, nor to be led by base motives to assume a thankless attitude toward the Deity. For it is of the very nature of human

ὅστις τε ἄνθρωπος ὢν εἶτα δυσχερῶς ἔχων ἐς τὰ προσπίπτοντα φαίνεται, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμαθίας, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀποίσεται δόξαν, οὐδὲν δὲ [1] ὑπεκστήσε-
6 ται [2] τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀνάγκην. βούλομαι δὲ τῶν πρότερον πεπραγμένων ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι, οὐχ ὅσον ἕνεκα τοῦ τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων ἐκλύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαιότερον ἂν [3] ταύτας
7 ὑμῖν [4] προσήκειν ἐνδείκνυσθαι. Οὐίττιγις γὰρ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθιστάμενος ἐς πόλεμον τόνδε Φανοῦ μὲν καὶ Πισαύρου τῶν ἐπιθαλασσίων πόλεων τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε, Ῥώμην δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἰταλίας πόλεις ἁπάσας ἀφῆκεν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν
8 λυμηνάμενος. ἐκ μὲν οὖν Φανοῦ καὶ Πισαύρου φλαῦρον οὐδὲν Γότθοις ξυμβέβηκεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ῥώμης περιβόλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀχυρωμάτων ταύτῃ, ᾗπερ ὑμεῖς ἴστε, Γότθοις καὶ Οὐιττίγιδι ἐκεχωρήκει τὰ πράγματα.

9 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐπειδὴ διδόντων ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον, ἐλογισάμην τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι δόξασιν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἕπεσθαι ἢ ἐκ τῶν λυμη-
10 ναμένων [5] τοῖς πράγμασι διδόναι [6] βλάβος. φύσει μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι οὐδέν τι μέγα διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων δοκοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ πεῖρά τισι [7] γινομένη διδάσκαλος κρείσσω τὸν ἐκμαθόντα τῶν οὐ τετυχηκότων τῆς διδασκαλίας τῷ παντὶ τίθη-
11 σιν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν Βενεβεντὸν εἴλομεν, τὰ

[1] δὲ MSS. : δὲ ἧττον editors.
[2] ὑπεκστήσεται Haury : ὑποστήσεται MSS.
[3] ἂν MSS. : ἄλλοις Maltretus.
[4] ὑμῖν Haury : ἢ K, om. L.
[5] ἐκ τῶν λυμηναμένων Christ : ἐκ τῶν δυναμένων K, τῶν δεδηνημένων L, ἐκ τῶν λυμαινομένων Scaliger : Haury suggests ἠρτῆσθαι ἐκ τῶν δυναμένων.

affairs that failure must come at times, and when any man, forgetting that he is human, shews himself rebellious against that which befalls him, he will himself naturally acquire a reputation for stupidity, and yet in no wise escape the necessity which fate has laid upon him. Now I wish to remind you of previous events, not so much in order to absolve myself from the blame for what has happened, as to demonstrate that this may with more justice be laid upon yourselves. For when Vittigis was entering upon this war at the very beginning, he did indeed tear down the walls of the coast towns Fanum and Pisaurum, but Rome and the other cities of Italy without exception he exempted, not damaging them in the least. Consequently, while no trouble has come to the Goths from Fanum and Pisaurum, it was because of the circuit-walls of Rome and the other fortified places that trouble came to the Gauls and Vittigis after the manner that is well-known to you.

"Accordingly, when I accepted the royal power offered by you, I formed the reasonable purpose of emulating those deeds which had come to be regarded as better for us rather than to damage our cause by doing those things which had harmed us. For while men do not seem to differ greatly one from the other as far as nature is concerned, still some have had the advantage of experience, which, like a teacher, makes him who has learned her lesson superior in every respect to those who have not received such instruction. Accordingly, when we captured Beneventum, we razed its walls

[6] διδόναι L : διώκειν K.
[7] ἡ—τισι K : εἰ δὲ πεῖρά τις ἦν L.

τείχη καθελόντες τῶν ἄλλων εὐθὺς ἐκρατοῦμεν, ὥνπερ ὁμοίως τοὺς περιβόλους καθελεῖν ἔγνωμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐξ ἐχυροῦ τινος ὁρμώμενος ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς σοφίζεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον δυνατὸς εἴη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος ἀναγκάζηται ἡμῖν ἐς
12 πεδίον κατιὼν ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον, ἐγὼ δὲ καθαιρεῖν τῶν πόλεων τὰς
13 ἁλισκομένας ἐκέλευον. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὴν εὐβουλίαν θαυμάζοντες ὑπουργεῖτε τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ, τὸ ἔργον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, οἰκειούμενοι. ὁ γὰρ ἐπαινέσας τὸν δράσαντα[1] οὐδέν τι ἧσσον τῶν πεπραγμένων
14 αὐτουργὸς γίνεται. νῦν δὲ μεταβέβλησθε, ὦ φίλτατοι Γότθοι, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη Βελισάριον κρεῖσσον λόγου θράσος ἑλόμενον τῶν ἐγκεχειρημένων αὐτῷ[2] παρὰ δόξαν κρατεῖν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καταπεπλῆχθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἅτε ἀνδρεῖον ὑμῖν
15 ξυμβαίνει. ῥᾷον γὰρ οἱ θρασεῖς εὔτολμοι κέκληνται ἢ οἱ προμηθεῖς ἀσφαλεῖς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τὰ καθεστῶτα τολμήσας[3] ἐννοίᾳ τοῦ δοκοῦντος δραστηρίου τετίμηται, ὁ δὲ προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ ἀποκνήσας τὸν κίνδυνον ἀποτυχών τε τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπισπᾶται τῶν ξυμπιπτόντων καὶ πράξας κατὰ νοῦν οὐδὲν αὐτὸς τοῖς γε ἀμαθέσιν ἐργάσασθαι δοκεῖ.

16 Χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἐκλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, δι' ὧν[4] ὑμῖν ἀγανακτεῖν ξυμβαίνει τανῦν. Ἡ Βελισάριον εὐδοκιμηκέναι καθ' ὑμῶν

[1] δράσαντα K : δεδρακότα L.
[2] ἐγκεχειρημένων αὐτῷ K : ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ L.
[3] τολμήσας KL : τολμήσας εὐημερῶν γε (τε Boissonade) τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔργον δόξαν φέρεται ξύμπασαν καὶ σφαλεὶς V_1.
[4] ὧν K : ὃν L.

and straightway captured the other towns, whose circuit-walls we decided to raze in the same way, in order that the enemy's army might not be able, by having any strong base, to carry on the war by stratagem, but should at once be compelled to come down to the plain and engage with us there. So while the enemy, for their part, were in flight, I was giving orders to raze such of the cities as were captured. And you, marvelling at my good judgment, aided and abetted this decision, and so, it would seem, made my actions your own. For he who praises the man who has done a deed becomes himself the agent of the deed no less than the other. But now you have reversed your position, my dearest Goths, simply because it has come about that Belisarius, by adopting a course of unreasonable daring, has unexpectedly attained the object for which he strove, and in consequence of this you have come to be astounded at the man as a marvel of courage. For men of daring are called courageous more readily than men of foresight are called safe. And the reason is that, while he who displays daring beyond the established bounds of conduct is honoured with the name and fame of a strenuous man, he who refrains from danger with careful judgment and meets with ill success draws upon him the responsibility for what happens, and even if he achieves the success he planned, he still seems, to foolish men at any rate, to have accomplished nothing by himself.

"And apart from this, you do not consider that you are angry with me for the things which, in reality, cause you resentment just now. Or do you really believe that Belisarius has won a glorious

οἴεσθε, οἵπερ δορυάλωτοι ὄντες καὶ δραπέται γεγενημένοι ὑπ' ἐμοί τε στρατηγοῦντι ὅπλα ἀντάραντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι πολλάκις αὐτὸν[1] τῷ
17 πολέμῳ δεδύνησθε; καίτοι εἰ μὲν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα ὑμᾶς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη, ταύτην ὑμᾶς αἰσχυνομένους χρὴ σιωπᾶν, ἐν τοῖς παίσμασι δὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθυμουμένους ὡς οὐδὲν πέφυκεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ μένειν· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῖν τύχη ἐκεῖνο τὸ κράτος ἐβράβευσε, σέβειν μᾶλλον ἢ δυσκόλως πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχειν ὑμῖν ξυνοίσει,[2] ὡς μὴ προσκεκρουκότες τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην μεταμαθεῖν
18 βιάζησθε.[3] καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος τρόπου φανείη τοὺς πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα περιβεβλημένους εὐτυχήματα οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν βραχεῖ τε ταυτὸν πταίσαντας οὕτω δεδουλῶσθαι[4] τὸ φρόνημα; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀπαξιοῦν τε καὶ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι
19 ἀνθρώπους εἶναι. τὸ γὰρ ἐν οὐδενὶ σφάλλεσθαι χρόνῳ θεοῦ ἂν[5] ἴδιον γένοιτο. τούτων τοίνυν φημὶ χρῆναι ἀφεμένους ὑμᾶς προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ὁμόσε[6] τοῖς ἐν Περυσίᾳ πολεμίοις ἰέναι. ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνους ἐξελεῖν δυνήσησθε, αὖθις ὑμῖν τὰ τῆς
20 τύχης ἐν καλῷ κείσεται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξυμπεσὸν οὐδ' ἂν ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν ἀποίητον τίθεσθαι δύναιτο, εὐτυχημάτων δὲ ἄλλων ἐπιγινομένων τοῖς ἑπταικόσι λελωφηκέναι ξυμβαίνει τὴν τῶν κακῶν μνήμην.

Ἔσται δὲ ὑμῖν ἡ Περυσίας ἐπικράτησις οὐδενὶ

[1] αὐτὸν L : αὐτῶν K.
[2] ξυνοίσει editors : ξυνήσει K, ξοίσει L.
[3] βιάζησθε Paris 1699 : βιάζεσθε K, ἀναγκάζησθε L.
[4] δεδουλῶσθαι L : δεδηλῶσθαι K.

success against you—you who, though reduced to the condition of prisoners of war and runaway slaves, took up arms under me as your general and have proved yourselves able many a time to overcome him in battle? And yet if it was through my merit that you succeeded in accomplishing such things, out of respect for that merit you ought to be silent, remembering in the hour of men's reverses that nothing can remain fixed; and if, on the other hand, it was some fortune which bestowed that victory upon you, it will profit you more to shew reverence toward her rather than vexation, so that you may not be compelled through failure to learn the true meaning of her favour. Indeed, how could it fail to appear inconsistent with a well-tempered spirit that men who have achieved for themselves many great successes not long ago and have now met with a slight reverse should allow their pride to be thus humbled? For such an attitude means purely and simply this, that you obstinately refuse to acknowledge that you are human. For never to make mistakes could be predicated only of God. Consequently I say that you must abandon this attitude and with all enthusiasm grapple with the enemy in Perusia. For if you prove able to capture them, Fortune will again smile upon you. For while that which has happened could never be undone by all eternity, still when fresh successes fall to the lot of those who have met with reverse, it comes about that the memory of evil days is made lighter.

"And you will achieve the mastery of Perusia

---

[5] ἂν K: ἂν μόνου L, ἂν μόνον V_1.
[6] ὁμόσε K: om. L.

21 πόνῳ. Κυπριανὸς γὰρ ὃς τῶν ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων
ἦρχε, τύχῃ τε καὶ βουλαῖς ἡμετέραις ἐκποδὼν
γέγονε, πλῆθος δὲ ἄναρχον ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζον ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἥκιστα
22 πέφυκεν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ὄπισθέν τις ἐς ἡμᾶς
κακουργήσει· τάς τε γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ γεφύρας
τούτου ἕνεκα καθελεῖν ἔγνωκα, ὡς μή τι πάθοιμεν
ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀπροσδόκητον, καὶ ὑπόπτους ξυμ-
βαίνει Βελισάριόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην ἀλλήλοις
εἶναι, ὅπερ[1] διὰ τῶν πεπραγμένων ὁρᾶν πάρεστι.
23 γνῶμαι γὰρ ἀλλήλαις μαχόμεναι διὰ τῶν ἔργων
ἐλέγχονται. οὐκοῦν οὐδέ πη ἀλλήλοις ἐπι-
μίγνυσθαι ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου δεδύνηνται.
ἀναχαιτίζει γὰρ ἑκάτερον ἡ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἀμφοῖν
ὑποψία. οἷς δ' ἂν αὖτη ἐγγένηται,[2] φθόνον τε
24 καὶ ἔχθος ἐπάναγκες ξυνοικίζεσθαι. ὧν δὴ
μεταξὺ ἐπιπεσόντων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων
ἀδύνατον." τοσαῦτα ὁ Τουτίλας εἰπὼν ἐπὶ
Περυσίαν ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνταῦθά τε
ἀφικόμενοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐστρατο-
πεδεύσαντο καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενοι ἐς πολιορκίαν
καθίσταντο.

XXVI

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο τῇδε, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰωάννῃ
Ἀχεροντίδα τὸ φρούριον πολιορκοῦντι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν
προὐχώρει, ἔννοιά τις καὶ τόλμα γέγονεν, ἣ
Ῥωμαίων μὲν τὴν βουλὴν διασώσασθαι, αὐτῷ δὲ
κλέος περιβαλέσθαι μέγα τε καὶ ὑπερφυὲς ἐς
2 ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας ἴσχυσε. Τουτίλαν γὰρ καὶ

[1] ὅπερ K : ὥσπερ L. [2] ἐγγένηται K : γένηται L.

without any trouble. For Cyprian, who was commander of the Romans there, has been put out of the way by fortune, coupled with our planning, and an ungoverned multitude, particularly when scantily supplied with the necessities of life, is quite incapable of offering a brave resistance. Nor indeed will anyone harm us from the rear; for not only have I seen fit to destroy the bridges over the river, with this purpose, that we might suffer no loss from unexpected assaults, but it is also true that Belisarius and John are regarding each other with suspicion, a fact which can be seen from previous events. For the conflict of men's judgments, one with the other, is clearly detected by their actions. This indeed is the reason why they have not even been able to join forces with each other up to this time. For their mutual suspicion disconcerts each of them; and those who admit this feeling are bound to harbour envy and hostility besides. And when these passions assault men, no needful thing can be done." After this speech Totila led forth his army against Perusia, and, upon their arrival at that city, they made camp hard by the circuit-wall and established themselves for a siege.

XXVI

While these events were taking place in the manner described, John was meanwhile besieging the fortress of Acherontis; and since he was not making any progress, he conceived a daring plan, which not only effected the rescue of the Roman senate, but also caused him to win for himself an extraordinarily great renown among all men. For

τὸν Γότθων στρατὸν τειχομαχεῖν ἀκούσας ἀμφὶ τὸν Ῥώμης περίβολον, τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἀπολεξάμενος, τῶν πάντων[1] οὐδενὶ προρρηθέν, ἐς Καμπανούς, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνιεὶς οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἦει (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπὼν Τουτίλας ἔτυχεν), ὅπως ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδόκητος ἀναρπάσαι τε καὶ διασώσασθαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς οἷός τε εἴη ἅτε τῶν ἐνταῦθα χωρίων ἀτειχίστων παντάπασιν ὄντων.

3 Ξυνηνέχθη δὲ ὑπὸ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Τουτίλαν δείσαντα, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μή τις τῶν πολεμίων ἐς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κακουργήσων ἴοι, στράτευμα
4 ἐπὶ Καμπανίας ἱππέων στεῖλαι. οἳ[2] δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν Μεντούρνῃ πόλει ἐγένοντο,[3] ἄμεινον σφίσιν ἔδοξεν εἶναι τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχῇ μένειν τῶν τε ἵππων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι (κόπῳ γὰρ πολλῷ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πορείᾳ σφίσιν ὁμιλῆσαι ξυνέβη), στεῖλαι δέ τινας[4] τὰ ἐν Καπύῃ τε κατασκεψομένους καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις.[5] χώραν δὲ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι τὴν μεταξὺ οὐ πλέον ἢ σταδίους τριακοσίους.
5 τετρακοσίους οὖν,[6] οὕσπερ δὴ ἵπποις τε καὶ σώμασιν ἀκραιφνέσι χρῆσθαι ξυνέτυχε, ἐπὶ[7]
6 κατασκοπῇ ἔπεμψαν.[8] τύχῃ τέ τινι ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τόν τε ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ στρατὸν καὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς τετρακοσίους βαρβάρους ἐν Καπύῃ γενέσθαι, οὐδετέρους

[1] πάντων MSS. : πάντων πέρι editors.
[2] οἳ K : ὃ L.
[3] ἐγένοντο K : ἐγένετο L.
[4] τινας K : τινας τωτίλας τῶν παρ' αὐτῶ δοκίμους τετρακοσίους ἠθέλησε L.
[5] τοῖς—χωρίοις K : τὰ—χωρία L.
[6] τετρακοσίους οὖν Haury : om. MSS., cf. next sentence.

upon hearing that Totila and the Gothic army were engaged in assaulting the fortifications of Rome, he chose out the most illustrious of his horsemen, and, without announcing his plan to anyone at all, he rode with them into Campania (for Totila had, as it happened, left the members of the senate there), resting neither day nor night, in order that by making an unexpected attack he might be able to seize and rescue the senators, seeing that the towns there were entirely without defences.

Now it so happened that Totila at that very time began to be alarmed lest some of the enemy should, as in fact they did, come with the intention of striking a blow to rescue the prisoners, and he had accordingly sent an army of cavalry to Campania. Now when this force reached the city of Minturnae,[1] it was decided that the better course for them was for the main body to remain quietly there and care for their horses (for they had become greatly fatigued on this journey), while they sent a few scouts to investigate the situation at Capua and the adjoining towns. Now the distance between the two places is not more than three hundred stades. They accordingly sent forward as scouts four hundred men whose horses were unwearied and whose strength was still unimpaired. And it so fell out by some chance that on that very day at the same time both John and his army and these same four hundred barbarians reached Capua, neither having

[1] Near modern Traetto.

[7] ἐπὶ K : τούτους ἐπὶ L.
[8] ἔπεμψαν K : τωτίλας ἔπεμψε L.

7 τι πρότερον τῶν ἐναντίων πέρι ἀκούσαντας. καὶ μάχη μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἰσχυρὰ γίνεται· ἅμα γὰρ τῇ ὄψει ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον· νικῶσι δὲ κατὰ κράτος Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων
8 εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ὀλίγοι τε τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, καὶ δρόμῳ ἐχόμενοι ἐς Μεντοῦρναν ἀφίκοντο. οὕσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἄλλοι εἶδον τοὺς μὲν αἵματι [1] περιρρεομένους, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ βέλη ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἔτι φέροντας, ἄλλους δὲ οὔτε τι φθεγγομένους οὔτε τι ἀπαγγέλλοντας τῶν ξυμπεσόντων, ἀλλ' ἔτι τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἐχομένους καὶ τὸ
9 ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δέος ἐνδεικνύντας,[2] αὐτίκα ἐς τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἔφευγον. καὶ παρὰ Τουτίλαν ἐλθόντες πλῆθος ἀμύθητον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων ἐσήγγελλον, ταύτῃ δηλονότι τὴν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς αἰσχύνην ἰώμενοι.

10 Ἐτύγχανον δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τῶν εἰς Γότθους ηὐτομοληκότων τὸ πρότερον ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Καμπανίας χωρία ἰόντες,[3]
11 οἵπερ Ἰωάννῃ προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἄνδρας μὲν τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐνταῦθα εὗρε, γυναῖκας δὲ σχεδόν τι ἁπάσας.
12 Ῥώμης γὰρ ἁλισκομένης πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες φεύγουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπισπόμενοι ἐς τὸν Πόρτον ἀφίκοντο, ταῖς δὲ γυναιξὶ πάσαις ἁλῶναι
13 ξυνέβη. Κλημεντῖνος μέντοι, πατρίκιος ἀνήρ, καταφυγὼν ἔς τινα τῶν ἐκείνῃ νεῶν, τῷ[4] Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἕπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελεν, ἐπεὶ φρούριον ὁ Νεάπολεως ἄγχιστά ἐστι Τουτίλᾳ τε καὶ Γότθοις

[1] αἵματι Maltretus : αἵμασι MSS.
[2] ἐνδεικνύντας K : ἐλέγχοντας L.

heard anything previously of their opponents. Thereupon a fierce battle ensued on the spur of the moment; for no sooner did they see each other than they began fighting; but the Romans won a decisive victory and killed most of the enemy immediately. Only a few of the barbarians were able to escape, and these reached Minturnae in rapid flight. But when the others saw these men, some dripping with blood, some still actually carrying the missiles in their bodies, and others refusing to speak a word or give any account of what had happened, but still persisting in their retreat and openly displaying the terror which was in them, they leaped upon their horses immediately and joined in the flight. And when they came before Totila, they reported that there was an innumerable host of the enemy, seeking in this way to remove the shame of their flight.

Now it so happened that not less than seventy Roman soldiers of those who had previously deserted to the Goths were on their way into the towns of Campania, and these men decided to go over to John. And John found there only a few of the members of the senate, but practically all their wives. For during the capture of Rome many of the men followed the soldiers in flight and reached Portus, but the women were all captured. Clementinus, however, a patrician, took refuge in one of the sanctuaries there and refused absolutely to follow the Roman army, for he had previously handed over to Totila and the Goths a stronghold which is close

---

[3] ἰόντες Maltretus: ὄντες MSS.
[4] ἐκείνῃ νεῶν, τῷ L: ἐκεῖ ναιόντων K.

ἐνδοὺς πρότερον, τὴν βασιλέως, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὀργὴν ἐδεδίει· Ὀρέστης τε, ὁ Ῥωμαίων γεγονὼς ὕπατος, ἄγχιστα μέν πη ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, ἵππων δὲ ἀπορίᾳ
14 ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων αὐτοῦ ἔμενε. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ξὺν τοῖς προσκεχωρηκόσιν ἑβδομήκοντα στρατιώταις ἐς Σικελίαν εὐθὺς ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἰωάννης.

15 Τουτίλας δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐν πένθει ἐποιεῖτο μεγάλῳ καὶ τίσασθαι Ἰωάννην τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἠπείγετο. διὸ δὴ ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε,[1] τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων μοῖράν τινα
16 φρουρᾶς ἕνεκα ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπών. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χιλίοις οὖσιν, ἐν Λευκανοῖς στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενος κατασκόπους τε πρότερον πέμψας, οἳ δὴ ἁπάσας διερευνώμενοι τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐφύλασσον μὴ πολεμίων στρατὸς
17 κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ.[2] ἐν ᾧ τε τὸ τοιοῦτον Τουτίλας ἔχων, ὅτι δὴ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι κατασκόπων χωρὶς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καθῆσθαι, τὰς συνειθισμένας ὁδοὺς ἐκλιπὼν διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν, ἅπερ ἐνταῦθα πολλὰ κρημνώδη τε καὶ ὑψηλὰ λίαν ἀνέχει,[3] ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἄν τις ὑποτοπάζειν ἔσχεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄβατα τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα νομίζεται εἶναι.
18 οἱ μέντοι ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ κατασκοπῇ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰωάννου σταλέντες αἰσθόμενοι μὲν πολεμίων στρατὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία γενέσθαι, οὐδὲν δὲ τούτου δὴ ἕνεκα σαφὲς πεπυσμένοι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐγένετο δείσαντες ἤλαυνον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
19 Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. καὶ ξυνηνέχθη ὁμοῦ

[1] ἤλαυνε K : ἧει L. [2] ἴῃ K : ἴοι L.

to Naples, and in all probability dreaded the wrath of the emperor for this reason. On the other hand, Orestes, who had been consul of the Romans, though he chanced to be near at hand, was obliged to remain, altogether against his will, owing to a scarcity of horses. John then immediately sent to Sicily the members of the senate together with the seventy soldiers who had come over to him.

Totila, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and eagerly sought an opportunity to inflict vengeance upon John for the deed. With this in view, he marched against him with the main body of his army, leaving a small part of his troops behind in order to keep guard. Now it so happened that John and his men, a thousand in number, had made camp in Lucania, having previously sent out scouts who were watching all the roads closely and keeping guard that no hostile army should approach to do them harm. But Totila had in mind that such would be the case, believing it impossible that John's force should settle in their camp without sending out scouts, and so he abandoned the customary roads and marched against them through the mountains, many of which in that region are precipitous and rise to a very great height—a feat which no one would have been able to suspect, for these mountains are considered in fact impassable. Meanwhile, the men thus sent out as scouts by John did indeed observe that a hostile army had got into that region, but they secured no definite information about it; however they feared what actually did take place, and so they too marched toward the Roman camp. And it so turned out that they

[2] ἀνέχει L : ἔχει K.

τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι νύκτωρ. ὀργῇ δὲ πολλῇ καὶ οὐ προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ ὁ Τουτίλας ἤδη ἐχόμενος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ[1] θυμοῦ ἀβελτερίας ἀπώνατο. στράτευμα γὰρ δεκαπλάσιον ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἦν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων εὔδηλόν τε ὂν ὅτι δὴ στρατῷ κρείσσονι ξύμφορόν ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διαμάχεσθαι, δέον τε[2] μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ὄρθρου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν δυνατοὶ εἶεν, τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐφυλάξατο· ἦ γὰρ ἅπαντας σαγηνεύσας εὐθὺς ἂν[3] τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶλεν· ἀλλὰ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζόμενος ἀωρὶ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπέστη τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατῷ. καὶ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐς ἀλκὴν εἶδεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι ἐκάθευδον, οὐ μέντοι ἀνελεῖν πολλοὺς δεδύνηνται Γότθοι, ἀλλὰ ἀναστάντες οἱ πλεῖστοι ἅτε ἐν σκότῳ διαλαθεῖν ἴσχυσαν. ἔξω δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου γενόμενοι ἐς τὰ ὄρη, ἅπερ ἄγχιστά πη πολλὰ ἀνέχει, ἀναδραμόντες ἐσώθησαν. ἐν οἷς[4] Ἰωάννης τε αὐτὸς ἦν καὶ Ἄρουφος ὁ τῶν Ἐρούλων ἡγούμενος. ἀπέθανον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς[5] ἑκατὸν μάλιστα.

Ἦν δέ τις ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ Γιλάκιος ὄνομα, Ἀρμένιος γένος, ὀλίγων τινῶν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχων. οὗτος ὁ Γιλάκιος οὔτε ἑλληνίζειν ἠπίστατο οὔτε Λατίνην ἢ Γοτθικὴν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἢ Ἀρμενίαν μόνην ἀφεῖναι φωνήν. τούτῳ δὴ Γότθοι ἐντυχόντες τινὲς ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. κτεῖναι γὰρ τὸν παραπίπτοντα οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον, ὡς μὴ

[1] τοῦ K : om. L. [2] δέον τε K : καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χρὴ L.
[3] εὐθὺς ἂν editors : εὐθὺς MSS.
[4] οἷς K : τοῖς L. [5] ἐς K : om. L.

arrived there at night together with the barbarians. But Totila, being now overmastered by violent passion and not weighing the consequences with careful judgment, reaped the fruits of his fatuous fury. For though he had under him an army ten times as large as that of his opponents, and though it was plain to be seen that for a stronger army it was of course advantageous to fight the decisive battle in broad daylight, and he should rather have engaged with his enemy at dawn in order that they might not be able to escape in the darkness, still he did not observe this precaution at all; for, in fact, he could have stretched a cordon about his opponents and immediately captured every man of them as in a net; but instead he gave way to his anger and fell upon the hostile army at an advanced hour of the night. And although not one of them thought of offering the least resistance, since the most were in fact still sleeping, none the less the Goths did not find themselves able to slay many, but they got up, and the majority, thanks to the darkness, succeeded in slipping away. And once outside the camp they ran up into the mountains, many of which rise close by, and thus were saved. Among these was John himself and Arufus, the leader of the Eruli. Of the Romans about a hundred perished.

Now there had been with John a certain Gilacius of the Armenian race, commander of a small force of Armenians. This Gilacius did not know how to speak either Greek or Latin or Gothic or any other language except Armenian alone. When some of the Goths happened upon this man, they enquired who he might be. For they were quite averse to killing every man who came in their way, lest

ἀλλήλους διαφθείρειν ἐν νυκτομαχίᾳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
26 ἀναγκάζοιντο. ὁ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀπο-
κρίνασθαι ἴσχυσε πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι[1] Γιλάκιος
στρατηγὸς εἴη. τὸ γὰρ ἀξίωμα, ὃ δὴ πρὸς
βασιλέως λαβὼν ἔτυχε, πολλάκις ἀκούσας
27 ἐκμαθεῖν ἴσχυσε.[2] ταύτῃ τοίνυν οἱ βάρβαροι
αἰσθόμενοι ὅτι δὴ πολέμιος εἴη, ἐν μὲν τῷ
παρόντι ἐζώγρησαν, οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον τὸν
28 ἄνθρωπον διεχρήσαντο. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν καὶ
Ἄρουφος ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἔφευγόν[3] τε πάσῃ
δυνάμει καὶ ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα δρόμῳ ἀφίκοντο,
Γότθοι δὲ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον λῃσάμενοι
ἀπεχώρησαν.

XXVII

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἰταλιώταις στρατόπεδα τῇδε
ἐφέρετο.[4] βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς στράτευμα
πέμπειν ἄλλο ἐπὶ Γότθους καὶ Τουτίλαν ἔγνω,
γράμμασι τοῖς Βελισαρίου ἠγμένος, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν[5]
ἐς τοῦτο ἐνῆγε, τὰ παρόντα σφίσι πολλάκις
2 σημήνας. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Πακούριόν τε τὸν
Περανίου καὶ Σέργιον τὸν Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν
ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ἀφικόμενοι τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ξυνέμιξαν.
3 μετὰ δὲ Βῆρόν τε ξὺν Ἐρούλοις τριακοσίοις καὶ
Οὐαράζην Ἀρμένιον γένος ξὺν ὀκτακοσίοις[6]
Ἀρμενίοις[7] στέλλει, Βαλεριανόν τε τὸν τῶν

[1] ἴσχυσε πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι L: ἴσχυσεν ὅτι μὴ K.
[2] ἴσχυσε L: ἔσχε K.
[3] ἔφευγόν K: ἔφυγόν L.
[4] ἐφέρετο K: ἐχώρησαν L.
[5] αὐτὸν K: αὐτὸς L
[6] καὶ—ὀκτακοσίοις K: om. L.

they be compelled to destroy each other in fighting at night, as might easily happen. But he was able to make them no answer except indeed that he was Gilacius, a general; for his title which he had received from the emperor he had heard many times and so had been able to learn it by heart. The barbarians, accordingly, perceiving by this that he was an enemy, made him a prisoner for the moment, but not long afterwards put the man to death. So John and Arufus fled with their followers as fast as they could go and made for Dryus, which they reached on the run, and the Goths plundered the Roman camp and then retired.

XXVII

Thus were the armies in Italy engaged. And the Emperor Justinian decided to send another army against the Goths and Totila, being led to do so by the dispatches of Belisarius, who kept urging him to take this action, having indicated many times the situation in which the Romans found themselves. Accordingly, he first sent Pacurius, the son of Peranius, and Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, with a few men. And they arrived in Italy and immediately united with the rest of the army. Later on he sent Verus with three hundred Eruli, and Varazes, an Armenian by birth, with eight hundred Armenians, and he recalled from his post Valerian, the General

[7] Ἀρμενίοις Haury: om. MSS.: this or Τζάνοις must be supplied, cf. sect. 10 below, and viii. xiii. 10; στρατιώταις Hoeschel.

'Αρμενίων στρατηγὸν ἐνθένδε ἀναστήσας ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς πλέον
4 ἢ χιλίοις οὖσιν ἐς 'Ιταλίαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. Βῆρος οὖν πρῶτος Δρυοῦντι προσχὼν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀφεὶς μένειν μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐδαμῆ ἤθελεν, οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ 'Ιωάννου στρατόπεδον ἦν, ἱππεύων
5 δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πρόσθεν ἤει. ἦν γὰρ οὗτος ἀνὴρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλὰ μέθης νόσῳ ἀνειμένος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ ἀπ'
6 αὐτοῦ θράσει ἀπερισκέπτῳ ἐς ἀεὶ εἴχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄγχιστά πη πόλεως Βρεντεσίου ἀφίκοντο, αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον.

Ἅπερ ὁ Τουτίλας μαθὼν "Ὁ Βῆρος δυοῖν" ἔφη "τὸ ἕτερον· ἢ δυνάμει μεγάλῃ χρῆται, ἢ ἀνοίᾳ[1]
7 πολλῇ ἔχεται. ἴωμεν τοίνυν ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπως ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποπειρασώμεθα[2] τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἢ τῆς ἀνοίας ἐκεῖνος τῆς αὐτοῦ
8 αἴσθηται." ὁ μὲν οὖν Τουτίλας ταῦτα εἰπὼν στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν[3] ἤει, Ἔρουλοι δὲ παρόντας ἤδη κατιδόντες τοὺς πολεμίους κατέ-
9 φυγον ἐς ὕλην τινὰ ἐγγύς πη οὖσαν. κυκλώσαντές τε αὐτοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι πλέον μὲν ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν, ἔμελλον δὲ Βῆρόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς λειπομένους ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας κρυπτομένους χειρώσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τύχη τις αὐτοῖς
10 ξυμβᾶσα διεσώσατο ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου. νῆες γὰρ ἐν αἷς ὅ τε Οὐαράζης καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ 'Αρμένιοι ἔπλεον, ἄφνω ἐς τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν κατῆραν. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Τουτίλας εἶδε, πλείονα ἢπερ ἦν ὑποτοπάζων εἶναι τὸν τῶν[4] πολεμίων στρατὸν ἄρας αὐτίκα ἐνθένδε ἀπήλαυνεν, οἵ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν Βῆρον ἄσμενοι ἐς τὰς ναῦς δρόμῳ

of Armenia, and ordered him to go to Italy with his attendant spearmen and guards, who numbered more than a thousand. Now Verus was the first to put in at Dryus, and he left his ships there, being quite unwilling to remain in that place, where John's army was, and went forward on horseback with his command. For this man was not of a serious temper, but was utterly addicted to the disease of drunkenness, and consequently he was always possessed by a spirit of reckless daring. And when they had come close to the city of Brundisium, they made camp and remained there.

And when Totila learned this, he said "Verus has one of two things, either a powerful army or a very silly head. Let us then proceed against him instantly, that either we may make trial of the man's army, or that he may realize his own silliness." So Totila with these words marched against him with a numerous army; and the Eruli, spying the enemy already at hand, took refuge in a wood which was close by. And the enemy surrounded them and killed more than two hundred, and were about to lay hands on Verus himself and the rest of the force who were hiding among the thorn-bushes, but fortune came to their aid and saved them unexpectedly. For the ships in which Varazes and the Armenians under him were sailing suddenly put in at the shore there. Now when Totila saw this, supposing the hostile army to be more numerous than it really was, he immediately set out and marched away from there, while Verus and his men were glad to

[1] ἀνοία K: ἀπονοία L.
[2] ἀπυπειρασώμεθα K: ἀπόπειραν ποιησώμεθα L.
[3] αὐτὸν L: αὐτοὺς K.
[4] τὸν τῶν L: om. K.

11 ἀφίκοντο. ὅ τε Οὐιτάζης πλεῖν μὲν ἐπιπροσθεν
οὐκέτι ἔγνω, ἐς δὲ τὸν Ταραντα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἦλθεν.
οὗ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
ἀφίκετο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε
ἐχώρησε.

12 Βελισαρίῳ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν ὅτι δὴ πολλὴν
αὐτῷ στρατιὰν πέμψειν, οἵσπερ αὐτὸν δεῖ[1] ἐν
Καλαβρίᾳ ξυμμίξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε ἰέναι.

13 ἤδη δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἄγχιστα κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου
ἥκων διαπορθμεύσασθαι μὲν ᾤετο οἱ ἔν γε τῷ

14 παρόντι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι. στρατιώταις τε γὰρ
καὶ ἵπποις ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ
ἂν ἐπαρκέσειν, ἐπεὶ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς χειμερινὰς ἦν.

15 τριακοσίους δὲ τῶν αὐτῷ ἑπομένων Ἰωάννης
πέμψας ὡμολόγησε διαχειμάσας ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχο-
μένῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἥξειν.

16 Βελισάριος οὖν ἐπειδὴ τὰ βασιλέως ἀνελέξατο
γράμματα, ἑνακοσίους ἀριστίνδην ἀπολεξάμενος,
ἱππεῖς μὲν ἑπτακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ διακοσίους,
τούς τε λοιποὺς ἅπαντας ἐς φυλακὴν[2] τῆς ἐκείνη
χώρας[3] καταστησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε αὐτοῖ
Κόνωνα ἐπιστήσας ἐπὶ Σικελίας αὐτίκα ἔπλει

17 ἔνθεν τε ἀνηγάγετο, καταίρειν διανοούμενος ἐ
τὸν Ταραντηνῶν λιμένα, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸ
Σκύλαιον καλούμενον χῶρον, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὴ
Σκύλλαν οἱ ποιηταὶ γεγενῆσθαί φασιν, οὐχ ὅτ
ταύτῃ πη τὸ θηριῶδες γύναιον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι
λέγουσιν, ἦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι σκυλάκων μέγα τι χρῆμα
οὕσπερ κυνίσκους ταυῦν καλοῦσιν, ἐνταῦθα το

[1] δεῖν K : δεῖ L.
[2] ἐς φυλακὴν L : φυλακῇ K.
[3] τῆς ἐκείνη χώρας L : om. K.

reach their ships on the run. And Varazes decided to sail no farther, but proceeded with them to Tarentum, whither John the nephew of Vitalian also not long afterwards came with his whole army. Such was the course of these events.

Now the emperor wrote to Belisarius that he had sent him a numerous army with which he should unite in Calabria and so engage with the enemy. And in fact Valerian had already come down close to the Ionian Gulf, but he thought that, for the present at any rate, it was inexpedient for him to ferry across. For at that season of the year, he reasoned, provisions would not be sufficient for men and horses, since it was near the winter solstice. But he did send three hundred of his men to John with the promise that after spending the winter there he would also come himself at the beginning of spring.

Belisarius, accordingly, upon reading the emperor's letter, selected nine hundred men distinguished for valour, seven hundred horse-men and two hundred foot-soldiers, and leaving all the rest to guard that district, and appointing Conon commander over them, he immediately set sail for Sicily. And from there he again put out to sea purposing to sail to the harbour of Tarentum; and as he sailed by he had on his left the place called Scylaeum, at which the poets say that Scylla once lived, not because there really existed there the woman in the form of a beast, as they say, but rather because a certain fish, formerly called "scylax" and now "cyniscus" has been found in great abundance in this part of

---

[4] ἐκεῖνοι K: om. L.

πορθμοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ξυμβαίνει
18 εἶναι. τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀρχὴν
μὲν εἰκότα ἐς ἀεὶ γίνεται, ἡ δὲ φήμη αὐτὰ περι-
αγαγοῦσα ἐς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς δόξας οὐκ
ὀρθὰς ἀγνοίᾳ τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται.
19 καὶ προϊὼν οὕτως[1] ὁ χρόνος ἰσχυρὸς μέν τις
δημιουργὸς αὐτίκα τοῦ μύθου καθίσταται,[2] μάρ-
τυρας δὲ τῶν οὐ γεγονότων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐξουσίᾳ
τῆς τέχνης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἑταιρίζεται. ταῦτά τοι
ἐκ παλαιοῦ μὲν ὠνόμασαν ἐπιχώριοι Κυνὸς
Κεφαλὴν ἄκραν τὴν μίαν Κερκύρας τῆς νήσου
ἣ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιόν ἐστιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ κυνοκεφάλους τινὰς εἶναι βούλονται τοὺς
20 τῇδε ἀνθρώπους. ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυκοκρανίτας κα-
λοῦσι[3] τῶν Πισιδῶν τινας, οὐχ ὅτι λύκων
κεφαλὰς ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι Λύκου Κράνος[4] τὸ
ὄρος ἐκλήθη ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
ὅπη ἑκάστῳ βουλομένῳ εἴη ταύτῃ δοκείτω τε καὶ
λεγέσθω. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

XXVIII

Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺ ἰέναι τοῦ Τάραντος
ἐν σπουδῇ εἶχεν. ἔστι δέ τις ἀκτὴ μηνοειδὴς
ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ τῆς ἠϊόνος ὑποχωρούσης ἡ
θάλασσα ὥσπερ ἐν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον[5] τῆς
2 γῆς ἀναβαίνει. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀκτῆς ταύτης
διάπλους ἅπας ἐς χιλίους σταδίους διήκει, ἑκατέ-
ρωθι δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος τὴν ἐκβολὴν κεῖται

[1] οὕτως Comparetti: οὗτος MSS.
[2] καθίσταται K: καθάπτεται L.
[3] καλοῦσι K: om. L.

the strait from ancient times even down to my day. For names in the beginning are always appropriate to the things they describe, but rumour, carrying these names to other peoples, engenders there certain false opinions through ignorance of the facts. And as time goes on with this process, it immediately becomes a powerful builder, as it were, of the story, and allies itself with the poets, presumably because of the licence of their art, as witnesses of things that never happened. Thus, for example, the natives of the island of Cercyra have from ancient times called one headland of the island "Dog's Head"—the one toward the east—but others because of this name will have it that the people there are a kind of dog-headed folk. Indeed they even call some of the Pisidians "Wolf-Skulls," not because they have the heads of wolves, but because the mountain which rises there has received the name "Wolf-Helmet." Now as for these matters, let each one both think and speak as he wishes. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

XXVIII

So Belisarius was making haste to go straight to Tarentum. Now the shore there has approximately the form of a crescent, where the coast recedes and the sea advances in a gulf, as it were, far up into the land. But the distance, as one sails along this whole coast, extends to one thousand stades, and on either side of the opening of the gulf stand

---

[4] κράνος K: κράνα L.
[5] ἐπὶ πλεῖστον K: om. L.

πολίσματα δύο· θάτερον μὲν ὁ Κρότων πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ὁ Τάρας δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα.[1]
3 κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἠιόνος Θουρίων ἡ πόλις οἰκεῖται. τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἀντιστατοῦντος καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος σὺν πολλῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένου, περαιτέρω δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἰέναι οὐδαμῇ ἐφιέντος, τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι προσέσχε.[2]
4 Βελισάριος οὖν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τι ὀχύρωμα ἐνταῦθα εὗρεν οὔτε τοῖς στρατιώταις ὅθεν ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζοιντο εἶχεν, αὐτὸς μὲν ξύν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν, ὅπως ἐνθένδε μεταπέμπεσθαί τε καὶ διέπειν τὸ ξὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
5 στράτευμα δύνηται· τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς ἅπαντας ἐπίπροσθεν ἐκέλευεν ἰόντας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι παρὰ τὰς τῆς χώρας εἰσόδους, Φάζαν τε τὸν Ἴβηρα καὶ Βαρβατίωνα τὸν δορυφόρον αὐτοῖς
6 ἐπιστήσας. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς[3] ῥᾷστα ὤετο σφίσι μὲν καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς σφετέροις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα πορίζεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ, ὡς
7 τὸ εἰκός, ἀποκρούεσθαι δυνατοὺς ἔσεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ Λευκανῶν ὄρη μέχρι ἐς Βριττίους διήκοντα καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐν στενῷ ξυνιόντα δύο μόνας εἰσόδους στενὰς μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται, ὧν ἀτέρα μὲν Πέτρα Αἵματος τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ κέκληται, Λαβοῦλαν δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν καλεῖν οἱ
8 ἐπιχώριοι νενομίκασιν. ἐνταῦθα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν Ῥουσκιανή ἐστι τὸ Θουρίων ἐπίνειον, ὕπερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑξήκοντα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον ἐδείμαντο οἱ πάλαι Ῥωμαῖοι.

[1] ὁ T.—ἀνίσχοντα K: om. L.
[2] προσέσχε L: προσέσχον K.
[3] αὐτοὺς Haury: αὐτοῖς MSS.

two cities, the one toward the west being Croton,[1] and the one to the east Tarentum.[2] And at the middle of this shore is the city of Thurii. But Belisarius was hindered by a storm and forced from his course by a violent wind and a high sea which would not permit his ships to make any progress at all; he therefore put in at the harbour of Croton.

And since he neither found any fortress there nor any place from which provisions could be brought in for the soldiers, Belisarius himself together with his wife remained there with the infantry, in order that from there he might be able to summon and organize John's army; but he ordered all the horsemen to go ahead and make camp at the passes leading into the country, placing in command of them Phazas the Iberian and the guardsman Barbation. For in this way he thought that they could secure all necessary supplies for their horses and themselves very easily, and would probably, too, be able in a narrow pass to repulse the enemy. For the mountains of Lucania extend as far as Bruttium, and standing as they do close to one another, they form there only two passes, which are exceedingly narrow, one of which has received the name "Rock of Blood"[3] in the Latin tongue, while the natives are accustomed to call the other Lavula. Not far from these passes on the coast is Rusciane, the naval harbour of Thurii, while above it at a distance of about sixty stades is a very strong fortress[4] built by

[1] Modern Cotrone.

[2] The description is misleading; Tarentum lies in the eastern recess of the "crescent," not at the tip.

[3] Petra Sanguinis.

[4] Perhaps modern Rossano.

ὅπερ Ἰωάννης πολλῷ πρότερον καταλαβὼν ἔτυχε φρουράν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐκείνῃ καταστησάμενος.

9 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βελισαρίου στρατιῶται ἐνταῦθά πη ἰόντες πολεμίων στρατεύματι ἐντυγχάνουσιν, οὕσπερ ὁ Τουτίλας ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἀποπειράσονται
10 τοῦ τῇδε φρουρίου. ἐς χεῖρας δὲ αὐτοῖς αὐτίκα ἐλθόντες ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἔτρεψαν, καίπερ αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἐλασσούμενοι, καὶ
11 πλέον ἢ διακοσίους διέφθειραν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ φεύγοντες παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα πάντα ἐσήγγελλον· οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ἅτε δὲ ἄναρχοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἀδεέστερον τῇ διαίτῃ
12 ἐχρῶντο. οὔτε γὰρ ἀγηγερμένοι ἡσύχαζον οὔτε ἄγχιστα τῆς στενοχωρίας ἐγκαθεζόμενοι τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφύλασσον, ἀλλ' ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν τραπόμενοι νύκτωρ μὲν ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἀλλήλων διεσκηνημένοι ἐκάθευδον, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διερευνώμενοι περιήρχοντο, οὔτε τινὰς ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ στείλαντες οὔτε ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν ἀσφαλείας
13 πέρι βεβουλευμένοι. Τουτίλας οὖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο ἅπαντα, ἐς τρισχιλίους ἱππεῖς τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου
14 ἀπολεξάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦει. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως οὐ ξυντεταγμένοις, ἀλλ' οὕτω περιιοῦσιν ὥσπερ εἴρηται,
15 κατέπληξέ τε καὶ συνετάραξεν ἅπαντας. ἐνταῦθα Φάζας (ἄγχιστα γάρ[1] πη ἐσκηνημένος ἐτύγχανεν) ὑπαντιάσας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔργα τε ἀρετῆς ἄξια ἐνδειξάμενος, τισὶ μὲν τοῦ διαφυγεῖν αἴτιος

[1] γάρ K: om. L.

the ancient Romans. This fortress had been occupied by John much earlier and he had established a considerable garrison in it.

Now the soldiers of Belisarius, upon reaching this district, chanced upon a hostile army, which Totila had sent for the purpose of making an attempt on the fortress there. And they engaged with them immediately and by their valour routed them without any difficulty, although they were far outnumbered, and they slew more than two hundred. Those who were left took to flight and when they came before Totila, reported everything that had befallen them. As for the Romans, they made camp and remained there, but since they were without proper commanders and had won a victory, they began to conduct themselves in a rather careless manner. For they neither stayed quietly gathered in one place, nor did they take up positions near the pass and guard the approaches, but, becoming negligent, they were sleeping at night in encampments very far removed from one another, and during the day they would go about searching for provisions, neither sending any men out as scouts nor taking any other measures for security.

Totila, consequently, upon learning everything, selected three thousand horsemen from his whole army and went against the enemy. And falling upon them unexpectedly, not drawn up in battle formation but going about in the manner described, he threw them all into consternation and complete disorder. At this moment Phazas, who happened to be camping near by, encountered the enemy and made a display of valorous deeds, and he did, indeed, thus make himself the cause of the escape of a few

γέγονεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἅπασι
16 θυήσκει. μέγα τε πάθος[1] τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις
ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅτε διαφέροντας τὰ πολέ-
17 μια τὴν ἐλπίδα ξύμπαντες εἶχον. ὅσοι μέντοι
φυγεῖν ἴσχυσαν, ὥς πη ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε
διεσώθησαν. πρῶτός τε Βαρβατίων ὁ Βελισαρίου
δορυφόρος ξὺν ἑτέροις δυοῖν φεύγων ἀνὰ κράτος
ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθε. καὶ τύχην τὴν παροῦσαν
ἀπαγγέλλων ἐπεῖπεν οἴεσθαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
18 καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους[2] παρέσεσθαι. Βελισάριος
δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἔν τε μεγάλῳ πένθει ἐγίνετο
καὶ ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσεπήδησεν. ἔνθεν τε ἄραντες
καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιτυχόντες ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ
Σικελίας Μεσήνῃ προσέσχον, ἢ τοῦ μὲν Κρό-
τωνος ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους διέχει, Ῥηγίνων δὲ
καταντικρὺ κεῖται.

XXIX

Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Σκλαβηνῶν στράτευμα
διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἴστρον Ἰλλυριοὺς ἅπαντας
ἄχρι Ἐπιδαμνίων ἔδρασαν ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, κτεί-
νοντες καὶ ἀνδραποδίζοντες τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν ἡβηδὸν
2 ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ληϊζόμενοι. ἤδη δὲ καὶ
φρούρια ἐνταῦθα πολλά τε καὶ δοκοῦντα ἐχυρὰ
τὰ πρότερα εἶναι οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου ἐξελεῖν
ἴσχυσαν, καὶ περιήρχοντο[3] ξύμπαντα κατ' ἐξου-
3 σίαν διερευνώμενοι.[4] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἄρχοντες

[1] πάθος K: πένθος L.
[2] καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους L: om. K.
[3] περιήρχοντο V: περιόντες L.

men, but he himself perished together with all his men. This misfortune fell heavily upon the Romans, because they all pinned their hope on this detachment as an unusually efficient fighting force. Now as many as succeeded in fleeing saved themselves in such manner as each found possible. And Barbation, the guardsman of Belisarius, fled with two others as hard as he could, and was the first to reach Croton. There he reported how matters stood at the moment, and added that he thought the barbarians too would be at hand right speedily. And Belisarius, upon hearing this, was sorely grieved, and rushed on board the ships. So they set sail from there, and since a wind was blowing, they succeeded that day in reaching Messana in Sicily, which is seven hundred stades from Croton, being situated opposite to Rhegium.

XXIX

At about this time an army of Sclaveni crossed the river Ister and spread desolation throughout the whole of Illyricum as far as Epidamnus, killing or enslaving all who came in their way, young and old alike, and plundering their property. And they had already succeeded in capturing numerous strongholds of that region, which were then quite undefended, but which previously had been reputed to be strong places, and they continued to roam about searching out everything at their own pleasure. And the commanders of the Illyrians kept following them

[4] διερευνώμενοι V: καὶ διερευνώμενοι L.

στράτευμα πεντακισχιλίων τε καὶ μυρίων ἔχοντες εἵποντο, ἄγχιστα μέντοι τῶν πολεμίων οὐδαμῆ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι.

4 Τότε δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ πολλάκις χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ σκληροί τε λίαν καὶ ὑπερφυεῖς ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ χωρίοις ἄλλοις ἐγένοντο, νύκτωρ ἅπαντες. 5 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοι καταχωσθήσεσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐν δέει μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐνθένδε φλαῦρον αὐτοῖς ξυνηνέχθη παθεῖν.

6 Τότε καὶ Νεῖλος ὁ ποταμὸς ὑπὲρ ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχυς[1] ἀναβὰς ἐπέκλυσε μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἤρδευσε[2] πᾶσαν, ἀλλὰ[3] ἐν μὲν Θηβαΐδι τῇ ὕπερθεν οὔσῃ ὑφιζάνοντά τε καὶ ἀποχωροῦντα[4] τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις τὰ ὕδατα παρείχετο τοῖς τῇδε ᾠκημένοις σπείρειν τε τὴν γῆν καὶ τῶν 7 ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἧπερ εἰώθει· χώρας δὲ τῆς ἔνερθεν ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον ἐπεπόλασεν, οὐκέτι ἀπέβη, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῇ ξύμπαντα διαγέγονε τὸν τοῦ σπείρειν καιρόν, οὐ ξυμπεσὸν τοῦτό γε πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος,[5] ἔστι δὲ οὗ καὶ ἀπολωφῆσαν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπέκλυσεν αὖθις οὐ πολλῷ ὕστε- 8 ρον. ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα ἐσεσήπει τὰ σπέρματα, ὅσα δὴ μεταξὺ καταβεβλημένα ἐς τὴν γῆν ἔτυχε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄνθρωποι τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἀμηχανίᾳ πολλῇ εἴχοντο, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ζῴων ἀπορίᾳ τροφῆς τὰ πλεῖστα ἐφθάρη.

9 Τότε καὶ τὸ κῆτος, ὃ δὴ Βυζάντιοι Πορφύριον ἐκάλουν, ἐάλω. τοῦτό τε τὸ κῆτος πλέον μὲν ἢ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτοὺς τό τε Βυζάντιον καὶ τὰ

[1] πήχυς V: πόλεις L.
[2] καὶ ἤρδευσε V: οὐκ ἤρδευσε δὲ L.
[3] ἀλλὰ V: ἀλλὰ καὶ L.

with an army of fifteen thousand men, without, however, having the courage to get close to the enemy.

At that time also, earthquakes of extraordinary severity occurred many times during the winter season, both in Byzantium and in other places, always at night. And the inhabitants of these cities, supposing that they would be overwhelmed, fell into great fear, yet no harm befell them as a result of the earthquakes.

Then it was, too, that the river Nile rose above eighteen cubits and flooded all Egypt with water; and yet in the region of Thebes, which is higher upstream, the waters settled and receded at the appointed time and gave opportunity to the inhabitants of that district both to sow the land and to attend to their other tasks just as they were accustomed to do. But as for the country below, after the water had first covered the surface, it did not recede, but remained in the way throughout the time of sowing, a thing which had never happened before in all time; and there were places where the water, even after receding, flowed in again not long afterwards. Thus it came about that all the seeds, such as had been put into the ground in the interval, rotted. And by this strange occurrence the people were reduced to dire straits, while most of the animals died through lack of sustenance.

It was at that time also that the whale, which the Byzantines called Porphyrius, was caught. This whale had been annoying Byzantium and the

---

[4] ἀποχωροῦντα V: ὑπορρέοντα L.
[5] αἰῶνος V: χρόνου L.

ἀμφ' αὐτὸ χωρία ἠνώχλει, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ διαλείπον, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, πολύν τινα μεταξὺ
10 χρόνον. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν κατέδυσε πλοῖα, πολλῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ξυνταράττον τε καὶ βιαζόμενον ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἀπήνεγκεν. ἐπιμελὲς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγεγόνει τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο χειρώσασθαι, ἐπιτελέσαι δὲ τὸ βούλευμα οὐδεμιᾷ
11 μηχανῇ ἔσχεν. ὅπως δὲ αὐτῷ τανῦν ἁλῶναι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐτύγχανε μὲν γαλήνη τὴν θάλασσαν πολλὴ ἔχουσα, δελφίνων δὲ πάμπολύ τι πλῆθος ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ στόματος Πόντου
12 τοῦ Εὐξείνου ξυνέρρεον. οἵπερ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου τὸ κῆτος ἰδόντες ἔφευγον[1] ὥς πη ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἀμφὶ τοῦ Σαγάριδος τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἦλθον. τινὰς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν καταλαβὸν
13 τὸ κῆτος καταπιεῖν εὐθὺς ἴσχυσεν. εἴτε δὲ πείνῃ εἴτε φιλονεικίᾳ ἔτι ἐχόμενον οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἐδίωκεν, ἕως δὴ αὐτὸ ἄγχιστά πη τῆς γῆς ἐκπεσὸν
14 ἔλαθεν. ἐνταῦθά τε ἰλύϊ βαθείᾳ κομιδῇ ἐντυχὸν ἐβιάζετο μὲν καὶ πάντα ἐκίνει, ὅπως δὴ ἐνθένδε ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσοιτο, διαφυγεῖν δὲ τὸ τέναγος τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ πηλῷ
15 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐγίνετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας ἦλθε, δρόμῳ εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἤεσαν, ἀξίναις τε πανταχόθεν ἐνδελεχέστατα κόψαντες οὐδ' ὡς ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ σχοίνοις ἁδραῖς
16 τισιν εἷλκον. ἔν τε[2] ἁμάξαις ἐνθέμενοι εὕρισκον μῆκος μὲν πηχῶν μάλιστα τριάκοντα ὄν, εὖρος δὲ δέκα. ἐνταῦθά τε κατὰ συμμορίας τινὰς διασπασάμενοι οἱ μέν τινες αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ παρόντι

[1] ἔφευγον V: ἔφυγον L.
[2] ἔν τε V: ταῖς τε L.

towns about it for fifty years, not continuously, however, but disappearing sometimes for a rather long interval. And it sank many boats and terrified the passengers of many others, driving them from their course and carrying them off to great distances. It had consequently become a matter of concern to the Emperor Justinian to capture this creature, but he was unable by any device to accomplish his purpose. But I shall explain how it came to be captured in the present instance. It happened that while a deep calm prevailed over the sea, a very large number of dolphins gathered close to the mouth of the Euxine Sea. And suddenly they saw the whale and fled wherever each one could, but the most of them came in near the mouth of the Sangarius. Meanwhile the whale succeeded in capturing some of them, which he swallowed forthwith. And then, either still impelled by hunger or by a contentious spirit, it continued the pursuit no less than before, until, without noticing it, it had itself come very close to the land. There it ran upon some very deep mud, and, though it struggled and exerted itself to the utmost to get out of it as quickly as possible, it still was utterly unable to escape from this shoal, but sank still deeper in the mud. Now when this was reported among all the people who dwelt round about, they straightway rushed upon the whale, and though they hacked at it most persistently with axes on all sides, even so they did not kill it, but they dragged it up with some heavy ropes. And they placed it on waggons and found its length to be about thirty cubits, and its breadth ten.[1] Then, after forming several groups and dividing it accord-

[1] About 45 feet by 15 feet.

ἐγεύσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ μοῖραν ταριχεῦσαι τὴν ἐπιβάλλουσαν σφίσιν ἔγνωσαν.

17 Βυζάντιοι δέ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε σεισμῶν[1] ἤσθοντο καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα ἀμφί τε τῷ Νείλῳ καὶ τῷ κήτει τούτῳ ἔγνωσαν, προὔλεγον αὐτίκα ξυμβήσε-
18 σθαι ὅσα δὴ αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ ἤρεσκε. φιλοῦσι γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς παροῦσι διαπορούμενοι τὰ ἐσόμενα τερατεύεσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀποκναιόμενοι
19 τὰ ξυμβησόμενα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τεκμηριοῦσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ μαντείας τε καὶ τεράτων δηλώσεις ἄλλοις ἀφιεὶς ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδα, ὡς ἡ μὲν τοῦ Νείλου ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας διατριβὴ μεγάλων αἰτία ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι συμφορῶν γέγονε, τὸ δὲ κῆτος ἀφανισθὲν πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγὴ κακῶν διαδείκνυται οὖσα.
20 τινὲς δέ φασιν οὐ τὸ κῆτος τοῦτο, οὗπερ ἐμνήσθην, ἀλλ' ἕτερον εἶναι, ὃ δὴ ἁλῶναι ξυνέπεσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

21 Τουτίλας οὖν ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ἃ προδεδήλωται, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑποσπανίζειν[2] ἐπύθετο, ἐξαιρήσειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ὅτι τάχιστα, ἢν μή τι ἐσκομίζεσθαι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἷοί τε ὦσιν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατό τε ὡς ἀγχοτάτω καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, καὶ τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

[1] τῶν τε σεισμῶν Hoeschel in marg.: τόν τε σεισμὸν V, τοῦ τε σεισμοῦ L.

[2] ὑποσπανίζειν Haury: ἐπισπανίζειν MSS.

ingly, some ate the flesh immediately, while others decided to cure the portion which fell to them.

Now the Byzantines, observing the earthquakes and learning the circumstances of the Nile's rise and the capture of this whale, began straightway to prophesy that such and such things would take place, according to the taste of each. For men are wont, when present events baffle them, to utter awesome prophecies of the future, and, distracted by occurrences which trouble them, to infer, with no good reason, what the future will bring forth. But as for me, I shall leave to others prophecies and explanations of marvels; still, I know well that the lingering of the Nile on the fields did prove a cause of great calamities at that time at any rate, while the disappearance of the whale, on the other hand, unquestionably provided an escape from many troubles. However, some say that it was not the same whale that I mentioned, but another one that was captured. But I shall return to the point where I made the digression from my narrative.

Totila, after accomplishing what has been recounted, learning that the Romans in the fortress near Rusciane were beginning to feel the want of provisions, thought that he would capture them very quickly if they should be unable to bring in any supplies, and so he made camp close to the town and settled down for a siege. And the winter drew to a close and the thirteenth year ended in this war, 548 A.D. the history of which Procopius has written.

XXX

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς πεζοὺς στρατιώτας οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ δισχιλίους ἐς Σικελίαν ναυσὶν ἔπεμψε καὶ Βαλεριανὸν οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει παρὰ
2 Βελισάριον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι. καὶ ὃς διαπορθμευσάμενος ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα κατέπλευσεν, οὗ δὴ
3 καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν τῇ γυναικὶ εὗρεν. ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀντωνίνα μὲν ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεται, τῆς βασιλίδος δεησομένη μείζονι παρασκευῇ τὸν πόλεμον[1]
4 ἐξαρτύεσθαι. ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα νοσήσασα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐνιαυτοὺς ἕνα τε καὶ εἴκοσι τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπιβιοῦσα καὶ μῆνας τρεῖς.
5 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς[2] φρουρίῳ πολιορκούμενοι πιεζόμενοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἐς λόγους τοῖς πολεμίοις ξυνίασιν, ὡμολόγησάν τε μεσούσης μάλιστα τῆς τοῦ θέρους ὥρας τὸ φρούριον ἐνδώσειν, ἢν μή τις ἐπιγένηται μεταξὺ[3] βοήθεια σφίσιν, ἐφ' ᾧ μέντοι ἀπαθεῖς
6 κακῶν ἅπαντες μείνωσιν. ἦσαν δὲ Ἰταλῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ πολλοί τε καὶ λόγιμοι, καὶ Δεοφέρων ὁ Τουλλιανοῦ ἀδελφός, τοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ τριακόσιοι, οὕσπερ Ἰωάννης ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἔτυχε, Χαλαζάρ τε αὐτοῖς τὸν δορυφόρον ἐπιστήσας, Μασσαγέτην γένος, διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γουδίλαν Θρᾷκα, καὶ πεζοὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς

[1] τὸν πόλεμον K: τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε L.
[2] ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς Haury: om. K, ῥουσκιανῷ L: cf. sect. 21, above.

XXX

The Emperor Justinian now sent not less than two thousand infantry by sea to Sicily and ordered Valerian to join Belisarius without any delay. He accordingly crossed the sea and put in at Dryus, where he found Belisarius together with his wife. At about this time Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, set off for Byzantium, intending to beg the empress to make larger provision for carrying on the war. But the Empress Theodora had fallen sick and passed from the world, having lived as queen twenty-one years and three months.[1] June 28. 548 A.D.

Meanwhile the Romans who were being held under siege in the fortress near Rusciane, hard pressed, as they were, by the lack of necessary supplies, opened negotiations with the enemy and agreed that precisely at the middle of the summer season they would hand over the fortress, unless some relief came to them in the interval, on condition, however, that they should all remain free from harm. Now there were in this fortress many notables of the Italians, among whom was Deopheron the brother of Tullianus, while the Roman army was represented by three hundred Illyrian horsemen whom John had stationed in that place, appointing as commanders over them Chalazar the guardsman, a Massagete by birth and an especially able warrior, and Gudilas the Thracian; and there were also a

[1] Since April 1, 527 A.D.

---

[3] μεταξὺ K: om. L.

Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τοῦ φρουρίου σταλέντες.

7 Τότε καὶ ὅσοι στρατιῶται πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐπὶ τῇ Ῥώμης φρουρᾷ ἐτετάχατο τὸν σφῶν ἄρχοντα Κόνωνα κτείνουσιν, ἐμπορίαν αὐτῷ[1] τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ
8 ἐπενεγκόντες. πρέσβεις τε τῶν ἱερέων τινὰς πέμπουσιν, ἀπισχυριζόμενοι ὡς, ἢν μὴ βασιλεὺς τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ἀμνηστίαν σφίσι διδοίη χρόνου τε ῥητοῦ τὰς συντάξεις ἐκτίσοι ὅσας δὴ αὐτοῖς τὸ δημόσιον ὤφειλε, Τουτίλᾳ τε καὶ Γότθοις οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες προσχωρήσουσι. βασιλεύς τε αὐτοῖς τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει.

9 Βελισάριος δὲ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς τὸν Δρυοῦντα μεταπεμψάμενος ξύν τε αὐτῷ καὶ Βαλεριανῷ καὶ ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι στόλον πολὺν ἀγείρας εὐθὺ Ῥουσκιανῆς κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει, τοῖς[2] πολιορκου-
10 μένοις ἐπαμύνειν[3] ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων. οἵ τε ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὸν στόλον τοῦτον ἅτε ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ κατιδόντες εὐέλπιδές τε γενόμενοι οὐκέτι τοῖς πολεμίοις προσχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, καίπερ ἐνισταμένης ἤδη τῆς
11 σφίσι ξυγκειμένης ἡμέρας. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα χειμῶνος ἐξαισίου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἀκτῆς ἀλιμένου παντάπασιν οὔσης, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁπάσαις[4] ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἀλλήλων ξυννε-
12 νέχθη διασκεδάννυσθαι· ταύτῃ τε χρόνου μῆκος σφίσι τριβῆναι ξυνέβη. αὖθίς τε ἀγηγερμένοι ἐν τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν λιμένι ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανὴν ἀνήγοντο. οὕσπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ βάρβαροι εἶδον, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναθορόντες ἀμφὶ τὴν ἠϊόνα ἐγένοντο

[1] αὐτῷ L : αὐτῶν K pr. m., αὐτὸν K corr.
[2] τοῖς K : τοῖς ἐκεῖ L.

hundred infantry sent by Belisarius to guard the fortress.

At that time also the soldiers who had been detailed by Belisarius for the garrison of Rome killed their commander Conon, bringing against him the charge of trafficking in grain and the other provisions to their detriment. And they sent some of the priests as envoys, firmly declaring that if the emperor did not exonerate them from guilt for this deed and remit to them within a specified time the back payment which the state owed them, they would without the slightest hesitation go over to Totila and the Goths. And the emperor fulfilled their request.

Belisarius now summoned John to Dryus and, together with him and Valerian and other commanders, he gathered a great fleet and sailed straight for Rusciane with all speed, being intent upon bringing relief to the besieged. And those in the fortress, seeing this fleet from their elevated position, revived their hopes and now decided not to yield to the enemy, although the day upon which they had agreed was already close at hand. First then a terrific storm came on, and for this reason and also because the coast there is altogether without harbours, the ships came to be scattered far apart from one another; thus it came about that considerable time was wasted. And when they had been collected in the harbour of Croton, they put out a second time for Rusciane. But when the barbarians saw them, they leaped upon their horses

---

[3] *ἐπαμύνειν* K : *ἀμύνειν* L.

[4] *ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁπάσαις* K : *τὰς ναῦς ἁπάσας* L.

τὴν ἀπόβασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀναστέλλειν διανο-
13 ούμενοι. Τουτίλας τε αὐτοὺς[1] ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς
ἀκτῆς ἀντιμετώπους ἔστησε ταῖς τῶν νηῶν πρῴ-
ραις, τοὺς μὲν δόρατα ἔχοντας, τοὺς δὲ τὰ τόξα
14 ἐντειναμένους. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαῖοι εἶδον, κατωρ-
ρώδησάν τε καὶ ἄγχιστα οὐδαμῆ ἐτόλμων ἰέναι,
ἀλλὰ χρόνον μέν τινα τὰς ναῦς ἑκαστάτω ἀνακω-
χεύσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, ὕστερον δὲ ἀπογνόν-
τες τὴν ἀπόβασιν πρύμναν τε πάντες ἐκρούοντο
καὶ ἀναχθέντες τῷ Κροτωνιατῶν αὖθις λιμένι
προσέσχον.

15 Οὗ δὴ ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις ἔδοξε σφίσιν
ἄμεινον εἶναι Βελισάριον μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ἰόντα τὰ
ταύτῃ τε ὡς ἄριστα διοικήσασθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
ἐσκομίσασθαι, Ἰωάννην δὲ καὶ Βαλεριανὸν τούς
τε ἄνδρας ἐς γῆν καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀποβιβάσαντας
ὁδῷ τε πορευομένους ἐς Πικηνοὺς ἰέναι, ξυνταρά-
ξοντας τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς τὰ ἐκείνῃ πολιορκοῦν-
16 τας πολίσματα. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς Τουτίλαν
διαλύσαντα τὴν προσεδρείαν ἐπισπέσθαι[2] ἐλπίδα
17 εἶχον. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις χιλίοις
οὖσι κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει· Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸν
κίνδυνον δείσας ταῖς ναυσὶ κόλπον περιὼν τὸν
Ἰόνιον ἔπλει τοῦ Ἀγκῶνος εὐθύ. ταύτῃ γὰρ ἐν
Πικηνοῖς τε γενήσεσθαι ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ᾤετο καὶ
18 τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ξυμμῖξαι. ἀλλὰ Τουτίλας διαλῦσαι
τὴν προσεδρείαν οὐδ' ὡς ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν
ἐνταῦθα καθῆστο, δισχιλίους δὲ ἱππεῖς τοῦ στρα-
τοπέδου ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς Πικηνοὺς στέλλει, ἐφ'

and came down to the beach, intending to prevent the disembarkation of their enemy. And Totila placed them for a great distance along the shore face to face with the prows of the ship, some with spears and some with bows ready strung. This array struck terror to the hearts of the Romans when they saw it and they had not the courage to come close, but they first stopped their ships at a great distance and remained quiet for some time, and then, giving up the landing in despair, they all backed off and put to sea and sailed once more into the harbour of Croton.

There, after taking council together, they decided that it was better that Belisarius should proceed to Rome and there set matters in order as well as possible and bring in provisions, while John and Valerian should first disembark the men and horses on the shore and then march overland into Picenum, in order to throw into confusion those of the barbarians who were besieging the strongholds in that region. For they entertained the hope that Totila would be led by such moves to abandon the siege and follow them. Accordingly, John, for his part, accompanied by his troops, a thousand in number, carried out this plan; but Valerian, fearing the danger, went around through the Ionian Gulf with the ships and sailed straight for Ancon. For he thought that he could in this way reach Picenum with safety and unite with John. But even so Totila was unwilling to abandon the siege, but, while he himself remained settled there, he selected two thousand horsemen from the army and sent them into

[1] αὐτοὺς MSS. : τοὺς αὑτοῦ Hoeschel.
[2] ἐπισπέσθαι K : ἐπισπάσθαι L.

ῷ τοῖς ἐνταῦθα βαρβάροις[1] ξυμμίξαντες τοὺς ἀμφί τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἀποκρούσονται.[2]

19 Οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥουσκιανῆς φρουρίῳ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς τά τε ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη παντάπασιν ἐπελελοίπει καὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔτι ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας ἐλπίδα εἶχον, Γουδίλαν τε τὸν δορυφόρον καὶ Δεοφέροντα τὸν Ἰταλιώτην παρὰ Τουτίλαν πέμψαντες ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, δεόμενοι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πεπραγμένων ξυγγνώ-
20 μονα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Τουτίλας ἐς ἄλλον οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐς τὸν Χαλαζὰρ ἐπιτελέσειν τὴν κόλασιν ἐπηγγέλλετο ἅτε τὰ πρόσθεν ξυγκείμενα ἠλογηκότα, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις τὸ ἔγκλημα ἐπιχωρεῖν πᾶσιν.
21 οὕτω τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὸ φρούριον ἐδέξατο. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χαλαζὰρ ἄμφω τε τὼ χεῖρε ἀποτεμὼν καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα εὐθὺς ἔκτεινε, τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους μένειν ἐκέλευε τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ Γότθοις ξυντάξονται· ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι τοῖς ἁλισκομένοις πράσσειν εἰώθει·
22 οἷς δὲ τὸ μένειν ἐν ἡδονῇ ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν, τούτους δὴ γυμνοὺς ὅπη βούλοιντο ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, τοῦ μή τινά οἱ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων
23 ἀκούσιον ξυστρατεύεσθαι. ὀγδοήκοντα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπολελειμμένων ἐς τὸν Κρότωνα ἦλθον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ξὺν
24 τοῖς χρήμασιν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. τῶν μέντοι Ἰταλῶν τὰ μὲν χρήματα πάντα ἀφείλετο, τὰ δέ γε σώματα[3] κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθῆ εἴασεν.[4]

[1] βαρβάροις K: πολεμίοις L.
[2] ἀποκρούσονται K: ἀποκρούσωνται L.
[3] πάντα—σώματα L: om. K.

Picenum, in order to unite with the barbarians there and throw back the forces of John and Valerian.

The Romans who were besieged in the fortress at Rusciane, seeing that their provisions had now completely failed them and that they had no further hope of assistance from the Romans, sent Gudilas the guardsman and Deopheron the Italian to Totila and opened negotiations concerning their safety, begging him to pardon them for their deeds. And Totila promised that he would inflict punishment upon no one except Chalazar, seeing that he had disregarded the previous agreement, but he would remit the charge against all the others. On such terms he in person took over the fortress. And he cut off both the hands of Chalazar and his private parts and then killed him immediately; as for the soldiers, he ordered those who wished to do so to remain, keeping their own possessions, on condition that they array themselves thereafter with the Goths on terms of complete equality; indeed this was the same procedure which he had regularly followed when the other strongholds were captured; those, on the other hand, who were not at all satisfied to remain, he commanded to depart from there and go without equipment wherever they pleased, in order that no man in the world might march unwillingly under his standard. Thus, while eighty of the Roman army abandoned their possessions and came to Croton, the rest remained where they were with their possessions. The Italians, however, he deprived of all their property, though he left their persons entirely unharmed.

[4] εἴασεν Scaliger: ἦσαν MSS.

25 Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπογενομένης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικομένη ἐδέετο[1] βασιλέως μετάπεμπτόν οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνταῦθα ἐλθεῖν. ῥᾷστά τε διεπράξατο τοῦτο. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Μηδικὸς πόλεμος ἐπικείμενος ἰσχυρότατα βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τοῦτο ἐνῆγεν.

XXXI

Ἐν τούτῳ δέ τινες ἐπίθεσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο. οἵπερ ὅπως τε ἐς τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο κατέστησαν καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ ἀποκρουσθέντες οὐδαμῇ ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀφίκοντο,
2 αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Ἀρταβάνῃ Γόνθαριν καθελόντι τὸν τύραννον, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη, ἐξαισία τις ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο Πρεϊέκταν τὴν βασιλέως ἀδελφιδῆν, ἣν εἶχεν[2] ἐγγυητήν,
3 γυναῖκα ποιήσασθαι. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτῇ βουλομένῃ ὡς μάλιστα ἦν, οὐκ ἔρωτι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐνταῦθα ἠγμένῃ, ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ χάριτας ὡμολόγει πολλὰς ἅτε τισαμένῳ μὲν τὸν Ἀρεοβίνδου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φόνον, αὐτὴν δὲ ἀνασωσαμένῳ καὶ ἀναρπάσαντι, αἰχμάλωτόν τε οὖσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ τυράννῳ Γονθάριδι μέλλουσαν οὔτι ἑκουσίαν ἐς εὐνὴν
4 ξυνελθεῖν. ἐπεί τε ἄμφω ταῦτα ἤρεσκε, Πρεϊέκταν μὲν Ἀρταβάνης βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δέ, καίπερ Λιβύης ὅλης στρατηγὸς καταστάς, ἔχρῃζε βασιλέως, ἀναπλάσας τινὰς οὐχ ὑγιεῖς σκήψεις,
5 ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο. ἐνῆγε

[1] ἐδέετο K: ἔχρῃζε L.

When Antonina, the wife of Belisarius, reached Byzantium after the decease of the empress, she begged the emperor to summon her husband thither. This she accomplished very readily. For the Persian war was now pressing the Emperor Justinian to the utmost, and influenced him to this decision.

XXXI

At this time certain men formed a plot to assail the Emperor Justinian. And I shall now set forth how these men came to undertake this plot and the manner in which they were frustrated and never came to the accomplishment of their purpose. Artabanes, after slaying the tyrant Gontharis, as told in the preceding narrative,[1] conceived an immoderate desire to take to wife the emperor's niece Preïecta, who was betrothed to him. Now she, too, desired this very ardently, not that she was led to this by love for the man, but because she acknowledged a heavy debt of gratitude to him, seeing that he had not only avenged the murder of her husband Areobindus, but had also rescued and snatched her from peril when she was a captive and destined after no long time to become the unwilling consort of the tyrant Gontharis. Since, then, both wanted this, Artabanes sent Preïecta to the emperor, while he himself, though appointed to the post of General of all Libya, invented sundry untruthful pretexts to induce the emperor to summon him to Byzantium. For he was

[1] Cf. Book IV. xxviii. 29.

[2] ἦν εἶχεν L : om K.

γὰρ ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἡ τοῦ γάμου ἐλπίς, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐνθένδε ἀγαθὰ ὑποφαίνουσα καὶ τῆς βασι-
6 λείας οὐ πόρρω αὐτὸν τὸ λοιπὸν ἔσεσθαι. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εὐημερίας ἐκ τοῦ παραλόγου ἐπιλαβόμενοι οὐ δύνανται τὴν διάνοιαν ἐνταῦθα ἑστάναι,[1] ἀλλὰ καραδοκοῦσι τὰ πρόσω, καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ χωροῦσιν, ἕως καὶ τῆς[2] οὐ δέον ὑπαρξάσης αὐτοῖς εὐδαιμονίας στερήσονται.

Βασιλεὺς μέντοι[3] τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει
7 καὶ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐς Βυζάντιον μετεπέμπετο, ἕτερον ἀντικαταστήσας Λιβύης στρατηγόν, ἥπερ
8 μοι δεδιήγηται. γενόμενον δὲ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐθαύμαζε
9 καὶ ἄλλως ἠγάπα. ἦν γὰρ εὐμήκης τε τὸ σῶμα καὶ καλός, τό τε ἦθος ἐλευθέριος καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα φθεγγόμενος. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
10 ἐτετιμήκει. στρατηγόν τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν καὶ ἄρχοντα φοιδεράτων καταστησάμενος ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀνεγράψατο τὸ ἀξίωμα.
11 τῇ μέντοι Πρεϊέκτα ξυνοικίζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσεν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ πρότερον ξυγγενής τε[4]
12 οὖσα καὶ ἐκ παιδὸς αὐτῷ ἐς γάμον ἐλθοῦσα. ἦν δὴ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἀποσεισάμενος αὐτὸς ἔτυχε τῶν τινος ἴσως παραπεπτωκυίας αἰτίας, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι προσκρούειν ξυμβαίνει.
13 αὕτη, τέως μὲν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ οὐκ εὖ καθεστήκει τὰ πράγματα,[5] οἵκοι καθῆστο ἐν πάσῃ ἀπραγ-

[1] ἑστάναι MSS. : ἱστάναι Maltretus from an inferior MS.
[2] τῆς K : τῆς οὐδὸς ὁ βαθμὸς. τὸ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀξίωμα L.
[3] μέντοι K : τοίνυν L
[4] τε K : τε καὶ ὁμόφυλος L.
[5] αὕτη—πράγματα K : ἄρτι τε τῷ ἀρταβάνῃ οὐκ εὖ καθεστηκότος τοῦ πράγματος L.

led on to do this by the hope of this marriage, which suggested to him many blessings that would flow from the union and, in particular, that he would thereafter not be far from the throne. For when men lay hold upon prosperity unexpectedly, their minds cannot remain stable, but in their hopes they ever keep going forward, until they are deprived even of the felicity that has been undeservedly theirs.

However, the emperor fulfilled his request and summoned Artabanes to Byzantium, while he appointed in his place another General of Libya, as has been related above.[1] Now when Artabanes reached Byzantium, the common people admired him for his achievements and loved him for his other qualities. For he was both tall of stature and handsome, of a noble character and little given to speech. And the emperor had honoured him in a very unusual manner. For he had appointed him general of the troops in Byzantium and commander of the foederati,[2] as well as clothing him with the dignity of consul. But as for Preïecta, Artabanes was quite unable to marry her. For he had already a wife who was a relative of his and had been married to him from childhood. This wife he had, for his part, repudiated long before, doubtless because one of those causes had developed such as lead to the estrangement of man and wife. She, for her part, as long as the affairs of Artabanes were not prosperous, had remained at home without causing any trouble,

[1] Cf. Book IV. xxviii. 45.

[2] Private bands of troops under the leadership of condottiere. See Book III. xi. 2, note.

μοσύνῃ, τὰ παρόντα σιωπῇ φέρουσα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἤδη λαμπρός τε τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ μέγας ἐγεγόνει ταῖς τύχαις, οὐκ ἐνεγκοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ ἔτι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦλθεν. ἱκέτις τε γενομένη τῆς βασιλίδος ἀπολαβεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ἠξίου.
14 ἡ δὲ βασιλὶς (ἐπεφύκει γὰρ ἀεὶ δυστυχούσαις γυναιξὶ προσχωρεῖν)[1] ἀκουσίῳ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ ὡς μάλιστα ξυνοικεῖν ἔγνω,[2] τήν τε Πρεϊέκταν Ἰωάννης ὁ Πομπηίου τοῦ Ὑπατίου γυναῖκα
15 γαμετὴν ἐποιήσατο. ταύτην Ἀρταβάνης τὴν ξυμφορὰν οὐκ ἤνεγκε πράως, ἀλλ' ἠγριαίνετό τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἰργασμένον Ῥωμαίους ἔλεγε τόσα[3] . . . γυναῖκα μὲν τήν οἱ αὐτῷ κατηγγυημένην ἑκόντα ἑκοῦσαν ἀγαγέσθαι οὐδεὶς ἐᾷ, τῇ δὲ πάντων αὐτῷ δυσμενεστάτῃ οὔσῃ πλησιάζειν ἀναγκάζηται τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· ὃ δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπου
16 ψυχὴν ἀνιᾶν πέφυκεν. ὥστε ἀμέλει οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ταύτην ἀσμένως ἀπεπέμψατο τὴν γυναῖκα εὐθύς.
17 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ βασιλεῖ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀνεψιὸν ὄντα Βοραΐδην ἀδελφὸν ἔχειν. οὗτος οὖν[4] Βοραΐδης ὁ Γερμανοῦ ἀδελφὸς ἐναγχος ἐτετελευτήκει, τῶν χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα τῷ τε ἀδελφῷ καὶ
18 παισὶ[5] τοῖς ἐκείνου ἀπολιπών. οὔσης δὲ αὐτῷ γυναικός τε καὶ παιδὸς μιᾶς, τοσαῦτα τὴν παῖδα ἐκέλευεν ἔχειν ὅσα ὁ νόμος ἠνάγκαζε. διὸ δὴ

[1] προσχωρεῖν K : βοηθεῖν) προσχωρῆσαί τε L.
[2] ἔγνω K : κατηνάγκασε L.
[3] εἰργασμένον—τόσα Haury : εἰργασμένον K, εἰργασμένω ῥωμαίοις ἔλεγε τόσα L, Haury suggests εἰργατμένῳ Ῥωμαίους ἔλεγε τόσα μεταμέλειν ἤδη εἰ.

bearing her lot in silence. But when Artabanes had now become illustrious by his deeds and great by his good fortune, the woman could no longer bear her dishonour and came to Byzantium. There, making herself a suppliant of the empress, she demanded the right to take back her husband. Whereupon the empress, whose nature always led her to assist unfortunate women, decided to force Artabanes to accept her as his wife, although he rebelled violently, while John the son of Pompeius and nephew of Hypatius made Preïecta his wedded wife. This calamity Artabanes did not bear lightly, but he became furious and said that one who had served the Romans so well . . . was now refused permission to lead in marriage the woman to whom he was betrothed and who shared with him a common desire to consummate the marriage, but he was, on the contrary, compelled for ever to share the couch of the one woman in the world most hateful to him —a situation which is bound inevitably to harass a man's soul. Consequently, a little later, as soon as the empress had passed from the world, he, without further ado, promptly and joyfully sent this wife away.

Now it happened that Germanus, who was nephew to the emperor, had a brother named Boraïdes. This Boraïdes, then, brother of Germanus, had recently died, leaving the most of his property to his brother and nephews. And though he had a wife and one daughter, he directed that the daughter should have only as much as the law required. Because of this,

---

[4] Βοραΐδην—οὖν L : om. K.
[5] παισὶ Maltretus : πᾶσι MSS.

βασιλεὺς τῇ παιδὶ μᾶλλον ἀμύνειν ἠξίου· ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Γερμανὸν ἔδακνε.

XXXII

Βασιλεῖ μὲν οὖν τά τε ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ καὶ Γερμανῷ ταύτῃ πῃ εἶχεν. ἦν δέ τις Ἀρσάκης ὄνομα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἀρσακίδης
2 ἀνήρ, τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κατὰ γένος προσήκων. ὃς δὴ κακουργῶν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐφωράθη καὶ προδοσίας διαφανῶς[1] ἑάλω ἅτε δὴ ἐς Χοσρόην τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα πράγματα
3 ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις νεώτερα πράσσων. βασιλεύς τε αὐτὸν[2] ἄλλο μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, ξάνας δὲ οὐ πολλὰς κατὰ νώτου ἐπόμπευσε καμήλῳ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὀχούμενον, οὐδὲν μέντοι αὐτὸν οὔτε τοῦ σώματος οὔτε τῆς οὐσίας ἀφείλετο,
4 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φυγῇ ἐζημίωσε. δυσφορούμενος δὲ ὅμως τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσιν Ἀρσάκης δολώσεις[3] ἐπί τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἐπινοεῖν
5 ἤρξατο. ἐπειδή τε ξυναχθόμενόν οἱ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἄτε ξυγγενῆ εἶδεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠρέθιζέ τε καὶ λόγων ἐνέδραις τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταλαβὼν ἐκάκιζεν, οὔτε νύκτα οὔτε ἡμέραν τινὰ ἀνιείς, ἀνδρεῖόν τε καὶ ἀνδρόγυνον ἀπὸ καιροῦ
6 γεγονότα ὠνείδιζεν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ κακοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις γενναῖόν τε καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος διαλυτὴν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι, φίλον τε ὄντα καὶ ἑστιάτορα Γόνθαριν αὐτοχειρὶ λαβόντα κτεῖναι οὐδενὶ λόγῳ.

[1] διαφανῶς K : διαφανοῦς L.
[2] αὐτὸν K : αὐτῷ L.
[3] δολώσεις K : δόλους L.

the emperor chose to champion the daughter's cause, an act which irritated Germanus exceedingly.

XXXII

Such then were the relations of the emperor to Artabanes and to Germanus. There was also a certain Arsaces in Byzantium, an Armenian by birth and one of the Arsacidae, related to Artabanes by blood. This man had been detected not long before this in an attempt to harm the state, and he had been clearly convicted of treason, since he was negotiating with Chosroes, the Persian king, to stir up trouble for the Romans. But the emperor did him no further harm than to beat his back with not many blows and parade him through the city mounted on a camel; however, he did him no injury in either his person or his property, nor did he even penalize him by exile. But Arsaces was nevertheless incensed at what had taken place, and began to devise treacherous plans against both Justinian and the state. And when he saw that Artabanes, as his kinsman, was sharing his vexation, he began to stir him up still more, and, gaining the man's attention by crafty speeches, he ceased not day nor night to upbraid him, rebuking him for having been both courageous and faint-hearted out of season. For he had, on the one hand, given proof of his nobility of spirit in his attitude toward the misfortunes of others, in that he had put an end to the tyranny; indeed, though Gontharis was his friend and his host, he had laid hold of him with his own hand and slain him under no compulsion whatever. But at the present

7 ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι ἀποδειλιάσαντα οὕτως ἀνάνδρως ἐνταῦθα καθῆσθαι, τῆς μὲν πατρίδος οἱ φρουρουμένης τε ἐνδελεχέστατα καὶ δασμοῖς ἐκτετηκυίας ἀήθεσι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς ἀνῃρημένου ἐπὶ ξυνθηκῶν τε καὶ ξυμβάσεως λόγῳ, παντὸς δὲ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς δεδουλωμένου τε καὶ σκεδαννυμένου ἀεὶ
8 πανταχόσε τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. ἀλλὰ τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων αὐτῷ Ἀρταβάνης ἀποχρῆν οἴεται, εἰ στρατηγός τε Ῥωμαίων εἴη καὶ ὕπατος καλοῖτο μόνον. "Καὶ σὺ μὲν" ἔφη "ξυγγενεῖ τέ μοι ὄντι καὶ πεπονθότι ἀνήκεστα ἔργα οὐδαμῇ συναλγεῖς· ἐγὼ δέ σε οἰκτείρω τῆς ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν ταῖν γυναικοῖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, τύχης, ἥς τε οὐ δέον ἐστέρησαι καὶ
9 ᾗ ξυνοικεῖν ἠναγκάσθης. καίτοι οὐδένα εἰκός, ὅτῳ φρονήματος καὶ κατὰ βραχύ τινος μέτεστι, τὸν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀναδύεσθαι φόνον[1] οὔτε ὀκνήσει οὔτε ὀρρωδίᾳ τινί, ὃς δὴ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ νύκτωρ,[2] ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων ἐσχατογέρουσιν[3] ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστια-
10 νῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ" ἔφη "οὐδέ τίς σοι ἀντιστήσεται τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ξυγγενῶν. ὁ μέντοι γε πάντων δυνατώτατος Γερμανός, οἶμαι, ξυλλήψεταί σοι προθυμούμενος ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, νεανίαις τε οὖσι καὶ τῇ τε ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ζέουσιν, οὕς γε καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν
11 αὐτοματίσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω. ἠδικημένοι γὰρ πρὸς ἐκείνου τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη ὅσα οὔτε ἡμεῖς οὔτε τις ἄλλος Ἀρμενίων οὐδείς." τοιούτοις Ἀρσάκης ἀεὶ

[1] φόνον K : φόβον L.
[2] νύκτωρ MSS. : νυκτῶν Editors.
[3] ἐσχατογέρουσιν Hoeschel in marg. : ἔσχατον γέρουσιν K, γέρουσιν ἄσχετον L.

juncture, he said, he was utterly cowed, and he continued to sit there without a spark of manhood, though his fatherland was kept under strictest guard and exhausted by unwonted taxes, his father had been slain on the pretext of a treaty and covenant, and his whole family had been enslaved and was kept scattered to every corner of the Roman empire. But in spite of these facts Artabanes thought it sufficient for him to be a general of the Romans and merely bear the name of consul. "And you," he said, "do not share my sorrow in the least, though I am your kinsman and have suffered outrageous treatment, while I, for my part, pity you, my dear fellow, for the fortune you have suffered in the case of both those women, not only the one you have been cheated of wrongfully but also the other with whom you have been compelled to live. And yet it ill becomes anyone who has even a little spirit in him to refuse to undertake the murder of Justinian, nor should he hesitate nor entertain any fear,—a man who always sits unguarded in some lobby to a late hour of the night, eagerly unrolling the Christian scriptures in company with priests who are at the extremity of old age. Furthermore," he continued, "not one of the kinsmen of Justinian will oppose you. Indeed the most powerful of them all, Germanus, will, I believe, assist you with all his heart and his sons as well, seeing that they are young men and consequently boiling with fury against him; and I am in hopes that these men will actually carry through the enterprise of their own accord. For they have already suffered injustice at his hand such as neither we nor anyone else among the Armenians has suffered." By such speeches Arsaces

καταγοητεύων τὸν Ἀρταβάνην, ἐπειδή ποτε αὐτὸν ἐνδόντα εἶδεν, ἐπί τινα Περσαρμένιον ἕτερον,
12 Χαναράγγην ὄνομα, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγεν. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Χαναράγγης νεανίας μέν, καλὸς δὲ τὸ σῶμα, οὐ μέντοι κατεσπουδασμένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον παιδαριώδης.

13 Ἐπεὶ οὖν Ἀρσάκης αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνην τά τε ἐς τὴν γνώμην καὶ ἐς τοὺς[1] λόγους ξυνέμιξεν, ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐπαγγειλάμενος Γερμανόν τε καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ὁμογνώμονας ἐς τὸ
14 ἔργον θήσεσθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ Ἰουστῖνος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν Γερμανοῦ παίδων νεανίας μὲν καὶ πρῶτον[2] ὑπηνήτης, δραστήριος δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς
15 πράξεις ὀξύτερος· ὥστε καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἀναβεβήκει. ἀφικόμενός τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἀρσάκης ἔφασκέν οἱ λάθρα
16 ἐν ἱερῷ τινι ἐντυχεῖν βούλεσθαι. ἐπεί τε ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐγενέσθην ἄμφω, ἠξίου πρῶτον Ἀρσάκης τὸν Ἰουστῖνον δι' ὅρκων ἰσχυρίσασθαι μή ποτε τοὺς λόγους ἕς τινα τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὅτι
17 μὴ ἐς τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἐξοίσειν. ταῦτά τε ὁμωμοκότι τῷ ἀνδρὶ[3] ὠνείδιζεν εἰ βασιλεῖ ξυγγενὴς πλησιαίτατος ὢν ἀγοραίους μὲν καὶ ἀγελαίους ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ἔχοντας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς προσῆκον ὁρῶν τὰς τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχάς, αὐτὸς δὲ τηλίκος ὢν ἤδη ὡς αὐτοῦ εἶναι[4] διοικεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα,[5] οὐχ αὑτὸν μόνον περιορῴη,[6] ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν πατέρα,[7] καίπερ ἐπ' ἄκρον ἀρετῆς ἥκοντα,

[1] ἐς τοὺς K: ἐς om. L.
[2] πρῶτον Haury: πρῶτος K, πρῶτα L.
[3] τῷ ἀνδρὶ L: τὴν ἀνδρίαν K.
[4] ἤδη ὡς αὐτοῦ εἶναι K: ἀνέχοιτο πρὸς ἰδιωτῶν L.
[5] πράγματα K: πράγματα προσετίθει τε ὡς L.

ever sought to cast a spell over Artabanes, and as soon as ever he saw him beginning to yield, he carried the matter to anot her Persarmenian, Chanaranges by name. Now this Chanaranges was a young man who, though comely of person, was not a man of serious character, but childish to an extraordinary degree.

So when Arsaces had brought him and Artabanes into mutual agreement, both in their thinking and in their speaking, he departed, promising to make Germanus and his sons of the same mind with them in regard to the undertaking. Now Justinus, the elder of the sons of Germanus, was a youth wearing his first beard, but an energetic fellow and unusually keen in action; indeed, as a result of these qualities, he had actually risen to the dignity of the consular chair not long before. Accordingly, Arsaces approached him and said that he wished to speak with him secretly in some sanctuary. When they had both entered the church, Arsaces first required Justinus to affirm on oath that he would never report their conversation to any man in the whole world, except his father alone. And after the man had sworn to this effect, he took him to task, because, on the one hand, he, a very close relative of the emperor, saw other men holding the offices of the state, common plebeian fellows with no claim to such distinction, while he himself, on the other hand, though he was now of such age that he was entitled to manage his own affairs, paid no heed to the fact that not only he himself, but also his father, and that, too, in spite of his high achieve-

[6] περιορᾷ Haury: περιορῶν K, περιορῶν βασιλεὺς φαίνεται L.
[7] πατέρα K: πατέρα τὸν αὐτοῦ L.

καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν ἰδιώτου μοίρᾳ
18 καθημένους τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦ
θείου τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι ξυνέβη, ἧς δὴ
κληρονόμος τά[1] γε ὅσα[2] βεβουλῆσθαι Βοραΐδην
αὐτὸς γεγονώς, εἶτα οὐ δέον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
19 ἀφῃρηται. καίτοι πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς
περιοφθήσεσθαι εἰκὸς αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐπειδὰν
τάχιστα Βελισάριος ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἀφίκηται.
ἠγγέλλετο γὰρ ὢν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἤδη που μέσοις.
20 τοσαῦτα ὑπειπὼν Ἀρσάκης ἐς τὴν ἐς βασιλέα
ἐπιβουλὴν τὸν νεανίαν ὥρμα, τά τέ οἱ αὐτῷ καὶ
Ἀρταβάνῃ ξυγκείμενα καὶ τῷ Χαναράγγῃ ἀμφὶ
21 τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο[3] ἀποκαλύψας. ταῦτα Ἰουστῖνος
ἀκούσας ξυνεταράχθη τε καὶ ἰλιγγιάσας ἄντικρυς
τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ[4] ἀπεῖπε μήτ' ἂν οἱ αὐτῷ μήτε
Γερμανῷ τῷ πατρὶ ταὐτά ποτε ποιητέα εἶναι.
22 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀρσάκης τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῷ
Ἀρταβάνῃ ἀπήγγειλεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰουστῖνος ἐς τὸν
πατέρα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκε. καὶ ὃς
Μαρκέλλῳ κοινολογησάμενος, ὃς τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ
φυλάκων ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα[5] ξυμβουλὴν
ἐποιεῖτο, εἴπερ σφίσι ταῦτα ἐς βασιλέα ἐξε-
23 νεγκεῖν ξύμφορον εἴη. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος
ἐμβριθέστατός τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ τὰ
πολλὰ νέμων, οὔτε χρημάτων τι ἕνεκα πράσσων
οὔτε λόγων ἢ πράξεων γελωτοποιῶν ἀνεχόμενος
οὔτε ἄλλως ἀνειμένῃ διαίτῃ χαίρων, ἀλλὰ βίον
σκληρόν τέ τινα καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀλλότριον ἐς ἀεὶ

[1] *τά* K: *τῶ* L. [2] *ὅσα* K: *ὅσον* L.
[3] *τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο* K: *τῶ ἔργω τούτω* L.
[4] *τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ* Haury: *πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάκην* Editors, *τὸν ἀρσάκην* MSS.

ments, and his brother Justinian had to sit for ever in the place of private citizens. Nay more, he had not even been allowed to enter into the property of his uncle, to which he and no other had been heir as far as concerned the purpose of Boraïdes, but the greater part of it had been unjustly wrested from him. Still it was probable that they would be still further humiliated forthwith, as soon as Belisarius should arrive from Italy; for he was reported to be already somewhere in the heart of Illyricum. After such an introduction Arsaces sought to impel the youth to take part in the plot against the emperor, disclosing to him the agreement reached between himself, Artabanes and Chanaranges in regard to this business. Upon hearing this Justinus was greatly agitated and his head swam, but he told Arsaces flatly that neither he himself nor his father Germanus could ever do these things.

Then, while Arsaces reported to Artabanes what had happened, Justinus referred the whole matter to his father. He thereupon conferred with Marcellus, the commander of the palace guards, and they took the question under consideration whether it was advisable for them to report this matter to the emperor. Now this Marcellus was a man of very great dignity who observed silence in most matters, neither doing anything for the sake of money nor tolerating buffoonery in word or deed nor taking any pleasure in other forms of relaxation, but always living a kind of austere life to which pleasure was strange; but at the same time he was

[5] τὸ πρᾶγμα K: τῷ πράγματι L.

ἔχων, τοῦ μέντοι δικαίου ἐπιμελητὴς ἀκριβὴς καὶ
24 τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διαπυρώτατος ἐραστής. ὃς δὴ τότε
οὐκ εἴα τὸν λόγον ἐς βασιλέα φέρεσθαι. "Σὲ
μὲν[1] γὰρ τοῦτον" ἔφη "μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι
ἀξύμφορον. ἦν γάρ τι λάθρα ἐρεῖν βασιλεῖ
βούλοιο, ὑποτοπήσουσί τε εὐθὺς οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀρτα-
βάνην αὐτὸ μεμηνύσθαι, καὶ ἦν που Ἀρσάκης
διαφυγὼν λαθεῖν δύνηται, ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὸ
25 ἔγκλημα μενεῖ. ἐγὼ δέ τι μὴ λίαν ἀκριβολογησά-
μενος ἢ πιστεύειν αὐτὸς ἢ βασιλεῖ εὐαγγελλειν
26 οὐδαμῆ εἴωθα. βούλομαι τοίνυν ἢ τῶν λόγων
αὐτήκοος γενέσθαι ἢ τῶν μοι ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ ἐκ
παρασκευῆς ὑμετέρας ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
λέγοντός τι ὑπὲρ τούτων διαφανές."
27 Ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀκούσας Ἰουστῖνον τὸν
παῖδα ἐκέλευε πράσσειν ὅπως ἡ Μαρκέλλου
28 ἐπίταξις ἐπιτελὴς εἴη. ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάκῃ μέν τι[2]
ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπεῖν οὐκέτι εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ ἄντικρυς
29 αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἀπειπὼν ἔτυχε. τοῦ
δὲ Χαναράγγου ἀνεπυνθάνετο εἰ Ἀρταβάνου
γνώμῃ ἔναγχος Ἀρσάκης παρ' αὐτὸν ἥκοι.
"Ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποτε" ἔφη "τῶν τι
ἀπορρήτων ἐθάρσησα ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τοιῷδε ὄντι
30 καταλιπεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ μοι βούλοιό τι αὐτὸς τῶν
προὔργου εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσάμενοι τάχα
31 ἄν τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν πράξαιμεν." ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ
Χαναράγγης τῷ Ἀρταβάνῃ κοινολογησάμενος
ἅπαντα ἐς τὸν Ἰουστῖνον ἐξήνεγκεν, ὅσα δὴ
πρότερον Ἀρσάκης αὐτῷ εἰπὼν ἔτυχεν.

[1] Σὲ μὲν L: ἐμὲ K.
[2] μέν τι Haury: om. K, μέν τοι L.

scrupulous in his observance of justice and a most ardent lover of truth. So he naturally would not on that occasion allow the report to be carried to the emperor. "For as for you," he said, "it is inexpedient that you should carry information of this thing. For if you should wish to say anything to the emperor in secret, Artabanes and his friends will straightway become suspicious that the matter has been denounced, and, if perchance Arsaces is able to escape unnoticed, the charge will remain unproved. And I, on the other hand, am not at all accustomed either to believe myself or to report to the emperor anything which I have not thoroughly verified. It is my desire, consequently, either that I hear the words with my own ears or that one of my intimates, by your contriving, hear the man saying something unmistakably clear about these matters."

When Germanus heard this, he bade his son Justinus arrange that the requirement of Marcellus should be carried out. He, however, was no longer able to say anything about this matter to Arsaces, since he had, as stated above, given him a flat refusal. Still he did enquire of Chanaranges whether Arsaces had recently approached him at the suggestion of Artabanes. "For I," he said, "should never have had the courage to entrust any of my secrets to him, seeing he is such a man as he is. But if you should be willing yourself to tell me something to the point, we could, by deliberating in common, perhaps accomplish something really worth while." Chanaranges then conferred with Artabanes about this and reported to Justinus each and every thing which Arsaces had previously told him.

32 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἰουστῖνος αὐτός τε ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέ-
σειν[1] καὶ τὸν πατέρα ὡμολόγει ὁμογνωμονοῦντα
παρέξεσθαι, ἐδόκει τῷ Γερμανῷ τὸν Χαναράγγην
ἐς λόγους ξυμμῖξαι, τακτή τε ἡμέρα τῷ διαλόγῳ
33 ξυνέκειτο. ταῦτα ὁ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλῳ σημήνας
ἠξίου τῶν τινά οἱ ἐπιτηδείων παρέχεσθαι σφίσιν,
34 αὐτήκοον τῶν Χαναράγγου λόγων ἐσόμενον. ὁ
δὲ Λεόντιον παρεῖχετο, τὸν Ἀθανασίου γαμβρόν,
ἄνδρα λόγου τε τοῦ δικαίου μεταποιούμενον καὶ
35 ἀληθίζεσθαι ἐξεπιστάμενον μάλιστα. ὃν δὴ ὁ
Γερμανὸς ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐσαγαγὼν ἐν δωματίῳ
ἐκάθισεν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπεκρέματό τις παχεῖα σινδὼν
παραπέτασμα τῆς στιβάδος οὖσα, ἐφ' ἧς
36 ἑστιᾶσθαι εἰώθει. ταύτης τε τῆς σινδόνος τὸν
μὲν Λεόντιον ἐντὸς ἔκρυψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν
37 Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκτὸς ἔμενεν. ἐνταῦθα τοῦ
Χαναράγγου ἀφικομένου ἤκουσε σαφῶς ὁ Λεόντιος
ἅπαντα λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνῃ
38 καὶ τῷ Ἀρσάκῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐγεγόνει. ἐν τοῖς[2] καὶ
τόδε ἐς τὸν λόγον ἦλθεν, ὡς, ἢν βασιλέα κτείνωσι
Βελισαρίου ἔτι ἐς Βυζάντιον ὁδῷ ἰόντος, οὐδὲν ἂν
τῶν βεβουλευμένων προχωρήσειε σφίσιν· εἴπερ
αὐτοῖς μὲν βασιλέα Γερμανὸν καταστήσεσθαι
βουλομένοις εἴη. Βελισάριον δὲ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς
ἀθροίσειν εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρίων, οὕτω
τε σφίσιν ἐπιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὐδεμιᾷ μηχανῇ
39 ἀπωθεῖσθαι ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται. δεήσει γοῦν ἐς μὲν
τὴν Βελισαρίου παρουσίαν ἀποθέσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν,
ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ τάχιστα ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε

Then, since Justinus agreed both to carry out everything himself and to bring his father to agreement with them, it was decided that Chanaranges should meet Germanus in conference, and a definite day was appointed for the interview. Germanus reported this to Marcellus and requested him to provide them one of his intimates who should hear with his own ears the words of Chanaranges. And he provided Leontius, the son-in-law of Athanasius, a man who had strict regard for justice and thoroughly capable of speaking the truth. This man Germanus introduced into his house and placed in a room where a thick curtain had been hung to conceal the couch on which he was accustomed to dine. And he hid Leontius inside this curtain, while he himself with his son Justinus remained outside. When Chanaranges came there, Leontius clearly heard him say everything which he, Artabanes, and Arsaces had planned. Among these things this too was mentioned, that, if they killed the emperor while Belisarius was still on the way to Byzantium, their purpose would not be advanced at all; for, though they might wish to establish Germanus on the throne, it was probable that Belisarius would gather a vast army from the towns of Thrace, and they would be unable by any device to repulse the man when he came against them in this way. It would consequently be necessary to postpone the execution of the plan until Belisarius should be present, but as soon as the man should reach

[1] ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν Haury: ἅπαν ὑποτελέσειν K, ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσαι L.
[2] ἐν τοῖς L: ἐν οἷς K.

ἀφίκηται καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα ἐν Παλατίῳ εἴη, τότε δή, ἑσπέρας βαθείας που οὔσης, ἐγχειρίδια φέροντας ἀπροσδοκήτους[1] ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, καὶ Μάρκελλόν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ξὺν βασιλεῖ κτεῖναι.
40 οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἐνθένδε ἀδεέστερον ἤ βούλονται[2] διοικήσονται.

Ταῦτα Μάρκελλος πρὸς Λεοντίου μαθὼν οὐδ' ὡς ἐς βασιλέα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκεῖν ἔγνω, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὀκνήσει πολλῇ εἶχετο, τοῦ μὴ τὸν Ἀρταβάνην σπουδῇ πολλῇ κατεργάσασθαι ἀπερισκέπτως.
41 ὁ μέντοι Γερμανὸς ἅπαντα ἔς τε Βούζην καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸν ἐξήνεγκε, δείσας, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, μή τινα ἐκ τῆς μελλήσεως ὑποψίαν λάβῃ.[3]
42 Ἡμέραις δὲ πολλαῖς ὕστερον, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν Βελισάριος ἄγχιστά που ἤδη ἠγγέλλετο, Μάρκελλος μὲν ἐς βασιλέα τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀνήνεγκεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτίκα ἐς τὴν εἱρκτὴν ἀπαχθῆναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ἀρταβάνην ἐκέλευε, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων
43 τισὶ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε βάσανον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ξύμπασα ἐς φῶς τε ἤδη ἐληλύθει καὶ διαρρήδην ἐν γράμμασιν ἦν, ἅπαντας βασιλεὺς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκάθισεν, οὗπερ εἰώθασι τὰς ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἀντιλεγο-
44 μένοις ποιεῖσθαι γνώσεις. οἵπερ ἀναλεξάμενοι ἅπαντα ὅσα τοῖς εὐθυνομένοις δεδιηγῆσθαι τετύχηκεν, οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἐς Γερμανόν τε καὶ Ἰουστῖνον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα τὸ ἔγκλημα ἦγον, ἕως ὁ Γερμανὸς Μαρκέλλου τε καὶ Λεοντίου τὴν μαρτυρίαν παρασχόμενος ἐκλύειν τὴν ὑποψίαν

[1] ἀπροσδοκήτους K: ἀπροσδοκήτως L.
[2] βούλονται K: βούλοιντο τὰ πράγματα L.
[3] λάβῃ K: λάβοι L.

Byzantium and should be closeted with the emperor in the palace, then, at some time late in the evening, they should go there unexpectedly, armed with daggers, and kill Marcellus and Belisarius as well as the emperor. For such a course of action would enable them thereafter to make such dispositions as they wished without fear.

Even when Marcellus learned this from Leontius, he could not as yet make up his mind to report the matter to the emperor, being, as he was, still very reluctant to act, lest by excessive haste he should doom Artabanes on imperfect evidence. Germanus, however, revealed everything to Bouzes and Constantianus, fearing, as actually happened, that some suspicion would attach to him as a result of the delay.

Many days later, when word came that Belisarius was now close at hand, Marcellus reported the whole matter to the emperor, who immediately commanded Artabanes and his associates to be taken off to prison, entrusting to some of his officers the duty of torturing them.[1] And when the whole conspiracy had now come to light and was clearly set down in writing, the emperor called a session of all the members of the senate in the palace, where they are accustomed to make their decisions regarding matters in dispute. When they had read over everything which had been stated by the men under examination, they nevertheless sought to involve Germanus and his son Justinus in the accusation, until Germanus, by presenting the testimony of Marcellus and Leontius, succeeded in clearing himself of the suspicion. For

[1] *i. e.* in order to obtain their testimony.

45 ἔσχεν. αὐτοί τε γὰρ καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ
Βούζης διώμοτοι ἰσχυρίσαντο μηδ' ὁτιοῦν σφᾶς
τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα τὸν Γερμανὸν ἀποκρύψασθαι,[1]
ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ πάντα ξυνενεχθῆναι ᾗπέρ μοι
46 ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου
εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπεψηφίσαντο
ἅπαντες ἅτε οὐδὲν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμαρτη-
κότων.
47 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἴσω πάντες ἐν βασιλέως ἐγένοντο,
αὐτὸς μὲν ὀξὺ θυμωθεὶς βασιλεὺς ἠγανάκτει τε
καὶ ὑπερφυῶς ἐπὶ τὸν Γερμανὸν ἠγριαίνετο τὴν
βραδυτῆτα τῆς δηλώσεως αἰτιώμενος, τῶν τε
ἀρχόντων δύο μέν τινες θεραπεύοντες αὐτὸν
ὡμολόγουν τὴν γνώμην, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ δυσφορου-
μένοις ἐῴκεσαν· ταύτῃ τε τὸν βασιλέως θυμὸν
ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρον, ἀλλοτρίας αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι
48 συμφορὰς[2] ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντες. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
κατεπτηχότες σιωπῇ εἶχοντο, τῷ μὴ ἀντιστατεῖν
ἃ βούλοιτο ἐγχωροῦντες αὐτῷ· Μάρκελλος δὲ
μόνος ὀρθοστομήσας διασώσασθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον
49 ἴσχυσε. τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἕλκων τε καὶ
βιαζόμενος δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ Γερμανὸν μὲν οἱ
ἐπικαιρότατα ἔφη τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐξειπεῖν, αὐτὸν
δὲ περιέργως ἀκριβολογούμενον σχολαιότερον
50 αὐτὰ μεμηνυκέναι. καὶ τὴν βασιλέως ὀργὴν
οὕτω κατέπαυσε. μέγα τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κλέος
οὗτος ὁ Μάρκελλος περιεβάλετο ἐς πάντας
ἀνθρώπους ἅτε ἀρετῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις
51 μεταποιούμενος. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς

[1] ἀποκρύψασθαι Maltretus: ἀποκρούσασθαι K, ἀποκρύψεσθαι L.
[2] ἀλλοτρίας—συμφορὰς K: ἀλλοτρίαις αὐτὸν χαριεῖσθαι ξυμφοραῖς L.

these men, as well as Constantianus and Bouzes, declared under oath that Germanus had concealed from them nothing whatever as far as concerned these matters, but that everything had happened as I have just related. The senators, consequently, straightway acquitted both him and his son unanimously as having committed no offence against the state.

But when all had gone within to the emperor's apartment, the emperor himself, who had become violently angry, began to complain and to speak with the greatest bitterness against Germanus, blaming him for the tardiness of his disclosure, and two of the officials, courting his favour, agreed with his opinion and seemed to share his displeasure. In this way they greatly increased the emperor's anger, eager as they were to be complacent to him in matters involving other men's misfortunes. But the others, cowed by fear, remained silent, yielding to him by not opposing his wish; Marcellus alone, however, by speaking with plain directness succeeded in saving the man. For taking the blame upon himself and speaking with all the emphasis in his power, he said that Germanus, for his part, had told him most seasonably what was going on, but that he himself, making a very careful and detailed investigation, had reported the matter more deliberately. And in this way he allayed the emperor's anger. So Marcellus won for himself great renown from this incident among all men, as one who in a moment of the gravest peril shewed his sterling quality. And the

παρέλυσε τὸν Ἀρταβάνην ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς, ἄλλο δὲ αὐτὸν[1] εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδένα, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἅπαντας οὐ ξὺν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν, ἐν Παλατίῳ μέντοι, οὐκ ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκήματι.

XXXIII

Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦ πολέμου τόνδε[2] κύριοι τῆς ἑσπερίας οἱ βάρβαροι διαρρήδην ἐγένοντο πάσης. τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Γοτθικὸς πόλεμος, καίπερ τὰ πρῶτα κατὰ κράτος νενικηκόσιν, ὥσπερ μοι[3] ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ἐς τοῦτο ἀπεκρίθη, ὥστε οὐχ ὅσον σφίσι χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ ὀνήσει διεφθάρθαι πολλά, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰταλίαν προσαπολέσθαι, καὶ Ἰλλυριούς τε καὶ Θρᾷκας σχεδόν τι ξύμπαντας ἐπιδεῖν[4] πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἅτε ὁμόρων[5] γεγενημένων δηιουμένους τε καὶ διαφθειρομένους οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. ἐγένετο δὲ ὧδε.

2 Γαλλίας μὲν ὅλας τὰς σφίσι κατηκόους κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου Γερμανοῖς ἔδοσαν Γότθοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἀντιτάξασθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν
3 λόγοις ἐρρήθη. ταύτην τε τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐχ ὅπως οὐ διακωλύειν Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπέρρωσε σφίσι, τοῦ μή τί οἱ ἐναντίωμα τούτων δὴ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐκπεπο-
4 λεμωμένων ὑπαντιάσαι. οὐ γάρ ποτε ᾤοντο

[1] αὐτὸν Maltretus: αὐτῷ MSS.
[2] τόνδε L, Christ: τοῦδε K.
[3] μοι K: μοι ἐν τοῖς L.

Emperor Justinian removed Artabanes from the office he held, but he did him no harm, nor in fact any one of the others, beyond keeping them all under guard without dishonour—in the palace, however, not in the public prison.

XXXIII

At about this point in the war, the barbarians became unquestionably masters of the whole West. Thus, though the Romans had been at first decisively victorious in the Gothic war, as I have previously said, the final result for them was that not only had they consumed money and lives in prodigal fashion to no advantage, but they had also lost Italy besides, and had to look on while practically all the Illyrians and Thracians were being ravaged and destroyed in a pitiable manner by the barbarians, seeing they had now become their neighbours. And it came about as follows.

The Goths had at the beginning of this war given to the Germans all of Gaul which was subject to them, believing that they could never be able to array themselves against both nations, as has been said by me in the previous narrative.[1] This act the Romans were not only unable to prevent, but the Emperor Justinian even encouraged it, in order that no obstacle might confront him through having these particular barbarians roused to war (for the

[1] Book V. xiii. 15 ff.

[4] ἐπιδεῖν K: om. L. [5] δμόρων K: δμόρων ἤδη L.

Γαλλίας ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ κεκτῆσθαι Φράγγοι, μὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἔργον ἐπισφραγίσαντος τοῦτό γε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Γερμανῶν ἄρχοντες Μασαλίαν τε τὴν[1] Φωκαέων ἀποικίαν καὶ ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια χωρία ἔσχον, θαλάσσης
5 τε τῆς ἐκείνῃ ἐκράτησαν. καὶ[2] κάθηνται μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀρελάτῳ τὸν ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι, νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλων πεποίηνται, οὐ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος, ᾗπερ εἴθισται, χαρακτῆρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ στατῆρι τούτῳ,
6 ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. καίτοι νόμισμα μὲν ἀργυροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ᾗ βούλοιτο ποιεῖν εἴωθε, χαρακτῆρα δὲ ἴδιον ἐμβαλέσθαι στατῆρι χρυσῷ οὔτε αὐτὸν[3] θέμις οὔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὁντιναοῦν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων βαρβάρων, καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄντα χρυσοῦ κύριον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσι προΐεσθαι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο οἷοί τέ εἰσιν, εἰ καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ξυμβάλλοντας εἶναι ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Φράγγοις ἐχώρησεν.

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Γότθων τε καὶ Τουτίλα καθυπέρτερα τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγένετο, Φράγγοι Βενετίων τὰ πλεῖστα σφίσι προσεποιήσαντο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ,[4] οὔτε Ῥωμαίων δυναμένων ἔτι ἀμύνεσθαι οὔτε Γότθων οἵων τε ὄντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἑκατέ-
8 ρους διενεγκεῖν. Γήπαιδες δὲ πόλιν τε Σίρμιον καὶ Δακίας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἁπάσας καταλαβόντες ἔσχον, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα βασιλεὺς αὐτὰς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀφείλετο Γότθους· ἐξηνδραπόδισάν

[1] τε τὴν Hoeschel: τε καὶ τὴν MSS.
[2] καὶ K: καὶ νῦν L.
[3] αὐτὸν K: τὸν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντα L.

Franks[1] never considered that their possession of Gaul was secure except when the emperor had put the seal of his approval upon their title). And consequently the rulers of the Germans occupied Massilia,[2] the colony of Phocaea, and all the sea-coast towns and gained control of that part of the sea. So as gentlemen of leisure they view the horse races at Arelatum,[3] and also make a golden coin from the product of the mines in Gaul, not stamping the likeness of the Roman emperor on this stater, as is customary, but their own likeness. And yet, while the Persian king is accustomed to make silver coinage as he likes, still it is not considered right either for him or for any other sovereign in the whole barbarian world to imprint his own likeness on a gold stater, and that, too, though he has gold in his own kingdom; for they are unable to tender such a coin to those with whom they transact business, even though the parties concerned in the transaction happen to be barbarians. Thus, then, had matters proceeded as regards the Franks.

When the arms of the Goths and Totila had gained the upper hand in the war, the Franks assumed control of the largest part of Venetia with no right at all, the Romans, for their part, being unable to ward them off any longer, and the Goths being unable to carry on the war against the two peoples. Meanwhile the Gepaedes held the city of Sirmium[4] and practically all the cities of Dacia, having taken possession of them at the moment the Emperor Justinian took them away from the Goths; and they

[1] *i. e.* the Germans.
[2] Modern Marseille.
[3] Modern Arles.
[4] Modern Mitrovitza.

[4] λόγω K : πόνω L.

τε τοὺς ταύτῃ Ῥωμαίους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐπίπροσθεν
ἀεὶ ὁδῷ ἰόντες ἐληΐζοντο βιαζόμενοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων
9 ἀρχήν. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς συντάξεις
οὐκέτι ἐδίδου, ἅσπερ εἴθιστο σφᾶς ἀνέκαθεν πρὸς
10 Ῥωμαίων κομίζεσθαι. Λαγγοβάρδας δὲ βασιλεὺς
Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐδωρήσατο Νωρικῷ τε πόλει καὶ
τοῖς ἐπὶ Παννονίας ὀχυρώμασί τε καὶ ἄλλοις
χωρίοις πολλοῖς καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις ἄγαν.
11 διά τοι τοῦτο ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν πατρίων Λαγγοβάρδαι
ἐξαναστάντες ἐνθένδε ποταμοῦ Ἴστρου ἱδρύσαντο,
12 Γηπαίδων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν
Δαλμάτας[1] τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὺς μέχρι τῶν Ἐπι-
δάμνου ὁρίων ληϊσάμενοι ἠνδραπόδισαν, ἐπειδή
τε τῶν τινες αἰχμαλώτων ἐνθένδε φυγόντες οἴκαδε
ἀποκομίζεσθαι ἴσχυσαν, περιιόντες τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἅτε Ῥωμαίοις ἔνσπονδοι
ὄντες ἤν τινας τῶν ἀποδράντων ἐπιγνοῖεν ἐνταῦθα,
ὥσπερ ἀνδραπόδων οἰκείων δεδραπετευκότων
ἐπελαμβάνοντο, τῶν τε γειναμένων ἀφέλκοντες
ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκομίζοντο, οὐδενὸς
13 σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος. καὶ ἄλλα μέντοι Δακίας
χωρία δόντος βασιλέως Ἐρουλοι ἔσχον ἀμφὶ
πόλιν Σιγγιδόνον, οὗ δὴ ἵδρυνται νῦν, Ἰλλυριούς
τε καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία καταθέοντες καὶ
ληϊζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν
καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται[2] γεγένηνται ἐν τοῖς

[1] μὲν Δαλμάτας Haury: μέντοι δαλματίας V, ἐς δαλματίας μὲν L.
[2] στρατιῶται V: στρατιωτῶν L.

[1] Probably Noreia in the province of Noricum; modern Neumarkt.

not only enslaved the Romans of that region, but they were also constantly moving forward, plundering and doing violence to the Roman territory. Consequently the emperor was no longer giving them the contributions which it had long been customary for them to receive from the Romans. Now the Emperor Justinian had bestowed upon the Lombards the city of Noricum[1] and the strongholds of Pannonia, as well as many other towns and a very great amount of money. It was because of this that the Lombards departed from their ancestral homes and settled on the south side of the Ister River, not far from the Gepaedes. They then, in their turn, plundered the population of Dalmatia and Illyricum as far as the boundaries of Epidamnus, taking captives; and since some of the captives escaped and succeeded in getting back to their homes, these barbarians, on the ground that they were at peace with the Romans, went about through the Roman domain, and whenever they recognized any of the escaped captives there, they laid hold of them as if they were their own slaves who had run away, and, dragging them from their parents, carried them off with them to their own homes, no one opposing them. Other towns of Dacia also, about the city of Singidunum,[2] had been taken over by the Eruli as a gift from the emperor, and here they are settled at the present time, overrunning and plundering Illyricum and the Thracian towns very generally. Some of them have even become Roman soldiers serving among the foederati,[3] as they are

[2] Modern Belgrade.
[3] Cf. chap. xxxi. 10, note; Book III. xi. 2, note.

14 φοιδεράτοις καλουμένοις ταττόμενοι. ἡνίκα οὖν Ἐρούλων ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις σταλεῖεν, τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων κατηκόους νηΐζονται, τὰς συντάξεις ἁπάσας πρὸς βασιλέως κεκομισμένοι πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται.

XXXIV

Οὕτω μὲν οἱ βάρβαροι διεδάσαντο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαι ἅτε δὴ ἐν γειτόνων πη ᾠκημένοι ἀλλήλοις διάφοροι γεγένηνται ἐς τὰ μάλιστα.
2 πολεμησείοντές τε[1] προθυμίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἑκάτεροι ὥργων τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ μάχης ἰέναι,[2] χρόνος τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ τακτὸς ὥριστο.
3 Λαγγοβάρδαι δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι Γήπαισιν ἀξιόμαχοι κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ ἔσεσθαι (πλήθει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐλασσοῦσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ξυνέβαινε) Ῥωμαίους ἔγνωσαν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγαγέσθαι.[3]
4 πέμψαντες οὖν παρὰ βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πρέσβεις στράτευμα σφίσιν ἐδέοντο πέμψαι. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ Γήπαιδες ἔγνωσαν, πέμπουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεησομένους.[4] ἦρχε δὲ τότε Γηπαίδων μὲν Θορισὶν
5 ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ ἑτέρων Αὐδουίν. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς λόγους μὲν τοὺς πρὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούειν ἔγνω, οὐχ ἅμα μέντοι ξυνιόντων, ἀλλὰ

[1] τε L: om. V, οὖν W.
[2] τοῖς πολεμίοις—ἰέναι LW: om. V.
[3] After ἐπαγαγέσθαι L reads: γήπαιδές τε ὡς ἔνσπονδοι ἢ ξυνάρασθαι ῥωμαίους τοῦ ἀγῶνος αὐτοῖς δέον ἔγνωσαν δεηθῆναι καὶ

called. So whenever envoys of the Eruli are sent to Byzantium, representing the very men who are plundering Roman subjects, they collect all their contributions from the emperor without the least difficulty and carry them off home.

XXXIV

Thus had the barbarians apportioned the Roman empire among themselves. But later on the Gepaedes and the Lombards, having come to be neighbours, became exceedingly hostile toward one another. And they were extremely enthusiastic in their desire to fight each other, so that each nation was eager to do battle with the enemy, and a fixed time had been determined upon for the encounter. But the Lombards, thinking that they alone by their own strength would never be a match for the Gepaedes in battle (for they were, in fact, outnumbered by their enemy), decided to invite the Romans to an alliance. Accordingly they sent envoys to the Emperor Justinian begging him to send them an army. And when the Gepaedes learned this, they too sent envoys to Byzantium to present the same request. Now the Gepaedes were ruled at that time by Thorisin, and the others by Adouin. So the Emperor Justinian decided indeed to hear the statement of each of them, but he did not wish them

---

τὸν πόλεμον ξυνδιενεγκεῖν ἀξιῶσαι, ἢ ἀμφοτέροις ἐκποδὼν στῆναι καὶ μηδετέρῳ ἔθνει προσβοηθεῖν.

[4] στράτευμα—δεησομένους W : ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν δεησομένους V, ἑκάτεροι τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐκαραδόκουν βοήθειαν L.

καὶ χωρὶς παρ' αὐτὸν[1] γινομένων. ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι οὖν Λαγγοβάρδαι βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε·

"Ἡμῖν μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καταπεπλῆχθαι τῇ Γηπαίδων ἀτοπίᾳ ξυμβαίνει, οἵ γε τοσαῦτά τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθος ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν παρανενομηκότες ἀρχὴν νῦν καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ὕβρεων ὑμῖν κομιοῦντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς[2] ἥκουσιν. οὗτοι γὰρ ἂν μόνοι τὰ ἔσχατα ἐς τοὺς πέλας ὑβρίζοιεν, οἳ λίαν αὐτοὺς εὐπετεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι οἰόμενοι τῆς τῶν ἠδικημένων ἀπολαύσοντες εὐηθείας παρ' αὐτοὺς ἥκοιεν. ὑμᾶς δὲ διασκοπεῖσθαι τοσοῦτον αἰτοῦμεν, ὅπη ποτὲ γνώμης τὰ ἐς φιλίαν Γήπαισιν ἔχει. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἐξεργάσαισθε[3] τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ, ἐπεὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ προγεγενημένοις τεκμηριοῦσθαι τὰ ἐσόμενα ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ δύνανται ἄνθρωποι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐς ἑτέρους τινὰς τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπιδεδεῖχθαι μόνον τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος ξυνέβαινε, πολλοῦ λόγου τε ἂν ἡμῖν καὶ χρόνου καὶ τῆς ἔξωθεν μαρτυρίας ἐδέησε, διελέγχειν ἐφιεμένοις τὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν τρόπον· νῦν δὲ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν πάρεστι.

"Σκέψασθε γάρ· Γότθοι μὲν τὴν Δακῶν χώραν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν τὰ πρότερα εἶχον, Γήπαιδες δὲ τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐπὶ θάτερα τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ᾤκηντο ἅπαντες, Γότθων μὲν οὕτω κατεπτηχότες τὴν

[1] αὐτὸν Maltretus : αὐτῶν MSS.
[2] ὑμᾶς Maltretus : ἡμᾶς MSS.
[3] ἐξεργάσαισθε Haury : ἐξεργάσησθε VW, ἐργάσησθε L, ἐργάσαισθε Dindorf.

to come at the same time, but to appear before him separately. First the Lombards came into the emperor's presence and spoke as follows.

"We, for our part, O Emperor, have been astounded at the outrageous conduct of the Gepaedes, seeing that, although they have already perpetrated crimes both many and great against your realm, as we all know, they have now come before you to offer you, in fact, the greatest possible insult. For they, and they only, can be said to put the utmost insult upon their neighbours, who imagine that these are so very easily deceived that they come to them with the intention of profiting by the simplicity of those very men whom they have already wronged. Now we ask you to give careful consideration to one matter only, the question namely as to what attitude the Gepaedes assume toward their friends. For thus you could with the greatest certainty assure the welfare of the Roman empire, since men are always able to infer safely from previous events what the future will bring forth. If, now, it were true that the nation of the Gepaedes had displayed their ingratitude only to some other people, it would have been necessary for us to occupy much time with a long speech and to bring in testimony from outside, in striving to demonstrate the base character of the men; but as it is, we are enabled to choose an example near at hand from your own experience.

"This is what we would have you consider: the Goths formerly held the land of Dacia as a tributary province, while all the Gepaedes dwelt originally on the other side of the Ister, being in such mortal terror of the Gothic power, on the one hand, that

δύναμιν ὥστε τὸν ποταμὸν διαπορθμεύεσθαι οὐδὲ
ὅσον ἀποπειράσασθαι πώποτε ἴσχυσαν, ἔνσπονδοι
δὲ καὶ φίλοι Ῥωμαίοις τὰ μάλιστα ὄντες καὶ
δῶρα πολλὰ τῷ τῆς φιλίας ὀνόματι κομιζόμενοι
ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πρός τε τῶν ἔμπροσθεν βεβασιλευκό-
11 των, καὶ παρὰ σοῦ μέντοι οὐδέν τι ἧσσον. ἡδέως
ἂν οὖν πυθοίμεθα[1] τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τί
ποτε ὑπὲρ τούτων αὐτοῖς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀγαθὸν
εἴργασται. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν οὐ μικρὸν ἢ
12 μέγα εἰπεῖν· ἕως μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἶχον ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν
ὑμᾶς ἀδικοῖεν, οὐ γνώμῃ τινί, ἀλλ' ἀπορίᾳ
13 ἠναγκασμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ
Ἴστρου ἐπέκεινα προσποιεῖσθαι[2] ὑμεῖς οὐδὲν
ἠξιοῦτε, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε τὸ ἐκ Γότθων αὐτοὺς
14 ἀνεσόβει δέος. τίς δ' ἂν εὐγνωμοσύνην ποτὲ τὴν
ἀδυναμίαν καλοίη; ποία δὲ φιλίας βεβαίωσις ἐν
τῇ τοῦ ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἀμηχανίᾳ γενήσεται; οὐκ
ἔστιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστι. δύναμις γὰρ
ἀνθρώπου φύσιν[3] ἐνδείκνυται μόνη, ἐξάγουσα
πᾶσιν[4] ἐν δημοσίῳ τῇ τοῦ δρᾶν[5] ἐξουσίᾳ τὸν
15 τρόπον. ἰδοὺ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα Γήπαιδες
εἶδον Γότθους μὲν ἐκ Δακίας ἀπεληλαμένους
ἁπάσης, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἐχομένους, πανταχόθι τῆς γῆς ἐπιβατεῦσαι
τῆς ὑμετέρας οἱ μιαρώτατοι τετολμήκασι.
16 "Πῶς ἄν τις ἐφικέσθαι δύναιτο λόγῳ τῆς τοῦ
πράγματος ἀτοπίας; οὐ κατεφρόνησαν τῆς Ῥω-
μαίων ἀρχῆς; οὐκ ἔλυσαν σπονδῶν τε καὶ

[1] πυθοίμεθα Hoeschel : πυθόμεθα MSS.
[2] προσποιεῖσθαι VL : προσίεσθαι W.
[3] φύσιν VW : φύσιν ἤτοι προαίρεσιν σπουδαίαν ἢ φαύλην L.
[4] πᾶσιν W : πᾶσαν V, πάντων L.

they never succeeded in crossing the stream, or even attempting it, while they were, on the other hand, on terms of close alliance and friendship with the Romans, and every year they received from the former emperors many gifts in the name of friendship, and indeed they have received them from thee in no less generous measure. We should be glad then to ask these gentlemen what good thing they have done for the Romans in return for these benefits. But they would not be able to mention one such thing, great or small. Now as long as they had no means of doing you wrong, they remained quiet, not because of any conviction on their part, but because they were compelled by lack of opportunity to do so. For you, on your part, did not seek to lay any claim to the country beyond the Ister, while the fear inspired by the Goths always frightened them from the land on this side. But who indeed would call impotence gratitude? And what assurance of friendship could be based on inability to commit an offence? None, O Emperor, none; these things cannot be. For opportunity alone reveals the nature of a man, bringing out his character to the common gaze of all because of his freedom to act. For behold, at the very moment the Gepaedes saw that the Goths had been driven from all Dacia, while you, on your part, were busily engaged in fighting your enemies, the cursed wretches have dared to trespass upon your land in every part.

"How could anyone adequately depict in words the outrageous nature of their action? Did they not heap contempt upon the Roman empire? Did they not break the bonds of both treaty and

[5] δρᾶν VW : ἀνδρὸς L.

17 συμμάχων θεσμούς ; οὐχ ὕβρισαν εἰς οὓς ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν ; οὐκ ἐβιάσαντο βασιλείαν ἧς δοῦλοι ἂν εὔξαιντο εἶναι, ἥν τις σχολὴ ὑμῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γένηται ; Γήπαιδες, ὦ βασιλεῦ, Σίρμιον ἔχουσι καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀνδραποδίζουσιν, ὅλην τε προσ-
18 ποιεῖσθαι Δακίαν αὐχοῦσι· τίνα πόλεμον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ποτε ἢ ξὺν ὑμῖν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότες ; ἢ τίνος ἀγωνίας ἆθλα τὴν χώραν ταύτην πεποιημένοι ; καὶ ταῦτα ἔμμισθοι πρὸς ὑμῶν γεγονότες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, κεκομισμένοι χρόνον οὐκ ἴσμεν ὁπόσον
19 ἄνω. καίτοι τῆς παρούσης αὐτῶν πρεσβείας οὐ γέγονε πρᾶξις μιαρωτέρα ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡμᾶς πολεμησείοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἶδον, ἐς Βυζάντιόν τε θαρσοῦσιν ἀφῖχθαι καὶ βασιλεῖ
20 ἐς τοσόνδε περιυβρισμένῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκειν.[1] ἴσως που καὶ ἀναιδείας περιουσίᾳ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν[2] παρακαλέσουσιν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τοῖς οὕτω κατεσπου-
21 δασμένοις ὑμῖν. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἀποδωσείοντες ἥκουσιν ὧνπερ ἐπεβάτευσαν οὐδὲν σφίσι προσῆκον, Λαγγοβάρδας αἰτιωτάτους τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας[3] λογιστέον Ῥωμαίοις,[4] ὧνπερ τῷ δέει ἀναγκασθέντες τὴν ἀκούσιον εὐγνωμοσύνην ὀψὲ
22 τοῦ καιροῦ μεταμπίσχονται. τῷ γὰρ τὴν ἀνάγκην πεποιημένῳ τὴν χάριν εἰκότως ὁ τῆς εὐεργεσίας τυχὼν εἴσεται. εἰ δέ γε μηδὲ νῦν ἐκστῆναι τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων βεβούληνται, τίς ἂν εἴη ταύτης δὴ τῆς κακοτροπίας ὑπερβολή ;

[1] ἥκειν VW : ἐλθεῖν L.
[2] ἐς ξυμμαχίαν VW : καὶ περὶ ξυμμαχίας L.
[3] ὠφελείας W : ἀμελείας V, μεταμελείας L.
[4] Ῥωμαίοις Haury : ῥωμαίους MSS.

alliance? Did they not insult those whom they should never have treated thus? Did they not do violence to an empire whose slaves they would crave the privilege of being should you find any leisure to deal with them? The Gepaedes, O Emperor, are holding Sirmium and enslaving Romans, and they make the boast that they are in possession of all Dacia. Yet what war have they ever won fighting in your behalf, or with you, or against you? Or what struggle do they consider has brought them this land as a prize? And in spite of all this, they have often been in your pay and have been receiving their payments, as previously stated, for we know not how long a time. And yet there has never been in all time an act more despicable than this present embassy of theirs. For as soon as they saw that we were eager to make war on them, they had the hardihood to come to Byzantium and appear before the emperor who has been so grievously insulted by them. In sooth they will, perhaps, in their excess of shamelessness, invite you to form an alliance of arms against us who have been so favoured by you. And verily if they have come with the purpose of giving back what they have usurped without any right, the Lombards should be counted by the Romans most responsible for that benefit, if they are really constrained through fear of them unwillingly to change their course and manifest gratitude late in the day. For naturally he who creates the constraint will be thanked by him who receives the benefit. But if indeed they have decided even now to retreat from none of their usurped holdings, what could surpass such baseness?

23 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἀφελείᾳ βαρβαρικῇ, λόγων
σπανιζούσῃ, τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδαμῇ ἐπαξίως
24 εἰρήσθω. σὺ δέ, ὦ βασιλεῦ, διασκοπούμενος ὅσα
ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν εἴρηται, τὰ
Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαις τοῖς σοῖς
ξυνοίσοντα πρᾶσσε, τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἅπασιν ἐννοῶν, ὡς ἡμῖν μὲν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ὁμογνω-
μονοῦσι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς συντετάξονται Ῥωμαῖοι
δικαίως, τοῖς δὲ Ἀρειανοῖς οὖσι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
τοῦτο ἀπ' ἐναντίας χωρήσουσι."

25 Λαγγοβάρδαι μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. γενόμενοι δὲ
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ οἱ Γηπαίδων
πρέσβεις ἔλεξαν ὧδε· "Δίκαιον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τοὺς
ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίας αἰτήσει παρὰ τοὺς πέλας ἀφικο-
μένους ἀναδιδάξαι πρῶτον, ὡς δίκαιά τε δεησό-
μενοι[1] πάρεισι καὶ ξύμφορα τοῖς ξυμμαχήσουσιν,
οὕτω τε τοὺς λόγους ὧνπερ ἕνεκα πρεσβεύουσι
26 ποιεῖσθαι. ὡς μὲν οὖν ἠδικήμεθα πρὸς Λαγγο-
βαρδῶν, αὐτόθεν δῆλον· δίκῃ γὰρ διαλύειν τὰ
27 διάφορα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχομεν, δικάζεσθαι δὲ οἷς ἂν
28 σπουδάζηται βιάζεσθαι οὐδαμῇ πρόσεστιν. ὡς
δὲ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ Γήπαιδες παρὰ
πολὺ Λαγγοβαρδῶν κρείσσους τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες,
29 τί ἄν τις ἐν εἰδόσι μακρολογοίη; τὸ δὲ ξὺν τοῖς
καταδεεστέροις ἐς τὴν ἀγωνίαν[2] καθισταμένους ἐς

[1] δεησόμενοι VW: ἀναδεξόμενοι L.
[2] τὴν ἀγωνίαν V: τὸν ἀγῶνα L, τὴν ἀγώνισιν W.

"This then shall be our plea, expressed with barbarian simplicity, with scant words, and in no way worthily of the situation. But we beg that thou, O Emperor, after carefully weighing what we have said less adequately than the facts deserve, take that course of action which will redound to the benefit both of the Romans and of the Lombards, thy people, calling to mind this, in addition to all other considerations, that while the Romans will justly take sides with us, seeing that we have been in agreement from the first as regards religion, they will stand in opposition to our opponents for the simple reason that they are Arians."

Thus spoke the Lombards. On the following day the envoys of the Gepaedes in turn came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "It may fairly be expected, O Emperor, that those who approach a neighbouring state with a request to form an alliance of arms, should first demonstrate that they have come with a just request and with proposals of advantage to those who are to form the alliance, and then speak on the matters of which they have come to treat. In the first place, then, that we have been wronged by the Lombards is evident from the facts themselves; for we are eager to settle our difficulties by arbitration, and those who are bent on arbitration can have nothing to do with violence. In the second place, why should one, in order to prove that the Gepaedes are far superior to the Lombards both in multitude and in valour, address long speeches to those who know? Now the policy of entering a conflict on the side of the weaker contestant and thus getting into an evil plight which has been foreseen, though the

κακόν τι προῦπτον ἰέναι, παρὸν τὴν νίκην ξὺν
τοῖς δυνατωτέροις ταττομένους[1] ἀκίνδυνον ἔχειν,
οὐκ ἄν τινας οἰόμεθα τῶν καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ
30 σωφρονούντων ἑλέσθαι. ὥστε καὶ ὑμῖν ἐφ'
ἑτέρους τινὰς ἰοῦσι ξυντετάξονται τὸ λοιπὸν
Γήπαιδες, χάριν μὲν τῶν πεπραγμένων ὀφείλοντες,
δυνάμεως δὲ περιουσίᾳ ξυμποριζόμενοι τὴν τῶν
31 πολεμίων, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπικράτησιν. καὶ μὴν καὶ
τοῦτο λογίζεσθαι ὑμᾶς ἂν πρέποι, ὡς Λαγγοβάρδαι
μὲν ἐξ ὑπογυίου Ῥωμαίοις γεγένηνται φίλοι,
Γήπαιδας δὲ ὑμῖν ἐνσπόνδους τε τὸ ἀνέκαθεν καὶ
32 γνωρίμους γεγονέναι ξυμβαίνει. φιλία δὲ χρόνου
μήκει ξυμπλεκομένη τὴν διάλυσιν οὐκ εὐπετῆ
ἔχει. ὥστε ξυμμάχους[2] οὐ δυνατοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ
33 καὶ βεβαίους κεκτήσεσθε.[3] δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγωγὰ ταῦτά
ἐστιν ἡμῖν.[4]

"Θεάσασθε δὲ ὁποῖοι Λαγγοβάρδαι τοὺς τρό-
34 πους εἰσί. δίκῃ μὲν τὰ διάφορα διαλῦσαι, καίπερ
πολλὰ προκαλουμένων ἡμῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν,
θράσει ἀλογίστῳ ἐχόμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἤδη
που ἐν χερσὶ γέγονεν, οἱ δὲ ὀπίσω τῶν πραγμάτων
ἀναποδίζοντες τῷ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀσθένειαν ξυνε-
πίστασθαι παρ' ὑμᾶς ἥκουσιν, ἀξιοῦντες Ῥω-
μαίους ἀνελέσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν οὐ δέον[5]
35 ἀγῶνα. πάντως δὲ οἱ κλῶπες οὗτοι τό τε
Σίρμιον καὶ ἄλλα ἐπὶ Δακίας ἄττα χωρία ὑπό-
θεσιν ὑμῖν[6] τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε προΐσχονται

[1] ταττομένους V : ταττόμενον L, ταττομένοις W.
[2] ξυμμάχους VW : ξυμμάχους ἡμᾶς L.
[3] κεκτήσεσθε W : κεκτῆσθαι V, προσῆκον κεκτῆσθαι L.
[4] ἡμῖν LW : ὑμῖν V.

opportunity is offered of having the victory without danger by arraying oneself with the more powerful contestant, is not one, we think, which any men gifted with even a little discretion would choose. Consequently you also will find, when you go forth against another enemy, that the Gepaedes hereafter will array themselves with you, thus paying a debt of gratitude for what you have done, and by their overwhelming power helping you in all probability to achieve the overmastery of your foes. Furthermore, it would be in point for you to consider this fact also, that while the Lombards have become friends of the Romans on the spur of the moment, the Gepaedes have been in alliance with you and well known to you from ancient times. And friendship cemented by long continuance is not easily dissolved. Consequently you will acquire not only powerful, but also steadfast, allies. These, then, are the just grounds on the basis of which we invite you to form this alliance.

"Now observe what manner of men the Lombards are. At first they absolutely refused to settle our differences by arbitration, though we invited them repeatedly to do so, overcome, as they were, by unreasoning boldness. But now that the war has come almost to an actual engagement, they, making a tardy retreat from their position because they realize fully their own weakness, have come to you, asking the Romans to take up the unjust struggle in their behalf. Doubtless these thieves bring up the case of Sirmium and a few other towns in Dacia, and put this forward as a pretext on which you may

[5] οὐ δέον V : ὡς οὐ δέον L, om. W.
[6] ὑμῖν W : μὲν ὑμῖν V, ἡμῖν L.

36 εἶναι. καίτοι πόλεών τε καὶ χώρας τοσοῦτον τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ περίεστιν ὥστε καὶ διερευνᾶσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινάς, οἷς ἂν καὶ δοίης μοῖράν
37 τινα πρὸς ἐνοίκησιν. Φράγγους ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ Ἐρούλων ἔθνος καὶ τούτους Λαγγοβάρδας τοσούτοις ἐδωρήσω πόλεώς τε καὶ χώρας, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
38 μέτροις, ὁπόσα οὐκ ἄν τις διαριθμήσαιτο. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ φιλίᾳ τῇ σῇ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχοντες, τοῦτο, ὅπερ ἐβούλου, διαπεπράγμεθα· ὁ δέ τι προΐεσθαι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων βεβουλευμένος[1] κρείσσω παρὰ πολὺ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τετυχηκότος τῆς χάριτος τὸν προτερήσαντά τε καὶ γνώμῃ τὸ δῶρον αὐτονόμῳ[2] ἑλόμενον οἴεται εἶναι, ἢν μὴ ἐς τὸν κεκτημένον ὑβρίζων, ἀλλὰ τῷ φίλος οἱ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εἶναι θαρσῶν, τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἀξίωσιν πεποιῆσθαι δοκεῖ, ὅπερ καὶ Γήπαισιν ἐς
39 Ῥωμαίους τετύχηκεν εἶναι. ὧν ἐνθυμουμένους ὑμᾶς μάλιστα μὲν κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν αἰτοῦμεν σὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ Λαγγοβάρδας ἰέναι δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκποδὼν ἀμφοτέροις στῆναι. ταῦτα γὰρ βουλευόμενοι δίκαιά τε ποιεῖτε[3] καὶ λίαν ἐπιτηδείως τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ."

40 Καὶ Γήπαιδες μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπον. βουλευσάμενος δὲ πολλὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποπέμψασθαι ἀπράκτους ἔγνω, ὁμαιχμίαν δὲ πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας διώμοτον πεποιημένος πλέον αὐτοῖς ἢ ἐς μυρίους ἱππεῖς ἔπεμψεν, ὧν δὴ Κωνσταντιανὸς καὶ Βούζης καὶ Ἀράτιος ἦρχον.
41 ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ Βιταλιανοῦ

[1] βεβουλευμένος VL : βεβουλημένος W.
[2] αὐτονόμω L : αὐτὸν ὅμως V, αὐτῷ μόνῳ W.
[3] ποιεῖτε MSS : ποιήσετε Scaliger.

enter this war. And yet thy empire comprises such an overabundance both of cities and of lands that thou art actually searching for men upon whom thou couldst confer some part of it for their habitation. Indeed thou hast bestowed upon the Franks and the nation of the Eruli and these Lombards such generous gifts of both cities and lands, O Emperor, that no one could enumerate them all. But we, emboldened by thy friendship, have accomplished that which thou didst wish; and truly, when a man has formed the purpose of parting with some one of his possessions, he thinks far less highly of one who waits to receive his gift than of one who anticipates his purpose and takes the gift by his own decision, provided such an one does not appear to have claimed the right to take this course in a spirit of insolence toward the possessor, but in a spirit of confidence in the strong friendship he feels toward him; and this is exactly the attitude of the Gepaedes toward the Romans. We ask you, then, to recall these things and, preferably, to observe the terms of our alliance by throwing all your strength into the conflict on our side against the Lombards; otherwise, to stand aside for both. For in reaching such a decision you are acting with justice and greatly to the advantage of the Roman empire."

Such was the speech of the Gepaedes, whom the Emperor Justinian, after long deliberation, decided to send away with their mission unaccomplished; but he made a sworn alliance of arms with the Lombards, and then sent them more than ten thousand horsemen commanded by Constantianus, Bouzes, and Aratius. Associated with them also was John the nephew of Vitalian, who had received

ἀδελφιδοῦς, προρρηθὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλέως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα διαμαχήσωνται πρὸς τὸ Γηπαίδων ἔθνος, ἐνθένδε σπουδῇ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἰέναι. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ
42 αὐτὸς ἥκων.[1] ξύμμαχοι δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἔρουλοι πεντακόσιοί τε καὶ χίλιοι εἵποντο, ὧν ἄλλοι τε
43 καὶ Φιλημοὺθ ἦρχον. οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι ξύμπαντες Ἔρουλοι ἐς τρισχιλίους ὄντες ξὺν τοῖς Γήπαισιν ἐτετάχατο, ἐπεὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστάντες οὐ πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἔτυχον ἐξ αἰτίας ἣ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη.

44 Μοῖρα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παρὰ Λαγγοβάρδας ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίᾳ ἰόντων Ἐρούλων τισὶ ξὺν Ἀόρδῳ τῷ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἀδελφῷ ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιτυγχά-
45 νουσι.[2] μάχης τε καρτερᾶς γενομένης νικῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ τόν τε Ἄορδον τῶν τε Ἐρούλων πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. γνόντες δὲ Γήπαιδες ἄγχιστά πη εἶναι τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατόν, τὰ διάφορα εὐθὺς Λαγγοβάρδαις διέλυσαν, ἔς τε σπουδὰς οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ξυνέβησαν ἀλλήλοις, ἀκόντων Ῥω-
46 μαίων. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἔμαθον,[3] ἐν πολλῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ ἐγένοντο.[4] οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι ἐδύναντο πρόσω ἰέναι οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν ὀπίσω εἶχον δειμαίνοντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ Γήπαιδές τε καὶ Ἔρουλοι καταθέοντες τὴν Ἰλλυριῶν λη-
47 σωνται[5] χώραν. αὐτοῦ γοῦν μείναντες ἐς βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἀνήνεγκαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.

[1] ἐτύγχανε—ἥκων VL : om. W.
[2] ἐπιτυγχάνουσι V : ἐντυγχάνουσι L.
[3] ἔμαθον Haury : ἔμαθεν MSS. [4] ἐγένοντο L : ἐγένετο V.
[5] ληίσωνται Editors : ληίσονται V, δηλήσωνται L.

previous instructions from the emperor that, as soon as they should fight a decisive battle with the nation of the Gepaedes, he should hasten thence to Italy with his troops. For he, too, as it happened, had returned from Italy. They also took with them as allies fifteen hundred Eruli, commanded by Philemuth and others. For, except for these, the whole nation of the Eruli, to the number of three thousand, were arrayed with the Gepaedes, since they had revolted from the Romans not long before for a cause which I have set forth above.[1]

Now a detachment of the Romans who were marching to join the Lombards as allies unexpectedly chanced upon some of the Eruli with Aordus, the brother of their ruler. And a fierce battle ensued in which the Romans were victorious, and they slew both Aordus and many of the Eruli. Then the Gepaedes, upon learning that the Roman army was close at hand, straightway settled their disagreement with the Lombards, and so these barbarians made a treaty of peace with each other, contrary to the will of the Romans. When the Roman army learned this, they found themselves involved in a very perplexing situation. For neither were they able to continue their advance nor could they retrace their steps, because the generals feared lest both Gepaedes and Eruli would overrun and plunder the land of Illyricum. At any rate, they remained there and reported their situation to the emperor. Such was the course of these events. But I shall return to the point in my narrative from which I strayed.[2]

[1] Cf. Book VI. xiv. 37.
[2] The digression begins with chap. xxxi.

XXXV

Βελισάριος μὲν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἦει, γῆς μὲν τῆς Ἰταλῶν πενταετὲς οὐδαμῆ ἀποβάς, οὐδέ[1] πη ὁδῷ ἰέναι ἐνταῦθα ἰσχύσας,[2] ἀλλὰ φυγῇ κεκρυμμένῃ ἐχόμενος πάντα τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ἔκ τε ὀχυρώματος ἀεὶ ἐπιθαλασσίου τινὸς ἐς ἄλλο ἐπὶ τῆς παραλίας ὀχύρωμα διηνεκὲς
2 ναυτιλλόμενος. καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀδεέστερον τοὺς πολεμίους τετύχηκε Ῥώμην τε[3] ἀνδραποδίσαι καὶ τἄλλα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα. τότε δὲ καὶ Περυσίαν πόλιν, ἣ πρώτη ἐν Τούσκοις οὖσα ἐτύγχανε, πικρότατα πολιορκουμένην ἀπέλιπεν, ἥπερ αὐτοῦ ἔτι ὁδῷ ἰόντος κατ᾽ ἄκρας ἑάλω.
3 ἐς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικόμενος διατριβὴν τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνταῦθα εἶχε, πλούτου μὲν ἐξουσίαν περιβεβλημένος πολλήν, εὐτυχήμασι δὲ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῷ ξυμβεβηκόσιν ἀπόβλεπτος ὤν, ἅπερ οἱ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ἐστράτευσε[4] ξυμβόλῳ προὔλεγέ τινι οὐκ ἀφανεῖ τὸ δαιμόνιον.
4 Ὅ δὲ ξύμβολος ἐγένετο[5] ὧδε. ἦν τις Βελισαρίῳ κλῆρος ἐν Βυζαντίων τῷ προαστείῳ ὃ δὴ Παντείχιον μὲν ὀνομάζεται, κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ. ἐνταῦθα ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ἢ ἔμελλε Βελισάριος ἐπί τε Γελίμερα καὶ Λιβύην ἐξηγήσασθαι[6] τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἐνδελεχέστατα
5 πλήθειν οἱ τὰς ἀμπέλους ξυνέβη. οἴνου τε ὃς

[1] οὐδέ V : οὐδὲ γάρ L.
[2] ἰσχύσας V : ἴσχυσεν L.
[3] τε V : τε αὐτὴν L.
[4] ἐστράτευσε V : ἐκστρατεῦσαι L.

XXXV

The journey of Belisarius to Byzantium was an inglorious one; for five years he had not disembarked anywhere on the soil of Italy, nor had he succeeded in making a single march there by land, but he had been obliged to conceal himself by flight during this whole time, always sailing without interruption from one fortified coast-town to some other stronghold along the shore. As a result of this the enemy, having now little to fear, had enslaved Rome and everything else, practically speaking. It was on this occasion also that he abandoned Perusia, the leading city of Tuscany, though it was very closely besieged; indeed it was captured by storm while he was still on his way. After reaching Byzantium he took up a permanent residence there, having now amassed a great fortune and being greatly admired because of his earlier successes, just as the Deity had foretold to him by an unmistakable sign before he made the expedition to Libya.

Now the sign was as follows. Belisarius had an inherited property in the suburb of Byzantium which is called Panteichion,[1] and is situated on the opposite mainland. On this property, shortly before the time when Belisarius was about to lead the Roman army against Gelimer and Libya, it so happened that his vines bore a great abundance of grapes.

[1] Modern Pendik, on the Asiatic shore.

---

[5] ἐγένετο V: ἐλέγετο L.
[6] ἐξηγήσασθαι V: ἐξηγήσεσθαι L.

ἐνθένδε γεγονὼς ἔτυχε πίθων οἱ θεράποντες ἐμπλησάμενοι μέγα τι χρῆμα, καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν ἔνερθεν κατορύξαντες, τὰ δὲ ὕπερθεν πηλῷ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐπιβύσαντες, ἐν τῷ οἰνῶνι κατέθεντο. 6 μησὶ δὲ ὀκτὼ ὕστερον ἐν πίθοις τισὶν ἀναβράσσων ὁ οἶνος διεσπάσατο μὲν τὸν πηλὸν ᾧπερ ἐπέφρακτο αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ὑπερβλύσας δὲ καὶ ῥεύσας πολὺς ἐς τοσόνδε γῆν τὴν ἐχομένην ἐπέκλυσεν ὥστε καὶ τέλμα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἐδάφει ἐργάσασθαι μέγα. 7 ὅπερ ἐπεὶ οἱ θεράποντες εἶδον, ἐν θάμβει μεγάλῳ γενόμενοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀμφορέας ἐμπλήσασθαι ἔσχον, αὖθις δὲ τούτους δὴ τοὺς πίθους τῷ πηλῷ ἀποφράξαντες τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιωπῇ 8 εἶχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις ὑπὸ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγονὸς εἶδον, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν κεκτημένον τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦγον, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀγείρας ἐπέδειξε τὰ ποιούμενα· οἵπερ τῷ ξυμβόλῳ τεκμηριούμενοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν οἰκίαν[1] μεγάλα προὔλεγον ἀγαθὰ ἔσεσθαι.

9 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε Βελισαρίῳ ἐχώρησε. Βιγίλιος δέ, ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀρχιερεύς, ξὺν Ἰταλοῖς τοῖς ἐνταῦθα τηνικάδε παροῦσι, πολλοῖς τε καὶ λογιμωτάτοις ἐσάγαν οὖσιν, οὐκέτι ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ἔχρῃζε βασιλέως Ἰταλίας μεταποιεῖσθαι δυνάμει 10 τῇ πάσῃ. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων αὐτὸν Γόθιγος[2] ἐνῆγε, πατρίκιος ἀνήρ, ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν δίφρον ἀναβεβηκὼς πολλῷ πρότερον· ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τούτων δὴ ἕνεκεν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος ἔτυχεν 11 ἔναγχος. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰταλίας μὲν ἐπηγγέλλετο

[1] ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν οἰκίαν V: καὶ ταύτη τῇ οἰκία L, ταύτῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ Dindorf from an inferior MS.

And with the wine thus produced his servants had filled a great quantity of jars, which they placed in the wine-cellar, burying the lower part of them in the earth and smearing the upper part carefully with clay. But eight months later the wine in some jars, as it began to ferment, burst the clay with which each of them had been sealed; then it ran over the tops of the jars and, flowing copiously, covered the ground around with such a flood that it actually formed a great pool on the floor there. When the servants saw this, they were filled with amazement; and they were able to fill many amphoras from it, after which they again stopped up those same jars with clay and remained silent about the matter. But when they had seen this happen many times at about the same date, they did report the matter to their master, and he, for his part, gathered many of his friends there and displayed the phenomenon; whereupon they foretold that many blessings would fall upon that house, basing their conclusion upon this sign.

Such was the fortune of Belisarius. But Vigilius, the chief priest of Rome, together with the Italians who were in the city at that time (and there were many very notable men there), was giving the emperor no respite from his entreaty to stand forth with all his power as champion of Italy. But Justinian was influenced most of all by Gothigus, a man of patrician rank who had long before this time risen to the dignity of the consular office; for he, too, had recently come to Byzantium for this very purpose. Now although the emperor did promise to concern

[2] γόθιγος V: Haury believes this an error for Κέθηγος, cf. VII. xiii. 12, καὶ γοθίγος L.

προνοήσειν αὐτός, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ Χριστιανῶν δόγματα
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διατριβὴν εἶχεν, εὖ διαθέσθαι
τὰ ἐν σφίσιν ἀντιλεγόμενα σπουδάζων τε καὶ
διατεινόμενος μάλιστα.

12 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπράσσετο. ἐτύγχανε
δὲ Λαγγοβάρδης ἀνὴρ ἐς Γήπαιδας φεύγων ἐξ
13 αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. ἡνίκα Λαγγοβαρδῶν Οὐάκης
ἦρχεν, ἦν τις οἱ ἀνεψιὸς Ῥισιοῦλφος ὄνομα, ὃν δὴ
ὁ νόμος, ἐπειδὰν Οὐάκης τελευτήσειεν, ἐπὶ τὴν
14 ἡγεμονίαν ἐκάλει. προνοήσας οὖν Οὐάκης ὅπως
εἰς τὸν παῖδα τὸν αὑτοῦ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἄγοιτο, ἔγκλημα
Ῥισιοῦλφῳ ἐπενεγκὼν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον φυγῇ τὸν
15 ἄνθρωπον ἐζημίωσεν. ὃς δὴ ἐξ ἠθῶν ἀναστὰς
τῶν πατρίων ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς τοὺς Οὐάρνους
αὐτίκα φεύγει, παίδων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένων ἐνταῦθα
16 δυοῖν. χρήμασι δὲ Οὐάκης τοὺς βαρβάρους τού-
τους ἀνέπεισε τὸν Ῥισιοῦλφον κτεῖναι.[1] τῶν δὲ
Ῥισιοῦλφου παίδων ὁ μὲν εἷς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ὁ
δὲ δὴ ἕτερος, Ἰλδίγης ὄνομα, ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς φεύγει.
17 Οὐ πολλῷ μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ὁ μὲν Οὐάκης
νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἐς δὲ Οὐάλδαρον,
τὸν Οὐάκου υἱόν, ἡ Λαγγοβαρδῶν ἦλθεν ἀρχή.
ᾧ δὴ παιδὶ κομιδῇ ὄντι ἐπίτροπος καταστὰς
18 Ἀϊδουὶν τὴν ἀρχὴν διῴκειτο. δυνάμει τε πολλῇ
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ χρώμενος αὐτὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἐς
μακρὰν ἔσχε, τοῦ παιδὸς τούτου νόσῳ αὐτίκα ἐξ
19 ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἡνίκα τοίνυν Γήπαισί
τε καὶ Λαγγοβάρδαις ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὥσπερ
μοι εἴρηται, Ἰλδίγης εὐθὺς Λαγγοβαρδῶν τε τοὺς
οἱ ἐπισπομένους καὶ Σκλαβηνῶν πολλοὺς ἐπαγα-

[1] τὸν Ῥισιοῦλφον κτεῖναι Maltretus: om. MSS.; L has a lacuna of about six words.

himself personally with Italy, still he was devoting his time for the most part to the doctrines of the Christians, seeking eagerly and with great determination to make a satisfactory settlement of the questions disputed among them.

Such was the situation in Byzantium. Meanwhile one of the Lombards had fled to the Gepaedes for the following reason. When Vaces was ruler of the Lombards, he had a nephew named Risiulfus, who, according to the law, would be called to the royal power whenever Vaces should die. So Vaces, seeking to make provision that the kingdom should be conferred upon his own son, brought an unjustified accusation against Risiulfus and penalized the man with banishment. He then departed from his home with a few friends and fled immediately to the Varni, leaving behind him two children. But Vaces bribed these barbarians to kill Risiulfus. As for the children of Risiulfus, one of them died of disease, while the other, Ildiges by name, fled to the Sclaveni.

Now not long after this Vaces fell sick and passed from the world, and the rule of the Lombards fell to Valdarus, the son of Vaces. But since he was very young, Audouin was appointed regent over him and administered the government. And since he possessed great power as a result of this, he himself seized the rule after no long time, the child having immediately passed from the world by a natural death. Now when the war arose between the Gepaedes and the Lombards, as already told, Ildiges went straight to the Gepaedes taking with him not only those of the Lombards who had followed him,

γόμενος [1] ἐς Γήπαιδας ἦλθε, καὶ αὐτὸν Γήπαιδες
20 κατάξειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλπίδα εἶχον. γενομένων
δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς Λαγγοβάρδας σπονδῶν
ἕνεκα [2] ὁ μὲν Αὐδουὶν τὸν Ἰλδίγην εὐθὺς ἅτε πρὸς
φίλων ἐξῃτεῖτο Γηπαίδων, οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον
ἐκδοῦναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἐκέλευον δὲ αὐτὸν
ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα ὅπῃ βούλοιτο διασώσασθαι.
21 καὶ ὃς μελλήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις καὶ
Γηπαίδων τισὶν ἐθελουσίοις ἐς Σκλαβηνοὺς αὖθις
22 ἀφίκετο. ἔνθεν τε ἀναστὰς παρὰ Τουτίλαν τε
καὶ Γότθους ᾔει, στράτευμα οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ἐς
ἑξακισχιλίους ξὺν αὑτῷ ἔχων, ἔς τε Βενετίας
ἀφικόμενος Ῥωμαίοις τισὶν ὑπαντήσας,[3] ὧν
Λάζαρος ἡγεῖτο, ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε, τρεψάμενός τε
αὐτοὺς πολλοὺς ἔκτεινεν. οὐ μέντοι Γότθοις
ξυνέμιξεν, ἀλλ' Ἴστρον ποταμὸν διαβὰς αὖθις ἐς
Σκλαβηνοὺς ἀπεχώρησεν.

23 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο τῇδε ἤπερ μοι
εἴρηται, ἐν τούτῳ τῶν τις Βελισαρίου δορυφόρων,
Ἰνδοὺλφ ὄνομα, βάρβαρος γένος, θυμοειδής τε
καὶ δραστήριος, ὃς δὴ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λειφθεὶς ἔτυχε,
Τουτίλᾳ τε καὶ Γότθοις προσεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ
24 λόγῳ. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Τουτίλας εὐθὺς ξὺν στρατῷ
πολλῷ καὶ ναυσὶν ἔπεμψεν ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Δαλματίας
25 χωρία. ὃς δὴ ἐν χωρίῳ Μουικούρῳ καλουμένῳ
γενόμενος, ὅπερ ἐπιθαλάσσιον ἄγχιστά πη Σα-
λώνων ἐστί, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ξυνέμισγε τοῖς ταύτῃ
ἀνθρώποις ἅτε Ῥωμαῖός τε ὢν καὶ Βελισαρίῳ
προσήκων, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτός τε τὸ ξίφος ἀράμενος
καὶ τοῖς ἐπισπομένοις ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐξαπιναίως
26 ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε. ληϊσάμενός τε τὰ χρήματα

[1] ἐπαγαγόμενος V: ἐπαγόμενος L.

but also many of the Sclaveni, and the Gepaedes were in hopes of restoring him to the kingdom. But on account of the treaty which had now been made with the Lombards, Audouin straightway requested the Gepaedes, as friends, to surrender Ildiges; they, however, refused absolutely to give up the man, but they did order him to depart from their country and save himself wherever he wished. He, then, without delay, took with him his followers and some volunteers of the Gepaedes and came back to the Sclaveni. And departing from there, he went to join Totila and the Goths, having with him an army of not less than six thousand men. Upon his arrival in Venetia, he encountered some Romans commanded by Lazarus, and engaging with them he routed the force and killed many. He did not, however, unite with the Goths, but recrossed the Ister River and withdrew once more to the Sclaveni.

While these events were taking place in the manner described, one of the guardsmen of Belisarius, Indulf by name and of barbarian birth, a passionate and energetic fellow, who had been left in Italy, went over to Totila and the Goths for no good reason. And Totila straightway sent him with a large army and a fleet to Dalmatia. So he came to the place called Mouicurum, which is a coast town situated very near Salones, and at first, being a Roman and a member of Belisarius' suite, he mingled with the people of the town; then however he raised his own sword, urged his followers to do the same, and suddenly killed them all. Then, taking all the valuables as plunder, he departed from

---

[2] ἕνεκα V: om. L.
[3] ὑπαντήσας V: ὑπαντήσασιν L.

πάντα ἐνθένδε[1] ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ ἄλλῳ
ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ κειμένῳ φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ Λαυρεάτην
27 καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ δὴ ἐπιβὰς[2] τοὺς παραπε-
πτωκότας ἀνῄρει.

Ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Κλαυδιανὸς ἔγνω, ὅσπερ τότε
Σαλώνων ἦρχε, στράτευμα ἐπὶ τῶν καλουμένων
28 δρυμώνων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. οἳ δὴ ἐπεὶ ἐν
Λαυρεάτῃ ἐγένοντο, τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας
ἦλθον. παρὰ πολύ τε ἡσσηθέντες τῇ μάχῃ
ἔφυγον ὅπη ἑκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονε, τοὺς δρύμωνας
ἐν τῷ λιμένι ἀπολιπόντες. οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
πλοῖα ἔμπλεα σίτου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων
29 ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν. ἅπερ ἅπαντα Ἰνδουλφ τε καὶ
Γότθοι ἑλόντες κτείναντές τε τοὺς ἐν ποσὶν
ἅπαντας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λησάμενοι παρὰ
30 Τουτίλαν ἦλθον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔλεγε, καὶ
τέταρτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ
τῷδε, ὃν Προκόπιος ξυνέγραψε.

[1] ἐνθένδε V : ἐνθένδε μὲν L.
[2] ἐπιβὰς L : ἀποβὰς V.

there and descended upon another fortress situated on the coast, which the Romans call Laureate. Here he entered the town and slew those who fell in his way.

When Claudian, who was commander of Salones at that time, learned this, he sent an army against him on *dromones*,[1] as they are called. And when this force reached Laureate, they engaged with the enemy. But they were overwhelmingly defeated in the battle and took to flight, wherever each man could, abandoning their ships in the harbour. And it so happened that the other boats were there laden with grain and other provisions. All these Indulf and the Goths captured, and, after killing all whom they met and making plunder of the valuables, they returned to Totila. And the winter drew to a close and the fourteenth year ended in this war, the history of which Procopius has written. 549 A.D.

[1] Swift ships.