This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world’s books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that’s often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book’s long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ **Make non-commercial use of the files** We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ **Refrain from automated querying** Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google’s system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ **Maintain attribution** The Google “watermark” you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ **Keep it legal** Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can’t offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book’s appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google’s mission is to organize the world’s information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world’s books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at [http://books.google.com/](http://books.google.com/)
Procopius

Procopius
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
EDITED BY
T. E. PAGE, LITT.D., AND W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

PROCOPIUS

I
PROCOPIUS

of Caesarea

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES
I

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS I AND II

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.
MCMXIV
CONTENTS

HISTORY OF THE WARS—

BOOK I.—THE PERSIAN WAR . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 1

BOOK II.—THE PERSIAN WAR (continued) . . . . 259
INTRODUCTION

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

1 ξύμβουλος,Proc. Bell. I. xii. 24. He is elsewhere referred to as παρεδρος or ὑπογραφέως.
INTRODUCTION

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

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

Procopius' three works give us a fairly complete viii
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first complete edition was that of Maltretus, Paris, 1661–63, reprinted in Venice, 1729; the edition included a Latin translation of all the works, which was taken over into the edition of Procopius in the Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae by Dindorf, Bonn, 1833–38.

Two editions of recent years are to be mentioned: Domenico Comparetti, La Guerra Gotica di Procopio di Cesarea; testo Greco emendato sui manoscritti con traduzione Italiana, Rome, 1895–98; 3 vols. Jacobus Haury, Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia, Leipzig, 1905–13; 3 vols. (Bibl. Teub.).

Among a number of works on Procopius or on special subjects connected with his writings the following may be mentioned:

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS:
BOOK I

THE PERSIAN WAR
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ
ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ

I

1 Προκόπιος Καίσαρεως τοὺς πολέμους ξυνέγραψεν οὗς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ Ρωμαίων βασιλεὺς πρὸς βαρβάρους διήγεγκε τοὺς τε ἐφώς καὶ ἐσπερίους, ὡς πη ἀυτῶν ἐκάστῳ ξυνηθεῖθα γενέσθαι, ὡς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη οἱ μέγας αἰῶνι πόλου ἔρημα χειρωσάμενος τῇ τε λήθῃ αὐτὰ καταπρόηται καὶ παντάπαςεν ἔζητηλα θήται, ὅπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτῶν φητο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ξυνοῖσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οὖσι καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἐπείτα γεγονομένους, εἰ ποτὲ καὶ αὕθε ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὡμοίαν τινὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνάγκην διάδοντοι. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολεμησίσυναι καὶ ἄλλως ἁγιοιμένοις δυσίν τινα ἐκπορίζεσθαι ὀνα τε ἔστην ἡ τῆς ἐμφεροῦς ἱστορίας ἐπίδειξις, ἀποκαλυπτοῦσα μὴν ὅποι ποτὲ τοῖς προγεγεγεν- μένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμών ἁγιών ἐχωρησεν, αἰνισσο- μένη δὲ ὁποῖαν τινὰ τελευτὴν ὑπὸ γὰρ ὁσ ἀριστα βουλευμένοις τὰ παρόντα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔξει. καὶ ὁ ἀυτῷ ἑνήπιστατο πάντων μάλιστα

1 βουλευμένοις Dindorf : βουλουμένοις MSS.
PROCOPHIUS OF CAESAREA
HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK I

THE PERSIAN WAR

I

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

dυνατός δὲν τάδε ξυγγράψαι κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ ἔμβον ἦρμηνευὴ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ σχεδὸν τι ἀπασὶ παραγενέσθαι τοῖς 4 πεπραγμένοις ξυνέπεσε. πρέπειν τε ἔγειτο ῥητορικὴ μὲν δεινότητα, ποιητικὴ δὲ μυθοποίησιν, 5 ξυγγραφὴ δὲ ἀλήθειαν. ταύτα τοι οὕδὲ τού τῶν οἱ ἄγαν ἐπιτηδεῖον τά μοχθηρά ἀπεκρύ-ψατο, ἀλλὰ τά πᾶσι ξυνενεχθέντα ἐκαστα ἀκριβολογούμενος ξυνεγράψατο, εἰτε εὖ εἰτε τῇ ἄλλῃ αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι ξυνέβη.

6 Κρέισσον δὲ οὐδὲν ἡ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν ἐν τοῖς τοῖς πολέμοις τετυχηκῶν τῷ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς τεκμηριοῦσθαι βουλομένῳ φανήσεται. 7 πέπρακται γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μάλιστα πάντων δὲν ἄκοψ ἰσμεν· ταυμαστὰ ρία, ἢ μὴ τοῖς τῶν τάδε ἀναλεγομένων τῷ παλαιῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρεσβεία διδοῖς καὶ τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀξιοὺς θαυμαστὰ 8 οἴεσθαι. ὡσπερ οὖν ἀμέλει τοὺς μὲν νῦν στρατευομένους ἐνιοί καλοῦσι τοξότασι, ἀγχε-μάχοις δὲ καὶ ἀσπιδώτας καὶ τοιαύτα ἀτὰ ὁνόματα τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις ἔθελουσι νέμειν, ταύτην τε τῆν ἀρετὴν ἐς τούτοιν ἑληλυθέναι τῶν χρό-νων ἤκιστα οἴονται, ἀταλαίπωρον γε καὶ τῆς πείρας ἀπωτάτῳ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν παιούμενοι 9 δόξαν. οὐ γὰρ τις πώποτε αὐτοῖς ἐννοια γέγονεν ὅτι δὴ τοῖς μὲν παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τοξεύουσιν, ὡσπερ καὶ ὑβρίζοσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τέχνης ὀνομαζο-μένως ξυνέβαινεν, οὐχ ὑππος ὑπὶ οὐκ ὑπὶ ὃ ὅρον, οὐκ
he was especially competent to write the history of these events, if for no other reason, because it fell to his lot, when appointed adviser to the general Belisarius, to be an eye-witness of practically all the events to be described. It was his conviction that while cleverness is appropriate to rhetoric, and inventiveness to poetry, truth alone is appropriate to history. In accordance with this principle he has not concealed the failures of even his most intimate acquaintances, but has written down with complete accuracy everything which befell those concerned, whether it happened to be done well or ill by them.

It will be evident that no more important or mightier deeds are to be found in history than those which have been enacted in these wars,—provided one wishes to base his judgment on the truth. For in them more remarkable feats have been performed than in any other wars with which we are acquainted; unless, indeed, any reader of this narrative should give the place of honour to antiquity, and consider contemporary achievements unworthy to be counted remarkable. There are those, for example, who call the soldiers of the present day “bowmen,” while to those of the most ancient times they wish to attribute such lofty terms as “hand-to-hand fighters,” “shield-men,” and other names of that sort; and they think that the valour of those times has by no means survived to the present,—an opinion which is at once careless and wholly remote from actual experience of these matters. For the thought has never occurred to them that, as regards the Homeric bowmen who had the misfortune to be ridiculed by this term¹ derived from their art, they were neither carried by

¹ Cf. Iliad xi. 385 τοξότα, λοβητήρ, κέραι ἄγλατ, παρθενοπίτα, the only place where τοξότης occurs in Homer.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἀστις ἡμώνεν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν τοῦ σώματος φυλακτήριον ἦν, ἀλλὰ πεξοὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἦσαν, ἀποκεκρύβθαι δὲ αὐτῶς ἦν ἰσαγωγικόν, ἐταίρουν τοῦ ἐκλεγόμενος ἀσπίδα ἡ στήλη ἐπὶ τοῦ μυμβροῦ·

10 τινὶ κεκλιμένοις, ἐνθα οὔτε τριτομένου διασώζεθαι οὔτε φεύγοντες τοῖς πολεμίωσι εἰπτεθεῖν οἴοι τε ἦσαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμφανούς διαμάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὶ κλέπτετεν ἐδόκουν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἕμβολῇ γινομένων. ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἀπαλαβώρως ἔχρωντο τῇ τέχνῃ, ὡστε πελάσαντες τῷ σφετέρῳ μαξῷ τὴν νευράν εῖτα τὸ βέλος ἀφίσαν κωφὸν τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸν εἰκότως τοῖς δεχόμενοις ἐσόμενον. τοιαῦτὴ μὲν τὸς οὖς ἡ τοξεία φαίνεται πρότερον. οἱ δὲ γε ταῦτα τοξόται ἰασὶ μὲν ἐς μάχην τεθωρακισμένοι τε καὶ κυνημίδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ. ἤρτηται δὲ αὐτώς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς δεξίας πλευρᾶς τὰ βέλη, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ ξίφος. εἰσὶ δὲ ὅσι καὶ δόρυ προσαποκρέμαται καὶ βραχεία τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών ἀστίς οὐχανοῦ χωρίς, οἷα τὰ τῇ ἀμφὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ <τὸν> 3 αὐχένα ἐπικαλύπτευν.

14 ἰππεύσται δὲ ὡς ἀριστα καὶ θέοντος αὐτῶς ὡς τάχιστα τοῦ ἑπτοῦ τὰ τόξα τε οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐντείνειν οἷοι τε εἰσὶν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα καὶ διώκοντας τε βάλλειν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ φεύγοντας. ἐλκεται δὲ αὐτῶς κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον ἡ νευρὰ παρ’ αὐτὸ μάλιστα τῶν ὁτῶν τὸ δεξιόν, τοσαύτης ἀλκής ἐμπιπλάσα ὁ βέλος, ὡστε τὸν ἀεὶ παραπίπτοντα κτείνειν, οὕτε ἀσπίδος ἰσως οὕτε θώρακος

1 ἐταίρου Maltretus, cod. e: ἐταίρου VP.
2 τ.: Maltretus: τὸ Ἀ, τὸ P.
3 <τὸν> Hoeschel.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. i. 9-15

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

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. Iliad v. 192. \textsuperscript{2} Cf. Iliad viii. 267; xi. 371. \\
\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Iliad iv. 113. \textsuperscript{4} Cf. Iliad iv. 123. \\
\textsuperscript{5} Cf. Iliad xi. 390.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

16 ἀποκρούσθαι τι δυναμένου τῆς ρύμης. εἰς δὲ 
οἱ τούτων ἡκιστα ἐνθυμούμενοι σέβονται μὲν καὶ 
τεθήσαι τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ταῖς ἐπι-
tεχνήσει διδόσι πλέον.1 ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν κω-
λύει μὴ οὐχὶ μέγιστά τε καὶ ἄξιολογώτατα ἐν 
17 τοῖς τοῖς πολέμοις ξυμβῆναι. λελέξεται δὲ 
πρώτον ἀρξαμένους μικρὸν ἀνωθεν ὅσα ὅρωμαι 
ξυνηνέχθη καὶ Μήδως πολεμοῦσι παθεῖν τε καὶ 
δρᾶσαι.

II

1 Ἡνίκα τὸν βίον Ἀρκάδιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασι-
λείας ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τελευτάν ἠμελλεν (ἢ γὰρ οἱ 
παῖς Ὀδόσιος οὐπω τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγεῖς), 
διηπορεῖτο ἀμφὶ τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, εὑ 
2 θεόθαι ἄμφω ὡς ἡκιστὰ ἔχων. ἐγκύνετο γὰρ 
τις αὐτῷ ἔννοια, ὡς, ἢ μὲν κοινωνών τινα Ὀδο-
δοσίῳ τῆς ἡγεμονίας πορίζηται, αὐτὸς ἂν τὸν 
παῖδα τὸν αὐτοῦ διαχρησάμενος τῷ ἔργῳ εἶη, 
πολέμων αὐτῷ δύναμιν τὴν βασιλείαν περιβε-
3 βλημένον ἐπαγαγὼν, ἢ δὲ μόνων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 
τῆς ἀρχῆς καταστήσεται, πολλοί μὲν τῆς βασι-
λείας ἐπιθετεύσοντοι, τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐρημίας, 
ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπολαύοντες, ἐπαναστάντες δὲ πόνῳ 
οὐδένι τυραννήσουσι, τὸν Ὀδόσιον διαφθείραντες, 
ἐπεὶ οὐδένα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔνγεγεν εἰχεν ὡστὸς 
4 ἄν αὐτῷ ἐπίτροπος εἶη. Ὁνόμιον γὰρ οἱ τὸν 
θείον ἐπαρέσειν οὐδαμῇ ἧλπισε, ποιηρῶν ἦδη 
5 τῶν Ἰταλίας πραγμάτων ὅπων. οὐδὲν δὲ 
ἥσσον καὶ τὰ ἐκ Μήδων αὐτῶν ξυνετάρασσε,

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

II

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

dedíôta μη οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι τῆς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος καταθέουτες ἡλικίας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα
6 Ὄπως δράσωσιν. ἐς ταύτην Ἀρκάδιος τὴν ἁμηχαίαν ἐμπεπτωκός, καὶ περὶ οὗ γεγονός εἰς τὰ ἄλλα ἀγχίνους, θουλεύεται βουλήν ἂν οἱ οἱ τὸν τε παίδα καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν διασώσασθαι εὔπετῶς ἵσχυσεν, εἰτε κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίων τισκυ, οἷοι πολλοὶ βασιλεῖ παρεδρεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἦ
7 θείας τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας αὐτῷ γενομένης. διαθήκης γὰρ διαθείς γράμματα, διάδοχου μὲν τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνείπε τὸν παίδα, ἐπίτροπον δὲ αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο Ἰσδιγέρδην τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεία, ὃ ὃ πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις ἐπέσχεσε Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν σθένει τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάση
8 ξυναδιασώσασθαι. Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὃδε τήν τε ἁρχὴν καὶ τὰ οἰκεία διοικησάμενος ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ το γράμμα τοῦτο ἀπενεχθὲν εἶδεν, ὁν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τρόπον μεγαλοφοροῦσῃ διαβόητος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο θαύματος τε πολλοῦ καὶ λόγου
9 ἄξιαν. τὰς γὰρ Ἀρκαδίου ἐντολὰς ἐν ἀλογίᾳ οὐδεμιᾷ ποιησάμενος εἰρήνη τε ἀφθονῷ χρώμενος διαγέγονεν ἐς Ὅπως τῶν πάντα χρόνον καὶ
10 Θεοδοσίῳ τὴν ἁρχὴν διεσώσατο. αὐτίκα γοῦν πρὸς Ὅπως τὸν βουλὴν γράμματα ἐγγραφεν, ἐπίτροπον τε οὐκ ἀπαρνούμενος Θεοδοσίου βασιλείως εἶναι καὶ πόλεμον ἐπανατεινόμενος, ἢν τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐγχειροῦν καθίστασθαι.
11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θεοδοσίου μὲν ἀνὴρ τε ἐγεγονεῖ καὶ ἡλικίας πόρρω ἀφίκτω, Ἰσδιγέρδης δὲ νοσήσας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ὕφασματο, ἐπῆλθε μὲν ἐς Ὅπως τὴν γῆν Οὐαραράνησ ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς στρατῷ
the youth and do the Romans irreparable harm. When Arcadius was confronted with this difficult situation, though he had not shown himself sagacious in other matters, he devised a plan which was destined to preserve without trouble both his child and his throne, either as a result of conversation with certain of the learned men, such as are usually found in numbers among the advisers of a sovereign, or from some divine inspiration which came to him. For in drawing up the writings of his will, he designated the child as his successor to the throne, but appointed as guardian over him Isdigerdes, the Persian King, enjoining upon him earnestly in his will to preserve the empire for Theodosius by all his power and foresight. So Arcadius died, having thus arranged his private affairs as well as those of the empire. But Isdigerdes, the Persian King, when he saw this writing which was duly delivered to him, being even before a sovereign whose nobility of character had won for him the greatest renown, did then display a virtue at once amazing and remarkable. For, loyally observing the behests of Arcadius, he adopted and continued without interruption a policy of profound peace with the Romans, and thus preserved the empire for Theodosius. Indeed, he straightway dispatched a letter to the Roman senate, not declining the office of guardian of the Emperor Theodosius, and threatening war against any who should attempt to enter into a conspiracy against him.

When Theodosius had grown to manhood and was in the prime of life, and Isdigerdes had been taken from the world by disease, Vararanes, the Persian King, invaded the Roman domains with a mighty
μεγάλω, ἔδρασε δὲ οὔδὲν ἄχαρι, ἀλλ' ἀπρακτος 
12 ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία τρόπη τοῦφε. Ἀνατό-
λιον τὸν τῆς ἐω στρατηγοῦ Θεοδόσιος [ὁ] βασι-
λεύς πρεσβευτὴν ἐς Πέρσας μόνον αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανε
πέμψας· δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀγχιστα ἐγεγόνει τοῦ Μήδων
στρατοῦ, ἀποθρώσκει μὲν τοῦ ἢππου μόνος, πεξη
13 δὲ βαδίζον ἐπὶ Οὐαραράνην ἦε. καὶ αὐτὸν Οὐα-
ραράνης ἴδων τῶν παρόντων ἀνεπιθύμητο ὅστις
ποτὲ ἐκ τοῦ προσιων εἰ. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἶναι
14 στρατηγοῦ ἐφασαν. καταπλαγεῖς οὗν τῷ ὑπερ-
βάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς 1 στρέψας
τὸν ἢππον ὁπίσω ἀπήλαυνε, καί οἱ ἄπασι τῶν
15 Περσῶν λέως εὔπετο. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν γῇ τῇ
οἰκείᾳ τὸν τε πρεσβευτὴν ἐξάνθρος ὁ πολλή
εἰδε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνωρίζοντος οὕτως ὁσπερ
Ἀνατόλιος αὐτοῦ ἔχρηζεν, ἐφ' ὦ μέντοι μηδέτεροι
ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκεῖον ἐν γειτόνων τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων
ὁρίοις ὑπὶ ὀχύρωμα νεῶτερον τι ἑγαλζονται. οὐ
da αὐτοῖς ἔξειργασμένον ἐκάτεροι τὰ οἰκεία ὅπη
ἐβαύλοντο ἐπρασαν.

III

1 Ἑρώτησάν δὲ ὑπερτερον Περσῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς
προς τὸ Ούννων τῶν Ἐφθαλτῶν ἔθνος, οὐσπερ
λευκοὺ όνομάζουσι, πόλεμον περὶ γῆς ὄριων διέ-
פחε, λόγου τε ἄξιον στρατόν ἀγελρας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς
2 ἦε. Ἐφθαλτῖται δὲ Ούννικον μὲν ἔθνος εἰσὶ τε
12

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

III

At a later time the Persian King Perozes became involved in a war concerning boundaries with the nation of the Ephthalitae Huns, who are called White Huns, gathered an imposing army, and marched against them. The Ephthalitae are of the stock of the Huns in fact as well as in name; however they
καὶ ὁνομάζονται, οὐ μέντοι ἀναμίγνυνται ἢ ἐπι-
χωριάζοντι Οὐνίνων τισιν διω ἡμεῖς ἵσμεν, ἔπει-
οὔτε χώραν αὐτοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσιν οὔτε πὴ τη 
αὐτῶν ἀγχιστα ὄκνηται, ἀλλὰ προσωικοῦσι μὲν Πέρσας 
πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνεμον, οὐ δὴ πόλεις Γοργὼ ὄνομα 
πρὸς αὐταῖς που ταῖς Περσῶν ἐσχατιαίς ἐστὶν,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ περὶ γῆς ὀρίων διαμαχήσθαι πρὸς 
3 ἀλλῆλους εἰώθασιν. οὐ γὰρ νομάδες εἰσὶν δισπερ 
τὰ ἀλλὰ Οὐνικὰ ἔθνη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χώρας ἀγαθῆς 
4 τίνος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυται. ταῦτα τοι οὔδε τινα 
ἔσβολην πεποίηται πόσποτε ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν 
ὅτι μὴ ξιν τῷ Μῆδῳ στρατῷ. μόνοι δὲ Οὐνίων 
οὗτοι λευκοὶ τε τὰ σώματα καὶ οὐκ ἀμορφοὶ τὰς 
5 ὄψεις εἰσὶν. οὐ μὴν οὔτε τὴν δίαπερ ὁμοιότροπον 
αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν οὔτε θηρίον βίου τινὰ ἢπερ ἐκεῖνοι 
ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς βασιλέως ἐνὸς ἀρχονται 
καὶ πολιτείαι ἐνομοὺ ἐχοῦσιν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ 
τοῖς πέλας αἰεὶ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαιὸς ἄμβαλλοντος, 
6 Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν οὐδὲν τι ἲσθον. οἱ 
μέντοι εὐδαίμονες αὐτοῖς φίλους ἐταιριζοῦνται ἄρχο 
ἐς εἰκόσιν, ἀν οὔτῳ τύχοι, ἢ τούτῳ πλείους, 
οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἔμποτα μὲν ἐς αἰεὶ γίνονται, τῶν 
δὲ χρημάτων μετέχουσι πάντων, κοινῆς τινος 
7 ἐξουσίας αὐτοῖς ἐς ταύτα ὀυκες. ἑπειδὰν δὲ τῷ 
αὐτοῖς ἐταιρισμένῳ τελευτήσαι ξυμβαίνῃ, τού 
τους δὴ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἡώντων ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν 
tάφῳ ἐσκομβάζον θόμος.
8 Ἐπὶ τούτου τοὺς 'Εφθαλίτας τῷ Περόγῃ πο-
ρευμένῳ ξυμπαρήν πρεσβευτῆς, ὅς δὴ ἐτυχε 
πρὸς βασιλέως Ζήμωνοι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐσταλμένος, 
Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα. 'Εφθαλίται δὲ δόκησιν παρε-
14
do not mingle with any of the Huns known to us, for they occupy a land neither adjoining nor even very near to them; but their territory lies immediately to the north of Persia; indeed their city, called Gorgo, is located over against the Persian frontier, and is consequently the centre of frequent contests concerning boundary lines between the two peoples. For they are not nomads like the other Hunnic peoples, but for a long period have been established in a goodly land. As a result of this they have never made any incursion into the Roman territory except in company with the Median army. They are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances which are not ugly. It is also true that their manner of living is unlike that of their kinsmen, nor do they live a savage life as they do; but they are ruled by one king, and since they possess a lawful constitution, they observe right and justice in their dealings both with one another and with their neighbours, in no degree less than the Romans and the Persians. Moreover, the wealthy citizens are in the habit of attaching to themselves friends to the number of twenty or more, as the case may be, and these become permanently their banquet-companions, and have a share in all their property, enjoying some kind of a common right in this matter. Then, when the man who has gathered such a company together comes to die, it is the custom that all these men be borne alive into the tomb with him.

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

χόμενοι τοίς πολεμώσω δι' ἐκαύτων κατωρρωδη-
κότες τὴν ἐφοδιόν ἐς φυγήν ὄρμηνται, ἔσεσαν δρόμῳ
ἐς χώρον τινα ὄντερ ὅη ἀπότομα πάνταχόθεν
ἐκύκλουν, συχνοῖς τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐς ἀγάν
9 καλυπτόμενα δένδροι. ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν ορῶν προ-
ιότι ὡς πορρωτάτῳ ὄδὸς μὲν τις ἐφαίνετο ἐν
μέσῃ ἐφουείᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκουσα, ἐξοδοῦ δὲ
tελευτώσα οὐδαμῇ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἐς αὐτὸν μάλιστα
10 τῶν κύκλων τῶν ορῶν ἔληγε. Περιόξης μὲν οὖν,
δόλου παντὸς ἀφρονιστήσας οὐκ ἔννοων τε ὡς ἐν
γῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ πορεύοιτο, ἀνεπικέπτως ἔδώκει.
11 τῶν δὲ Ὀὔνων ὅλοι οἱ μὲν τινὲς ἐμπροσθεν ἐφευ-
γοὺς, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐν ταῖς ὑσυχώριαις διαλα-
βόντες κατὰ νότου ἐγένοιτο τοῦ τῶν πολεμῶν
στρατοῦ, οὕτω τε αὐτοῖς ἐβούλοντο ἐνδηλοῦ οἶναι,
ὅπως δὴ τῆς ἐνέδρας πόρρω χωρήσαντες ἐντὸς τε
τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγενημένοι μηκέτι ὅπισω
12 ἀναστρέφειν οὐλὸ τε ὅσων. ὄντερ οἱ Μηδὸι αἰσθά-
μενοι (ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ τι τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπέφαινεν)
αὐτοὶ μὲν δεῖ τῷ ἐκ Περόζου τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν
ἐν σιωπῇ εἶχον, Εὐσέβιον δὲ πολλὰ ἐπιπάροι
παραίνεσιν ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ποιήσασθαι μακρῶν
ἀπολελεμμένον τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, βουλευσθαί
μᾶλλον ἢ θρασύνεσθαι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι, καὶ δια-
σκοπεῖσθαι ἢ τίς ποτὲ μηχανὴ ἐς σωτηρίαν
13 φέροισαι εἰς. ὁ δὲ Περόζη ἐς δύσιν ἄλθὼν 
tυχὴ 
μὲν τὴν παροῦσαν ὡς ἡκίστα ἀπεκάλυψεν, ἀρξά-
μενος δὲ μυθοποιεῖς λέοντα ποτὲ τράγῳ ἐφάσκειν
ἐντυχεῖν δεδεμένοι τε καὶ μηκωμένοι ἐπὶ χώρου
τινὸς οὐ λίαν ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ θοίνη δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν
λέοντα ἐφιέμενον ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ὡς ἀρπάζοντα,
appear to their enemy that they had turned to flight because they were wholly terrified by their attack, and they retired with all speed to a place which was shut in on every side by precipitous mountains, and abundantly screened by a close forest of wide-spread- ing trees. Now as one advanced between the moun- tains to a great distance, a broad way appeared in the valley, extending apparently to an indefinite distance, but at the end it had no outlet at all, but terminated in the very midst of the circle of mountains. So Perozes, with no thought at all of treachery, and forgetting that he was marching in a hostile country, continued the pursuit without the least caution. A small body of the Huns were in flight before him, while the greater part of their force, by concealing themselves in the rough country, got in the rear of the hostile army; but as yet they desired not to be seen by them, in order that they might advance well into the trap and get as far as possible in among the mountains, and thus be no longer able to turn back. When the Medes began to realize all this (for they now began to have a glimmering of their peril), though they refrained from speaking of the situation themselves through fear of Perozes, yet they earn- estly entreated Eusebius to urge upon the king, who was completely ignorant of his own plight, that he should take counsel rather than make an untimely display of daring, and consider well whether there was any way of safety open to them. So he went before Perozes, but by no means revealed the calamity which was upon them; instead he began with a fable, telling how a lion once happened upon a goat bound down and bleating on a mound of no very great height, and how the lion, bent upon
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

εμπεσεὶν δὲ ἐς κατώρυχα βαθείαν μάλιστα, ὅτων κυκλοτερὴ ἤχουσαν στενήν τε καὶ οὐ πεπερασμένην (διεξὸδον γὰρ οὐδαμὴ εἰκεν), ἦν δὴ οἱ τοῦ τράγου κύριοι ἐξεπίτηδες τεχνησάμενοι ὑπέρθεν τῆς κατώρυχος τὸν τράγον τεθείκασι τῷ λέοντι
14 ποδοστράβην ἐςόμενου. ταῦτα Περόζης ἀκούσας ἐς δὲ ἦλθε μὴ ποτε Μήδοι ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ σφετέρῳ τὴν διώξει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποίηματι. καὶ πρόσω μὲν οὐκέτι ἤχωρει, μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ 15 παρόντα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. Οὖν οἱ δὲ ἦπομενεὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τοῦ χώρου τὴν εἰσόδου ἐν φυλακῇ εἰχον, ὅπως μικρὲς οἱ πολέμιοι ὁπίσω
16 ἀπελαίωνοι οὐκ ἔρισεν. καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τότε δὴ λαμπρῶς ὁσθημένοι οὐ ἦσαν κακοῦ ἐν συμφορᾷ ἐποιοῦντο τὰ παρόντα σφίζοντα διαφεύγουσαν τὸν 17 κίνδυνον ἐν ἑλπίδι οὐδεμᾶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόνου ἠχοῦτες. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐφθαλτῶν βασιλεὺς πέμψας παρὰ Περόζην τῶν οἱ ἐπομένω σιναῖς, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῶν θράσους πέρι ἀλογίστου ὀνείδος, ἂφ' οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸ Περσῶν γένος κόσμῳ οὔδεν διαφθείρειν, ἐνδώσειν δὲ καὶ ὅς τὴν σωτηρίαν οὐννους αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἦν γε αὐτὸν τε Περόζης προσκυνεῖν θυλκών, ἀτε δεσπότην γεγενημένον, καὶ ὅρκους τοὺς σφίζον πατρίους ὁμνής τὰ πιστὰ δοιης μὴ ποτε Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐφθαλτῶν ἠθονς στρατεύσασθαι.
18 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Περόζης ἦκουσε, μάγων τοῖς παροῦσι κοινολογησάμενος ἀνεπιθυμάντατο εἰ τὰ ἐπαγγελμένα πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων ποιήματα εἰ. ὁ δὲ μάγοι ἀπεκρινάντα τὰ μὲν ἄμφ' ὅτι οἱ οἱ βουλομένων ἑστὶν αὐτὸν διοικήσασθαι, 1 καὶ μέντοι
1 διοικήσασθαι: Haury conjectures <δεῖν> διοικήσασθαι.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iii. 13-19

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

20 τὸ άτερον σοφία περιέλθειν τὸν πολέμιον. εἶναι γάρ αὐτοῖς νόμον τὰς τοῦ ἢλίου ἀνατολὰς προσ-κυνείν ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. δεήσεων οὐν αὐτούν τηρη-σαντα ες τὸ ἀκριβῆς τὸν καιρὸν ξυγγενέσθαι μὲν ἀμα ἡμέρα τὸ τῶν Ἐφθαλτῶν ἀρχοντι, τετραμ-μένον δὲ που πρὸς άνίσχοντα ἢλιον προσκυνείν· ταῦτη γὰρ ἄν ες τὸ ἐπειτα τῆς πράξεως τὴν 22 ἀτιμίαν φυγεὶν δύναιτο. Περόζης μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τε τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδωκε και τὸν πολέμιον προσεκύνησε καθάπερ τῶν μάγων ἡ ὑποθήκη παρῆγγελλεν, ἀκραιφυεὶ δὲ παυτὶ τῷ Μηδών στρατῷ ἐπ' οἰκον ἀσμενος ἀνεχώρησε.

IV

1 Χρόνῳ δε οὐ πολλῷ ὠστερον ἀλογήσας τὰ ὁμω-μοσμένα τίσασθαι Οὐννους τῆς ἐς αὐτοῦ ὑβρεως 2 ήθελε. πάντας οὖν αὐτίκα ἐκ πάσης γῆς Πέρσας τε καὶ ξυμμάχους ἀγείρας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφθαλτάς ἤγε, τῶν παίδων ἔνα μὲν Καβάδην ὅνομα μόνον ἀπολιπὼν (τηυκαύτα γὰρ ἡβηκὼς ἔτυχε), τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαντας ἐπαγόμενος τριάκοντα μάλιστα. 3 Ἐφθαλταὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφόδου γνώντες ἀχθο-μενοὶ τε οἴς δὴ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἡπτάηντο τῶν βασιλέα ἐκάκιζον, ἀτε προεμενον Μηδοῖς τα 4 πράγματα. καὶ δε αὐτῶν ξὺν γέλωτε ἐπυνθάνετο τι ποτε ἀρα σφῶν προέμενος εἰς, πότερον τὴν γῆν 5 ἢ τα ὀπλα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολαβόντες οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν πλὴν γε δὴ ὦτι
his own pleasure; as for the rest, however, he should circumvent his enemy by craft. And they reminded him that it was the custom among the Persians to prostrate themselves before the rising sun each day; he should, therefore, watch the time closely and meet the leader of the Ephthalitae at dawn, and then, turning toward the rising sun, make his obeisance. In this way, they explained, he would be able in the future to escape the ignominy of the deed. Perozes accordingly gave the pledges concerning the peace, and prostrated himself before his foe exactly as the Magi had suggested, and so, with the whole Median army intact, gladly retired homeward.

IV

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

tόν καίρον ἔφασαν, ὃν τάλλα πάντα ἡρτήσθαι
6 ἐξυμβαίνει. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἐπισχύον ὑπαντιάζειν
πάση προθυμίᾳ ἦξιον, ὃ δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐν γε τῇ
παρόντι ἐκώλυνεν. οὐ γὰρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφὶ τῇ
εὐχαρίστῳ γεγονέναι σφίσθι, ἐπεὶ οἷ Πέρσαι ἔτι ἐν γῇ τῇ
οἰκείᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ἄντες· μένων
7 δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐποίει τάδε. ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἦ ἐμέλλον
Πέρσας ἐς τὰ Ἐφθαλίτων ἥθη ἐσβάλλειν χώραν
πολλῆν τινα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀποτεμών, τάφρον
εἰργασάτο βαθείαν τε καὶ εὔρους ἰκανῶς ἔχουσαν,
ὁλογον τινα ἐν μέσῳ ἄκραιφη χώρων ἀπολιπτῶν
8 ὁσον ἱππῶν ὄφ' ἐπαρκεῖν δέκα. καλάμοις τε τῇ
tάφρῳ ὑπερθεῖν ἐπιθεῖν καὶ γην ἐπὶ τοὺς καλάμους
συναμμέσανος, ταύτῃ ἐπιτολῆς ἐκρυψεν, Οὐνων
τε τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐπεστέλλεν, ἐπειδὴ ἐνθέντε ὁπλίσω
ἀπελαύνειν μέλλωσί, διὰ χώρον τοῦ χέρσου ἐς
ὁλογος σφᾶς ξυναγαγόντας σχολαίτερους ἰέναι,
φυλασσομένους ὑπὸς μὴ ἐς τὰ ἐσκαμμένα ἐμπί-
9 πτοευν· τοὺς δὲ ἀλας ἄκρου σημείου τοῦ βασι-
λείου ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐς οὕς τὸν ὅρκον Περόζης
ὦμοσε πρότερον, δι' ἐκ ἀλογήσας εἰτα ἐπὶ Οὐν-
10 νους ἐστράτευσεν. ἦως μὲν οὖν ἐν γῇ τῇ σφετέρᾳ
toüs πολεμίους ἤκουεν εἶναι, ἰσυχὴ ἐμενεν, ἐπεὶ
dὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς Γοργώ πόλιν ἐμαθεν ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς
tῶν κατασκόμων, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Περσῶν
ὁρίοις τυγχάνει ὦσα, ἐνθέντε τε ἀπαλλαγέντας ὀδὸν
ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥθη ἰέναι, αὐτοὺς μὲν τῷ πλείων τοῦ στρα-
tοῦ τῆς τάφρου ἐντὸς ἐμεινεν, ὁλογος δὲ πέμψα
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iv. 5–10

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

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

οφθηναι μεν τοις ἐμαντίοις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐκέλευεν
μακρὰν ἀποθεν, ὄφθεντας δὲ μόνον εἰτα ἀνὰ κράτος
φεύγειν ὑπὶσώ, ἐν μνῆμη τάς αὐτοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀμφὶ
tῇ κατώρυχι ἔχοντας, ἥνικα δὴ αὐτῆς ἀγχιστα
ἀκούντο. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καὶ ἔπει τῆς
dιώρυγος ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐγένοντο, ἐς ὀλύγους σφᾶς ξων-
αγαγότες διέβησαν ἄπαντες καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ
ἀνεμίγνυστο. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ξυνεῖναι τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
οὔδαμὴ ἔχοντες κατὰ κράτος ἐν πεδίῳ λιαν ὑπτίῳ
ἐδιώκον, θυμὸ πολλῷ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι,
ἐς τε τὴν τάφρον ἐμπεπτώκασιν ἄπαντες, οὐχ οἱ
πρῶτοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δοσὶ ὅπισθεν εἰποντο·
ἀτε γὰρ τὴν διώξιν ξὺν θυμῷ μεγάλῳ, καθάπερ
ἐρρίθη, ποιοῦμενοι, ὡς ἥκιστα ἠθοντο τοῦ κακοῦ
δὴ ξυντετύχηκε τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲν ὑιόσω, ἀλλ’
ὑπὲρ αὐτοὺς ξὺν τοῖς ὑποῖς τε καὶ δόρασιν ἐμ-
πεπτωκότες ἐκεῖνοις τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐκτειναν καὶ
αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἡσσον ἐξυδιεφθάρησαν. ἐν οἷς καὶ
Περόζης ἢν ξὺν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀπασὶ. καὶ αὐ-
tοῦ μέλλοντα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμπεσεισθαί
φασι τοῦ τε δεινοῦ ἡσθήσασι καὶ τὸ μάργαρον, δὲ
οἱ λευκότατον τε καὶ μεγέθους ὑπερβολὴ ἐντιμον
ἐξ ὁτὸς τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἀπεκρέματο, ἀφελόντα ῥήσαι,
ὅπως δὴ μή τις αὐτὸ ὑπίσω φοροῖν, ἔπει ἀξιοθέα-
tον ὑπερφυὸς ἢν, οἷον οὐπώ πρότερον ἐτέρῳ τῷ
βασιλεῖ ἐγένον, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες.
οὐ γὰρ Ἰν ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ κακοῦ ἄλλου
ὄτου οὐδὲ φροντίδα ἦλθεν, ἀλλ’ οἶμαι τὸ τε οὕς
αὐτῷ ἐν τούτῳ ἄγνεκεκόθη τῇ πάθει καὶ τὸ
μάργαρον ὑπὶ ποτὲ ἀφανισθῆναι. ὅπερ ὁ Ῥω-
μαίων βασιλεὺς τότε πρίασθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἐφθα-
λιτῶν ἐν σπουδῆ ποιησάμενος ἥκιστα ἱσχύειν.
detachment with instructions to allow themselves to be seen at a distance by the enemy in the plain, and, when once they had been seen, to flee at full speed to the rear, keeping in mind his command concerning the trench as soon as they drew near to it. They did as directed, and, as they approached the trench, they drew themselves into a narrow column, and all passed over and joined the rest of the army. But the Persians, having no means of perceiving the stratagem, gave chase at full speed across a very level plain, possessed as they were by a spirit of fury against the enemy, and fell into the trench, every man of them, not alone the first but also those who followed in the rear. For since they entered into the pursuit with great fury, as I have said, they failed to notice the catastrophe which had befallen their leaders, but fell in on top of them with their horses and lances, so that, as was natural, they both destroyed them, and were themselves no less involved in ruin. Among them were Perozes and all his sons. And just as he was about to fall into this pit, they say that he realized the danger, and seized and threw from him the pearl which hung from his right ear,—a gem of wonderful whiteness and greatly prized on account of its extraordinary size—in order, no doubt, that no one might wear it after him; for it was a thing exceedingly beautiful to look upon, such as no king before him had possessed. This story, however, seems to me untrustworthy, because a man who found himself in such peril would have thought of nothing else; but I suppose that his ear was crushed in this disaster, and the pearl disappeared somewhere or other. This pearl the Roman Emperor then made every effort to buy from the Ephthalitae, but was utterly unsuccessful.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸ εὑρέσθαι οἰ βάρβαροι εἶχον, καίπερ πόνῳ πολλῷ τὴν ξήτησιν ποιησάμενοι. φασὶ μέντοι Ἐφθαλτας εὐρομένους αὐτὸ ύστερον τῷ Καβάδῃ ἀποδόσθαι.

17 Ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ μαργάρῳ τούτῳ Πέρσαι λέγουσι εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ἵσως γὰρ ἂν τῷ καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπιστος ὁ λόγος δόξειν εἶναι. λέγουσι οὖν Πέρσαι εἰπεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ κτενὶ τὸ μάργαρον τούτο ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἢ ἐν Πέρσαις ἔστι, νήχεσθαι δὲ τοῦ κτένα τῆς ταύτης ἡμέρᾳ οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεῖν. ἀνεωγείναι τε αὐτοῦ ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατακά, δόξῃ κατὰ μέσον τὸ μάργαρον εἰστήκει θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἄλλο γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰκασθήναι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει οὔτε τῷ κάλλει ἐκ τοῦ παντός χρόνου. κύνα δὲ θαλάσσιον ὑπερφυά τε καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἑραστὴν τοῦ θεάματος τούτου γενόμενον ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἴχνος αὐτῷ, οὔτε νύκτα ἀνέντα οὔτε ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα τροφῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀναγκασθεῖν, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τι περισκοπεῖσθαι τῶν ἔδωδίμων, εὐρόντα δὲ τι καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐσθίειν μὲν ὑπὸ τὰς ἁπάντας, καταλαβόντα δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸν κτένα θεάματος αὕτης τοῦ ἐρωτέου ἢμπτυπλασθαι. καὶ ποτὲ τῶν τινα γριπτῶν φασὶ τὰ μὲν ποιοῦμενα ἐπιδείκνυε, ἀποδεικνύοντα δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἀποκηῆσα τῶν κύνδυνόν, ἐς τε τοῦ βασιλέα Περόζην ἀπαντα τὸν λόγον ἀνενεγκείν. δὲ δὴ τῷ Περόζῃ ἀκοῦσαντι πόθῳ φασὶ τοῦ μαργάρου γενέσθαι μέγας, πολὺ λαίς τε ἄπτ' αὐτοῦ θωτείας τῶν ἀσπαλλεά τούτων καὶ ἄγαθῶν ἐπιτίσω ἐπάραι. ἤν δὴ ἀντιτείνειν αἰτομένῳ δεσπότῃ οὐκ ἔχοντα λέγουσι τάδε τῷ Περόζῃ εἰπεῖν. Διὸ δεσποτα, ποθείνα μὲν ἄν-

26
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iv. 16–22

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

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

θρώπω χρήματα, ποθεινοτέρα δὲ ἡ ψυχή, πάντων μέντοι ἄξιωτα τέκνα: ἂν δὴ τῇ στοργῇ ἀναγκασθεὶς φύσει ἵσως ἂν τις καὶ πάντα τολμήσειν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν τοῦ τε θηρίου ἀποπειράσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ μαργάρου σε κύριον θέσεσθαι ἐπίδα ἔχω. καὶ ἦν μὲν κρατήσω τοῦ ἀγῶνος τούτου, εὐδηλον ὡς ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ὄλβιοι τὸ ἐνθένθε τετάξομαι. σὲ τε γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀγαθοῖς με δωρήσεσθαι ἂτε βασιλέως βασιλέα οὐδὲν ἀπεκός, καὶ ἦμοι ἀποχρῆσε, καίτερ οὐδέν, ἄν οὔτω τύχοι, κεκομισμένῳ, τὸ δεσπότου εὐεργετὴν τοῦ ἐμοῦ γεγενήθαι. 25 εἰ δὲ ἐμὲ δεῖ τῷ θηρίῳ τούτῳ ἀλώνια, σὸν δὴ ἔργον ἔσται, ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐμοὺς θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸφος ἀμείψασθαι. οὗτω γὰρ ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαστάτοις ἐμμυσθὸς ἐσομαι, σὺ δὲ ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀπολογή μείζω. τὰ παιδία γὰρ ὥφελὼν εὐ ποιήσεις ἐμὲ ὅσπερ σοι τῆς εὐεργεσίας τὴν χάριν οὐδαμῆ εἰσομαι. αὕτη γὰρ ἄν εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀκίβδηλος γένοιτο μόνη ἡ ἐς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐπιδειχθείσα.” 27 τοσαύτα εἰπὼν ἀπηλλάσσετο. καὶ ἔπει τοῦ τῶν χῶρων ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ ὁ τε κτεῖς νήχεσθαι καὶ ὁ κύων αὐτῷ εἰθίστο ἐπεσθαί, ἑνταῦθα ἐπὶ πέτρας ἐκάθητο τινος, καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πως ἔρημον ποτε τὸ μάργαρον τοῦ ἔραστον λάβοι. ἐπειδῆ δὲ τῷ κυνὶ τάχιστα τῶν τινι ἐς τὴν θοίνην οἱ ἐπιτηδείως ἐχόντων ἐντευχήκειν ἐννέπες καὶ περὶ τοῦτο διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ὁ ἄλων τοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτη δὴ ἐπομένους τῇ ὕπουργίᾳ εἰθῦ τοῦ κτεῖνος σπουδὴ πολλῇ ἦε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤδη λαβόμενος ἐξω γενέσθαι κατὰ τάχος ἧπερευτο. 28 οὗ δὴ ὁ κύων αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθηε ἑνταῦθα. ἰδών
more precious still is his life, but most prized of all
are his children; and being naturally constrained by
his love for them a man might perhaps dare any-
thing. Now I intend to make trial of the monster,
and hope to make thee master of the pearl. And if
I succeed in this struggle, it is plain that henceforth I
shall be ranked among those who are counted blessed.
For it is not unlikely that thou, as King of Kings,
wilt reward me with all good things; and for me it
will be sufficient, even if it so fall out that I gain no
reward, to have shown myself a benefactor of my
master. But if it must needs be that I become the
prey of this monster, thy task indeed it will be, O
King, to requite my children for their father's death.
Thus even after my death I shall still be a wage-
earner among those closest to me, and thou wilt win
greater fame for thy goodness,—for in helping my
children thou wilt confer a boon upon me, who shall
have no power to thank thee for the benefit—
because generosity is seen to be without alloy only
when it is displayed towards the dead.” With these
words he departed. And when he came to the place
where the oyster was accustomed to swim and the
shark to follow, he seated himself there upon a rock,
watching for an opportunity of catching the pearl
alone without its admirer. As soon as it came about
that the shark had happened upon something which
would serve him for food, and was delaying over it,
the fisherman left upon the beach those who were
following him for this service, and made straight for
the oyster with all his might; already he had seized
it and was hastening with all speed to get out of the
water, when the shark noticed him and rushed to
the rescue. The fisherman saw him coming, and,
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

te auton o sagnunesth, epel katalambaneisthai
thi hymos ou makran emelle, to mev thrama
hekontisev es tin gyni dynavei tis pasag, auton de
30 alous diephara o pillo usteron. anelomenoi
dei to maragaron oii epi tis aktis leleimenei tis
thebasilei apkeomisan kai tis xunenechentan
panta esuggeiavan. tais men ou afil tis marag-


rph toutrio thide, uper erithi, Persai xunenechth-


vaia fasiv. eno de epi ton proteron logon
epaneimi.

32 Oiuto men Persi the diephara kal xumiptasa


h Persos stratia. ei gar tis ouk empetoomas


es tin diwregka etuch, oide upo tais polemi


33 tais chersi gevousi. kai ap autou nimos teitei


Persais h potse sfas en gyn polemia elaimonotas
diwxi koi eisidai tina, h kai kata kratos tou


34 enantious sfisi trapeonai xumath. osai menoi


Persi ou xunestrateuntes en xora tis auton


emianan, outoi de basilea sfisi Kabadhen elon-
to ton neftaton Persou vion, osper thnikanta


35 perihn monos. tote de Ebitalaitas kathkoi es


firon apagogh eneunonti Persai, ows Kabadhe


tin archi isxurota kata xynaimenos firon aut-
tois apoferei ton epiteioi ouketei xeiou. hreia

dei Persow oii hprarbaroi einai enantoi dio.

V

1 Meta dei Kabadhe epi to biaioteron tin archi


chrimehos alla te neoterai es tin politeian
eisigei kai nomon enragisen epi koun tais gynaiexi
mouvnisthai Persas: oteper to plhosto oudamh hre-
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. iv. 29–v. 1

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

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

V

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

σκε. διδὴ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάντες παρέλυσαν τε
2 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ δῆσαντες ἐν φυλακῇ ἔλυον. καὶ
βασιλέα μὲν σφίσι Βλάσθη τὸν Περσῶν ἀδελφὸν
ἐξέπεζε, ἐπειδὴ 1 γόνος μὲν οὐδὲς ἐτὶ ἀρρη
Περσῆς, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐλέειπτο, Πέρσαι δὲ
ου θέμις ἄνθρωπον τινὰς βασιλεῖαν καθίστασθαι
ἰδιότητι γένος, ότι μὴ ἐξητήλυ παντάπασα γένος
3 τοῦ βασιλείου ὅντος. Βλάσθης δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν
παραλαβὼν Περσῶν τε τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐνυέλεξε
καὶ τὰ ἀμφι τῷ Καβάδῃ ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο. τὸν
γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποκτινώναι οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις
4 τοῖς πλείστων. ἐνθα δὴ πολλαὶ μὲν ἐλέχθησαν
γνώμαι ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσαι, παρελθὼν δὲ τῶν
τις ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων, ὅνωμα μὲν Γούσανα-
στάσις, χαναράγγης δὲ τὸ ἄξιομα (εἰ θ' ἂν ἐν
Πέρσαις στρατηγὸς τούτο γε), πρὸς αὐτὸς που
ταῖς ἐσχατίας τῆς Περσῶν γής τὴν ἀρχήν ἔχων
ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ τοῖς Ἐφθαλίταις ὀμοίως ἔστι, καὶ τὴν
μάχαιραν ἐπιδέξας ἢ τῶν ὄνυχων τὰ προὔχοντα
Πέρσαι εἰώθασιν ἀποτέμνεσθαι, 2 μήκος μὲν ὅσον
δακτύλου ἄνδρός, πάχος δὲ οὐδὲ τριτημόριον
5 δακτύλου ἔχουσαι "Ταύτην ὀράτε," εἰπὲ, "τὴν
μάχαιραν, βραχέιὰν παντάπασιν οὖσαν ἀὑτῆ
μὲντοι ἔργον ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐπιτελεῖν οὔτα τέ ἐστιν,
ὅπερ εἰ ἵστε ὀλίγῳ ὑστερον, ὁ φίλτατοι Πέρσαι,
μυριάδες δύο τεθωρακισμένων ἄνδρῶν ἐξεργά-
6 ἐσθαὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναντο." ὁ μὲν ταύτα εἰπὲ, παρα-
δηλῶν ὡς, ἢ μὴ Καβάδην ἀνέλωσιν, αὐτίκα
7 πράγματα Πέρσαι περίδων παρέξει. οἱ δὲ κτείναι
ἀνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αὐτότος οὖθ' ὄλως 3 ἔγνωσαν,

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

ἀλλ’ ἐν φρουρίῳ καθείρξαι ὅπερ τῆς Δήθης καλεῖν
8 νευομίκασιν. ἢν γὰρ τις ἑνταῦθα ἐμβληθεὶς τύχῃ,
οὐκέτι ὁ νόμος ἐφίησι μνήμην αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
θάνατος τῷ ὄνομακότι ἡ ἥμισία ἐστὶ. διό δὴ καὶ
τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην πρὸς Περσῶν ἔλαχεν.
9 ἀπαξ δὲ ἡ τῶν ’Αρμενίων ἱστορία φησὶ νόμου
τοῦ ἀμφὶ τῷ Δήθης φρουρίῳ παραλείπουσα τὴν
δύναμιν Πέρσαις τρόπῳ τοῦδε.
10 Πόλεμὸς ποτε Πέρσαις τε καὶ ’Αρμενίωις ἀκή-
ρυκτος γέγονεν εἰς δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἔπλ
Πακουρίον μὲν Περσῶν βασιλεύοντος, ’Αρμενίων
δὲ ’Αρσάκου ’Αρσακίδου ἄνδρός. τούτῳ τε τῇ
πόλεμῳ μηκυνομένῳ κεκακώσθαι μὲν ἐς ἄγαν
ἀμφότερος ἀνυψηθῇ καὶ διαφερόντως 1 τοὺς ’Αρ-
μενίους. ἀπιστία δὲ πολλὴ ἐς ἄλληλους ἐχόμενοι
ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ἐναντίους υιοῦτεροι
εἶχον. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Πέρσαις τετύχηκε πόλεμον
πρὸς ἄλλους βαρβάρους τινὰς οὐ πόρρω ’Αρμενίων
11 φιλημένους διενεγκεῖν. οὗ τε ’Αρμενίωι ἐν σπουδῇ
ἐχοντες ἐπίδειξιν ἐς Πέρσας τῆς ἐς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίας
tε καὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσασθαι, ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τούτων
dη τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν γῆν ἐγνωσαν, δηλώσαντες
τούτῳ πρότερον Πέρσαις. ἀπροσδόκητοι τε αὐτοὶ
ἐπιτεσσάρες σχέδον τι ἀπαντᾶς ἧβηδον ἔκτειναν.
δὲ τε Πακουρίος τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπηρεσθεῖς,
πέμψας παρὰ τὸν ’Αρσάκην τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηθείσιν
τινὰς τὰ τε πιστὰ οἱ παρασχόμενοι τὸν ἀνθρώπων
12 μετεπέμψατο. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρ’ αὐτῶν ’Αρσάκης ἀφί-
κετο, τῆς τῇ ἄλλης αὐτοῦ φιλοφροσύνης ἧξιοσε
13 καὶ ἀτε ἀδελφὸν ἔπι τῇ ἴση καὶ ὀμοίᾳ ἔσχε. καὶ
tότε μὲν ὀρκοὺς δεινοτάτοις τὸν τε ’Αρσάκην
34 1 καὶ διαφερόντως : διαφερόντως δὲ Γ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. v. 7-15

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

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

καταλαβῶν καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι ἦσσον ὁμωμοκώς ἢ μὴν εὐνόην τε καὶ εὐμμάχους Πέρσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ Ἀρμενίους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι, αὐτίκα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ήθη ἀφήκεν ἔναι.

16 Ὀχρόνω δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον διέβαλοι τὸν Ἀρσάκην τινὲς ὡς δὴ πράγμασι νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν βούλοιτο. οἵσπερ ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ Πακούριος αὐθεὶς αὐτὸν μετεπέμπετο, ὑπειπών ὅτι δὴ αὑτῷ τι κοινολογεῖσθαι ύπερ τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμελῆς εἶχ. 17 καὶ δὲ οὐδὲν τι μελλήσας ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθεθεί, ἀλλὰς τε τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις μαχιμωτάτων ἐπαγόμενος καὶ Βασσίκιον οἵσπερ αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς τε καὶ ξύμβουλός ἦν ἀνδρίας τε γάρ καὶ ἐννέαες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἄφικτο. εὖθυνοι οὖν ὁ Πακούριος ἅμφως, τὸν τε Ἀρσάκην καὶ Βασσίκιον, πολλὰ ὀνειδίζων ἐκάκιζεν, εἰ τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἠλογηκότε οὕτω δὴ τάχιστα ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἱδοεῖν. οἱ δὲ ἀπηρνοῦντο τε καὶ ἀπώμηνον ἐνδελεχέστατα μηδὲν σφίσων αὐτοῖς βεβου- 19 λεύσθαι τοιοῦτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ὁ Πακούριος αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσεν, ἐπειτα δὲ τῶν μάγων ἀνεπυθάνατο ὃ τι οἱ ποιητέα ἐς αὐτοὺς εἶχ. οἱ δὲ μάγοι τῶν μὲν ἀρνομένων καὶ οὐ διαρρήθην ἐλπηγεμένων καταγινώσκειν οὐδαμὴ ἐδικαίων, ὑποθήκην δὲ αὐτῷ τινα ἔφραζον, ὥσπερ ἂν Ἀρσάκης αὐτὸς ἀντικρὺς αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖν ἀναγκά- 21 ξίατο. τὸ γὰρ τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς ἐδαφος κόπρῳ καλύπτειν ἐκέλευον, ἦμιν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν χώρας, θάτερον δὲ ἦμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρμενίας. καὶ ὁ 22 βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἔποιεί. τοτε δὴ οἱ μάγοι τῆν σκηνήν ὅλην μαγεῖαι τις καταλαβόντες

1 ἐς VR: ἐν' Γ.
that in very truth the Persians and Armenians should thenceforth be friends and allies to each other; thereafter he straightway dismissed Arsaces to return to his own country.

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

ἐκέλευν τὸν βασιλέα ἣν τῷ Ἄρσακῃ τοὺς περιπάτους ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖσθαι, ἐπικαλοῦντα τοῖς τε
23 ἐν γεγειμένοις καὶ ὀμομοσμένοις λυμήμασθαι. δεῖν
δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τῷ διαλόγῳ παραγενέσθαι. οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν τῶν λόγων μᾶρτυρες ἀπάντων εἶεν. αὐτίκα
γοῦν ὁ Πακούριος τὸν Ἄρσάκην μεταπεμψάμενος
διαύλους ἐν τῇ σκηνῆς ἣν αὐτῷ ἐποιεῖτο, παρόντων
σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μάγων, καὶ ἀνεπιστάνετο τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου ὅτου δὴ ἐνεκα τὰ ὀμομοσμένα ἠλογη-
κῶς εἶτα Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους αὐθίς τρίβειν
24 ἀνηκέστοις κακοῖς ἐγχειροῦ πῇ δὲ Ἄρσάκης, ἐκεῖ,
ἐς μὲν ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο οὐ δὴ ὁ χῶς
ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἐπέκειτο, ἀπηρνεῖτο τε καὶ
ὅρκους τοῖς δεινοτάτοις πιστούμενος ἀνδράποδον
25 ἱσχυρότετο εἶναι Πακούριον πιστῶν ἐπειδὴ δὲ
μεταξὺ λέγων ἔς τῆς σκηνῆς τὸ μέσον ἀφίκετο, ἴνα
δὴ κόπρου τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπέβησαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκ
οἴδα ὅτω ἀναγκασθεὶς λόγους μὲν τούτους ἐπὶ τὸ
θραυστερον ἐξαπουϊαρας μεταβιβάζει, ἀπειλῶν δὲ
τῷ τε Πακούριῳ καὶ Πέρσαις οὐκέτι ἀνέει, ἀλλὰ
τίσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπηγγέλλετο ὑβρεῖς τῆς ἐπεὶ-
26 δὰν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ τάχιστα κύριος γένοιτο, καὶ
ταῦτα λέγων τε καὶ νεανιεύμενοις ἐποιεῖτο τὸν
περίπατον ὄλον, ἐς ἀναστρέψας ἐς κόπρου αὐθίς
tὴν ἐκ γῆς τῆς Περσίδος ἀφίκετο. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ
πάλιν ὃσπερ τινά παλινωδίαν ἄδων ἱκέτης τε ἦν
καὶ οἰκτρῶς τίνας τῷ Πακούριῳ προὐφερε λόγους.
27 ἔπει δὲ ἐς χοῦν αὐθίς τὸν 1 Ἀρμενίων ἤλθεν, ἐς
tὰς ἀπειλας ἀπεχώρησε. καὶ πολλάκις οὕτω
μεταβληθεὶς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα ἐκρυψε τῶν οἱ ἀπορ-
28 ῥήτων οὕτεν. τότε δὴ οἱ μὲν μάγοι κατέγνωσαν

1 τῶν Dindorf: τῶν MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. v. 22–28

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

αὐτοῦ ἐς τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὀρκους ἡμικέναι. Πακοῦριος δὲ Βασιλείου μὲν τὸ δέρμα ἐκδέματο ἐσκὸν τε αὐτὸ πεποιημένος καὶ ἀχύρων ἐμπλησάμενος ὅλον ἀπεκρέμασεν ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς 29 ὑψηλοῦ λίαν. τὸν μὲν τοῦ Ἀρσάκην (ἀποκτείνας γὰρ ἄνδρα τοῦ βασιλείου αἴματος δυτικ σούδαμη ἐλέχεν) ἐν τῷ τῆς Δήθης φρουρίῳ καθεδρεῖε.

χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ τε Ἀρσάκη ἐν τοῖς μάλωστα ἐπιτηδείων καὶ οἱ ἐπιστομένων 1 ἐσ τὰς Περσῶν ἦθη ιόντα, Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τινὲς ἔθνοι ιοῦσι βαρβαρικῶν ξυνεπτρέπεσεν ὅς δὴ ἀνήρ τε ἄγαθος ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ, ὀρθῶς Πακοῦριον τὰ ποιούμενα, γέγονε καὶ τῆς σίκης 31 αἰτιώτατος Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Πακοῦριος ὁ τι ἄν βούλοιτο αἰτεῖσθαι ἥξιον, ἵσχυσάμενος 32 ὅτι δὴ οὖδενός πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄτυχόθηκε. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο οἱ οὖδὲν γενόσθαι ἥξιον ἢ ὡστε τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἐν 33 ἡμέρᾳ μᾶθα βεβαιεῖσαι ἢ βούλοιτο. τούτῳ τὸν βασιλέα ἦνιασε μὲν ἐς τὰ μᾶλλα, εἰ λύειν νῦμον οὗτω δὴ παλαιὸν ἀναγκάζοιτο, ὅπως μέντοι παντάπασιν ἄλθῆσιται, ξυνεχόρει τὴν δέσιν 34 ἐπιτελῆ γενόσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ βασιλέως ἐπαγγείλαντος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ τῆς Δήθης φρουρίῳ, ἰσπάσατο μὲν τὸν Ἀρσάκην, ἀφιῶν δὲ ἀλλήλους περιβαλλόντες θηρημασάτην τε ἢδυν τινὰ θρήνον καὶ ἀπολοφυραμένοι τὴν παροῦσαν τύχην μόλις ἀπ' ἀλλήλους διαλύειν τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας ἐκάτερος 35 ἐσχέν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν ἐς κόρου ἐλθόντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἤλουσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρμενίων τῶν Ἀρσάκην

1 ἐπιστομένων : ἐπιστομένων V, ἐπιστομένος P.
2 ἀναγκάζοιτο G pr. m. : ἀναγκάζοιται VG codd., ἀναγκάζεται P.
against him as having violated the treaty and the oaths. Pacurius flayed Bassicius, and, making a bag of his skin, filled it with chaff and suspended it from a lofty tree. As for Arsaces, since Pacurius could by no means bring himself to kill a man of the royal blood, he confined him in the Prison of Oblivion.

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

καὶ τάλλα οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ἐκόσμησε, σχήμα
dε αὐτῷ περιθέμενος τὸ βασίλειον ἐπὶ στυβάδος
36 ἀνέκλινεν. ἐνταῦθα τε τούς παρόντας Ἀρσάκης
37 βασιλικός εἰσίτι ἦπερ εἰώθει τὰ πρότερα. ἐν
tαύτῃ τῇ θοίνῃ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ κύλικι λόγοι
ἐλέχθησαν οὔπερ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἱκανῶς ἤρεσκον,
pολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐς μέσον ἦλθεν ἄπερ αὐτῷ ἐν
ηδονῇ ἦν· μηκυνυομένου τε τού πότου ἄχρι ἐς
νύκτα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλία ὑπερφυῶς ἤρεσθή-
sαν, μόλις δὲ ἀλλήλους ἀπαλαγέντες διελύθησαν,
38 καταβεβριγμένου τῇ εὐπαθείᾳ. τότε δὴ λέγουσι
τὸν Ἀρσάκην εἰπεῖν ὡς ἡμέραν τὴν ἡδίστην δια-
tελέσας ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἥγγανεύμενος τῷ ποθει-
νοτάτῳ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκών γε
39 εἶναι ὑποσταίνῃ τὰ φλαῦρα τοῦ βίου, καὶ ταύτα
eἰπόντα μαγαίρα ἐαυτόν διαχειρίσασθαι 4 ἦπερ ἐν
tῇ θοίνῃ ἐξεπιτήδεις κεκλοφῶς ἔτυχεν, οὔτω τε
40 αὐτῶν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιρεθήναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
catα τούτον δὴ τὸν Ἀρσάκην ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων
συγγραφῆς λέγει ταύτῃ, ἦπερ ἐρρήθη, κεχωρικέναι,
cαὶ τὸν νόμον τότε ἀμφὶ τῷ τῆς Δῆθης φρουρίῳ
λελύσθαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὃθεντερ ἐξέβην ἱτέον.

VI

1 Καθειρχθέντα δὲ τὸν Καβάδην ἔθεράπευεν ἡ
γυνὴ ἐσιοῦσα 5 τε παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
ἐσκομίζουσα· ἤν δὴ ὁ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἄρχων πειρᾶν
ἅρξετο· ἥν γὰρ τὴν θυσίν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα εὐπρεπὴς.

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

VI

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

2 Ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Καβάδης παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐμαθεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐνδιδόναι αὐτὴν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅ τι βουλότους χρήσθαι. οὕτω δὴ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς εὐνῦν ἔνενθων ὁ τοῦ φρουρίου ἀρχον ἡράσθη τε αὐτῆς ἐρωτα ἐξαισίου οἶον, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔπεισθει παρὰ τῶν ἄνδρων ὑπὲρας οἰοείς καὶ αὐθεὶς ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, οὐδενὸς ἐμποδών ἰσταμένου. Ἰ δὲ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις λογίμων Σέσθης ὄνομα, Καβάδη
4 ἐστὰ μέλιστα φίλος, δε ἀμφί τὸ φρουρίον τοῦτο ἀιτριβὴν εἰς, καιροφυλακῶν εἰ πῶς αὐτὸν ἔδο.
5 θει ἐξελθοῦν δυνήσεται. διὰ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ Καβάδην ἐσφαίραν ὅσ’ ἔπνοι τέ οἱ καὶ ἀνδρὲς ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνουσιν ὑμεῖς τοῦ φρουρίου οὐ
6 μακρὰν ἀποθέν, δηλώσας τι χωρίον αὐτῷ. καὶ ποτε νυκτὸς ήπιλαβούσης ἀνέπεισε τήν γυναίκα Καβάδης ἐσθήτα μὲν αὐτῷ τῇν οἰκείαν δοῦναι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀμπεχομένην ἠμάντα ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκης αὐτῷ
7 αὐτοῦ καθήσαται, οὕτε ἐκεῖνος ἐκάθηστο. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Καβάδης ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, κατιδόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἷς ἡ φυλακὴ αὐτῆ ἐπεκείτο τῇ γυναίκα ὑπετόπαζον εἶναι· ταῦτα τοῦ ὡς κωλύειν οὕτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐγνωσαν.
8 ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γυναίκας ἐς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἵματιοι ιθανότες καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολέλειμμενοι τοῦ ἀληθὸς φῶς τοῦ Καβάδην ἐνταῦθα εἶναι· ἡ τε δοκήσεις αὐτῇ ἐν ἡμέραις συχναις ἡμερῶν,
9 ἐκείς Καβάδης πόρρω ποὺ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐγεγόνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ γυναικὶ ἔπεισθεν ἐν ὑπον γέενθε, ἐπεὶ ἐστὶν ἔπιθουλῇ ἥλθε, καὶ ὄντως αὐτὴν τρόπον

1 ἐνδοθεν Ρ: ἐνθένδεν VG.
2 τὰ δὲ V: τὰ δὲ G, αὕτην δὲ τὰ P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. vi. 2–9

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

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

10 Καβάδης δὲ λαθῶν ἀπαντᾷς ξῦν τῷ Σεόση ἐς Ὅιννους τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἀφίκετο, καὶ αὐτῷ τὴν παῖδα γυναικὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς γαμεῖς ἀνεδώσει, οὕτω τε στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἄτε κηδεστῇ ἐπὶ Πέρσας ξυνέπεμψε. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ Πέρσαι ὑπαντιάζειν οὐδαμῇ ἦθικι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος ἀλλη

12 ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμητῷ. ἔπει δὲ ὁ Καβάδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐγένετο ἐνθα ὁ Γουσαναστάδης τὴν ἄρχὴν ἐχεῖν, εἴπε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοὐν ὡς χαμαράγγῃ καταστήσεται ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον, δς ἂν αὐτῷ Περσῶν πρῶτος ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς ὅψιν ἑκὼν ὑπουργεῖν

13 βούλοιτο. εἰπότι τε οἱ μετέμελεν ἡδὴ τοῦ λόγου, ἐπει νόμος αὐτῶν ἐσήμει, δς δὴ οὐκ ἐὰ Πέρσαις ἐς τοὺς ἄλλοτροὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ οἷς ἡ τιμή ἐκάστη κατὰ γένος προσήκει. 14 ἔδεισε γὰρ μὴ τις ἱκοιτο ἐς αὐτὸν πρῶτος τῷ χαμαράγγῃ ὡς εὐγγενῆς ὁν, τὸν τὸ νόμον ἀναγκάζῃται λυεῖν ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀληθίζηται.

15 ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες ἐξηβῆ τῆς τύχης ὡς μὴ τὸν νόμον ἀτιμάζοντι ἀληθεῖ εἶναι. ἔτυχε γὰρ πρῶτος Ἀδεργουδουνβάδης ἐς αὐτὸν ἱκὼν, νεανίας ἄνδρος, ἐν γενέσθαι τῷ τῷ Γουσαναστάδῃ 

16 καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. δς δὴ δεσποτὴν τε προσεῖπε Καβάδην καὶ βασιλέα προσεκύψε τρῶτος, ἔδειτό τε οἱ ἀτε δούλῳ ὅ 

17 τι βούλοιτο χρήσθαί. Καβάδης οὖν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείωσι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ γενόμενος, ἔρημον τε
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. vi. 9-17

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

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

Βλάσην τῶν ἀμυνομένων λαβὼν ἐξετάσατο, τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτε τυφλοὺς οἱ Πέρσαι ποιεῖν τοὺς κακούργους εἰσώθωσιν, ἔλαιον ἔφρυνεν καὶ αὐτὸ ὡς μάλιστα ξένοι ἐς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οὕτω μύστας ἐπικέφαλες, ἢ περόνην τινὰ σιδήραν πυρακτοῦντες ταύτη τε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ ἐντὸς χρύσους, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχεν ἀρέστα Πέρσων εἴς αὐτούς δύο. καὶ τῶν μὲν Γούσαναστάδην κτείνας τὸν Ἄδεργουδονυβάδην ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ κατεστήσατο ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ χαναράγγου ἀρχής, τὸν δὲ Σέοσην ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνην εὐθὺς ἀνείπη. δύναται δὲ τούτω τὸν ἐπὶ ἄρχαις τοῦ ὄμοι καὶ στρατιώτα ταῖς ἐφεστῶτα. ταύτην ὡς Σέοσης τῆς ἀρχηγῆς πρῶτος τε καὶ μόνος ἐν Πέρσαις ἔσχεν οὐτε γὰρ πρότερον οὐτε ὑστερῶν τοις γέγονεν τῇ τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὁ Καβάδης ἐκρατύνατο καὶ ἐξίν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διεφύλαξεν. ἦν γὰρ ἄγχυνους τε καὶ δραστήριος οὐδενὸς ἦσσον.

VII

1 Ὅληγῳ δὲ ὑστερῶν χρήματα Καβάδης τῷ Εφθαλιτῶν βασιλείᾳ ὀφείλει, ἀπερ ἐπει ἀποτυπνύναι οἱ οὐχ οἶδι τε ἦν, Ἀναστάσιον τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα ἦτε ταύτα οἱ δανείας τὰ χρήματα· ὁ δὲ κοινολογησάμενος τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τισῶν ἐπυνθάνετο εἰ γέ οἱ ταύτα ποιήσατε εἰ. 2 οὕπερ αὐτοῦ τῷ συμβολαίον ποιεῖσθαι οὐκ εἶλον. ἀξύμφορον γὰρ ἀπεθάνου εἶναι βεβαιωτέραν τοῖς πολεμίοις χρήμασιν οἰκείος ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλιαί τῆς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι, οὐς δὴ ἐς ἄλλη

48
any trouble, and, taking Blases destitute of defenders, he put out his eyes, using the method of blinding commonly employed by the Persians against malefactors, that is, either by heating olive oil and pouring it, while boiling fiercely, into the wide-open eyes, or by heating in the fire an iron needle, and with this prick ing the eyeballs. Thereafter Blases was kept in confinement, having ruled over the Persians two years. Gousanastades was put to death and Adergoudounbades was established in his place in the office of chanaranges, while Seoses was immediately proclaimed "adrastadaran salanes,"—a title designating the one set in authority over all magistrates and over the whole army. Seoses was the first and only man who held this office in Persia; for it was conferred on no one before or after that time. And the kingdom was strengthened by Cabades and guarded securely; for in shrewdness and activity he was surpassed by none.

VII.

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

χους ἤγγικον ὅτι μάλιστα σφίσιν ἀμείνον 3 εἶναι. διὸ δὴ Καβάδης ἐξ αὐτίας οὐδεμᾶς ἐγνώ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίον στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν αὐτάγγελος Ἀρμεῖναν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῆλθε, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ πολλὰ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς λησαμένους ἐστὶ Ἀμώδαν ὀλίν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ κειμένη ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἀφίκετο, ἡ δὲ χειμόνος ὃρα ἐς πολιορ-κίαν καθίστατο. Ἀμώδηνοι δὲ στρατιωτῶν μὲν, ἀτὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἄγαθοὶ πράγμασιν, δὲ παρ-όντων σφίσι, καὶ ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαράσκευοι παντά-πασιν ὄντες, ὅμως τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς ἦκιστα προσχωρεῖν ἠθελον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε κινδύνοις καὶ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντέχον.

5 Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν Σύροις ἄνηρ δίκαιος, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα, ὃ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἐς τὸ ἀκριβῆς ἱστηκτο. οὐτος ἐν χωρίῳ Ἐνδήλων, διέχοντι Ἀμώδης ἥμερας ὅδοι, πολλοὶς ἐμπροσθεῖν χρόνοις αὐτῶν καθείρξεν, ὅπως δὴ ἀδεέστερον τὰ ἐς τὴν εὐσέβειαν μελεταὶ. καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ ταύτη ἀνθρώποι ὑπογροντες τῇ γνώμῃ δρυφάκτων τισὶ περείβαλον, οὐ γυνημένους μέντοι, ἀλλὰ χωρίς πεπηγόσιν ἄλληλον, ὅστε ὅραν τε τοὺς προσ-7 ἴόντας καὶ ἴγνινεσθαι οἶδον τε εἶναι. καὶ στέγος τι αὐτῷ ἐτεκτήναντο βραχὺ ὑπερθεν, ὅσον ὁμβροὺς τε καὶ νυφετοὺς ἀποκρούσθη. ἐνταῦθα οὖτος [ὁ] ἄνηρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθήστο, πνεύμη μὲν ἡ ψυχή ὡς ἦκιστα εἶκος, σπέρμασι δὲ τισὶν ἀποξώσει, ὅσπερ οὐ καθ’ ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ χρόνου 8 πολλοῦ συνίζεσθαι εἰώθει. τοῦτον οὖν τῶν
relations as much as possible. It was for this reason, and for no just cause, that Cabades decided to make an expedition against the Romans. First he invaded the land of the Armenians, moving with such rapidity as to anticipate the news of his coming, and, after plundering the greater part of it in a rapid campaign, he unexpectedly arrived at the city of Amida, which is situated in Mesopotamia, and, although the season was winter, he invested the town. Now the citizens of Amida had no soldiers at hand, seeing that it was a time of peace and prosperity, and in other respects were utterly unprepared; nevertheless they were quite unwilling to yield to the enemy, and shewed an unexpected fortitude in holding out against dangers and hardships.

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

'Ιάκωβον τῶν τινες Ἐφθαλιτῶν καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία εἶδον, καὶ τὰ τόξα σπουδὴ πολλὴ ἐντευνάμενοι βάλλειν ἦθελον. πάσι δὲ ἀκίνητοι αἱ χεῖρες γεγονοῦσα τὰ τόξα ἐνεργεῖν οὐδαμὴν 9 εἶχον. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερόμενον ἐς Καβάδην ἦλθεν, αὐτόπτης γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου ὁ Καβάδης ἐβούλετο, ἵδον τε ἐν θάμβητε μεγάλῳ ξὺν Περσῶν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγίνετο, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐλπιάρει ἀφεῖναι τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ ἐγκλῆμα. ὁ δὲ ἀφήκε τε λόγῳ ἐνὶ καὶ τὰ δεινὰ 10 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐλέλυντο. Καβάδης μὲν οὖν ἀιτείν τῶν ἄνδρα ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τι ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἰς, χρήματα οἰόμενος αὐτὸν μεγάλα αἰτήσειν, καὶ τι καὶ νεανιεσάμενος ὡς οὐδενὸς 11 πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀτυχῆσει. ὁ δὲ οἱ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδείτο χαρίζοσθαι διὸ στὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τοῦτῷ καταφεύγοντες παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἰκωνται. ταύτην Καβάδης τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελὴ ἐποίει καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδον τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐνέχυρα. πολλοὶ γοὺν πανταχόθεν εὐρρέουστε ἐνταῦθα ἐσώζοντο. περιβόητος γὰρ ἦ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. ταύτα μὲν ὡδέ τη ἔσχε.

12 Καβάδης δὲ Ἀμιδὰν πολιορκῶν κριὰν τὴν μηχανήν πανταχόσα τοῦ περιβόλου προσέβαλε. καὶ Ἀμιδηνοὶ μὲν τὴν ἐμβολὴν ἀεὶ δοκοῖς τις ἐγκαρσαίας ἀνέστελλον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνήκεν, ἔως 13 ταύτην ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ τείχος ἔγνω. πολλάκις γὰρ ἐμβαλὼν καθελεῖν τί τοῦ περιβόλου ἦ κατασείσαι ἱκιστὰ ἰσχυσεν, οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἦ

1 δέησιν VP: αἰτησιν G. 2 ἦ: καὶ V.
who were overrunning the country thereabout saw this Jacobus and with great eagerness drew their bows with intent to shoot at him. But the hands of every one of them became motionless and utterly unable to manage the bow. When this was noised about through the army and came to the ears of Cabades, he desired to see the thing with his own eyes; and when he saw it, both he and the Persians who were with him were seized with great astonishment, and he entreated Jacobus to forgive the barbarians their crime. And he forgave them with a word, and the men were released from their distress. Cabades then bade the man ask for whatever he wished, supposing that he would ask for a great sum of money, and he also added with youthful recklessness that he would be refused nothing by him. But he requested Cabades to grant to him all the men who during that war should come to him as fugitives. This request Cabades granted, and gave him a written pledge of his personal safety. And great numbers of men, as might be expected, came flocking to him from all sides and found safety there; for the deed became widely known. Thus, then, did these things take place.

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

1 Cf. Thuc. ii. 78, 4.
PROCOPHIOS OF CAESAREA

αἰκόδομία τῶν δειμμένων τὸ παλαιὸν εἰργαστὸ.
14 τούτων δὲ Καβαδῆς ἀποτυχών, λόφου τινὰ χειροποίητον ἐπιτείχισμα τῇ πόλει ἔποιεὶ μέτρῳ πολλῷ ὑπεραιροῦτα τοῦ τείχους τὸ μῆκος, οὗ τε πολυροκόμευον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀρξάμενοι κατόρχυχα μέχρι ἐς τὸν λόφον ἐποίουν, καὶ λάθρα ἐνθένδε τὸν χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντες κενὰ ἐπὶ πλειστὸν τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ λόφου εἰργάσαντο. τὰ μέντοι ἐκτὸς ἐφ' οὗτοι ἐγενόντες σχήματα ἔμενεν οὐδὲν αἷ-
15 σθησιν παρεχόμενα τοῦ πρασσομένου. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ὅσπερ ἐπ' ἀσφαλοὺς ἀναβαί-
νοντες ἐν τῇ ἁγῇ ἐγένοντο καὶ βάλλειν ἐνθένδε κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ 
διενοῦντο. τοῦ δὲ ὀμίλου δρόμῳ ἐπιρρέουντος ἐμπέσων ὁ λόφος ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνίδιου σχεδὸν τι 
16 ἀπαντάς ἐκτείνε. Καβαδῆς δὲ τοὺς παροῦσιν 
ἀπορούμενοι τὴν προσεδρείαν διαλύειν ἔγνω, καὶ 
tῇ στρατοπέδῳ ἀναχώρειν ἐς τὴν ύπεραλα 
17 ἐπήγγειλε. τότε δὴ οἱ πολυροκόμευοι, ἀτε τοῦ 
κινδύνου ἀφροτιστήσαντες, πολλὰ τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους 1 ξύν γελῶται ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐτώθαζον.
18 καὶ τινὲς ἐταίραι ἀνελκύσασα κόσμῳ οὕδενὶ τὴν 
ἐσθήτα Καβαδῆ ἀγχιστὰ ποὺ ἐστηκότι ἐδει-
κνον ὁσα τῶν γυναικῶν γυμνὰ φανήκαν ἄνδρας 
19 οὐ θέμως. ὅπερ κατιδώτες οἱ μάγοι τῷ τε βα-
σίλει ἐς οὕσιν ἠλθοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐκάλυνον, 
ξυμβαλεῖν ἱσχυριζόμενοι τῷ γεγονότι ὡς ἀπαντα 
Καβαδῆ Ἀμιδῆνοι τὰ τε ἀπόρρητα καὶ κρυπτό-
μενα οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν δείξομεν. οὕτω μὲν τὰ 
Περσῶν στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

1 τοῦ βαρβάρου Μαλτρετοῦ: τοῦ βαρβάρου VP, τοῦ βαβά-
ρου G.

54
had been the work of the builders who had constructed it long before. Failing in this, Cabades raised an artificial hill to threaten the city, considerably overtopping the wall; but the besieged, starting from the inside of their defences, made a tunnel extending under the hill, and from there stealthily carried out the earth, until they hollowed out a great part of the inside of the hill. However, the outside kept the form which it had at first assumed, and afforded no opportunity to anyone of discovering what was being done. Accordingly many Persians mounted it, thinking it safe, and stationed themselves on the summit with the purpose of shooting down upon the heads of those inside the fortifications. But with the great mass of men crowding upon it with a rush, the hill suddenly fell in and killed almost all of them. Cabades, then, finding no remedy for the situation, decided to raise the siege, and he issued orders to the army to retreat on the morrow. Then indeed the besieged, as though they had no thought of their danger, began laughingly from the fortifications to jeer at the barbarians. Besides this some courtesans shamelessly drew up their clothing and displayed to Cabades, who was standing close by, those parts of a woman's body which it is not proper that men should see uncovered. This was plainly seen by the Magi, and they thereupon came before the king and tried to prevent the retreat, declaring as their interpretation of what had happened that the citizens of Amida would shortly disclose to Cabades all their secret and hidden things. So the Persian army remained there.
20 Ἦμεραις δὲ τῶν τις Περσῶν οὐ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἄγχιστα τῶν πύργων τινὸς ἐκβολῆν ὑπονόμου πάλαιοι εἴδεν οὖ τῷ ἁσφάλει κεκαλυμμένην, ἀλλὰ χάλιξι σμικραῖς τε καὶ οὐ λίαν
21 συχναίς. νῦκτωρ τε μόνος ἐνταῦθα ἦκων καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀποπειρασάμενος ἐντὸς τοῦ, περιβόλου ἐγένετο. ἀμὴ δὲ ἤμερα τὸν πάντα λόγον Καβάδη ἀπήγγειλε. καὶ δὴ τῇ ἐπιγνωμένῃ νυκτί κλίμακας ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενος ἔν ὀλγοις τισὶν ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ δεξιὰ ξυνη-
22 νέχθη τύχῃ τρόπῳ τοὐφὲ. τὸν πύργον, δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἄγχος ἐπούκα χανεν ὡν, φυλάσσειν τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἳ σωφρονεστατοὶ ἔλαχον, οὐσπερ καλεῖν μοναχοὺς νευομίκασι. τούτους ἐστιν τινά τῷ θεῷ ἕγειρεν ἐνιαύσιον ἐκείνη τῇ
23 ἤμερα τετύχκειν. ἐπεὶ τε ἡ νυξ ἐπεγένετο, ἄπαντες, ἄτε κόπτῃ μὲν πολλῷ διὰ τὴν πανῆγυριν ὁμιλήσαντες, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ εἰδισμένου σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἐσκόρου ἔλθοντες, ὕπνου τινὰ ἡδύν τε καὶ πρᾶσον ἐκάθενδον καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
24 ὡς ἤκιστα τῶν ποιουμένων ἱσθάνοντο. Πέρσαι γοῦν διὰ τοῦ ὑπονόμου ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου κατ᾽ ὀλγόν τις γενόμενοι καὶ τῶν πύργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τοὺς μοναχοὺς καθεύδουσας ἐτί εὐρόντες, ἔκτειναν
25 ἄπαντας. δὴ πρὸ τοῦ ἑτεὶ Καβάδης ἔγρα, τὰς κλί-
26 μακας τῷ τείχει τούτου δὴ ἀγχιστα τοῦ πύργου
28 προσήγεν. Ἦμερα δὲ ἤν ἡ ἡδή. καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδη-
27 μῶν οἱ ἐν πύργῳ τῷ ἐχομένῳ ἐφύλασαι, αἰσθό-
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. vii. 20-27

Not many days later one of the Persians saw close by one of the towers the mouth of an old underground passage, which was insecurely concealed with some few small stones. In the night he came there alone, and, making trial of the entrance, got inside the circuit-wall; then at daybreak he reported the whole matter to Cabades. The king himself on the following night came to the spot with a few men, bringing ladders which he had made ready. And he was favoured by a piece of good fortune; for the defence of the very tower which happened to be nearest to the passage had fallen by lot to those of the Christians who are most careful in their observances, whom they call monks. These men, as chance would have it, were keeping some annual religious festival to God on that day. When night came on they all felt great weariness¹ on account of the festival, and, having sated themselves with food and drink beyond their wont, they fell into a sweet and gentle sleep, and were consequently quite unaware of what was going on. So the Persians made their way through the passage inside the fortifications, a few at a time, and, mounting the tower, they found the monks still sleeping and slew them to a man. When Cabades learned this, he brought his ladders up to the wall close by this tower. It was already day. And those of the townsmen who were keeping guard on the adjoining tower became aware of the disaster, and ran thither with all speed to give assistance. Then for a long time both sides

¹ Cf. Book VII. xxvi. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

ἀλλήλων ἐχρώντο, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἦθη Ἀμιδηνοὶ ἔχοντες τῶν τε ἀναβεβηκότων πολλοὺς Ἐκτεινον. καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν κλημάκων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ τοῦ ἀπεδώσας τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μακράν ποὺ ἐγένοντο.
28 ἀλλὰ Καβάδης αὐτῶς τὸν ἀκινάκην σπασάμενος καὶ αὐτῷ ἤθελε δεδισσόμενος ἐστις κλημακας ὁμοῖοι οὐκ ἀνέι τοὺς Πέρσας, θάνατος τε ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐνθέντες ἀναστρέφειν τολμῶσι. διὸ δὴ πλήθει πολλοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι καθυπέρτεροι τῶν ἐναντίων γενόμενοι ἐνίκησαν τε αὐτοὺς τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἡ πόλις ἦλω ὁγονηκοσθῇ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορ-κίας ἡμέρας. φόνος τε Ἀμιδηνῶν πολὺς ἐγέγονε, ἐως ἐσπελαύνοντι ἐς τὴν πόλιν Καβαδὴ τῶν τις Ἀμιδηνῶν γέρων τε καὶ ἔρευς προσελθὼν εἶπεν ὡς οὐ βασιλικὸν τὸ φονεύειν τοὺς ἠλωκότας εἴη.
31 Καβαδῆς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ἐτί ἐχόμενος ἀπεκρίνατο, "Διὰ τὸ γὰρ μαί τοπολεμεῖν ἔγνωτε;" ὅ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν αὐτικὰ ἔφη, ""Οτι δὴ ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἁματέρα γνώμην, ἀλλὰ σῇ ἀρετῆ παραδίδωκαί σοι Ἀμιδᾶν ἡθελεί. τοῦτῳ τῷ λόγῳ Καβάδης ἠθελεὶς κτεῖνές αὐδένα τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε χρήματα ληίζεσθαι Πέρσας ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς περιόντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιεῖσθαι λόγῳ, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξελέσθαι ἀπαντας αὐτῶν τους δοκίμους ἐπέστελλεν.
33 Ὅλης δὲ ὑστερον χιλιῶν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐνταῦθα λιπὼν ἄρχουτα τε αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας Γλώσσῃ, ἀνάρα Πέρσην, καὶ τῶν Ἀμιδηνῶν ἀνθρώπους τινὰς ὄλγοις οἰκτροὺς, οἳ δὴ ἐς τὴν διαίταν ὑπηρετήσειν Πέρσας ἐμελλοῦν, αὐτῶς παντὶ τῷ ἀλφρο στρατῷ τους ἠλωκότας ἔχων ἐπ

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

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

34 οίκου ἀπήλαυνεν. ἐς τούτοις δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους φιλανθρωπίᾳ ἐχρήσατο βασιλεῖ πρεπούσῃ· χρόνου γὰρ ὅλου εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύμπαντας ἀφῆ-35 κεν ἰέαν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ ἀπέδρασαν αὐτὸν, ὥς τε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος ἔργα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια· φόρους τε γὰρ τοὺς ἐπετείουσ ἐς ἑτη ἐπτὰ ξύμπαντας ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοὺς κοινῇ τε καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκαστὸν πολλοὺς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐδωρήσατο, ὡςτε αὐτοῖς λήθην τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων πολλῆν γενέσθαι. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ἵστερῷ ἐγένετο.

VIII

1 Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀναστάσιος πολυρκεῖσθαι μαθῶν Ἀμιδαν στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος διαρκές ἐπεμψεν. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν μὲν κατὰ συμμορίαν ἐκάστων, στρατηγοῖ δὲ ἀπαύγαν ἑφεστήκεσαν τέσσαρες, Ἀρεὸβινδὸς τε, Ὁλυβρίου κηδεστής, τοὺ εὖ τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ βεβασιλευκότος ὅλιγῳ πρότερον,

2 τῆς ἐφος δὲ τότε στρατηγὸς ἐτύγχανεν ὅν· καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ταγμάτων ἄρχηγος Κέλερ (μαγιστρὸν Ῥωμαιίων τὴν ἀρχὴν καλεῖν νεομίκασιν). ἔτι μὴν καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Πατρίκιος τε ὁ Φρύξ καὶ Ἰπάτιος ὁ βασιλεὼς ἀδελφιδοὺς· οὗτοι μὲν τέσσαρες τραΓιδο ἦσαν. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰουστίνος, δὴ δὴ ὅστερον Ἀναστάσιον τελευτήσαντος ἐβασιλεύσε, καὶ Πατρίκιόλος ξὺν Βιταλιανῷ τῷ παιδὶ,

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

VIII

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

\(^{1}\) Cf. Thuc. i. 128. \(^{2}\) A division of no fixed number.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ Α ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑ

δε ὡσπλα ἀντάρας Ἀναστασίως βασιλεὺς ὁ πολλὴ ὕστερον ἐπιράνησε, καὶ Φαρεσμάνης Κόλχος μὲν γένος, διαφερόντως δὲ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, καὶ Γοδίδισκος τε καὶ Βέσσας, Γότθοι ἄνδρες, Γότθων τῶν ὦν ἐπιστομένων Θεοδερίχῳ εἰς Ἴταλίαν ἐκ Θράκης ἴντι, γενναίω τε ὑπερφυὸς ἁμφοὶ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πραγμάτων ἐμπείρω, ἀλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἀριστοὶ εἶποντο. 4 στράτευμα γὰρ τοιοῦτο φασιν οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε ὕστερον ἐπὶ Πέρσας Ὁρμαιῶν ξυστήμα. οὕτω μέντοι ἀπαντεῖς οὐκ ἐς ταῦτα ἄγηγερμένου οὐδὲ στράτευμα ἐν ποιησάμενοι ἤσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς τοῖς κατ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτατος ἔξηγεντο
5 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρήσιςς δὲ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης Ἀπίων Αὐγυπτίων ἐστάλη, ἀνὴρ ἐν πατρικίας ἐπιφανῆς τε καὶ δραστηρίος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς κοινών τῆς βασιλείας ἐν γράμμασιν ἀνείπεν, ὅπως οἱ ἐξουσίαι εἴη τὰ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην ἡ βούλιοτο διουσιάζασθαι.

6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατὸς οὗτος χρώμε τε ἐκενέλεγοντο καὶ σχολαίτεροι ἐπορεύοντο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν τῇ τῆ Πομαίων οὐχ εὗρον, ἐπεὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οἱ Πέρσαι τὴν ἔφοδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ἀνεχώρησαν ἕως
7 πάση τῆς λείας. τόν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὐδές ἐς πολιορκίαν τῶν ἐν Ἄμμη ἀπολελειμμένων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καθίστασθαι ἴθελε· τολλά γὰρ ἐσκομισσάτοι σφᾶς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐμαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τῆς χώρας ἐσβολῆν ποιήσασθαι ἐν
8 σπουδὴ εἶχον. ο郤 η μὴ ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους κοινῇ

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

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

Joseph, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων στρατοπεδευόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. ταῦτα Καβάδης μαθὼν (ἀγχιστά γάρ που ἐτύγχανεν οὖν) ἐστὶ Ἶρωμαίων ὀρια κατὰ τάχος ἑλθὼν ὑπηντίαζεν. οὕτω μὲντοι Ἶρωμαιοὶ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ Καβάδην ἴναι ἐπὶ αὐτούς ἐμαθον, ἀλλὰ Περσῶν φόντο στράτευμα βραχύ τι ἐνυάθθα ἐίναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Ἀρεόβινδον ἑστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀρξάμων, ἀπέχοντι Κωνσταντίνης πόλεως δυὸν ἠμέραιν ὁδὸν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ἰπάτιων ἐν χωρίῳ Σίφριος, ὑπὲρ Ἁμίδης πόλεως οὐχ ἦσον ἡ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους ἀπέχει. Κέλερ γὰρ σὺπω ἑνταύθα ἀφίκετο.

Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ ἐπειδὴ Καβάδην παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιέναι σφίσιν ἐπύθησο, ἀπολυτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἄπασιν ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμητο καὶ ἐς Κωνσταντίναν δρόμῳ ἐγεύρει.

ἐπελθόντες δὲ ὅλῳ υἱόντων οἱ πολέμων ἔρημου ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῖς χρήμασι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔπλουν. ἔνθεν τε κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ Ἶρωμαῖων τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα ἦγεσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πατρίκιον καὶ Ἰπάτιων Ἐφθαλίας ἐνυχθόντες ὀκτακοσίους οἱ τοῦ Περσῶν στρατοῦ ἐμπροσθέν ἦσαν, σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντας ἐκτειναν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ τῷ Καβάδῃ καὶ τῇ Περσῶν στρατῷ πεπυσμένοι, ἀτε νευκηκότες, ἀδεέστερον τῇ διάτη ἐχρώντο. τὰ γοῦν ὅπλα καταθέμενου ἀριστοκράτους σφίσιν ἀριστομαζον. ἦδη γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ὁ καιρὸς ἐνυάθθα ἤγε. ῥώας δὲ τις ἔρρει ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ, ἵνα Ἰρωμαῖοι τὰ κρέα

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

Areobindus, when he ascertained that Cabades was coming upon them with his whole army, abandoned his camp, and, in company with all his men, turned to flight and retired on the run to Constantina. And the enemy, coming up not long afterwards, captured the camp without a man in it and all the money it contained. From there they advanced swiftly against the other Roman army. Now the troops of Patricius and Hypatius had happened upon eight hundred Ephthalitae who were marching in advance of the Persian army, and they had killed practically all of them. Then, since they had learned nothing of Cabades and the Persian army, supposing that they had won the victory, they began to conduct themselves with less caution. At any rate they had stacked their arms and were preparing themselves a lunch; for already the appropriate time of day was drawing near. Now a small stream flowed in this place and in it the Romans began to
καθαύρειν ἤρξαντο οἷς δὴ σιτίζεσθαι ἔμελλον. 16 τινὲς δὲ ἀχθόμενοι τῷ πυγίει καὶ λούσθαι ἤζιον, ταύτη τε ταραχθέν τὸ τοῦ ρύκακος ὕδωρ πρὸς ἔχωρει. Καβάδης δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ἐφθαλίτας ἐξυμ-πεσόντα μαθὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τάχος ἤμεν κατιδῶν τε συγκεκυμένων τὸ τοῦ ρύκακος ὕδωρ καὶ ξυμβαλῶν τὸ ποιούμενον ἔγνω ἀπαρασκεύοντος τοὺς ἐναντίους εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἤδη ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευεν. αὐτίκα τε αὐτοῖς ἐστιωμένοι τε καὶ ἀνόπλος οὐδὲν ἐπέστησαν. 18 Ὄρωμαίοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς ἀλκήν μὲν τὸ παράπαυον οὐκ ἐβλέπον, ἔφευγον δὲ ὡς ἐκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν κατα-λαμβανόμενοι ἐμφάνισαν, οἱ δὲ ἀνόμοις εἰς τὸ ὄρος δὲ ταὐτῇ ἀνέχει ἐρρύπτων αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὸ κρη-μώδες ἐξιν φόβῳ καὶ θρούβῳ πολλῷ. ζηθεν δὴ οὐδένα σεσώμαθαι φασί. Πατρίκιος δὲ καὶ Ὀπά-ντος κατ’ ἄρχας τῆς ἐφόδου διασφυγεῖν ἵσχυσαν. ἐπεετὰ δὲ Καβάδης, Ὄδυνον πολεμίων ἡ γῆ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐσβεβληκότων, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ οὗκ ἀνεχωρήσατο, πολεμίον τε μακρὸν πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος 20 τούτῳ ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτὸν διέφερεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα Ὤρωμαίων ἦλθε, λόγου μὲντοι ἄξιον οὐδὲν ἐδρασαν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτο-κράτορ τοῦ πολεμίου κατέστη οὔδείς, ἀλλὰ ἱσοί πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἤπες ἀντεστάτων τε ἀλλήλων ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐν τῷ 21 αὐτῷ οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. Κέλερ δὲ ζην τοὺς ἐπο-μένοις Νύμφιον ποταμὸν διαβαίς ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς 22 τὴν Ἀρβανηνὴν ἐπτούσατο. ἦστι δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς

1 οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες G: οὐκ ἐπενεγκόντες V, οὐχ ὑπενεγκόντες P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. viii. 15-22

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

οὗτος Μαρτυροπόλεως μὲν ἀγχοτάτω, Ἀμίδης δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων τριακοσίων. οἱ δὲ ληστάμενοι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία ἐπανήλθον οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον. δὲ ὅλγον τε ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο.

IX

1 Μετὰ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν ἡ Βυζάντιον ως βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἡ Ἀμιδᾶν ἀφικόμενοι χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ὡς πολιορκίαις καθίσταντο. καὶ βιὰ μὲν ἔλειν τὸ χωρίον, καίτερ πολλὰ ἐγκεχειρηκότες, οὐκ ἵσχυσαν, λυμφὸ δὲ τούτο ποιεῖν ἔμεμλον. πάντα γὰρ τοὺς πολι-2 ορκουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλειλοίπει. ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐδὲν πεπυσμένοι ἄμφι τῶν πολεμίων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἔπειδή τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ προσεδρείᾳ καὶ τῷ χειμῶν ἀχθομένους ἑώρων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἐπὶ σφαῖς ἤξειν οὐκ εἰς μα-κρὰν ὑπετόπαξον, τρόπῳ ὅτι δὴ ἐνθέϊα ἀπαλ-3 λάσσεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔλιχον. οὐ τε Πέρσαι, οὐκ ἔχοντες τίνες ἂν ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς δεινῶς γένοιτο, τὴν μὲν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές ἐκρυπτὼν, δόκησαν παρέχοντες ὡς πάντων σφίσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονία εἰ, ἐς δὲ τὰ οἰκεῖα ξύν
4 τῷ εὐπρεπεί λόγῳ ἀναχωροῦν ἦθελον. γίνονται οὖν ἐν ἄμφοτέροις λόγοι, ἐφ' ὦ δὴ Πέρσαι λίτρας χρυσίου χιλίας λαβόντες ἀποδόσουσι Ρωμαίοις τὴν πόλιν. ἐκάτεροι τε ἅσμενοι τὰ ἐνυγκείμενα ἐπιτελῆ ἔποιον, τὰ τε χρήματα λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ

68
river is one very close to Martyropolis, about three hundred stades from Amida. So Celer's troops plundered the country thereabout and returned not long after, and the whole invasion was completed in a short time.

IX

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

5 Οὕτω μὲν στρατοπεδευσμένων ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίοις, Ἁμίδης δὲ πόλεως δύντων οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεν, τῶν τις ἄγροικων, ὁσπερ ἐλώθει ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσιῶν λάθρα ἄριστε τε καὶ ἄρτους καὶ τῶν ὀραίων πολλά τῷ Γλώνῃ τούτῳ ἀποδίδοσθαι χρημάτων μεγάλων, Πατρικίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐς ὄψιν ἔλθον Γλώνῃν οἱ ἐς χείρας παραδώσειν ἐνὶ Πέρσαις διακοσίοις ὑπέσχετο, ἂν τινος ἀμιδῆς ἐλπίδα

6 λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῷ εἰς. ο ὃ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπαντᾷ ὅσα ἦν βουλομένως ὑποσχόμενος ἐσεθαί τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ δὲ τὰ τε ἠμαῖν τε ἀνευός διαρρήξας καὶ δεδακρυμένῳ ἐνικῶς ἐς τὴν πόλιν

7 εἰσῆλθε. παρὰ τὲ τὸν Γλώνῃν ἦκων τὰς τε τρίχας τῆς, "Ἐτύγχανον μὲν, ὁ δὲσποτα," εἶπεν, ἂν ἤποτα σοι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τὰγαθὰ φέρων, ἐντυχόντες δὲ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίοι (καὶ γὰρ ποὺ ἐς <τὰ>2 τάς ταύτης χωρίας καὶ ὀλίγους περιόντες τοὺς οἰκτροὺς ἄγροικους βιάζονται) πληγάς τὰ μοι οὐ φορητὰς προσπερίψαντο καὶ πάντα ἀσφαλομένου οἱ λησταὶ ψυχοῦν, οἷς ἐκ παλαιοῦ Πέρσαις τε δεδίναι καὶ τὸν γεωργὸς βιάζεσθαι

8 νόμος. ἀλλ’ ὅπως, ὁ δὲσποτα, σαυτῷ τε καὶ ἠμίν καὶ Πέρσαις ἀμῖν. ἂν γὰρ ἐς τῆς πόλεως τὰ προάστεια κυνηγητήσων ἤς, θήραμα σοὶ οὐ φαίλον ἔσται, κατὰ πέντε γὰρ ἦ τῆτταρας οἱ κατάρατοι περιόντες λοιποδυτούσιν." ἄν χι ρετήτα ἐπεν. ἀναπεισθεῖς δὲ ὁ Γλώνῃς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνεπιθύμητο πόσοςς ποτὲ Πέρσαις οἰσταί οἱ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἴκανους ἐσεθαί. ὁ δὲ πεντήκομαι

1 δσπερ Haury: δσπερ MSS,   2 <τὰ> Dindorf.
Romans. For Glones himself had already died in the following manner.

When the Romans had not yet encamped before the city of Amida but were not far from its vicinity, a certain countryman, who was accustomed to enter the city secretly with fowls and loaves and many other delicacies, which he sold to this Glones at a great price, came before the general Patricius and promised to deliver into his hands Glones and two hundred Persians, if he should receive from him assurance of some requital. And the general promised that he should have everything he desired, and thus dismissed the fellow. He then tore his garments in a dreadful manner, and, assuming the aspect of one who had been weeping, entered the city. And coming before Glones, and tearing his hair he said: "O Master, I happened to be bringing in for you all the good things from my village, when some Roman soldiers chanced upon me (for, as you know, they are constantly wandering about the country here in small bands and doing violence to the miserable country-folk), and they inflicted upon me blows not to be endured, and, taking away everything, they departed,—the robbers, whose ancient custom it is to fear the Persians and to beat the farmers. But do you, O Master, take thought to defend yourself and us and the Persians. For if you go hunting into the outskirts of the city, you will find rare game. For the accursed rascals go about by fours or fives to do their robbery." Thus he spoke. And Glones was persuaded, and enquired of the fellow about how many Persians he thought would be sufficient for him to carry out the enterprise. He
μὲν ἀποχρήσεων οἱ μάλιστα ἐφη· οὐ γὰρ ἃν αὐτῶν πλείον ἤτο ζῶν ἐντύχομεν, τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπροσδόκητον σφίσι ἐξυμβῆναι οὐδὲν τι χείρον καὶ ἕκατον ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἐπαγαγέσθαι· ήν δὲ καὶ τούτων διπλασίους, τῷ παντὶ ἁμεινον. Βλάβος γὰρ ἀνθρώπως ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο. Γλώνης μὲν οὖν ἰππέας διακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος τῶν ἀνθρώπων σφίσιν 12 ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν. οὐ δὲ ἁμεινον ἵσχυρότερο εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κατασκοπή στέλλεσθαι πρότερον, καὶ ἢν ἔτι ἐν χωρίοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς περιόντας Ἄρωμαιόν ἰδὼν ἀπαγγείλῃ, οὐτω δὴ ἐν δέοντι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον Πέρσας. εὐ τε οὖν εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε τῷ Γλώνῃ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἀφιέντος ἐστέλλετο. 13 παρά τε τῶν στρατηγῶν Πατρίκιον ἥκων ἀπαντὰ ἔφραξε· καὶ δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτῶν δῦο 14 καὶ στρατιώτας χείλιοις ξὺν αὐτώ ἐπεμψεν. οὐσ δὴ ἡ ἁμβλή κώμη Θιλασάμων στάδιον τεσσαράκοντα Ἀμίδης διέχουσαν ἐν νάπαις τε καὶ χωρίοις ὑλώδεσιν ἐκρυψε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μένειν ἐν ταῦταις δὴ ταῖς ἐνέδραις ἐπεστέλλες, ἦς τε τὴν πόλιν 15 δρόμῳ ἐχώρει. καὶ τῷ Γλώνῃ ἐστομῷ εἰπὼν τὸ θήραμα εἶναι, αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς διακοσίοις ἐξηγήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέδραν. ἐπειδὴ τε διέβησαν τῶν χώρων οὐ προλοχίζοντες Ἄρωμαιόν ἐκάθιστο, 2 Γλώνῃ τε καὶ Πέρσας λαθὼν ἀπαντᾷς, ἐκ τε τῆς ἐνέδρας τοὺς Ἄρωμαιους ἀνέστησε καὶ αὐτοῖς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέδειξεν. 16 οὕστερ ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ σφαῖς ἱόντας κατείδον Πέρσαι,
said that about fifty would do, for they would never meet more than five of them going together; however, in order to forestall any unexpected circumstance, it would do no harm to take with him even one hundred men; and if he should double this number it would be still better from every point of view; for no harm could come to a man from the larger number. Glones accordingly picked out two hundred horsemen and bade the fellow lead the way for them. But he insisted that it was better for him to be sent first to spy out the ground, and, if he should bring back word that he had seen Romans still going about in the same districts, that then the Persians should make their sally at the fitting moment. Accordingly, since he seemed to Glones to speak well, he was sent forward by his own order. Then he came before the general Patricius and explained everything; and the general sent with him two of his own body-guard and a thousand soldiers. These he concealed about a village called Thilasamon, forty stades distant from Amida, among valleys and woody places, and instructed them to remain there in this ambush; he himself then proceeded to the city on the run, and telling Glones that the prey was ready, he led him and the two hundred horsemen upon the ambush of the enemy. And when they passed the spot where the Romans were lying in wait, without being observed by Glones or any of the Persians, he roused the Romans from their ambuscade and pointed out to them the enemy. And when the Persians saw the men coming against them, they were astounded
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

κατεπλάγησαν τε τῷ ἀπροσδοκητῷ καὶ ἀμη-χανίᾳ πολλῇ εἴχοντο. οὔτε γὰρ ὑπίσω ἀπελαύ-νειν οἷοὶ τε ἦσαν, κατὰ νότου ὄντων σφίσι τῶν ἐναντίων, οὔτε τῇ ἐτέρωσε φεύγειν ἐν γῇ πολεμίᾳ

17 ἐδύναντο. ἐκ δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἡμᾶς ὄντος, τῷ τῇ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἔλασσομενοι ἡσύχησαν τε καὶ ξῖν

18 τῷ Πλώνη ἀπαντεῖς διεφθάρησαν. ὅπερ ἐπείδη ὁ τοῦ Πλώνων ύδας ἔμαθε, περιαλγήσας τε καὶ τῷ θυμῷ ζέων ὅτι δὴ τῷ πατρὶ ἀμύνειν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν Συμεώνου νεῶν ἔκαυσεν, ἀγίου ἀνδρός, ἵνα δὴ ὁ

19 Πλώνης κατέλυε. καίτοι ἄλλην των οἰκειοδομῶν οὔτε Πλώνης οὔτε Καβάδης, οὐ μὴν οὔδε Περσῶν τις ἄλλος οὔτε καθελεῖν ἐγώ οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀφανίζειν τρόπῳ ἐν γε ἂμίδη ἡ ταύτης ἐκτός. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγου ἐπάνειμι.

20 Οὔτω μὲν ἂμιδαν Ρωμαίοι τὰ χρήματα δώνες ἀπέλαβον δύο ἐνιαυτοῖς ὑστερον ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐαλῳ. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἐγένοτο, ἢ τε αὐτῶν ὁλογραφία καὶ Περσῶν τὸ καρτέρον τῆς

21 διαίτης ἐγνώσθη. σιτίων γὰρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα λειτομένων τὸ μέτρον καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν ἐξηλή- λυθότων τῶν ὁμίλων λογισάμενοι, ἐπτὰ μᾶλλον ἡμερῶν θηρίσκον δαπάνην ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπολελείφθαι, καίτερ Γλώνου τε καὶ τοῦ ἑκείνου παιδὸς ἐνδεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν πολλοῦ χρόνου

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

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

ευ σαν, εξ ότου οἱ πολέμιοι ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, οἳ δὴ ἐς βρώσεις ἀθέτες τὰ πρῶτα ἐλθόντες τῶν τε οὖθεν ἄφθασαν πάντων, 23 εἶτα τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγεύσαντο. διὸ δὴ ἐξηπατημένοι τε πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἦσθοντο καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑνείδιζο, οὕτω τὴν ἀπειθεστέρως αὐτοὺς παρεχόμενοι σφίζον, παρὸν δομαλοῦτος Πέρσας τε τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος καὶ Γλώσσαν πάντων ὑφ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλείν, οἱ δὲ τά Ῥωμαίων χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενέχοντες ἀλόχος τε ἀνεδήσαντο μέγα καὶ Ἀμβαν ἀργυρώντιον πρὸς 24 Περσῶν ἔλαβον. ὤστερον δὲ Πέρσαι, τού πρὸς Οὐννοὺς πολέμου σφίζοι μηκυνομένου, ἐς σπονδᾶς Ῥωμαίων εὐνίασιν, αἰτερ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἑπτὰ ἐγένοντο, Κέλερος τε τοῦ Ῥωμαίου καὶ Ἀσπεβέδου τοῦ Πέρσου αὐτὰς ποιησάμενων, ἐπ' οἴκου τε ἀμφότεροι ἀναχωρήσαντες ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον. 25 οὕτω μὲν, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἀρξάμενοι οἱ Ῥωμαίοι τε καὶ Περσῶν πόλεμος ἐς τὸ δὲ ἐτελεύτα. τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ πύλας τὰς Κασπίας ξυνενεχθέντα ἐρών ἔρχομαι.

X

1 Τὸ Κιλίκων ὄρος ὁ Ταύρος ἀμείβει μὲν τὰ πρῶτα Καππαδόκας τε καὶ Ἀρμενίους καὶ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων τὴν γην, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀλβανοὺς τε καὶ Ἰβηρας, καὶ ὡς ἀλλὰ ἐθνή αὐτόνομα τε καὶ Πέρσας κατήκου ταύτη ἄκηνται. 2 ἐξικνεῖται γάρ ἐς χώραν πολλῆν, προϊόντι δὲ ἂν τὸ ὄρος τούτο ἐς μέγα τι χρήμα εὐρος τε καὶ
enemy began the siege; and so these men at first resorted to unaccustomed foods and laid hold on every forbidden thing, and at the last they even tasted each other's blood. So the generals realized that they had been deceived by the barbarians, and they reproached the soldiers for their lack of self-control, because they had shown themselves wanting in obedience to them, when it was possible to capture as prisoners of war such a multitude of Persians and the son of Glones and the city itself, while they had in consequence attached to themselves signal disgrace by carrying Roman money to the enemy, and had taken Amida from the Persians by purchasing it with silver. After this the Persians, since their war with the Huns kept dragging on, entered into a treaty with the Romans, which was arranged by them for seven years, and was made by the Roman Celer and the Persian Aspebedes; both armies then retired homeward and remained at peace. Thus, then, as has been told, began the war of the Romans and the Persians; and to this end did it come. But I shall now turn to the narration of the events touching the Caspian Gates.

X

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

3 ύψους διήκει. ὑπερβάντες δὲ τοὺς Ἰβηρίων ὄρους ἀτραπόσ τις ἐστιν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῆ, ἐπὶ 4 στάδιοις πεντήκοντα ἐξευκουμένη. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ἀτραπός ἐσ ἀπότομον τινα καὶ δλῶς ἄβατον τε- λευτῶ χῶρον. δίδοσ γὰρ οὐδεμία τὸ λοιπὸν φαι- νεται, πλὴν γε δὴ ὁ στερτερ ἡ χειροποιήτου πυλίδα ἐνταῦθα ἡ φύσις ἐξεύρεθη, ἡ Κασπία ἐκ 5 παλαιοῦ ἐκλήθη. τὸ δὲ ἐνθέντε πεδία τε ἐστιν ἰπταμάτα καὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἐμπλεκα, καὶ χώρα πολλὴ ἱππόβοτος τε καὶ ἄλλως ὑπτία. 6 οὐ δὴ τὰ Ὀὐννων ἐθνι σχεδον τι ἀπαντα ἱδρυται 7 ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκοντα λίμνη. οὕτωι ἦν 8 μὲν διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἡ ἀρτί ἐμπάνθην ἤσων ἐς τὰ Ἑρσών τε καὶ Ρωμαίων ἡθη, ἀναριφέοιν τοῖς ἐπιτου ἅσι καὶ περιόδῳ τινὶ οὔδαμη χρῶμενοι οὔδε κρημνώδεσιν ἐνυχόντες χωρίοις, ὅτι μη τοῖς 9 πεντήκοντα στάδιοι ἔκεινοι οἵστερ εἰς τοὺς Ἰβηρίους ὄρους, ὁσπερ ἐρρήθη, διήκουσιν. ἐπὶ ἄλλος δὲ τιμας ἐξόδους ἱόντες πόνῳ τε πολλῷ παραγίνονται καὶ ἐπίτου ὁὐκέτι χρήσαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχοντες. περιόδους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς περι- ἱέναι πολλὰς ἐπάναγκες καὶ ταῦτας κρημνώδεις. 10 ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος κατενόησε, πῦλας τε ἐν χώρῳ ἐτεκτήνατο τοῦ εἰρημένῳ καὶ φυλακτήριον κατεστήσατο. δὴ ἀλλοι τῷ πολλῷ προϊόντος χρόνου ἔσχον καὶ Ἀμβαζούκης, Οὐννως μεν γένος, Ρωμαίως δὲ καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ φίλος. οὕτως Ἀμβαζούκης, ἐπειδὴ ἔστε γῆς ἀφικτο βαθὺ καὶ τελευτῶν ἔμελλε, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀναστάσιον, χρήματα ἰδιὸν δοθῆναι ἦτε, ἐφ’ ὑπὸ τό τε φυλακτήριον καὶ πῦλας τῶν Κασπίας ἐν-
breadth and rises to an imposing height. And as one passes beyond the boundary of Iberia there is a sort of path in a very narrow passage, extending for a distance of fifty stades. This path terminates in a place cut off by cliffs and, as it seems, absolutely impossible to pass through. For from there no way out appears, except indeed a small gate set there by nature, just as if it had been made by the hand of man, which has been called from of old the Caspian Gates. From there on there are plains suitable for riding and extremely well watered, and extensive tracts used as pasture land for horses, and level besides. Here almost all the nations of the Huns are settled, extending as far as the Maeotic lake. Now if these Huns go through the gate which I have just mentioned into the land of the Persians and the Romans, they come with their horses fresh and without making any detour or encountering any precipitous places, except in those fifty stades over which, as has been said, they pass to the boundary of Iberia. If, however, they go by any other passes, they reach their destination with great difficulty, and can no longer use the same horses. For the detours which they are forced to make are many and steep besides. When this was observed by Alexander, the son of Philip, he constructed gates in the aforesaid place and established a fortress there. And this was held by many men in turn as time went on, and finally by Ambazouces, a Hun by birth, but a friend of the Romans and the Emperor Anastasius. Now when this Ambazouces had reached an advanced age and was near to death, he sent to Anastasius asking that money be given him, on condition that he hand over the fortress and the Caspian
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

11 δόσει τοις Ρωμαίοις. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἄναστάσιος (δρᾶν γὰρ ἀνεπισκέπτως ουδὲν οὔτε ἤπιστατο οὔτε εἰώθη) λογισάμενος ὅτι οἱ στρατιώταις ἐνταῦθα ἐκτρέφειν ἀδύνατα ἦν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐν γειτονῶν ἔχοντι έθνος Ρωμαίοις κατήκουν, χάριν μὲν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν εὔνοιας πολλήν ὁμολόγει, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τούτῳ οὔδενι λόγῳ προσέτε. Ἄμβαζούκης μὲν οὖν οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἐπελεύτα νόσῳ, Καβάθης δὲ βιασάμενος τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας τὰς πύλας ἐσχεν.

13 Ἄναστάσιος τε βασιλεὺς, ἐπείδη ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ πρὸς Καβάθην σπονδαί, πόλιν ἐδέιματο ἐν χωρίῳ Δάρας ὄχυρον τε ὑπερφυῷς καὶ λόγῳ αἴξιαν, αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον. ἀπέχει δὲ αὐτῇ πόλεως μὲν Νισίβιδος σταδίων ἑκατὸν δυοῖν δέοντας, χώρας δὲ ἣ τὰ Ρωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει ὅκτῳ καὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα. Πέρσαι δὲ κωλύειν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν σπουδὴν ἐχοντες οὕδαμῆ ἵσχυον ἀσχολία τῇ ἐς πόλεμον τῶν Οὐννικῶν πιεζομένου. ἐπείδη τε αὐτῶν τάχιστα Καβάθης κατέλυσε, πέμψας παρὰ Ρωμαίους ἥτιοτο πόλιν αὐτοῦς οἰκοδομήσασθαι ἀγχιστά ποὺ τῶν σφετέρων ὀρίῳ, ἀπειρημένον τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις τε καὶ Ρωμαίοις ξυγκειμένοις τὰ πρότερα. τότε μὲν οὐν Ἀναστάσιος τα μὲν ἀπειλῶν, τὰ δὲ φιλῶν τε τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν προτεινόμενοι καὶ χρήσασιν οὐ φαύλοις διωρούμενοι, παρακρούσθαι τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκλύειν ἤθελε. καὶ πόλιν δὲ ἄλλην τάυτη ὁμοίαν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὁ βασιλεύς οὕτος ἀγχιστάτω
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. x. 10–18

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

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

1 Cf. Book I. i 15.

81
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

19 ἐπώνυμος αὐτοῦ ἐγεγόνει. ἀλλ᾽ Ἀναστάσιος
tείχει αὐτὴν ὁχυρωτάτῳ περιβάλων πράγματα
Πέρσαις οὐδὲν τι ἴσσουν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἔτερας παρέ-
σχετο. ἐπιτειχίσματα γὰρ αὐτῶν τῇ χώρᾳ γέ-
γονεν ἀμφῶς.

XI

1 Ἀναστασίον δὲ ὅληγῳ ύστερον τελευτήσαντος
Ιουστῖνος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ἀπεληλα-
mένων αὐτῆς τῶν Ἀναστασίου ἔγχειν ἀπάντων,
καίπερ πολλῶν τε καὶ λίαν ἐπιφανῶν ὄντων.
2 τότε δὴ μέριμνά τις Ἀβαδὴ ἐγένετο μή τι Πέρσαι

νεωτερίσωσιν ἐς τοὺς αὐτοὺς οἶκον, ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα
αὐτοῖς τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, ἐπεὶ οὔδε ἀντιλογίας
χωρὶς ἐς τῶν παίδων τινα παραπέμψει τὴν ἄρχην
3 ἐμελλε. τῶν γὰρ οἱ παῖδων τὸν προσβύτατον
Καβάθην τῆς μὲν ἡλικίας ἐνεκα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ
νόμος ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ Καβάθην οὖναμὴ ἥρεσκεν.
ἐβιάζετο δὲ τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὰ νόμιμα ἢ τοῦ
4 πατρὸς γνώμηι. Ζάμην δὲ, ὥς τὰ δευτερεία ἐφέρετο,
τοῖν ὃθαλμοὶ τῶν ἐτεροῦ ἐκκεκομομένον ἐκώλυνεν
ὁ νόμος. ἐτερόφθαλμον γὰρ ἡ ἅλη τιν πάνθη
ἐξώμενον οὐ δέμος Πέρσαις βασιλεία καθίστασθαι.
5 Χοσρῆν δὲ, ὥς αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσπεβέδου ἀδελφῆς
ἐγεγόνει, ὑπερηγάτα μὲν ὁ πατὴρ, ὄρῳ δὲ Πέρσας
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. x. 18–xi. 5

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

XI

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

1 Modern Erzeroum.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σχεδόν τι εἶπείν ἀπαντας τεθησότας τὴν Ζάμου ἀνδρείαν (ἡν γὰρ ἀγαθός τὰ πολέμα) καὶ τὴν ἁλκήν ἀρετὴν σέβοντας, ἐδεισε μὴ Χοσρόη ἐπαναστάντες ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐς τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν 6 βασιλείαν ἐργάσονται. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ ἀριστον εἶναι τὸν τε πόλεμον καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίας διαλύσαι 'Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐφ' οἴ 'Χοσρόης παῖς ἐσποιήτος Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλείᾳ γένοιτο. οὔτω γὰρ οἱ μόνως τὸ ὄχυρον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ διασώσασθαι. 1 διὸ δὴ πρέσβεις τε ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ γράμματα ἐς 7 Βυζάντιον Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλείᾳ ἐπέμψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε: "Ὅυ δικαία μὲν πεποιθέναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡμᾶς καὶ αὐτὸς σίσθα, ἐγὼ δὲ ἦμῖν τὰ ἐγκλήματα πάντα ἀφεῖναι παντελῶς ἤγων, ἐκεῖνο εἰδὼς, ὃς ούτως ἀν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρώπων μυκῶν, οἷ γε, προσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ δικαίου, εἰτα ἐλασσοῦμενοι ἐκόντες εἶναι τῶν φίλων ἡσσών- 8 ταὶ. χάριν μέντοι αἰτοῦμαι σε ὑπὲρ τούτων τινά, ἢ ἂν οὐχ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐκατέροι ὑπήκοουν ἄπαν ἐς τὸ ἐξυγγενὲς συνδέοντα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὡς τὸ εἰκός εὑρον, ἐς κόρον δὴ ποι τῶν τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καταστήσασθαι 9 ἰκανή εἰ. λέγω δὲ ὅτι αὐτὸς Ἐχοράντο τῶν ἐμῶν, ὃς μοι τῆς βασιλείας διάδοχος ἔσται, εἴσποιητον παῖδα ποιήσαι." 10 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεύεις εἰδέν, αὐτοὺς τε περιχαρῆς ἐγένετο καὶ Ἰουστινι- ανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφιδοὺς, δὲ δὴ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν 11 βασιλείαν ἐκδέξασθαι ἐπίδοξοὺς ἦν. καὶ κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πράξιν ἡπειγόθην τὴν ἐσποίησιν

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

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

ἐν γράμμασι θέσθαι ἡ νόμος Ὑσωμαίοις, εἰ μὴ Πρόκλος ἐκώλυσεν, δε βασιλεῖ τότε παρῆδρευε τὴν τοῦ καλουμένου κοιαστώρος ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος τε καὶ χρημάτων διαφανῶς ἀδικῶς-
12 τατος. διὸ δὴ οὔτε νόμον τινὰ εὐπτετῶς ἔγραφεν οὔτε τὶ τῶν καθεστώτων κυνεῖν ἤθελεν, δε καὶ 13 τότε ἀνταύρων ἐλέξει τοιάδε: "Νεωτέροις μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν οὔτε εἴσθα καὶ ἀλλως δέδοικα πάντων μάλιστα, εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τῷ νεωτεροποιῷ τῷ γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῶς σώζεται.
14 δοκῶ δὲ μοι, εἰ καὶ λίαν τῆς ἡν περὶ ταῦτα θρασύς, ἀποκυψάσαι ἀν ἐς τὴν τὴν πρᾳδίν. καὶ 15 κατορρωδήσαι τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάλον, οὗ γὰρ ἄλλο οὐδέν οἴμαι ἐν. τῷ παρόντι ἡμῖν ἐν βουλῆ
evίναι ἢ ὅπως ἀν ὑπὸ Ὑσωμαίον πράγματα Πέρσαις εὐπροποιεῖ παραδοχήμενον λόγον, οὗ γε οὐκ ἐγκυρφιά-
ξοντες οὕδε παραπετάσματι τοις χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ διαρρήθην όμολογούντες τὸ βούλευμα, οὔτως ἀνέδην ἄφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμᾶς ἁξίονσι, τῷ μὲν τῆς ἀπάτης φανερῷ τῆς ἀφέλειαν προϊ-
σχόμενοι, λόγῳ δὲ ἀναίδει τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην 16 προβεβλημένοι. καίτοι χρήν ἐκάτερον ὑμῶν ταῦτά τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν πείραν παντὶ ἀπο-
κρούσθαι σθενεῖ σὲ μὲν, ὥς βασιλεῖ, ὅπως δὴ ὡς Ὑσωμαίον εἶναις βασιλείας ὅστατος, σὲ δὲ, ὥστε, ὅστε ὅπως ἂν μὴ σαυτῷ ἢ τήν βασιλείαν 17 ἐμποδῶν γένοιο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ σοφίσματα λόγου ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σεμνότητα καλυπτόμενα ἵσως ἃν που καὶ ἔρμηνεως τοῖς πολλῶς δέοιτο, 86
setting down in writing the adoption, as the law of
the Romans prescribes—and would have done so,
had they not been prevented by Proclus, who was at
that time a counsellor to the emperor, holding the
office of quaestor, as it is called, a just man and one
whom it was manifestly impossible to bribe; for this
reason he neither readily proposed any law, nor was
he willing to disturb in any way the settled order of
things; and he at that time also opposed the pro-
position, speaking as follows: "To venture on novel
projects is not my custom, and indeed I dread them
more than any others; for where there is innovation
security is by no means preserved. And it seems to
me that, even if one should be especially bold in
this matter, he would feel reluctance to do the
thing and would tremble at the storm which would
arise from it; for I believe that nothing else is
before our consideration at the present time than
the question how we may hand over the Roman
empire to the Persians on a seemly pretext. For they
make no concealment nor do they employ any
blinds, but explicitly acknowledging their purpose
they claim without more ado to rob us of our empire,
seeking to veil the manifestness of their deceit under
a show of simplicity, and hide a shameless intent
behind a pretended unconcern. And yet both of you
ought to repel this attempt of the barbarians with all
your power; thou, O Emperor, in order that thou
mayst not be the last Emperor of the Romans, and
thou, O General, that thou mayst not prove a
stumbling block to thyself as regards coming to the
throne. For other crafty devices which are com-
monly concealed by a pretentious show of words
might perhaps need an interpreter for the many,
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὕτη δὲ ἀντικρύσ ἐκ προοιμίων εὐθὺς ἡ πρεσβεία τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ βασιλεῖ Ἑωσφόρῳ τοῦτον, ὡστε τὸν ἐστὶν, κληρονόμον εἰσποιεῖν βούλεται. οὐτωσὶ γὰρ μοι περὶ τούτων διαλογίζεσθε. 1 φύσει τόσο παισὶ τὰ τῶν πατέρων ὁμαλείται, οἳ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ διαλάλοντοι ἀλλήλοις ἄλλοις ἄλλῳ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους μαχόμενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ καὶ πᾶσι βαρβάροις ἐμπεσαίτε ταῖς καὶ ἔμοιολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις κυρίους ἀποφαίνοντες τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι τοῦ [τοῦ] πατρὸς κλήρου. ὅστε τὰ πρώτα ἐλομένους ύμῖν πάντα λειτεῖσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ ἑξυποχρεῖν.”

19 Ἡρόκλος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλέως ἄδελφοι διοικοῦ τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τὰ πρακτέα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Καβάδης γράμματα πρὸς Ἰουστίνου βασιλέα τέμψας, ἄνδρας τε αὐτῶν στείλα δοκίμους ὑξίου, ἐφ' ὃ τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν θησοῦνται, καὶ γράμματα τὸν τρόπον σημαίνω καθ' ὑμᾶς ἃν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσποίησιν τέσσαρα βουλομένῳ εἶπε, καὶ τότε ἡ Ἡρόκλος ἔτη μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον τὴν Περσῶν πεῖραν διέβαλλε, μέλειν τε αὐτῶς ἱσχυρίζετο ὅπως ἡ τό Ῥωμαίων κράτος σφίσιν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀσφαλέ-22 στατα προσποιήσονται, καὶ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνει τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αὐτῶς αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα περαινεσθαι, ἄνδρας δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπ' αὐτῷ στέλλεσθαι, οὗτος δὴ δείησε τυνάθομον τῷ Καβάδῃ καθ' τῷ δεὶ 2 τὴν ἐπιστοίησιν Ἑωσφόρη

1 διαλογίζεσθε edd.: διαλογίζεσθαι VPW, διαλογίζεσθαι ἤπειρις G.
2 δεὶ P: δὴ VG.

88
but this embassy openly and straight from the very first words means to make this Chosroes, whoever he is, the adopted heir of the Roman Emperor. For I would have you reason thus in this matter: by nature the possessions of fathers are due to their sons and while the laws among all men are always in conflict with each other by reason of their varying nature, in this matter both among the Romans and among all barbarians they are in agreement and harmony with each other, in that they declare sons to be masters of their fathers' inheritance. Take this first resolve if you choose: if you do you must agree to all its consequences."

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

gενέσθαι, διαρρήδην ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι δεὶ ὡς
βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, δηλῶν ὅτι οὐ γράμμασιν
οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς παίδας <ἐς>ποιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ὁ
πλων σκευὴ. οὕτω τοῖς τοὺς πρέσβεις
Ἰουστίνος βασιλεύς ἀπεπέμψατο, ἀνδρας τοὺς
Ῥωμαίων ἀρίστους ἐξεσθαί σφίσιν οὐκ ἐσ μακρὰν
ὑποσχόμενος, οὐ τὰ τε ἅμφι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ τῷ
Χοσρόη ὡς ἀριστα διοικήσονται. γράμμασί τε
Καβάδην κατὰ ταῦτο ἡμείσφατο. στέλλονται
τοῖν ἐκ μὲν Ῥωμαίων Ἰπάτιος, Ἀναστασίον
τοῦ πρώτην βεβασιλευκότος ἀδελφοὺς, πατρίκιος
τε καὶ ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐω τὴν στρατηγίδα ἔχων, καὶ
Ῥουφίνος ὁ Σιλβανοῦ παῖς, ἐν τε πατρικίως ἄνηρ
δόκιμος καὶ Καβάδη ἐκ πατέρων αὐτῶν γρώ-
ριμος ἐκ Περσῶν δὲ ἄνηρ δυνατώτατος τε καὶ
ἐξουσία πολή χρώμενος, ὄνομα μὲν Σεόσης,
ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνῃς δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα, καὶ Με-
βόδης, τὴν τοῦ μαγιστρου ἔχων ἀρχὴν. οὐ δὴ
ἐσ χώρον τίνα εὐνιόντες ὃς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
τε καὶ Περσῶν διορίζει, ἀλλὰ λοις τε ἐγγυινό-
μενοι ἐπράσσον ὡς τὰ τε διάφορα διαλύσουσι
καὶ τὰ ἅμφι τῇ εἰρήνῃ εὖ θήσονται. ἢκε δὲ καὶ
Χοσρόης ἐς ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὡς δὴ πόλεως Νισί-
βιδος διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὠδῆς ἀλάστοτα, ὅπως,
ἐπειδὴν τὰ ἐς τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκατέρως δοκῇ ὡς ἄρι-
στα ἔχειν, αὐτὸς ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλοιτο. πολλῶν
μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλων λόγωι πρὸς ἄμφοτέρων ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐν σφίσι διαφόρων ἐλέγοντο, καὶ γῆν δὲ τὴν

1 δεῖ Haury : δὴ MSS. 2 δηλῶν ὅτι VG : δηλοῦντι PW.
3 αὐτῶν Haury : αὐτῶ VGH, αὐτῶ P.
accomplished, that it must be of the sort befitting a barbarian, and his meaning was that the barbarians adopt sons, not by a document, but by arms and armour.\(^1\) Accordingly the Emperor Justinus dismissed the envoys, promising that men who were the noblest of the Romans would follow them not long afterwards, and that they would arrange a settlement regarding the peace and regarding Chosroes in the best possible way. He also answered Cabades by letter to the same effect. Accordingly there were sent from the Romans Hypatius, the nephew of Anastasius, the late emperor, a patrician who also held the office of General of the East, and Rufinus, the son of Silvanus, a man of note among the patricians and known to Cabades through their fathers; from the Persians came one of great power and high authority, Seoses by name, whose title was adrastadaran salanes, and Mebodes, who held the office of magister. These men came together at a certain spot which is on the boundary line between the land of the Romans and the Persians; there they met and negotiated as to how they should do away with their differences and settle effectually the question of the peace. Chosroes also came to the Tigris River, which is distant from the city of Nisibis about two days’ journey, in order that, when the details of the peace should seem to both parties to be as well arranged as possible, he might betake himself in person to Byzantium. Now many words were spoken on both sides touching the differences between them, and in particular Seoses made mention of the land of Colchis, which is now called

\(^1\) i.e. "by force."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Κολχίδα ἡ νῦν Λαζικὴ ἐπικαλεῖται Σεόσης ἔλεγε Περσῶν κατήκουν τὸ ἀνέκαθεν οὖσαν βιασα-
29 μένουσ λόγῳ οὐδεὶς Ὁρμαῖος ἔχειν. ταῦτα Ὁρμαῖοι ἀκούσαντες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ καὶ
Δαζικὴ πρὸς Περσῶν ἀντιλέγοιτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
tὴν ἐσποίησιν ἑφασκὸν δεῖν γενέσθαι Χοσρόης
οὐτως ὀσπερ βαρβάρῳ προσήκει, οὐκ ἀνεκτά
30 Πέρσαις ἔδοξεν εἶναι. ἐκάτεροι οὖν διαλυθέντες
ἐπ’ οἰκον ἀνεχώρησαν, καὶ Χοσρόης ἀπρακτος
πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀπίστως ἄχετο, περιώδυνος τε ἂν
τῶν ξυμπεσοῦσι καὶ Ὁρμαῖος εὐχόμενος τῆς
ἐς αὐτὸν ὤβρεως τίσασθαι.
31 Μετὰ δὲ Μεβόδης μὲν τὸν Σεόσην διέβαλλε
Καβάδη, ὡς δὴ ἐξεπίτευξες, οὐ οἱ ἐπιτεταγμένοι
πρὸς τὸν ἔθστότον, τὸν Δαζικῆς λόγον προθείη,
tὴν εἰρήνην ἑκρούων Ἑπταῖῳ τε κοινολογησά-
μενος πρότερον, δο δὴ βασιλεῖ τῷ οἰκείῳ εὐρυκός
ὡς ἦκεστα ἔχων τὴν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν Χοσρόου
ἐσποίησιν ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ οὐκ ἤρθη γενέσθαι, πολλὰ
de καὶ ἄλλα κατηχοροῦντες οἱ ἔχθροι τὸν Σεόσην
32 ἐς δίκην ἔκαλον. Περσῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ βουλή
ξύμπασα φθόγγο μᾶλλον ἡ νόμῳ ξυνειλεγμένοι
ἔδικαζον. τῇ τε γὰρ ἀρχῇ οὐ εὐνεκηθεμένη
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς ἡχόντο καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ
33 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς χαλεπῶς εἶχον. ἴν γὰρ ὁ Σεόσης
χρημάτων μὲν ἀδωρότατος καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπι-
μελητῆς ἀκριβεστάτος, ἀλαξονείας δὲ νόσφω ἐχό-
μενος οὐδὲν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις.
ξυμφέρει μὲν γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῖς Περσῶν ἄρ-
χουσι τοῦτο γε· ἐν δὲ τῷ Σεόσῃ καὶ αὐτοῖς φιοντο
92
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xi. 28-33

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

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

34 ἑλεγον δὲ οἱ κατήγοροι ταῦτά τε ἀπερ μοι προδε-
δήλωται καὶ ὡς ἤκιστα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βουλομένῳ
εἰη ἐν τῷ καθεστώτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν ἢ περι-
35 στέλλειν τὰ Περσῶν νόμιμα. καὶνά τε γὰρ
αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἐναγχος
τῆς γυναῖκα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένον τοῖς Περσῶν
νόμοις γῇ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα.
36 οἱ μὲν οὖν δικασταὶ θάνατον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
κατέγρωσαν, Καβάδης δὲ ὁσπερ μὲν ἐνναλγοῦντι
άτε φίλῳ τῷ Σέοσῃ ἐφέκει, ἐξελάθει δὲ αὐτὸν
37 οὐδαμῇ ήθελεν. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ ὅτι αὐτὸν δὲ ὀργής
ἔχοι ἐξηνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλύειν τοὺς
Περσῶν νόμους οὐκ ἔβουλετο, καὶπερ ξωάγρια
τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ὀφείλων, ἔπει οἱ Σέοσης αἰτιώτατος
γέγονεν βιῶναι τε καὶ βασιλεῖ έίναι. οὔτω μὲν οἱ
Σέοσης καταγωγεῖς εὶς ἀνθρώπων ἡμᾶςτο.
38 δὲ ἀρχὴ ἐς αὐτοῦ ἀρξαμένη ἐς αὐτὸν ἐτελεύ-
τησεν. ἔτερος γὰρ τῷ ἀδρασταδάραν σαλάνθης
οὐδεὶς γέγονε. καὶ Ῥοφίνος δὲ Τπάτιον ἐς
39 βασιλέα διέβαλλε. διὸ δὴ αὐτὸν τε παρέλυσε
τῆς ἀρχῆς βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινῶς
πικρῶτα αἰκισάμενοι οὐδὲν ἤγις ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
diαβολῇ τὸ παράπαν εὑρε, κακὸν μὲντοι οὐδέν
Τπάτιον ἀλλο εἰργάσατο.

XII

1 Εὐθὺς δὲ Καβάδης, καὶπερ ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων
ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν,
οὐδαμῇ ἵσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ ἐναντίωμα τοιὸνδε
94
malady had developed to an altogether extraordinary degree. So his accusers said all those things which have been indicated above, and added to this that the man was by no means willing to live in the established fashion or to uphold the institutions of the Persians. For he both reverenced strange divinities, and lately, when his wife had died, he had buried her, though it was forbidden by the laws of the Persians ever to hide in the earth the bodies of the dead. The judges therefore condemned the man to death, while Cabades, though seeming to be deeply moved with sympathy as a friend of Seoses, was by no means willing to rescue him. He did not, on the other hand, make it known that he was angry with him, but, as he said, he was not willing to undo the laws of the Persians, although he owed the man the price of his life, since Seoses was chiefly responsible both for the fact that he was alive and also that he was king. Thus, then, Seoses was condemned and was removed from among men. And the office which began with him ended also with him. For no other man has been made adrastadaran salanes. Rufinus also slandered Hypatius to the emperor. As a result of this the emperor reduced him from his office, and tortured most cruelly certain of his associates only to find out that this slander was absolutely unsound; beyond this, however, he did Hypatius no harm.

XII

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

2 ξυμπηνέχθη γενέσθαι. Ἦβηρος οὔ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἴκουσι πρὸς αὐταῖς ποι ταῖς Καστίαις ἱδρυναι πῦλαις, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ πρὸς βορρὰν ἄνεμον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐν ἄριστερὰ μὲν ἐκομένη πρὸς τὰς ἡλίου δυσμᾶς Λαξική ἐστιν, ἐν δὲ δεξιᾷ δὲ πρὸς ἀνέκσοντα ἡλίου τὰ Περσῶν ἔθνη. οὕτως ὁ λεώς Χριστιανοὶ τέ εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ νόμμα τῆς δόξης φυλάσσουσι ταύτης πάντων μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ὅν ἠμεῖς ἵμαεν, κατήκουσι μέντοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῦ 4 Περσῶν βασιλέως τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. τότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ᾧδελε Καβάδης ἐς τὰ νόμμα τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης βιάζονται. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ βασιλείᾳ Γουργενή ἐπέστελλε τά τε ἀλλα ποιεῖν ἥ Πέρσαι νομίζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῇ γῇ ώς ἡμιστα κρύπτειν, ἀλλ' ὄρνισί τε ῥυμτείς καὶ κυσίν 5 ἀπαντας. διὸ δὴ Γουργενῆς προσχωρεῖν Ἰουστίνῳ βασιλεῖ ἦδελε τά τε πυστὰ ἡξίον λαβεῖν ως οὕτως Ἦβηρος καταπροσχοῦται Πέρσαις 6 Ἐρμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα τε αὐτῷ ἔδω προθυμία πολλῇ ἐδίδω καὶ Πρόβοι τὸν Ἀναστασίον τοῦ βεβασίλευκοτος ἀδελφιδοῦν, ἀνδρα πατρίκιον, ἔδω χρήματι πολλοῖς ἐς Βόσπορον ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ὧ ἵπποι στρατεύμα Οὐνων χρήμασιν ἀναπέσας 7 Ἦβηρος πέμψη ἐς ἐμμαχαίαν. ἐστὶ δὲ πόλις ἐπιθαλασσία ἡ Βόσπορος, ἐν ἄριστερὰ μὲν ἐπιλεύντι τὸν Εὐξείουν καλοῦμενον πόντον, Χρεσῶν δὲ πόλεως, ἢ γῆς τῆς Ἐρμαίων ἐσχάτη ἐστιν, ὅδε διέχουσα ἦμερῶν ἐκοσίων. 8 ἦν δὴ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ ἀπαντα Οὐνων ἔχουσιν. οἳ δὲ Βοστορίται αὐτὸνομοὶ μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν φῶς Ἰουστίνῳ 9 δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐναγχος προσχωρεῖν ἐγνωσαν. ἐπεὶ
the following obstacle which happened to arise. The Iberians, who live in Asia, are settled in the immediate neighbourhood of the Caspian Gates, which lie to the north of them. Adjoining them on the left towards the west is Lazica, and on the right towards the east are the Persian peoples. This nation is Christian and they guard the rites of this faith more closely than any other men known to us, but they have been subjects of the Persian king, as it happens, from ancient times. And just then Cabades was desirous of forcing them to adopt the rites of his own religion. And he enjoined upon their king, Gourgenes, to do all things as the Persians are accustomed to do them, and in particular not under any circumstances to hide their dead in the earth, but to throw them all to the birds and dogs. For this reason, then, Gourgenes wished to go over to the Emperor Justinus, and he asked that he might receive pledges that the Romans would never abandon the Iberians to the Persians. And the emperor gave him these pledges with great eagerness, and he sent Probus, the nephew of the late emperor Anastasius, a man of patrician rank, with a great sum of money to Bosporus, that he might win over with money an army of Huns and send them as allies to the Iberians. This Bosporus is a city by the sea, on the left as one sails into the so-called Euxine Sea, twenty days' journey distant from the city of Cherson, which is the limit of the Roman territory. Between these cities everything is held by the Huns. Now in ancient times the people of Bosporus were autonomous, but lately they had decided to become subject to the Emperor Justinus. Probus, however, departed.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

dè Πρόβος ἐνθένδε ἄπρακτος ἀνεκώρησε, Πέτρον στρατηγόν σὺν Οὐννοις τισὶν ἐς Δαξικῆν βασιλεύς ἐπεμψε Γουργέην δόση δύναμις ξυμμαχῆσοντα. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Καβάδης στράτευμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐπὶ τε Γουργέην καὶ Ἰβηρας ἐπεμψε καὶ στρατηγόν άνδρα Πέρσην, οὐκαρίζην μὲν τὸ ἄξιωμα, Βόθην δὲ ὅνομα. ὃ τε Γουργέηνς ἐλάσσων ὀφθεὶς ἢ φέρειν τὴν Περσῶν ἐφοδοῦν, ἔπει ὦ τὰ Ἕρωμαίων οὐχ ἰκανὰ ἦν, ἐξὶν Ἰβηραν τοῖς λογίμοις ἀπασιν ἐς Δαξικήν ἔφυγε,1 τὴν τε γνωάκα καὶ τοὺς παίδας ἔχων τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπαγόμενος, διὶ Περάνως ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἦν. 12 ἐν δὲ τοῖς Δαξικῆς ὀρίοις γενόμενοι ἐμενον, ταῖς τε δυσχωρίας φραξάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ύφισταντο. Πέρσαι δὲ ἀυτοῖς ἐπιστόμενοι οὐδὲν ὡς τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον ἔπρασσον, τοῖς πράγματος σφίζοι διὰ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀντιστατοῦντος. 13 Ἐπειτα δὲ ὦ τε Ἰβηρας ἐς Βυζάντιον παρεγένοντο καὶ Πέτρος ἐς βασιλέα μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν βασιλεὺς Δαξιῶν οὐ δουλομένους ἀποβαλάσσειν τὴν χώραν ἦξιον, στράτευμα τε καὶ Ἐρημναίων ἀρχοντα πέμψας. ἦστα δὲ φρουρία ἐν Δαξιῶν δύο εὐθὺς εἰσιόντι ἐκ τῶν Ἰβηρίας ὑρίων, ὡς ἡ φυλακὴ τοῖς ἐπικρόσιοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐπιμελητὸς ἦν, καίπερ ταλαιπωρία πολλῆ ἔχομενοι, ἐπεὶ οὔτε ὄντος ἐνταῦθα οὔτε οἷος οὔτε ἀλλο τι ἀγαθὸν γίνεται. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τι ἐτέρωθεν ἐσκομίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οἷον τε ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ φερόντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐλύμοις μὲντοι τισὶν

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Book VIII. xiii. 15.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

18 ἐν τούτῳ γιγνομένοι εἰδίσμένου σφίσιν οἱ Λαξοὶ ἀποζην ἱσχυον. τούτους ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθένδε βασιλεῖς τοὺς φρουροὺς, στρατιώτας Ῥωμαίοις ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν φρουρίων καθι- 
19 στασθαί. οἷς δὴ κατ' ἀργὰς μὲν ἐπιτήδεια μόλις Λαξοὶ ἔφερον, ὡστετέρον δὲ αὐτοὶ τε πρὸς τὴν ὑπουργίαν ἀπείπον καὶ Ῥωμαίοι τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα ἐξέλιπον, οlic τε Πέρσαι πόνῳ αὐτὰ οὐδὲν ἔσχον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Λαξοῖς γέγονε. 
20 Ῥωμαίοι δὲ, Σίττα τε καὶ Βελισαρίου ἡγου- 
μένων σφίσιν, ἐς Περσαρμείαν τὴν Περσῶν κατῆκον ἐσβάλοντες χώραν τε πολλὴν ἐλη- 
σαντο καὶ Ἀρμείαι πάμπολον πλῆθος ἀνδρα- 
21 ποδίσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε 
νεανία μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ὑπηνήτα ἕστην, Ἰουστι-
νιανὸς δὲ στρατηγοῦ δορυφόρω, δς δὴ χρόνῳ ύστερον εἶν Ἰουστίνῳ τῷ θείῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. ἐτέρας δὲ ἐσβολῆς Ῥωμαίους ἐς Ἀρ-
mείαις γεγενημένης Ναρσῆς τε καὶ Ἀράτιος παρὰ 
22 δόξαι ὑπανιάσαντες ἐς χείρας ἦλθον. οὐ οὐ 
pολλῷ ύστερον ἐς Ῥωμαίους τε αὐτόμολοι ἰκώντο 
καὶ εἶν Ἐλεισαρίῳ ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἐστράτευεν, τότε 
μέντοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν τε καὶ Βελισάριον ἐγ-

23 βάλοντες τὸ πλέον ἔσχον. εἰσέβαλε δὲ καὶ 
ἀμφὶ πόλιν Νίσιβίν ἀλλή Ῥωμαίων στρατιά, ἡς 
Δισελάριος ἐκ Θρακίας ἤρχετο, οὐ φεύγοντε 
εὐθυνοῦν τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ περ 
24 οὐδένος σφίσιν ἐπεξίοντος. διὸ δὴ Δισελάριον 
μὲν παρέλυσε τῆς ἄρχης βασιλείας, Βελισάριον 
δὲ ἄρχοντα καταλόγων τῶν ἐν Δάρας κατεστή-

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

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

1 Cf. Iliad xxiv. 348; Odyssey x. 279.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XIII

1 Χρόνω δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἰουστῖνος βασιλέα τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Ἰουστινιανὸν εἶναυτῷ ἀκεί-πών ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ μόνον Ἰουστι-2 νιανὸν ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν. οὕτως Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐκέλευε Βελίσαριον δείμασθαι φρούριον ἐν χωρίῳ Μίνδους, ὁ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις ὁρίοις, 3 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐς Νίσιβιν ἱόντι. ὁ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ πολλῇ τὰ βασιλεῖς δόξαντα ἐπιτελῇ ἐπολεῖ, τὸ τε ὁχύρωμα ἐς υψὸς ἦδη πολυανθρωπία τεχνῶν 4 ἱρετο. Πέρσαι δὲ ἀπείπον μὴ οἰκοδομήσασθαι περαιτέρω μυθέν, οὐ λόγοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις διακωλυται ἀπειλοῦντες οὐκ ἐς μακράν 5 ἔσεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἦκοσεν (οὐ γὰρ οἶος τε ἦν Βελίσαριος Πέρσας ἐνθέντε τῷ παροντι στρατῷ ἀποκρούεσθαι), ἀλλὰ ταῖς στρατιῶν ἐπίγεγγελε αὐτὸς Ἰέναι καὶ Κούτζην τε καὶ Βούζην, ὁ τῶν ἐν Διβάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἦρχον τότε. τούτω δὲ ἀδελφῶ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἦσθαι, νέος δὲ ἀμμῷ καὶ οὐ ἔχει τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς χεῖρας 6 ἱόντε. ἐκάτεροι μὲν οὖν ἐνλεγέντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἄθροι ἦσαν,1 Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτὴν πατὴ ςθεῖνε διακωλύσοντες, Ὁρμαῖοι δὲ τοῖς 7 τεκταινομένοις ἐπαμνυνοῦντες. μάχης δὲ καρ-τέρας γενομένης ἦσονται Ὁρμαῖοι, φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολὺς γέγονε, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξώγησαν οἱ 8 πολέμιοι. ἐν τούτοις ἦν καὶ Κούτζης. οὐδὲ δὴ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀπαντας ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ἦδη ἀπαγαγόντες, δήσαντες τε τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον ἐν σπηλαίῳ καθεύρξαν, καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν οἰκοδομίαν 1 ἦσαν Braun: ἦσαν MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xiii. 1–8

XIII

Nor long after this Justinus, who had declared his nephew Justinian emperor with him, died, and thus the empire came to Justinian alone. This Justinian commanded Belisarius to build a fortress in a place called Mindouos, which is over against the very boundary of Persia, on the left as one goes to Nisibis. He accordingly with great haste began to carry out the decision of the emperor, and the fort was already rising to a considerable height by reason of the great number of artisans. But the Persians forbade them to build any further, threatening that, not with words alone but also with deeds, they would at no distant time obstruct the work. When the emperor heard this, inasmuch as Belisarius was not able to beat off the Persians from the place with the army he had, he ordered another army to go thither, and also Coutzes and Bouzes, who at that time commanded the soldiers in Libanus.¹ These two were brothers from Thrace, both young and inclined to be rash in engaging with the enemy. So both armies were gathered together and came in full force to the scene of the building operations, the Persians in order to hinder the work with all their power, and the Romans to defend the labourers. And a fierce battle took place in which the Romans were defeated, and there was a great slaughter of them, while some also were made captive by the enemy. Among these was Coutzes himself. All these captives the Persians led away to their own country, and, putting them in chains, confined them permanently in a cave; as for the fort, since no

¹ Lebanon.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οὐδενὸς ἔτι ἀμυνομένου εἰς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον.
9 Ὅστε τοιοῦτοι ἐνακολουθοῦν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καταστησάμενος, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐκέλευεν. οὶ δὲ στρατιῶν λόγου
10 πολλοὶ ἀξίωσιν ἀγείρας ἔσοδος έλθε. καὶ οἱ Ἐρμοgpsες Ξυνοδακομητὴς τὸν στρατόν ἐκ βασιλέως ἀφικετο, τὸ τοῦ μαγιστρου ἀξίωμα ἔχων, δἐς Βιοταλιάν παρῆδρευς πρότερον ἦνκα
11 βασιλεὺς Ἀναστασίῳ πολέμος ἦν. καὶ Ῥοου-
φίνων δὲ πρεσβευτὴν βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψεν, ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἰεραπόλει τῇ πρὸς τῷ Ἐὐφράτε ϊ ποταμῷ μένειν, ἦν 
12 ἐστὶν, ἐπισκόποι ἐπισκόπων ἐκεῖνοι ἔστιν ἐς
γῆν τῆς Ῥωμαίων, πόλην Δάρας αἰρήσειν ἐν
13 σπουδὴ ἑχοντες. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες τὰ ἐς
14 τὴν παράταξαν ἐξηρτύνοντο ὅσον δὲ τῇ πόλεις ἡ
πόλεως Νισίβιδος κατανυκτήκει τὴν νυκτόν 
15 εὐθείας ἐξηγοῦν. ὁμοτὸν τὰς ἑπόδες ὁὐκ ἔστιν ἐς
16 ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἀπαντες. ἄρχοντες δὲ ἀλλοι
one defended it any longer, they razed what had been built to the ground.

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

te ἴσαν καὶ Πιτυάξης καὶ Βαρεσμανᾶς ἐτέρο-φθαλμὸς. στρατηγὸς δὲ εἰς ἀπασιν ἐφειστήκει, Πέρος ἀνήρ, μιρράνης μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν καλοῦσι Πέρσαι), Περόξης δὲ ὄνομα. 17 δὲ δὴ αὐτίκα παρὰ Βελυσάριον πέμψας τὸ βαλα-νείον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔκελεν ποιεῖσθαι λούσθαι γὰρ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλομένῳ εἶναι. 18 διὸ δὴ Ἦρωμαιοι τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καρτερῶ-τατα ἐξηρτύωντο, ὡς ἡμέρα τῇ ἐπιγενεσμομένῃ μαχούμενοι.

19 Ἀμα τε ἥλιῳ ἄνισχοντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ σφᾶς προϊόντας ὅρωντες ἔταξαντο ὡδὲ. εὐθείᾳς μὲν τὰ ἐσχατα τῆς ἄριστεράς ἢ ἐνερθεὶν ἡ τῆς ὀρθῆς κεραίας μέχρι ἐς τῶν λόφον δὲ ταῦτῃ ἀνέχει, Βούχης εἰχε ἐνν ἰππεύσι πολλοῖς καὶ 20 Φάρας Ἐρουλος ἤν ὀμογενεῖσθο τριακοσίοις. ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τάφρον ἐκτὸς κατὰ τὴν γανήν ἤν ἢ τε ὀρθῆ κεραία καὶ ἢ ἐνθένε εὐθείᾳ ἐποίει, Σουνίκας τε ἡν καὶ Ἀιγάν, Μασσαγέται γένος, ἐνν ἰππεύσιν ἐξακοσίοις, ὅπως, ἢν οὐ τε ἁμβία Βοῦχην καὶ Φάραν τραπεῖν, αὐτοὶ πλάγιοι κατὰ τάχος ἱόντες κατὰ νότον τε τῶν πολεμίων γινόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνῃ Ἦρωμαιοι ἀμίνες εὐπετῶς δύνονται. ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐτετά-χατον τῆς μὲν γὰρ εὐθείας τὰ ἐσχατα ἰππεῖς πολ-λοὶ εἶχον, ὡν Ἰωάννης τε ὁ Νικήτου ἱρκε καὶ Κύριλλος τε καὶ Μάρκελλος· ἐννὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Γερμανὸς καὶ Δωρόθεος· ἐς γανὴν δὲ τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἰππεῖς ἔταξαντο ἔξακοσίοι, ὡν Σίμμας τε καὶ

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

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

¹ a-trench.

1. Bouzes and Pharas.
2. Sunicas and Aigan.
3. John, Cyril, Marcellus, Germanus, and Dorotheus.
4. Simmas and Ascan.
5. Belisarius and Hermogenes.
'Ασκανία Μασσαγέται ἢρχον, ἵνα, ὅπερ εἰρηται, τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν Ἰωάννην τρεπομένων, ἂν οὗτῳ τῷ χρ. αὐτοῖ ἐνθέντε ἐξαισισάμενοι κατὰ νότῳ τῶν 22 Περσῶν ἱσοί. πανταχῇ δὲ τῆς τάφρου οἱ τε τῶν ἱππέων κατάλογοι καὶ ὁ πεζὸς στρατὸς ἵστατο. ὃν δὴ ὁπισθεν οἱ τέ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον καὶ Ερμογένην 23 κατὰ μέσους εἰστήκασαν. ὥδε μὲν Ὁρμαιοὶ ἐς πεντακισχίλιους τε καὶ δισμυρίους ξυνιότες ἐτάσκανο, Περσῶν δὲ ὁ στρατὸς μυριάδες μὲν τέσσαρες ἱππέων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἤσαν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀπαντες μετοπηδόν ἴσταντο, ὡς βαθύτατον τῆς 24 φάλαγγος τὸ μέτωπον ποιησόμενοι. χρόνον μὲν 25 οὐ πολὺν μάχης ἔστη ἀλλήλους οὐδέτεροι ἢρχον, ἀλλὰ βαμμαζόσι τε τῆς Ὁρμαιῶν εὐκοσμίαν Πέρσαι ἐφέκασαν καὶ τὸ χρῆσοντα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπορομενοίς. 26 τῆς δὲ ἠμέρας ἀμφὶ δείλην ὅψιν μοῖρά τε 27 τῶν ἱππέων οἱ κέρας τὸ δεξιῶν εἶχον, ἀποσχίσθεντες τοῦ ἄλλου στρατοῦ, τοῖς ἀμφὶ Βοῦζην τε καὶ Φάραν ἐπῆλθον. οἱ δὲ ὅπισώ κατὰ βραχὺ ὑπεχώρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, κύκλωσιν, οἴμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων τινὰ δείσαντες. μετὰ δὲ Ὁρμαιῶν μὲν 28 οἱ φυγόντες ἐκ τοῦ αἴφνιδιον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὄρη 29 μῆσαν. οἱ δὲ οὕς ὑποστάντες τῆν ἐφοδιαν ὅπισῶ ἀπήλλαυνον ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα, καὶ αὖθις οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Βοῦζην καὶ Φάραν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἐτάξαντο. 28 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ Περσῶν ἐπτὰ ἔπεσον, ὡς δὴ τῶν σωμάτων Ὁρμαιῶν ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν 30 ἱσυχάζοντες ἐν τάξει ἐκάτεροι ἔμενον. εἰς δὲ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης νεανίας, ἀγχιστα τοῦ Ὁρμαιῶν στρατοῦ τῶν ἱππῶν ἐλάσας, προϊκαλεῖτο ἀπαντας
Ascan, Massagetae, in order that, as has been said, in case the forces of John should by any chance be driven back, they might move out from there and attack the rear of the Persians. Thus all along the trench stood the detachments of cavalry and the infantry. And behind these in the middle stood the forces of Belisarius and Hermogenes. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves, amounting to five-and-twenty thousand; but the Persian army consisted of forty thousand horse and foot, and they all stood close together facing the front, so as to make the front of the phalanx as deep as possible. Then for a long time neither side began battle with the other, but the Persians seemed to be wondering at the good order of the Romans, and appeared at a loss what to do under the circumstances.

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

30 ε' τ'ις οί Βούλοιτο έσ χειρας ίέναι. καί των μεν ἄλλων ὑποστήναι τόν κινδυνον ἐτόλμα οὐδείς, Ἄνδρεας δὲ ήν τις ἐν τοῖς Βούζου οἰκείως, οὗ στρατιώτης μὲν οἴδε τι ἀσκήσας τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πόστε, παιδοτρίβης δὲ καὶ παλαιόστρα τινὶ ἐν Βυζάντιῳ ἐφεστηκός. διό δὲ καὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐἰπετο, ἀτε τοῦ Βούζου σώματος ἐν βαλανείῳ ἐπιμελούμενος, γένος δὲ Βυζάντιως ἦν. οὗτος ἔθαρσησε μόνον, οὔτε Βούζου οὔτε ἄλλου ὄστοιον ἐπαγγείλαντος, αὐτόματος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς μονομαχίαι ἐπεξέμεναι. φθάσας δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἔτε περισκοποῦμενον ὅτη ὀρμήσεται, παρὰ μαζὸν τὸν δεξιὸν τῷ δόρατο παῖει. ὁ δὲ πληγήν ἀνδρός ἱσχυροῦ λίαν οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἐς ἔδαφος πίπτει. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἄνδρεας μαχαίρα τινῆ βραχείᾳ οἴσσερ ἱερεὶν ὑπτίως κείμενοι ἑθυσε, κραυγὴ τε ὑπερφυὴς ἐκ τε τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδου ἡρθη. Πέρσαι δὲ τῷ γεγονότι περιαληγόνται ἐτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτήν πράξιν ἵππα καθήκαν, Ἄνδρείων μὲν καὶ μεγέθους σώματος πέρι εὐ ἤκοντα, οὔ νεανίαν δὲ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφάλῃ τριχῶν πολίων ὄντα. δεὶ παρὰ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἐπισών, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ τὴν μάστηγα σεῖων ἢ παίειν τὸν ἱππὸν εἰώθει, Ῥωμαίων τὸν βουλόμενον ἐς μάχην ἐκάλει. οὐδενὸς δὲ οἱ ἐπεξείντος, Ἄνδρεας αὖθις ἀπαντᾷς λαθῶν ἐς μέσον ἤλθε, καὶ περ αὐτῷ πρὸς τοῦ Ἐρμογένους ἀπειρημένου. ἀμφοὶ γοῦν τοῖς δόρασιν ἐς ἄλληλους θυμῷ πολλῷ ἐχόμενοι ὁρμησαν, καὶ τὰ τε δόρατα τοῖς θώραξιν ἔρει-
calling for whoever wished to do battle with him. And no one of the whole army dared face the danger, except a certain Andreas, one of the personal attendants of Bouzes, not a soldier nor one who had ever practised at all the business of war, but a trainer of youths in charge of a certain wrestling school in Byzantium. Through this it came about that he was following the army, for he cared for the person of Bouzes in the bath; his birthplace was Byzantium. This man alone had the courage, without being ordered by Bouzes or anyone else, to go out of his own accord to meet the man in single combat. And he caught the barbarian while still considering how he should deliver his attack, and hit him with his spear on the right breast. And the Persian did not bear the blow delivered by a man of such exceptional strength, and fell from his horse to the earth. Then Andreas with a small knife slew him like a sacrificial animal as he lay on his back, and a mighty shout was raised both from the city wall and from the Roman army. But the Persians were deeply vexed at the outcome and sent forth another horseman for the same purpose, a manly fellow and well favoured as to bodily size, but not a youth, for some of the hair on his head already shewed grey. This horseman came up along the hostile army, and, brandishing vehemently the whip with which he was accustomed to strike his horse, he summoned to battle whoever among the Romans was willing. And when no one went out against him, Andreas, without attracting the notice of anyone, once more came forth, although he had been forbidden to do so by Hermogenes. So both rushed madly upon each other with their spears, and the weapons, driven
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

σθέντα δεινῶς ἀπεκρούσθη οἱ τε ἱπποὶ ἐς τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀλλήλους συγκρούσαντες ἔπεσόν τε
37 αὐτοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἀπέβαλον. τῷ δὲ ἄνδρε ὁ τούτῳ ἀγχιστά· τῇ πεσόντε ἀλλήλων
ἐξανίστασθαι σπουδὴ πολλῆ ἀμφο ἡπειρόγεσθην,
ἀλλ' ο μὲν Πέρσης τούτῳ δράν, ἀτε οἱ τοῦ μεγέ-
θους ἀντιστατούντος, οὐκ εὐπετῶς εἰχεν, Ἄνδρεας
dὲ προτερῆς (τούτὸ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ τὴν
παλαιόστραν μελέτη ἐδίδον τῷ τε γόνατι ἐξαν-
stάμενοι αὐτῶν ἐτυψε καὶ αὖθις εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος
38 πεσόντα ἔκτεινε. κρανγη τε ἐκ τοῦ τεῖχους καὶ
toῦ Ῥωμαῖων στρατοῦ οὐδὲν τι ήσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ
μᾶλλον, ἡρθῆ καὶ οἱ μὲν Πέρσαι ἐς τὸ Ἀμμώδιος
tὴν φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες ἀνεχόρησαν, οἱ δὲ
Ῥωμαίοι παίανίσαντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγέ-
39 νοντο. ἡδὲ γὰρ καὶ ἕξυνοςκόταζεν. οὕτω τε ἀμφότεροι τὴν νῦκτα ἐκείνην ἡνίσαντο.

XIV

1 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραία Πέρσαις μὲν στρατιῶται μῦροι
ἐκ Νισίβιδος πόλεως μετάπεμπτοι ἤλθον, Βελι-
σάριος δὲ καὶ Ερμογένης πρὸς Μιρράννῃ ἐγραψαν
τάδε, "Πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν τὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι ὁμολογη-
tαι παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἷς τι καὶ κατὰ [τῷ]
2 βραχὺ λογισμοῦ μέτεστιν. ὡστε ἦν τις διαλυτής
αὐτῆς γένοιτο, τὸν κακῶν αἰτιῶτατος ἄν ὦ τοῖς
πέλας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμογενέστι τοῖς αὐτῶν εἰς
στρατηγὸς μὲν οὖν ἄριστος οὕτος ἐκείνος ἔστιν, δὲ
δὴ ἐκ πολέμου εἰρήνην διατίθεσθαι ἰκανὸς πέφυκε.
3 σὺ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐ καθεστῶτων Ῥωμαίοις
tε καὶ Πέρσαις πόλεμον ἐπάγειν ἡμῖν αἰτίαν οὐκ

112
against their corselets, were turned aside with mighty force, and the horses, striking together their heads, fell themselves and threw off their riders. And both the two men, falling very close to each other, made great haste to rise to their feet, but the Persian was not able to do this easily because his size was against him, while Andreas, anticipating him (for his practice in the wrestling school gave him this advantage), smote him as he was rising on his knee, and as he fell again to the ground dispatched him. Then a roar went up from the wall and from the Roman army as great, if not greater, than before; and the Persians broke their phalanx and withdrew to Ammodios, while the Romans, raising the paean, went inside the fortifications; for already it was growing dark. Thus both armies passed that night.

XIV

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

ἐχοντα ἐγγωκας, καὶπερ ἐκατέρου μὲν βασιλέως ἐηρηναία βουλευομένου, πρεσβευων δὲ παρόντων ἦμιν ἐν γειτόνων ἦδη, οὐ δὴ τὰ διάφορα τῇ ἐς ἄλλην ὁμιλία ὁυκ ἐις μακρὰν διαλύσουσιν, ἂν μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον ἐκ τῆς σής ἐφόδου ξυμβαίνου ταύτην ἦμιν ἀναστέλλειν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἰσχύσῃ. ἀλλ' ἀπαγε ὅτι τάχιστα τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθη, μηδὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐμποδῶν ἱστασο, μὴ ποτε Πέρσαις, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, εἰς τῶν ξυμβησομένων δεινῶν αἰτίων." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Μιρράνης ἀπενεχθέντα τὰ γράμματα εἶδεν, ἀμεῖβεται ὡδε, "Ἐποίησα δὲν τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀναπεισθεῖς, εἰ μὴ Ῥωμαιῶν ἢ ἐπιστολὴ ἐτύχχανον ὦσα, οἴς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι προχειρὸν ἐστιν, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐπιτελεῖν χαλεπῶτατον τε καὶ κρείσσον ἐλπίδος, ἀλλως τῇ ἡ καὶ ὅρκοις τοις κυρώσητε τὰ ξυγκείμενα. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐν πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπειρόντες ἀπάτην, ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἡναγκάσμεθα παρ' ὑμᾶς ἢκειν, ὡμεῖς δὲ, ὡς φίλοι Ῥωμαιῶν, μηδὲν ἄλλο τὸ λοίπον οὔσεθε ἡ πολεμητεὰ ὑμῖν ἐς Πέρσας εἶναι. ἐναυτά γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ τεθνάναι ἢ καταγράσκειν δείσει, ἔως ἔργῳ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς θήσεσθε." τοσαυτά μὲν καὶ ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντέγραφεν. αὐθινὶς δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐγραφαν ὡδε, "Οὐ πάντα χρῆ, ὡς ἐλειτοῦσε Μιρράνη, τῇ ἀλαξονία χαρίζεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῖς πέλας ἐπιφέροιν ὁνείδη τὰ μηδαμόδεν προσήκοντα. Ῥουφίων γὰρ ἐπὶ πρεσβεία ἦκοντα οὐκ ἀποθεν εἶναι ἡμεῖς τε εἰπομεν ἐκ τῷ ἀληθεί καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἢ μακρὰν εἰση. γλυχομένοις δὲ ὑμῖν πολεμίων ἔργων ἀντι-
although the counsels of each king are looking toward peace, and although our envoys are already present in the neighbourhood, who will at no distant time settle all the points of dispute in talking over the situation together, unless some irreparable harm coming from your invasion proves sufficient to frustrate for us this hope. But lead away as soon as possible your army to the land of the Persians, and do not stand in the way of the greatest blessings, lest at some time you be held responsible by the Persians, as is probable, for the disasters which will come to pass.” When the mirranes saw this letter brought to him, he replied as follows: “I should have been persuaded by what you write, and should have done what you demand, were the letter not, as it happens, from Romans, for whom the making of promises is easy, but the fulfilment of the promises in deed most difficult and beyond hope, especially if you sanction the agreement by any oaths. We, therefore, despairing in view of your deception, have been compelled to come before you in arms, and as for you, my dear Romans, consider that from now on you will be obliged to do nothing else than make war against the Persians. For here we shall be compelled either to die or grow old until you accord to us justice in deed.” Such was the reply which the mirranes wrote back. And again Belisarius and his generals wrote as follows: “O excellent mirranes, it is not fitting in all things to depend upon boasting, nor to lay upon one’s neighbours reproaches which are justified on no grounds whatever. For we said with truth that Rufinus had come to act as an envoy and was not far away, and you yourself will know this at no remote time. But since you are eager for deeds of war, we shall array
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tαξίμεθα ξυν θεῷ, δι' ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ ἔπειρασάμεθα ἰσμεν, ἡγομένοι μὲν τῇ Ῥωμαίῳ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ, ἀλαζονείᾳ δὲ τῇ Περσῶν νεμεσθησαντα καὶ οὐς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην προκαλοῦμένους

10 ἡμῖν εἶτα ἀντιστείνειν ἐγνώκατε. ἀντιταξίμεθα δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα παρ' ἐκατέρων ἀπ' ἄκρων σημείων
11 ἐς τὴν εὐμβολὴν ἀναφάγομεν." τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλωσέν, Μιρράνης δὲ καὶ αὕτης ἀμείβεται· οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ θεῶν τῶν ἑμετέρων ἐστὶν πόλεμον καθιστάμεθα, ξυν αὐτῶις δὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἤξομεν, οὐσπερ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Πέρσας ἐς Δάρας
12 ἐσβιβάσειν οἰπίδα ἤχω. ἀλλὰ μοι τὸ τε βαλανείον καὶ ἀριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς γυνέσθω." τούτα οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελεσάριον ἀναλεξάμενοι παρεσκευάζομεν ἐς τὴν εὐμβολὴν.

13 Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Πέρσας ἀπαντάσας περὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς ἐνυγκαλέσας Μιρράνης ἔλεξε τουάδε, "Οὐκ ἁγνωμέν μὲν ὦς οὐ λόγοι τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἀλλ' ἀρετὴ τε ὀικεῖα καὶ τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλους αἴδοιν φαρσεῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις εἰώθασιν Πέρσαι. ὅρων δὲ υμᾶς διαλογιζουμένους τι δήποτε οὐ συνειδισμένου Ῥωμαίως πρότερον ἄνευ χορύζων τε καὶ ἀταξίας εἰς μάχην ἴεναι, οἱ δὲ ξυν κόσμῳ τινὶ ἔναγχος οὐδαμόθεν σφίζει προσήκοντι Πέρσας ἐπιστάς ὑπέστησαν, τούδε εἰνεκα παραίνεσιν πονεῖσθαι τινα εἰς υμᾶς ἐγνώκα, ὅπως μὴ δόξη οὐκ ἄληθεί τχρών ἡμῶνισ ὑμῖν σφαλίσαι συμβαίνῃ. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθε Ῥωμαίους ἀμείνους τὰ πολέμια ἐκ τοῦ αἰφινδίου γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀρετῆς τι ἡ ἐμπείρας κεκτήσθαι.
ourselves against you with the help of God, who will, we know, support us in the danger, being moved by the peaceful inclination of the Romans, but rebuking the boastfulness of the Persians and your decision to resist us when we invite you to peace. And we shall array ourselves against you, having prepared for the conflict by fastening the letters written by each of us on the top of our banners.” Such was the message of this letter. And the mirranes again answered as follows: “Neither are we entering upon the war without our gods, and with their help we shall come before you, and I expect that on the morrow they will bring the Persians into Daras. But let the bath and lunch be in readiness for me within the fortifications.” When Belisarius and his generals read this, they prepared themselves for the conflict.

On the succeeding day the mirranes called together all the Persians at about sunrise and spoke as follows: “I am not ignorant that it is not because of words of their leaders, but because of their individual bravery and their shame before each other that the Persians are accustomed to be courageous in the presence of dangers. But seeing you considering why in the world it is that, although the Romans have not been accustomed heretofore to go into battle without confusion and disorder, they recently awaited the advancing Persians with a kind of order which is by no means characteristic of them, for this reason I have decided to speak some words of exhortation to you, so that it may not come about that you be deceived by reason of holding an opinion which is not true. For I would not have you think that the Romans have suddenly become better warriors, or that they have acquired any more valour or ex-
πλέον, ἄλλα καὶ δείλουσ αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρότερα οὗτε ἔτυγχανον· οἴ γε οὕτω Πέρσας δεδίσων ὡστε οὐδὲ τάφρον χωρίς ἐστὶν τὴν φάλαγγα καθίστασθαι τετολμήκασιν. οὐδὲ εἶναι ταύτη μάχης τωδε ἦρξαν, ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς χειρας αὐτοῖς οὐδαμῶς ἦλθομεν, ἀσμένοι τε καὶ κρείσσουν ἐπίδοσ τὰ πράγματα σφίσι κεχωρηκέναι οἴσμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἐχώρησαν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ ξυντεταράχθαι τετύχκειν, οὕτω εἰς κίνδυνον πολέμου ἐλθοῦσιν. ἦν δὲ γε ἡ μάχη ἐκ χειρὸς γενήθηκε, ὁρρωδία τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπειρία ¹ περιλαβόουσαι ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τὴν συνῆθη, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καταστήσουσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολεμίων τοιαύτα ἐστιν· ὑμᾶς δὲ, ὡς ἁγγας Πέρσαι, τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλέως ἡ κρίσις εἰσίτω. ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἐπαξίως τῆς Περσῶν ἀρετῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐνυκλείης περιστήσεται. ² οὕτω μὲν Μιρράνθης παρακελευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ στράτευμα ἤγαγε. Βελισάριος δὲ καὶ Ἑρμογένης πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πάντας Ῥωμαίους ἀγείραντες παρεκκελεύ- ¹ ἐπί τοῦ παρόντος ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, κόλασις ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἐνυκλείης περιστήσεται. ὃς μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι Πέρσαι οὐδὲ κρείσσους ήθυσκεν ἐπιστασθε δή που, μάχη τῇ προτέρᾳ σταθμώμενοι· ὡς δὲ τῇ τε ἀνδρία καὶ σώματος ἵσχυι περίοντες αὐτῶν, μόνος ἠττᾶθε τῷ τοῖς ἁρχονσιν ἀπειθεστεροὶ εἶναι, ² σαντο ὡς, "Ως μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ παντάπασιν ἀνίκητοι ἐπανορθοῦντος πόνοι οὐδεὶς ἤμων πάρεστι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς τύχης ἐναντιώματα σπουδὴ ἐπανορθοῦσθαι οὐδαμῶς πέφυκε, γνώμη δὲ ¹ ἀπειρία GP: ἀπορία V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xiv. 15–22

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

119
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tων οἰκείων κακῶν ῥᾴδιως ἀν ἀνθρώπων ἵπτρος
23 γένοιτο. ὥστε ἢν τῶν παραγγελλομένων κατ-
ακούειν ἢ βουλομένους ὑμῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ ἀναδήσεσθε
τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἀλλὰ τῷ ἢ
τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀκόσμῳ θαρσοῦντες ἐφ᾿ ἡμᾶς ἠκουσί.
24 σφαλέστε δὲ καὶ νῦν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιτίθος ὁμοίως
τῇ προλαβούσῃ ξυμβολῇ ἀπαλλάξουσι. καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ἡ μάλιστα δεδίττωνται,
25 ὡμᾶς ὑπερφρονεῖν ἀξιοῦν. τὸ γὰρ πεζὸν ἀπαν οὐδὲν
ἀλλὸ ἡ ὁμιλία ἐστὶν ἀγροίκων ποιτρῶν, οἱ ἐσὶ τῇ
παράταξιν ἐπ᾿ ἀλλῷ οúdeν ἔρχονται ἢ τεῖχος τῇ
diορύττειν καὶ τοὺς τεθνεώτας σκυλεύειν καὶ
26 τάλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ὑπηρετεῖν. διὸ δὴ ὅπλα
μὲν οἷς ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνοχλοῦν οὐδαμῇ
ἐχοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ θυρεός τοιούτους τὸ μέγεθος προ-
βέβληται μόνον ὅτις αὐτὸι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων
27 ἢκιστα βάλλονται. οὐκοῦν ἄνδρες ἀγαθὸι ἐν τῷ
tῷ κινδύνῳ̣ 1 γενόμενοι οὐκ ἐν τῷ παρόντι μόνον
Πέρσας νικήσετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀπονολας κολά-
σετε, ὡς μὴποτε αὕτες εἰς γῆν τῆν Ῥωμαίων
στρατεύσουσαν:"
28 Ταῦτην Ἐμμογένης τὴν
παραίνεσιν ποιησάμενοι, ἔπειδὴ Πέρσας ὁδῷ ἱον-
tας ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶδον, τρόπῳ τῷ προτέρῳ κατὰ
29 τάχος τούς στρατιώτας διετάξαν. καὶ οἱ βάρ-
βαροι παρ᾿ αὐτοὺς ἠκούσαν μετωπηδῶν ἔστησαν.
οὐχ ἀπανταν μέντοι Πέρσας ὁ Μιρράνης ἀντίους
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔστησε, τοὺς δὲ
30 ἄλλους ὅπσισθεν μένειν ἐλάσσεν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς μαχο-
μένους ἐκδεχόμενοι ἐμελλόν ἀκμῆται ἐπιθήσεσθαι
κινδύνων VG: πολέμων P.
be set right by an effort, reason may easily become for a man a physician for the ills caused by himself. If therefore you are willing to give heed to the orders given, you will straightway win for yourselves the superiority in battle. For the Persians come against us basing their confidence on nothing else than our disorder. But this time also they will be disappointed in this hope, and will depart just as in the previous encounter. And as for the great numbers of the enemy, by which more than anything else they inspire fear, it is right for you to despise them. For their whole infantry is nothing more than a crowd of pitiable peasants who come into battle for no other purpose than to dig through walls and to despoil the slain and in general to serve the soldiers. For this reason they have no weapons at all with which they might trouble their opponents, and they only hold before themselves those enormous shields in order that they may not possibly be hit by the enemy. Therefore if you show yourselves brave men in this struggle, you will not only conquer the Persians for the present, but you will also punish them for their folly, so that they will never again make an expedition into the Roman territory."

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

tois evantios, opou an el ek peritropih apantes
31 makwntai. monon de ton ton adanatwv legeomewn
lonou hsucih menein, eous autous sumpnyh, ekelyenein.
32 autous te kata meson tov metopon tazamenos,
Pituvaxin men tois eiv dezi, Varasman an de
tois es to aristeron kepas epestthesen. outo men
amfoteroi etetakato. Fara de Velisarif te kal
33 Ermoyenei parastas eipe, "Ouden moi dokw ev-
tauta xin tois Erovlois mevow tois polemious
erygasaithai megas: hyn de kruptomevou es to kata-
tes touto, eita, epieidh en to ergh wenvntai
Porsai, dia toude tov lophon anabanontes ek tov
aifvidion kata voton autwn iwmwv opwthen bal-
kontes, ta anikesta autois, os to eikos, dras-
soneme." o men tauta eipe, kal eite tois amphi
Velisarion heske, kata tauta eipoiei.
34 Makha de axhri es hemeran mesein oudeteroi
herchon. eipeidh de tachista h mesembria paraf-
chken, ergho oi barbaroi eixonto, toude eivenea es
touton tis hemeras ton kairown twn xuminhnon apo-
themeno, oti de autoi men sintois es deilhyn
xhsthai monon eidosasi, Rwmaioi de pro tis
mesembrias, oste ouptote xunto autous omonos
35 anethein, hpi peinwswin epitwntai. ta men ouv
prwta toxemiasin exwnto es allhlous ekateroi,
ka tina ta beleta to plithen an hlh ev plieistovn
eipoiei, ek te amfoterwv polei eippptov, polev
de suxontera ta ton barbaron belha efevetos.
36 en peritropi yar deil amvtes emachont, ai-
sthsum tov pououmenou tois polemious os hiksta
parexomevou, ou menstoi oude ws Rwmaioi to elas-
and to fall upon their opponents with their vigour intact, so that all might fight in constant rotation. But the detachment of the so-called Immortals alone he ordered to remain at rest until he himself should give the signal. And he took his own station at the middle of the front, putting Pityaxes in command on the right wing, and Baresmanas on the left. In this manner, then, both armies were drawn up. Then Pharas came before Belisarius and Hermogenes, and said: "It does not seem to me that I shall do the enemy any great harm if I remain here with the Eruli; but if we conceal ourselves on this slope, and then, when the Persians have begun the fight, if we climb up by this hill and suddenly come upon their rear, shooting from behind them, we shall in all probability do them the greatest harm." Thus he spoke, and, since it pleased Belisarius and his staff, he carried out this plan.

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

σον εἰχον. πνεύμα γὰρ ἐνθέντε ἐπίφορον ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτεσοῦν οὐ λίαι αὐτῶν τὰ
37 τοξέυματα ἐνεργεῖν εἰα. ἐπεί δὲ ἀπαντα ἐκα-
tέρους τὰ βέλη ἤθη ἐπιλεοῦτε, τοῖς τε δόρασιν
ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρώντω καὶ η ὑγνη ἐτι μᾶλλον ἢ
χειρὸς ἐγεγόνει. Ρωμαίων δὲ κέρας τὸ ἄριστερὸν
38 μάλιστα ἔκαμε. Καδισηνοὶ γάρ, οἱ ταῦτῃ
ξὺν τῷ Πετυάξῃ ἐμάχῳ, πολλοὶ ἐπιβεβο-
thηκότες ἐξαπατῶν ἐτρέφαντο τε τοὺς πολεμίους
καὶ φεύγουσιν ἐγκείμενοι ἵσχυρότατα συνχοῦν
39 ἐκτενον. δὴ κατιδόντες οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σουνίκα
τε καὶ 'Αἰγάν, δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἔπ' αὐτοὺς ἰέσαν.
πρῶτοι δὲ οἱ τριακόσιοι ξὺν τῷ Φάρα 'Ερουλοῖ
ἐξ ἀνηλίκων κατὰ νότον τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενοι,
ἔργα θαυμαστὰ ἔς τε τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοὺς
40 Καδισηνοὺς ἐπεδείκτηκαντο. οἱ δὴ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Σουνίκαν πλαγίους ἦδη ἀνιόντας ἐπ'
41 αὐτοὺς εἴδον, ἐς φυγὴν ὄρμητο. τῆς δὲ τροπῆς
λαμπρᾶς γενομένης, ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλους ἐξυνέμιξαν
οἱ ταῦτῃ 'Ρωμαιϊν, γέγονε φόνος τῶν βαρβάρων
42 πολὺς. καὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐχ
ξῆσαν ἢ τρισχῖλοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀπέθανον,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐς τὴν φάλαγγα μόλις καταφυγόντες
43 ἐσώθησαν. 'Ρωμαιϊ τε οὐκέτι ἐδίωκον, ἀλλ' ἐν
τῇ παρατάξει ἐκάτεροι ἐστήσαν αὐτοῖς ἀλλήλους.
ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἐφέρετο τῆς.
44 Μιρράνης δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τοὺς
ἀδανάτους λεγομένους ἀπαντας ἐς μέρος τὸ ἄρι-
stερὸν λάθρα ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὴ κατιδόντες
Βελεσάριος τε καὶ 'Ερμογένης, τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σου-
nίκαν τε καὶ 'Αἰγάν ἐξακοσίους ἐς γωνίαν τὴν ἐν
deξιᾷ ἐκέλευν ιέναι, οδ δὴ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Σιμμᾶ τε
124
not have the worst of it. For a steady wind blew from their side against the barbarians, and checked to a considerable degree the force of their arrows. Then, after both sides had exhausted all their missiles, they began to use their spears against each other, and the battle had come still more to close quarters. On the Roman side the left wing was suffering especially. For the Cadiseni, who with Pityaxes were fighting at this point, rushing up suddenly in great numbers, routed their enemy, and, crowding hard upon the fugitives, were killing many of them. When this was observed by the men under Sunicas and Aigan, they charged against them at full speed. But first the three hundred Eruli under Pharas from the high ground got in the rear of the enemy and made a wonderful display of valorous deeds against all of them and especially the Cadiseni. And the Persians, seeing the forces of Sunicas too already coming up against them from the flank, turned to a hasty flight. And the rout became complete, for the Romans here joined forces with each other, and there was a great slaughter of the barbarians. On the Persian right wing not fewer than three thousand perished in this action, while the rest escaped with difficulty to the phalanx and were saved. And the Romans did not continue their pursuit, but both sides took their stand facing each other in line. Such was the course of these events.

But the miirannes stealthily sent to the left a large body of troops and with them all the so-called Immortals. And when these were noticed by Belisarius and Hermogenes, they ordered the six hundred men under Sunicas and Aigan to go to the angle on the right, where the troops of Simmas
καὶ Ἀσκάν ἱσταντο, καὶ αὐτῶν ὤπισθεν τῶν 45 Ἄλπεων ἐπομένων πολλοὺς ἔστησαν. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν οἱ κέρας τὸ ἀριστερόν εἶχον Βαρεσμανᾶ ἥγουμένου σφίσι ξὺν τοῖς ἄθανάτοις ἐστὶ τοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς Ὀμαιόν δρόμῳ ἐσέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ οὖν ὑποστάντες τὴν ἔφοδον ἐς φυγὴν ὁμημέντο. τότε δὴ οἱ τε ἐν τῇ γωνίᾳ Ὀμαιοὶ καὶ δοσὶ αὐτῶν ὤπισθεν ἦσαν, στουδὴ πολλῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς διὼ- 47 κοντας ἔσεαν. ἀπε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐγκαρσιοὶ ἰόντες, διεῖλον αὐτῶν δίχα τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶχον, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐποιήσαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ τῶν τοῦ Βαρεσμανᾶ τὸ σημεῖον φέροντα ξυνέπεσεν εἰναι, ἐν δὴ ὁ Σουνίκας τῷ δόρατι 48 ἐπέλθον παῖει. ἥδη τε Πέρσαι οἱ ἐν τοῖς πρώ- τοις διώκοντες, αἰσθόμενοι οὐ ἦσαν κακοῦ, στρέψαντες τε τὰ νότα καὶ τὴν δίωξιν καταπαύ- σαντες ἔπτα αὐτοὺς ἔσεαν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἁμφί- 49 βολοὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγίνοντο. ξυνέντεσε γὰρ τῶν ποιουμένων οἱ φεύγοντες ἀνέστρεφον αὖθις. οἱ τε γοῦν ἄλλοι Πέρσαι καὶ ὁ τῶν ἄθανάτων λόχος, ἱκελεμένοι τε τὸ σημεῖον ἰόντες καὶ ἐς τὸ έδαφος καθειμένου, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Ὀμαιοὺς ξὺν τῷ Βαρεσμανᾶ ἁρμῆσαν. 50 Ὀμαιοὶ δὲ ὑπνηταῖακον. καὶ πρῶτος ¹ Σουνίκας τῶν Βαρεσμανᾶν ἐκτεινὲ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὕππου ἐς τὸ έδαφος ἔρριψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσ δεός μέγα οἱ βάρβαροι ἐμπεπτωκότες ἀλκής μὲν οὐκέτι ἐμέμνητο, ἀκοσμία δὲ πολλῇ ἐχόμενοι ἐφευγον. 51 καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Ὀμαιοὶ κύκλωσιν τινα ποιησάμενοι πεντακισχιλίους μάλιστα ἐκτειναν. οὔτω τε τὰ ¹ πρῶτος GP: πρῶτον V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xiv. 44–51

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

127
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

στρατόπεδα παντάπασιν ἐκινήθη ἑκάτερα, Περσῶν
52 μὲν ἐς υπαγωγῆν, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν. ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ὅσοι δὴ πεζοὶ ἐν τῷ Περσῶν
στρατεύματι ἦσαν, ἡγίσαστος τε τοὺς θύρεοις καὶ
καταλαμβανόμενοι κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς πρὸς τῶν πό-
λεμίων ἐκτείνοντο. Ῥωμαίων μὲντοι ἡ δίωξις
53 δι’ ὅλγου ἐγένετο. Βελασάριος γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμο-
γένης περαιτέρω ἦναὶ οὐδαμῇ εἰσιν, δεῖσαντες μὴ
τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ Πέρσαι ὑποστραφέντες τρέψωνται
αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς λόγῳ διώκοντας, ἰκανόν τε αὐτοῖς
κατεφαίνετο τὴν νίκην ἀκραίφυλλη διασώσασθαι.
54 μακρὸν γὰρ χρόνον Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ ἐκείνῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἡσσηδήθησαν Πέρσαι. οὖτω μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων
55 ἑκάτεροι διεκρίθησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐκέτι μάχην
ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέως ἐς Ῥωμαίους διενεγκείν ἠθελον.
ἐγένοντο μὲντοι ἀμφότεροι τινὲς εἰς ἐπιδρομής
ἐφοδοὶ, ἐν αἰς οὐκ ἔλασσον Ῥωμαιοὶ ἔσχον. τὰ
μὲν οὖν στρατόπεδα ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ τῇ δὲ
ἐφέρετο.

XV

1 Καβάδης δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐς Ἀρμενίαν τὴν
Ῥωμαίων κατήκουν ἐπεμψε. τὸ δὲ στράτευμα
τοῦτο Περσαρμενίων τε καὶ Σουνιτῶν ἦσαν, οἳ δὴ
Ἀλανοὶς εἰσὶν ὁμοροι. Οὐνοὶ τε αὐτοῖς οἱ
Σάβειροι καλούμενοι τρισχίλιοι ἔνυθισαν, μαχιμῶ-
2 τατὸν ἔθνος. στρατηγὸς δὲ Μερμερός, Πέρσης
ἀνήρ, ἀπασὶν ἐφειστήκει. οὐπερ ἐπειδὴ Θεοδο-
σιοντόλεως τριῶν ἠμερῶν ὅδʽ διεἴχου, ἐνστρατο-
πεδευσάμενοι τε ἐμενοῦ ἐν Περσαρμενίων τῇ

128
were all set in motion, the Persians in retreat, and the Romans in pursuit. In this part of the conflict all the foot-soldiers who were in the Persian army threw down their shields and were caught and wantonly killed by their enemy. However, the pursuit was not continued by the Romans over a great distance. For Belisarius and Hermogenes refused absolutely to let them go farther, fearing lest the Persians through some necessity should turn about and rout them while pursuing recklessly, and it seemed to them sufficient to preserve the victory unmarred. For on that day the Persians had been defeated in battle by the Romans, a thing which had not happened for a long time. Thus the two armies separated from each other. And the Persians were no longer willing to fight a pitched battle with the Romans. However, some sudden attacks were made on both sides, in which the Romans were not at a disadvantage. Such, then, was the fortune of the armies in Mesopotamia.

XV

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

VOL. I.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

3 χώρα καὶ τὰ ἐστὶν ἐσβολὴν ἐξηρτύνοντο. ἔτυγχαν δὲ Ἀρμενίας μὲν στρατηγὸς Δωράθεος ὦν, ἀνὴρ ἔτυχός τε καὶ πολέμων πολλῶν ἔμπειρός. Σίττας δὲ ἄρχη ὑπὲρ τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ εἶχε, παντὶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀρμενίοις στρατῷ ἐφευστήκει. οἱ δὲ στρατεύμα πολεμίων γνώντες ἐν Περσαρμενίδες ἀγαίρεσθαι, δορυφόροι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπέμψαν ἐφ᾽ ὃ διασκοπήσαντες ἀπασάν σφίζει τῶν πολεμίων τὴν δύναμιν ἐσαγγείλωσιν.

4 ἀμφῶ τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων γενόμενοι καὶ ἀπαντᾶ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀκριβές κατανοῆσαντες ἀπηλάσσοντο. ὁδῷ τε ἱώντες ἐστὶ τῶν ἐκείνης χωρίων Οὐννοις πολεμίως ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐντυχίωνοισιν. ὃς ἐν τῷ ἀτεροὶς, Δάγαρις ὄνομα, δεθεὶς ἐξωρηθῆς, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος φυγεῖν τε ἵσχυσε καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀπῆγειλεν.

5 οἱ δὲ ἄπαν τὸ στρατεύμα ἐξοπλίσαντες, τῶν πολεμίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐς τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπέ-

6 στηρίζαν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τῷ ἀπροσδόκητῳ κατα-

7 πλαγέντες οὐκέτι ἐστὶν ἄλλην ἐξελευποῦν, ἀλλὰ ἐφευνοῦν ὥς ἐκαστὸς πῃ ἐδυνάτο. ἐνταῦθα Ἠρωμαῖοι κτεί-

8 ναντες τε συνχοῦν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον λησά-

9 μενοι αὐτίκα δὴ ὁπίσω ἄπηλανοιν.

10 Ἔμερεμος τε ἐξέπανος ἀγείρας τὴν στρατίαν

11 οὐ πολλῷ ὡστερον ἐς γην τὴν Ἑρωμαίων ἐσέ-

12 βαλλε, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμφὶ Σάταλαν πόλιν. οὐ δὴ ἐνεστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν

13 χωρίῳ Ὁκτάβη ἱσύχαξον, ὅπερ τῇς πόλεως ἐξ τε

14 καὶ πεντήκοντα στάδιον ἀπέχει. Σίττας μὲν οὐν χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενος ὁπίσθεν τῶν τινος λόφων ἐκρύπτετο, οἰοὶ πολλοὶ Σάταλαν τὴν πόλιν ἐν

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

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

11 πεδίῳ κειμένην κυκλούσι. Δωρόθεον δὲ ξῦν τῷ ἀλλῷ στρατῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε μένειν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ ὦμαλῷ τούς πολεμίων ὑφίστασθαι οἶοι τε ἐίναι οὐδαμῆς φοντο, οὔχ ἢσσον ἢ τρισμυ-ρίους ὄντας, αὐτὸὶ μόλις ἂς τὸ ἤμισυ ἐξικνούμενοι.

12 τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἠμέρᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄγχιστα τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι, κύκλωσιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τινα ἐν σπουδῇ εἴχον. ἀφινω δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς ἀμφὶ Σίτταν ἡ ψηλὴν ἡ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταβαίνοντας, καὶ αὐτῶν ἡμιμετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος ἡκιστα ἔχοντες, ἀτε κοινωρτοῦ ὄραθεν πολλοῦ ἐγκειμένου, πολλῷ τε πλεῖον ὕφωντε ἐναι καὶ τῆς κυκλώσεως κατὰ τάχος ἀφέμενοι ἐς ὅλῳν.

13 τινὰ χῶρον αὐτοὺς ξυναγαγεῖν ἠπείγοντο. θά-σαντες δὲ Ἄρμαιοι καὶ διελόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ἐυμορίας δύο ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπέθεντο, ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἄτας εἶδον ὁ Ἄρμαιων στρατός, ἐθάρσησαν τε καὶ δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐχρέοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐχώρησαν. μέσους δὲ αὐτοὺς καταστησάμενοι ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψαν. πλῆθει μέντοι, ὡσπερ ἔρρηθ, τῶν πολεμίων οἱ βάρβαροι ὑπεραίροντες ἐπὶ ἀντεἶχον, ἢ τε

14 μάχῃ καρτερὰ ἐγεγονεὶ καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἦν. ἀγ-χιστρόφους δὲ τὰς διώξεις ἐποιοῦντο ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐκάτεροι, ἐπεὶ ἤππεις ἀπαντες ἦσαν. ἐνταῦθα Φλώρεντιος Θρᾷς, καταλόγου Ἰππικοῦ ἄρχων, εἰς μέσους ὄρμησας τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον ἀρτιάζον, ἐπικλίναις τε αὐτὸ
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 10-15

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

16 ὡς μάλιστα, ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καταληφθεῖς τε καὶ κρεουργηθεῖς αὐτοῦ ἔπεσε, τῆς δὲ νίκης Ρωμαιοίς αὐτίωτατος γέγονεν. ἔπει γὰρ τὸ σημείον οἱ βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἔωρον, ἐς ἀκοσμίαν τε πολλῆς καὶ ὀρρῳδίαν ἑμπεπτωκότες ὑπεχώρησάν τε καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἡσύχαξον,

17 πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τῇ τε ύστεραι ἐπ’ οἴκου ἀπαντεῖς ἀνεχώρησαν οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπισπομένου, ἐπεὶ μέγα τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἰναι τῷ Ρωμαιῶν στρατῷ βαρβάρους τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τῇ σφετέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἐκείνα πεποιθέναι ἀπερ μοι ὅλῳ ἐμπροθεσθεὶν εἰρηται, καὶ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβεβληκότας ἀπράκτους τε καὶ οὕτω πρὸς τῶν ἐλασσόσων ἠσσημένους ἀπαλλαγήναι.

18 Τότε καὶ Περσῶν χωρία ἐν Περσαρμενίοις Ρωμαιοὶ ἔσχον, φρούριον τε τὸ Βώλον καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον καλούμενον, ὅθεν δὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦν Πέρσαι
19 ὄρυσσοντες βασιλεῖ φέρουσιν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ ὅλῳ πρότερον καταστρέψαμεν τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὔ ἐν γῇ τῇ Ρωμαιῶν αὐτόνομοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυντο. ἀπερ αὐτίκα ὄντων ἐπιράχθη τρόπου λελέξεται.

20 Ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίας χωρίων ἕς Περσαρμενίαν ἴστι ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ὁ Ταυρός ἔστιν, ἕς τε Ἰβηρίαν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖν ἐθνὶ διήκων, ὅπερ μοι ὅλῳ ἐμπροθεσθεὶν εἰρηται, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κατάντης μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστων ἀεὶ προϊούσα ἡ ὁδὸς γίνεται, καὶ ὅρη ἀποκρέμαται λίαν ἀπότομα νεφέλαις τε
21 καὶ χίόσι κεκαλυμμένα τῶν πάντας αἰώνα, ἐνθεν

1 χωρίων VP: ἄριων G.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 15–21

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

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

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

1 Cf. Book I. x. 2.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐξιων ποταμὸς Φάσις φέρεται ἐς γῆν τῆς Κολχίδα. ταύτη τὸ ἔξ ἄρχης βάρβαροι, τὸ Τζανικὸν ἔθνος, οὐδενὸς κατήκοι ζηκντό, Σάνοι ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις καλούμενοι, ληστείαις μὲν χρύμενοι ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους Ῥωμαίους, διαίταν δὲ σκληρὰν ύπερφυῶς ἔχοντες καὶ τοὺς φωρίας ἀεὶ ἀποζώντες· οὐ γάρ τι ἐς βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἢ γῆ ἐφερε. 22 διὸ δὴ αὐτοῖς χρυσίον ταξίτων ἀνὰ πάν ἕτος ὁ Ῥωμαῖων βασιλεὺς ἐπέμπεν, ἐφ' ὃ δὴ μῆποτε 23 ληθοῦνται τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οἱ δὲ καὶ ὄρκους τοὺς σφίσι πατρίους ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὄμωντες καὶ τὰ ὁμοιομένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιούμενοι ἀπροσδόκητοι τοῖς ἐμπέπτοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστων ἐκακοῦργοιν ὡς Ἀρμενίους μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐχομένους Ῥωμαίους μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν, δι' ὁλίγον τε τὴν ἐφοδον πεποιημένοι εὐθὺς ἐπ' οἴκου 24 ἀπεκομίζοντο. καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἱσός ἐντυχόντες στρατῷ ἔσσωντο μὲν τῇ μάχῃ, ἀλωσίμοι δὲ παντάπασιν ὡς ἐγίνοντο χωρίων ἵσχυί. μάχη τοίνυν ὁ Σίττας αὐτοῖς πρὸ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου νικήσας, ἐπαγωγά τε πολλὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς εἴπον τε καὶ πρά- 25 ξας, προσποιησάσθαι παντελῶς ἱσχυσε. τὴν τε γὰρ διαίταν ἐπὶ τὸ ἑμερώτερον μεταβαλόντες ἐς καταλογοὺς αὐτοὺς Ῥωμαίκους ἐσεγαράνων, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐρν ὑψὸς Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐπὶ τούς πολεμίους ἔξισα. τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὔσεβεστέρον μετέθεντο, ἀπαντεῖς Χριστιανός γεγενήμενοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς Τζάνοις ταύτῃ πη ἐσχεν.

136
issues and flows into the land of Colchis. In this place from the beginning lived barbarians, the Tzanic nation, subject to no one, called Sani in early times; they made plundering expeditions among the Romans who lived round about, maintaining a most difficult existence, and always living upon what they stole; for their land produced for them nothing good to eat. Wherefore also the Roman emperor sent them each year a fixed amount of gold, with the condition that they should never plunder the country thereabout. And the barbarians had sworn to observe this agreement with the oaths peculiar to their nation, and then, disregarding what they had sworn, they had been accustomed for a long time to make unexpected attacks and to injure not only the Armenians, but also the Romans who lived next to them as far as the sea; then, after completing their inroad in a short space of time, they would immediately betake themselves again to their homes. And whenever it so happened that they chanced upon a Roman army, they were always defeated in the battle, but they proved to be absolutely beyond capture owing to the strength of their fastnesses. In this way Sittas had defeated them in battle before this war; and then by many manifestations of kindness in word and in deed he had been able to win them over completely. For they changed their manner of life to one of a more civilized sort, and enrolled themselves among the Roman troops, and from that time they have gone forth against the enemy with the rest of the Roman army. They also abandoned their own religion for a more righteous faith, and all of them became Christians. Such then was the history of the Tzani.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

26 Ὑπερβάντι δὲ τὰ αὐτῶν ὀρια φάραγξ ἐστὶ βαθειά τε καὶ λίαν κρημνώδης, μέχρι ἐς τὰ Καυκάσια ὄρη διήκουσα. ἐνταῦθα χωρᾷ τε πολυνθρωπότατα ἐστὶ καὶ ἄμπελος τε καὶ ᾗ ἄλλῃ ὅπωρα διαρκῶς φύεται. καὶ μέχρι μὲν ἐς τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὄδοι μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἡ φάραγξ αὕτη ὑποτελὴς τυγχάνει οὐσα, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οἱ Περσαρμενῖων ὄροι ἐκδέχονται, οὐ δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ χρυσοῦ μέταλλον ἐστὶν ὅπερ Καβάδου δύντος ἐπετρόπευε τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Συμεώνης ὄνομα.

28 οὕτως ὁ Συμεώνης, ἐπειδὴ ἀμφοτέρους ἐσὺ τὸν πόλεμον ἀκμάζοντας εἶδε, Καβάδην τῆς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδου ἀποστερεῖν ἐγὼ. διό δὴ αὐτῶν τε καὶ τὸ Φαράγγιον Ῥωμαίους ἐνδούς οὐδετέρους τὸν ἑκατέρου χρυσὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι ἡξίου.

29 Ῥωμαίοι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπραττον, ἀποχρῆνι σφίσιν ἥγουμενοι ἀπολωλέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐνθένδε φοράν, Πέρσαι δὲ οὐχ οἶδα τε ἦσαν ἀκόντων Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ταύτη ὁκημένους ἀντιστατοῦσις τῆς δυσχωρίας βιάζονται.

31 Ἡπο δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ναρσής τε καὶ Ἀράτιος, οἳ Ἑβλισσάριῳ καὶ Σίττᾳ εἶν Περσαρμενίων τῇ χώρᾳ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου ἐς χειρὰς ἠλθον, ὡσπερ ἐμπροσθεῖν μοι δεδηλωται, ἐξιν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ήκουν, καὶ αὐτοὺς Ναρσής ὁ βασιλεὺς ταμίας ἐδέξατο (Περσαρμενίων γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς γένος ἐτύγχανε) χρημασὶ τε αὐτοὺς δωρεῖται μεγάλοις.

32 ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ Ἰσαάκης, ὁ νεώτατος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς, ἐμαθη, Ῥωμαίως λάθρα ἐς λόγους ἐξθέν Βάβλων αὐτοῖς τὸ φρούριον, ἀγχιστὰ τη ὅν τῶν
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 26–32

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

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

¹ Cf. Book I. xii. 21.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

33 Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὅριων, παρέδωκε. στρατιώτας
γὰρ ἑγγύς τη ἐπέστελλε κρύπτεσθαι, οὐδὲ τῇ
φρουρίῳ νῦκτος ἐδέξατο, μίαν αὐτοῖς λάθρα
ἀνακλίνας πυλίδα: οὗτος τε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς Βυ-
ζάντιον ἤλθεν.

XVI

1 Οὗτος μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε. Πέρ-
σαι δὲ πρὸς Βελισαρίου ἐν Δάρας ἦσσημένοι τῇ
μάχῃ οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ἀναχωρεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἵνα
Ῥουφίνος, ἐπεὶ ἐς ὅψιν τὴν Καβάδον ἤλθεν,
ἐλέξει ὅδε, "Ἐπεμψέ με, ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ σὸς
ἀδελφός μέμψιν δικαίαν μεμφόμενος, ὅτι δὴ
Πέρσαι ἂν οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐς γῆν τῆν αὐτοῦ
2 ἐν ὅπλοις ἤλθον. καὶ τοῦ βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ τε
καὶ ἐς τὸ σον ξυνέσεως ἤκουτε ὡς πολέμου εἰρήνην
προτανεύσαι μᾶλλον ἄν πρέποι ἢ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων εὐ καθεστῶτων ταραχὴν οὐ δέοι αὐτῷ
3 τε καὶ τοῖς πέλας προστρίβεσθαι. οἷς δὴ καὶ
αὐτὸς εὐδεπὶ ὡς ἐνθάδε ἀφύμαι, ὅπως τὸ
λοιπὸν ἀμφότεροι τὰ ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ
4 εἰη." Ῥουφίνος μὲν τοσοῦτα εἶπε. Καβάδης
δὲ ἀμείβεται ὅδε, "Ὡς παῖ Σιλβανοῦ, μηδαμὸς
ἀντιστρέφειν τὰς αἰτίας πειρᾶ, πάντων ἤξεπι-
στάμενος μάλιστα ταραχῆς ἀπάσης αἰτιωτάτους
γεγονέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑμᾶς. πῦλας γὰρ τὰς
Καστίας ἤμεῖς ἐσχομεν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν τε καὶ
Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθῷ, βιασάμενοι τοὺς ἐκεῖνη βαρ-
βάρους, ἐπεὶ Ἀναστάσιοι ὦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτο-
κράτωρ, ὥς που καὶ αὐτὸς οἴσθα, παρὸν αὐτῶς
140
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xv. 32–xvi. 4

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

XVI

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

χρήμασιν ὄνεισθαι, οὐκ ἦθελεν, ὅπως μὴ στράτευμα εἰς πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνταῦθα ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων προσέθεντες ἀναγκάζονται. ἐξ ἐκείνου τε ἡμεῖς στρατιῶν τοσαύτην τὸ πλῆθος ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενοι καὶ ἐς τὸν παρόντα χρόνον ἑκτέρισσας δεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν τὸ γε κατὰ τούς ἐκείνους βαρβάρους μέρος ἀδήμονων τὴν χώραν οἰκεῖν, ἔτη πολλὰ ἀπαγορεύσας τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ὁσπερ δὲ οὐχ Ἰκανὸν ὑμῖν τούτο γε, καὶ πόλιν μεγάλην Δάρας ἐπιτείχισμα Πέρσαις πεποίησε, καίσερ διαρρήκτην ἐν ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀπειρημένον ἀσπερ 'Ἀνατόλιος πρὸς Πέρσας ἔθετο· καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δυοῖν στρατοπέδων ἀνάγκη πόνοις τε καὶ δαπάνῃ κεκακώσθαι τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα, τὸ μὲν, ὅπως μὴ Μασσαγέται τὴν ἀμφοτέρων γῆν ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἄδεως δύνωνται, τὸ δὲ, ὅπως ἄν τὰς ὑμετέρας ἐπιδρομᾶς ἀναστέλλομεν. ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐναγχος μεμφομένων ἡμῶν, δυοὶ τοῦτο ἐτερον ἐξισοπτην παρ' ύμων γέγραθαι, ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐς πύλας τὰς Καστίας στρατὸν στελλόμενος, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσθαι, τῶν μὲν λεγόμενος τὴν μάθησιν οὐ προσεῖσθε, κακῷ δὲ μείζονι κρατύνομεν τὴν ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιβουλὴν ἐγνωτε, εἰ τι μεμυθήθαι τῆς ἐν Μίνδουσι οἰκοδομίας· καὶ νῦν δὲ Ὁρμαῖοι ἔλετα μὲν τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης, αἰρετὰ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα, ἢ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς τιθεμένοις, ἢ ἀπ' ἑναντίας αὐτῶν ἀυτῶν ἱοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα καταθήσοντο πρὸτερον Πέρσαι, πρὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς Ὁρμαῖοι ἢ τὰς πύλας δικαίως τε καὶ ὀρθῶς ἐξυμφιλάξουσι, ἢ πόλιν Δάρας καταλύσουσι.
willing to do so, in order that he might not be compelled to squander great sums of money in behalf of both nations by keeping an army there perpetually. And since that time we have stationed that great army there, and have supported it up to the present time, thereby giving you the privilege of inhabiting the land un plundered as far as concerns the barbarians on that side, and of holding your own possessions with complete freedom from trouble. But as if this were not sufficient for you, you have also made a great city, Daras, as a stronghold against the Persians, although this was explicitly forbidden in the treaty which Anatolius arranged with the Persians; and as a result of this it is necessary for the Persian state to be afflicted with the difficulties and the expense of two armies, the one in order that the Massagetae may not be able fearlessly to plunder the land of both of us, and the other in order that we may check your inroads. When lately we made a protest regarding these matters and demanded that one of two things should be done by you, either that the army sent to the Caspian Gates should be sent by both of us, or that the city of Daras should be dismantled, you refused to understand what was said, but saw fit to strengthen your plot against the Persians by a greater injury, if we remember correctly the building of the fort in Mindouos.\(^1\) And even now the Romans may choose peace, or they may elect war, by either doing justice to us or going against our rights. For never will the Persians lay down their arms, until the Romans either help them in guarding the gates, as is just and right, or dismantle the city of Daras." With these words

\(^1\) Cf. Book I. xiii. 2.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

9 τοσαῦτα Καβάδης εἶπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπεπέμψατο, παραδηλώσας ὅτι οἱ βουλομένῳ εἰή χρήματά τε πρὸς Ἑρωμαίων λαβεῖν καὶ τὰς τοῦ πολέμου καταλύεις αἰτίας. ἀπερ Ῥουφίνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκὼν βασιλεῖ ἤγγειλεν. οὔ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον καὶ Ἐρμογένης ἀφίκετο, καὶ ὁ χειμών ἔληγε, καὶ τέταρτον ἔτος ἐπελεύθα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι.

XVII

1 Ἄμα δὲ ἢρι ἀρχομένῳ στράτευμα Περσῶν Ἄζαρεθου ἠγομένου ἐσέβαλεν ἐς Ἑρωμαίων τὴν γῆν. ἦσαν δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι τε καὶ μύριοι, ἰππεῖς ἀπαντεῖ. καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ Σακκίκης ἤμεθα, πάμπολῶν των ὁμίλων Σαρα.

2 κηνῶν ἔχων. αὐτὴ τε Πέρσας ἢ ἐσβολή οὐ καθάπερ εἰώθει ἐγένετο· οὐ γάρ ἐς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐσέβαλλον ὅσπερ τὰ πρότερα, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνῆν, ταῦτα δὲ καλομένην Ἐυφρατησίαν, ὅθεν δὴ οὐ πώποτε Πέρσαι πρότερον, ὅσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι, ἐπὶ Ἑρωμαίων 3 ἐστράτευσαν. ὅτου δὲ ἔνεκα Μεσοποταμία τε ἡ χώρα ἐκλήθη καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τῆς ἐς ταύτῃν ἐφόδου ἀπέσχοντο ἐρῶν ἐρχομαι.

4 ὁ Ὁρὸς οὐ λίαν ὑπότομον ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ἐστίν, Θεοδοσιουπόλεως μὲν δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους διέχου, τετραμμένον δὲ αὐτής πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνεμον. καὶ πηγαῖ δύο ἐνθέντα ἐξίασι, ποταμοὺς δύο ποιοῦσαι αὐτίκα, Ἐυφράτην μὲν 5 ἡ ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἡ δὲ ἐκείνη Τίγρην ὄνομα. τούτου
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xvi. 9–xvii. 5

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

XVII

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

There is a mountain in Armenia which is not especially precipitous, two-and-forty stades removed from Theodosiopolis and lying toward the north from it. From this mountain issue two springs, forming immediately two rivers, the one on the right called the Euphrates, and the other the Tigris. One of
Áteros mén, ó Tígrhs, súte periódois tis chró-
menos súte údatów òti mè òlignw oí épignw-
6 méw, euðh 'Δimídhs pòleos káteisi. kai aúthís
ès tā prôs boorðan ãnemou prôiðon chrwêi ës tòw
'Asuvriów tòn chrwàv. ó dè dh Èufhrâthís férêtai
mèn kat' árxaì ëpì tina chrwôn òlignw, euðh ñ dh
prôiðon ãfaniçetai, ouç úpògeus mèntoi gwdméw,
alla tì oî xumvaìwô thumàsiw ouìw' òper gar
7 toû údatos têlma ëpì pleìston bavû gínwetai,
mìkos mèn òsou ëpì stadiaìs pwntìkonta, euðh
dè eikosi. kai kalàmwô fûwetai polû tì chrìma
8 ën tôn plhô toûtro. ës tòson dè skléðoros tis ò
chrós ëntauðhà ësìtô òste tòis ëntunçhâwous
ouìv ãllò dokeiì òù ëpìeuro eîwai. ëpì aúthì
tòwn xumvaìwê ouìv ãllò dediôtas pezûs te kai
9 ìppèas porèwvthai. kai ìhn kai ìmaçai parì-
asw ënvènde pòllai ëméra êkàsthì, ìllì ouïv
 tô pòrapaì ìsgùwsw kineîn tì ò ëxeleçwghì tòu
10 têlmatos. kàiounwì dè tòus kalàmwous oî ëpi-
chrwìsì ìvà pàn ëtòs, toû ìhn tòas òdou s prôs
aútw ërghwvthai, kai pote pñummatos ëntauðhà
ëxaiðwì ëpìpèwstos mèkri ës tà tòwn ëgìw
ësçhata tò pûr ëxeikwèìsw têtwçhì, kai tò
11 ùdòw ën chrwì chrwì òlign w fàvnìwv. chrwônì dè ò
chrós ìgìsw òù òpòllô ëxumwvìs ãpédôwê tòw
chrwì tò schìma ëfì úpêr tò pròtero òù.
ënvènde te ò pòtamaì pròeisì ës tòuw Kèllìshnì
kàloumènì chrwàv, ouì dh tò ën Taúroìs tìs 'Artrè-
mìdòs ìerwû òù, ënvèn lègwsw tòuw 'Agamèmwnou
'Ìf喁ìlwìwì ëxìw tò 'Oreòstì kai Pìlàðì fìugwìw tò
12 tìs 'Artrèmìdòs ìgàlìma fèrwswv. ò dh ãllòs
nèwos, dh dh kai ës ëmè ëstìw ën pòleì Kòmânh,
146
these, the Tigris, descends, with no deviations and with no tributaries except small ones emptying into it, straight toward the city of Amida. And continuing into the country which lies to the north of this city it enters the land of Assyria. But the Euphrates at its beginning flows for a short distance, and is then immediately lost to sight as it goes on; it does not, however, become subterranean, but a very strange thing happens. For the water is covered by a bog of great depth, extending about fifty stades in length and twenty in breadth; and reeds grow in this mud in great abundance. But the earth there is of such a hard sort that it seems to those who chance upon it to be nothing else than solid ground, so that both pedestrians and horsemen travel over it without any fear. Nay more, even wagons pass over the place in great numbers every day, but they are wholly insufficient to shake the bog or to find a weak spot in it at any point. The natives burn the reeds every year, to prevent the roads being stopped up by them, and once, when an exceedingly violent wind struck the place, it came about that the fire reached the extremities of the roots, and the water appeared at a small opening; but in a short time the ground closed again, and gave the spot the same appearance which it had had before. From there the river proceeds into the land called Celesene, where was the sanctuary of Artemis among the Taurians, from which they say Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, fled with Orestes and Pylades, bearing the statue of Artemis. For the other temple which has existed even to my day in the city of Comana is not the one "Among the
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

οὐχ ὁ ἐν Ταύρῳ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ὅπου ἐγένετο ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

13 Ἐπειδὴ ἐκ Ταύρων Ὁρέστης ξύν τῇ ἀδελφῇ ἀπιῶν φύκετο, ξυνεπέσεν αὐτῷ νοσήσαι τὸ σῶμα. καὶ ἀμφὶ τῇ νόσῳ πυθανομένῳ χρήσαι τὸ μαντείον φασίν οὖ πρῶτον λαφήσειν αὐτῷ τὸ κακὸν, πρὶν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ναῦν δείμασθαι ἐν χώρῃ τοιούτῳ οἷον δὴ τὸν ἐν Ταύρῳ ἔμβαινε εἶναι, ἑνταῦθα τε ἀποκείμεθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ κόμην καὶ αὐτῇ ὀμωνύμως καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν. διὸ δὴ Ὁρέστης περιόντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐν Πόντῳ γενέσθαι, κατιδεῖν τε ὄρος δὲ δὴ ἑνταῦθα ἀπότομον ἀπεκρέματο, ἐρρεῖ τε ἐνερθεὶν παρὰ τὰς τοὺς ὁροὺς ἔσχατας ἔποτα μοῖρος Ἰρις. ὑποτοπήσαντα οὖν τὸν Ὁρέστην τότε τοῦτον οὐ τὸν χώρον δηλοῦν τὸ μαντεῖον, πόλιν τε ἑνταῦθα λόγου ἄξιον καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεών δείμασθαι, τὴν τε κόμην ἀποθριφάμενον ὀμωνύμως αὐτῇ καλέσαι τὴν πόλιν ἢ δὴ Κόμανα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται.

16 τούτων τε Ὁρέστη ἐξειργασμένων οὐδὲν τι ἔσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὴν νόσου ἀκμαίειν. αἰσθάμενος δὲ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως ταύτα τῷ μαντείῳ ποιοῖς, ἀπαντάναι ἄθις περιόντα διασκοπεῖσθαι καὶ χῶρον τινα ἐν Καππαδοκίας εὑρεῖν τῷ ἐν Ταύρῳ τὰ μάλιστα ἐμφερέστατον. ὅντος καὶ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἵδοι ζηγάθην τε ὑπερφυὸς καὶ μοῦ ἐδόκουν ἐν Ταύρῳ εἶναι. τὸ τε γὰρ ὄρος τοῦτο ἑκεῖνῳ ἀτεχνῶς έσωκεν, ἐπεὶ κανταῦθα ὁ Ταύρος ἐστι, καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς Σάρως

18 τῷ ταύτῃ Εὐφράτῃ εἰκάζεται. πόλιν τε τὸν ἀξιοθέατον φυκοδομησατο ἑνταῦθα Ὁρέστης καὶ νεώς δύο, τὸν ἑτερον μὲν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, τὸν δὲ
Taurians." But I shall explain how this temple came into being.

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

ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ ἑκατείται καὶ νῦν ἡ χρυσὴ Ὀρέστου κόμης ἐπώνυμος οὐσα, ἡ ἐκεῖνον ἐνταῦθα φασιν ἀποκειρά-

μενον διαφυγεῖν τὸ ἀρρώστημα. τινὲς δὲ λέ-
γουσιν αὐτὸν οὖκ ἀλλὰ τινὰ νόσου ἢ τὴν μανίαν ταύτην ἀποφυγεῖν, ἤπερ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἑπειδὴ τὴν
μητέρα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἔκτενεν. ἄγω δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

21 Ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἐν Ταύροις Ἀρμενίων καὶ
χώρας τῆς Κελεσθηῆς ποταμὸς Εὐφράτης ἐν δεξιᾷ
ῥέων γῆν τε πολλὴν περιβάλλεται, καὶ ποταμῶν
ὁ ἄλλον τοὺς ἀναμυγνυμένους καὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρσίνου
διὰ ἐκ τῶν Περσαρμενίων καλουμένων πολὺς
φέρεται, μέγας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγενημένος ἐς
τοὺς πάλαι μὲν Λευκοσύρων, νῦν δὲ Ἀρμενίωνς
μικροὺς καλουμένους χωρεῖ, δεν δὴ πόλις πρώτη
22 Μελιτημῆς λόγον πολλοῦ ἀξία ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ ἐντεύ-
θεν τά τε Σαμοσάτα παράρρει καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν
καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη χώρια μέχρι ἐς τῶν Ἀσσυ-
ρίων τῆς γῆν, οὐ δὴ ἀλλήλων ἀμφότερο τοῦ ποταμοῦ
ἀναμυγνυμένως ἐς ὁμοία τοῦ Τίγρητος ἀποκέ-

κρινται. χώρα γοῦν ἡ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων ἐκτὸς Εὐ-
φράτης ποταμοῦ ἐστὶ πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγηνὴ
ἐκλήθη, ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐστίν ἐπώνυμος. ἡ
δὲ τούτου ἑυτός, ἡ δὴ αὐτοῦ τε μέση καὶ Τίγρητός
ἐστι. Μεσοποταμία, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ὄνομαζεται: μοῖρα
μέντοι αὐτῆς οὐ τούτω μόνων τῷ ὄνοματι, ἀλλὰ
24 καὶ ἄλλοις τισιν ἐπικαλεῖται. ἦ τε γὰρ ἀρχὶς
Ἀμίδης πόλεως Ἀρμενία πρὸς ἐνόπλων ωνυμασται,
Ἐδεσσά τε ἐν τοῖς ἀμφ’ αὐτῆς χωρίοις Ὀσροην
and the other to his sister Iphigenia, which the
Christians have made sanctuaries for themselves,
without changing their structure at all. This is
called even now Golden Comana, being named from
the hair of Orestes, which they say he cut off there
and thus escaped from his affliction. But some say
that this disease from which he escaped was nothing
else than that of madness which seized him after he
had killed his own mother. But I shall return to
the previous narrative.

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

\(^1\) “Euphratesia”; cf. section 2.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tοῦ Ὀσρόου ἐπώνυμος ἔστιν, ἀνδρὸς ἐνταύθα 
βεβασιλευκότος ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἦν ἴκα Πέρ-

25 σαίς οἱ ταύτη ἀνθρωποί ἐνσπονδοὶ ἦσαν. Πέρσαι 
οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρὸς Ἦρωμαίων Νίσιβίων τε πόλιν καὶ 
άλλα ἀττα Μεσσηνοταμίας χωρία ἑλάβον, ἦν ἴκα 
ἐπὶ Ἦρωμαις στρατεύειν ἐμελλόν, χώραν μὲν τὴν 
ἐκτὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ ἐν ὀλυγρόῳ ποιούμενοι, 
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνυδρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων 
ἐρημοῦ ὑσαν, ἐνταύθα δὲ πόνῳ οὔδεν άγαιρόμενοι, 
ἀτε ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τε καὶ πολεμίᾳ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ 
ἀγχοτάτῳ ὑσῃ, ἐνθένδε τὰς ἐσβολάς ἀεὶ ἐποι-

ουντο.

28 ἦν ἴκα δὲ ἡ σοφηθείς οἱ Μιρράνης τῇ μάχῃ καὶ 
τοὺς πλείστους ἀποβαλὼν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ 
Περσῶν ἦθη ἀφίκετο, ποινής ἐτυχε πρὸς βασι-

27 λέως Καβάδου πικρᾶς. κόσμον γὰρ ἀφείλετο 
αὐτῶν διὰ δὴ ἀναδείσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν 
eἰόθει, ἐκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ μαργαρών πεποιημένον. 
ἀξίωμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐν Πέρσαις μέγα μετὰ γε τὴν 
28 βασιλείως τιμὴν. ἐνταύθα γὰρ οὔτε δακτυλίῳ 
χρυσῷ οὔτε ζώῃ οὔτε περόνῃ χρήσθαι οὔτε ἄλλῳ 
ὄτροιν θέμις, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἀξιωθέντι.

29 Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Καβάδης ἐν βουλῇ ἐίχειν ὑπερ 
τρόπον αὐτῶς ἐπὶ Ἦρωμαις στρατεύοι. Μιρράνου 
γὰρ σφαλέντος οὕτως ὄπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ 
30 οὔδεν τὸ θαρρεῖν εἰχε. καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπο-

ρουμένῳ Ἀλαμούνδαρος ὁ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν βασι-

λεὺς προσελθὼν εἶπεν “Οὐ πάντα, ὃς δέσποτα,

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

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

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

\(^1\) Ch. xiv. 28–54.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

χρεών ἐστί πιστεύειν τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ τοὺς πολέμους οἴεσθαι δεῖν κατορθοῦν ἀπαντᾶς. οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰκὸς τοῦτό γε οὐδὲ ἄλλως ἀνθρώπῳ, ἄλλα καὶ ἀξύμφοροι αὕτη μάλιστα τοῖς αὐτῇ ἐχομένοις ἡ ἐννοια 31 ἐστὶ. τοὺς γὰρ ἀπαντᾶ σφίσων ἐπισάντας τάγαθα ἔσεσθαι σφαλέντας ποτὲ, ἄν οὐτω τύχοι, ἢ ἔλπις οὗ δέον ἠγησαμένη τοῦ προσήκοντος μᾶλ- λον ἡμίση. διὸ δὴ οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἀνθρώπωι οὐκ ἄκ τοῦ εὐθεοῦς ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται, κἂν τῷ παντὶ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπεράρειν αὐχώσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπάθη τε καὶ μηχανὰς τις περισσεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν. 32

οἷς γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐν βεβαιῷ τὰ τῆς νίκης χωρεῖ. νῦν οὖν μήτε οἷς Μιρράνης ἤτυχησέν οὕτω περιοδύνους, ὁ βασιλεὺς βασιλεύ, γίνου, μήτε αὐθίς ἀποπειράσασθαι βού- λου τῆς τύχης. Μεσοποταμίας γὰρ καὶ τῆς Ὄσροης καλουμένης χώρας, ἄτε τῶν οὕν ὅριων ἀγχιστα υἱόθης, αἱ τε πόλεις ὁχυρώταται εἰς πασῶν μάλιστα καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος οἶνον οὐ πώποτε πρότερον ταῦτα ἔχουσιν, ὡστε ἡμῖν αὐτόσε οὐσίν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεί τὰ τῆς ἀγνώσιας γενήσεται, ἐν μέντοι τῇ χώρᾳ, ἢ ἐκτὸς Ἐὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τυχόν ὅσα, καὶ τῇ ταύτῃ ἐχομένῃ Συρία οὔτε πόλεως ὁχυρώμα ὅστε στρατεύμα 34

λόγου ἄξιόν ἐστι. ταύτα γὰρ πολλάκις πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆς ἐς ταύτας ἐσταλμένων Σαρακηνῶν ἡκουσα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ πόλιν Ἀντιόχειαν εἶναι φασί, πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ μεγεθεὶ καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ πρότην πόλεων ἅπασῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐφος Ὀρμαῖος οὐσαν. ἢ δὴ ἀφύλακτος τε καὶ στρα- 35

τιωτῶν ἐρημῶς ἐστὶν. οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοι οὐδενῶς τῷ

154
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xvii. 30–37

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

taútēs dήμω δι μη πανηγύρεών τε καὶ τρυφής μέλει καὶ τῆς ἐν θεάτρους ἂεὶ πρὸς ἄλληλος 38 φιλονεικίας. ὡστε ἢν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἶσων, τῆν τε πόλιν αἵρησειν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς οὐδὲν ἀπεικός καὶ μηδενὶ ἐνυχύντας πολεμίων στρατῷ έλτα ἐπανελθεῖν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθη, οὗτῳ πεπυσμένῳ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τῶν ἐν Μεσο- 39 ποταμία στρατωτῶν. ὢδατος δὲ ἢ ἄλλου του τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπορίας πέρι μηδὲν σε εἰς ἐντ' ἐγώ γὰρ τῷ στρατῷ ἕξεγγήσομαι ὅτι ἂν δοκῇ ἄριστα εἶναι."

40 Ταύτα ἀκούσας Καβδάς οὐτε ἀντιτείνειν οὕτε ἀπίστειν εἶχεν. ἦν γὰρ Ἀλαμώνδαρος ἕνεκτοτα- τός τε καὶ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμπειρίας εὐ ἕκων, Πέρσαις τε πιστῶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ διαφερόν- τως δραστήριος, δς δὴ ἐς πεντήκοντα ἐνιαυτῶν χρόνων ἐς γονὺς ἐλθεῖν τὰ Ρωμαίων ἐποίησε πράγ- ματα. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὅριων ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν ἅπαξόμενος τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἤγε τε καὶ ἐφερεν ἐφεξῆς ἀπαντα, καίων τε τὰς ἐν ποιλοῖς οἰκοδομάς καὶ τους ἀνθρώπους κατὰ πολλὰς ἀεὶ μυριάδας ἀνδραποδίζων, καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀποκείμενων οὐδενὶ 1 λόγῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀποδιδόμενος χρημάτων 41 μεγάλων. ἀπήρτα δὲ οἱ τῶν πάντων οὐδείς. οὐ γὰρ ποτε ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἔφοδον, ἄλλ' οὔτως ἔξαπιναῖς τε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείως, ὡστε ὁ μὲν ἦθη ὡς τὰ πολλά ἔνν τῇ λείᾳ πάση ἀπίων χέρσω, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ στρατιώται πυνθανέσθαι ταὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα καὶ 42 ἀγείρεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτών ἢρχοντο. ἦν δὲ ποι αὐτῶν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τύχῃ τινὶ ἔσχοι, ἄλλ' ἔτι ἀπαρα- 156 1 οὐδενὶ VG : ἐνὶ P.
of this city care for nothing else than fêtes and luxurious living, and their constant rivalries with each other in the theatres. Accordingly, if we go against them unexpectedly, it is not at all unlikely that we shall capture the city by a sudden attack, and that we shall return to the land of the Persians without having met any hostile army, and before the troops in Mesopotamia have learned what has happened. As for lack of water or of any kind of provisions, let no such thought occur to thee; for I myself shall lead the army wherever it shall seem best."

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

σκέυος· τε οὖσι καὶ οὖ λυτεταγμένοις ἐπιτεσμῶν
toῖς διώκουσιν ὁ βάρβαρος οὐτος ἐτρεπτέ τε καὶ
dιέθεσεν ωδείν πὼν, καὶ ποτε τοὺς διώκοντας
στρατιώτας ξὺν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐξώγησεν ἀπαν-
tας. Τιμόστατος δὲ ἦν ὁ Ρουφίνος ἀδελφός καὶ
Ἰωάννης ὁ τοῦ Δουκᾶ παῖς, οὗς δὴ ἀπέδωτο ὑστε-
ρον, πλούτων αὐτῶν οὐ φαύλου οὔδε τὸν τυχόντα
περιβαλλόμενος. καὶ τὸ ἕμπαν εἶπεν χαλεπώ-
tατός τε καὶ δεινότατος οὗτος ἀνήρ γέγονε Ῥω-
μαίοις πολέμιοι πάντων μάλιστα. αὐτιων δὲ ἦν
ὅτι Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν βασιλέως ἀξίωμα ἔχων
ἀπάντων μόνοις τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις Σαρακηνῶν ἕρχε,
pαντὶ τε τῷ στρατῷ οὐς τε ἦν ἀεὶ τὴν ἐφοδε
ποιεῖσθαι ὅτι βούλοιτο τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς.
οὔδεις δὲ οὔτε Ῥωμαίων στρατιώτῶν ἄρχων, οὐς
δούκας καλοῦσιν, οὔτε Σαρακηνῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἐνστόηδων ἡγούμενοι, οὗ φύλαρχοι ἐπικαλοῦνται,
ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις Ἀλαμουνδάρῳ αὐταῖς ἐξίσους
ἰκανὸς εἴχει ἐν χώρᾳ γὰρ ἐκάστη τοῖς πολέμιοις
οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐτετάχασο. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰου-
στινιανὸς φυλαῖς ὅτι πλείσταις Ἀρέβαν τὸν
Γαβαλᾶ παῖδα ἐπέστησεν, ὅσ τῶν ἐν Ἀραβίαιοις
Σαρακηνῶν ἤρχεν, ἀξίωμα βασιλέως αὐτῷ περι-
θέμενος, οὐ πρῶτου τούτῳ ἐν γε Ῥωμαίωι

48 γεγονὸς πώποτε. Ἀλαμούνδαρος μέντοι οὐδὲν τι
ἤσοσιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τὸ Ῥωμαίον πράγματα
ἐφθειρεν, Ἀρέβαν ἐν πᾶσῃ ἐφόδῳ τε καὶ ἄγωνιώ ἡ
ὑποχύσεως ὡς μάλιστα ἡ καταπροδίδωτος ὡς
τάξης. οὐ γὰρ πω σαιφες τι ἄμφι ἀνῡμεν.
ταύτη τε ἐξεύθη Ἀλαμούνδαρῳ, οὐδενὸς οἱ ἀντι-
στατούντος, ἐπὶ μῆκιστον τὴν ἐφαν ληξιεσθαι
πᾶσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μακροβιώτατος ἀτεχνὸς γέγονε.

158
pursuers while still unprepared and not in battle array, and would rout and destroy them with no trouble; and on one occasion he made prisoners of all the soldiers who were pursuing him together with their officers. These officers were Timostratus, the brother of Rufinus, and John, the son of Lucas, whom he gave up indeed later, thereby gaining for himself no mean or trivial wealth. And, in a word, this man proved himself the most difficult and dangerous enemy of all to the Romans. The reason was this, that Alamoundaras, holding the position of king, ruled alone over all the Saracens in Persia, and he was always able to make his inroad with the whole army wherever he wished in the Roman domain; and neither any commander of Roman troops, whom they call "duces," nor any leader of the Saracens allied with the Romans, who are called "phylarchs," was strong enough with his men to array himself against Alamoundaras; for the troops stationed in the different districts were not a match in battle for the enemy. For this reason the Emperor Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arethas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king, a thing which among the Romans had never before been done. However Alamoundaras continued to injure the Romans just as much as before, if not more, since Arethas was either extremely unfortunate in every inroad and every conflict, or else he turned traitor as quickly as he could. For as yet we know nothing certain about him. In this way it came about that Alamoundaras, with no one to stand against him, plundered the whole East for an exceedingly long time, for he lived to a very advanced age.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XVIII

1. Τούτου οὖν τότε τοῦ ἀνδρός τῇ ὑποθήκῃ ἡσθεὶς Καβάδης ἄνδρας πεντακισχίλιους τε καὶ μυρίους ἀπολεξάμενος Ἀξαρέθην αὐτοῖς ἀνδρα Πέρσην ἐπέστησε διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια, καὶ σφίσιν Ἀλαμούνδαρον τῆς πορείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι

2. ἐκέλευεν. οὐ δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, γῆν τε πορευθέντες τινὰ ἐρημοὺ ἀνθρώπων, ἄφων εἰς τῶν Κομμαγηνῶν καλομένων

3. τὴν χώραν παρὰ δόξαν ἐσέβαλλον. αὕτη τε προτὴ ἐνθενδὲ Περσῶν ἐσβολή ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο, ὡσα γε ἡμᾶς ἄκοψῃ ἡ τρόπῳ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ πάντας Ῥωμαίους τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ

4. κατέπληξεν. ἂ δὲ ἐπεὶ Βελσάριος ἐμαθε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα διηπορεῖτο, μετὰ δὲ βοηθεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐγγώ. φυλακήν τε αὐτάρκη ἐν πόλει ἑκάστη καταστησάμενος, ὅπως μὴ Καβάδης τε καὶ στρατεύμα τῶν πολεμίων ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν εὐρήσουσι τὰ ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας χωρία, αὐτὸς τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὑπηντίαξεν, Εὐφράτην τε ποταμὸν διαβάντες σπουδῆ

5. πολλῆς πρόσω ἐχόροντο. οὐ μὲν ὁν Ρωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς διαμυρίους μάλιστα πεζοῦς τε καὶ ἰππέας ξυνήθει, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰσαυρίων ὑπὸ ἡςον ἢ

6. διαχίλιοι ἦσαν. ἀρχοντες δὲ ἰππέως μὲν ἀπαντεῖς ἦσαν δὲ τὰ πρώτα τὴν ἐν Δάρας μάχην πρὸς τε Πέρσας καὶ Μιρράνθην διήνεγκαν, πεζῶν δὲ τῶν τις δορυφόρων Ἰουστίνιαν τοῦ βασιλέως, Πέτρος

7. ὅνομα. τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Ἰσαύροις Δογγίνος τε καὶ Στεφανάκιος ἐφειστήκεσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀρε-
XVIII

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

θας αυτοῖς έξίν τῷ Σαρακηνῶν στρατεύματι ἤλθεν.
8 ἐπεὶ τε ἦς Χαλκίδα πόλιν ἄφικοντο, ἐνστρατο-
πεδευσάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἐπεὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐν χωρίῳ Γαββουλών εἶναι ἐπώθοντο, δέκα καὶ
9 ἐκατόν σταδίων Χαλκίδος διέχοντι. ὅ δὲ γνώντες
Ἀλαμούνδαρὸς τε καὶ Ἀζαρέθης τὸν τε κίνδυνον
κατορραδήσαντες, ἐπίπροσθεν οὐκέτι ἐχώρουν,
ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ οίκον αὐτίκα δὴ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐγνωσαν.
αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν Ἐυφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν ἁριστερά
ἐγχοντες ὅπισώ ἀπῆλαυνον καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς
10 ὑπίσθεν εἶπετο. ἐν τε τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι
ἐς νύκτα ἐκάστην ηὐλίζοντο, ἀλε Ῥωμαίοι τῇ
11 ἐπιγυμνένῃ νυκτὶ ἔμενον. Βελωνάριος γὰρ ἐξεπι-
τῆς ὁδὸν τινα πλείω πορεύεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα
οὐδαμῇ εἰς, ἐπεὶ οἱ οὐκ ἴν δε δουλομένῳ τοῖς πολε-
μίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἴναι, ἀλλ’ ἀποχρήν φεῖτο σφίζω
Πέρσας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαί-
ων ἔσβεβληκότας, εἶναι ἐνθένδε οὕτω δὴ ἀποκεχώ-
12 ῥηκότας, ἀπράκτους εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα κομίζεσθαι. διὸ
δὴ ἀπαντες αὐτῷ λάθρα ἐλοιδοροῦντο, ἀρχοντές
τε καὶ στρατιῶται, ἐκάκιζε μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐς ὅψιν
οὐδεῖς.
13 Τελευτῶντες δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἐὐ-
φράτου ἡδών ηὐλίσαντο ἢ δὴ πόλεως Καλλινίκου
ἀντιπέρας ἐστίν. ἐνθένδε γὰρ διὰ χώρας πρὸς
οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένης πορεύεσθαι ἐμελ-
λον, οὕτω τε τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
14 οὐ γὰρ ἐτι διενοῦντο ἴναι ὅσπερ τὰ πρότερα,
τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ δχθῆς ἐχόμενοι. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ δια-
νυκτερεύσαντες ὡς τὸλε Ζωύρων ἐνθένδε τα ἔξανα-
στάντες, καταλαμβάνουσι συσκευαζομένους ἡδη
15 ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον τους πολεμίους. ἐορτὴ δὲ ἡ Πασ-
there to join them with the Saracen army. When they reached the city of Chalcis, they encamped and remained there, since they learned that the enemy were in a place called Gabboulon, one hundred and ten stades away from Chalcis. When this became known to Alamoundaras and Azarethes, they were terrified at the danger, and no longer continued their advance, but decided to retire homeward instantly. Accordingly they began to march back, with the River Euphrates on the left, while the Roman army was following in the rear. And in the spot where the Persians bivouacked each night the Romans always tarried on the following night. For Belisarius purposely refused to allow the army to make any longer march because he did not wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, but he considered that it was sufficient for them that the Persians and Alamoundaras, after invading the land of the Romans, should retire from it in such a fashion, betaking themselves to their own land without accomplishing anything. And because of this all secretly mocked him, both officers and soldiers, but not a man reproached him to his face.

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

χαλα ἐπέκειτο ἡμέρα ἐπιγενεσμένη τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἢν δὴ σέβονται Χριστιανοὶ πασῶν μάλιστα, ἡμέρα τῇ ταύτης προτέρα σιτίων τε καὶ ποτοῦ ἀπεχόμενοι οὐ διημερεύειν νεομίκασι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω πον νήστεις τῶν νυκτῶν ἰέναι. τότε οὖν ἀπαντᾷς Βελισάριος ὀργάντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀρῶν, ταύτης τε ἀποστήσαι τῆς γνώμης ἐθέλων (ταύτα γὰρ οἶ καὶ Ἐρμογένης ἐγίνωσκεν ἀρτι ἐπὶ πρεσβεία ἐκ βασιλέως ἦκων) τοὺς παραγενομένους ἀπαντᾷς ἐγκαλέσας ἔλεγε τοιάδε

17 "Ποίς θέρεσθε, ἀνδρές Ρωμαίοι, ἢ τί πεπονθότες κίνδυνον αἰρεῖσθαι ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθε; μᾶλλον εἶναι νίκην ἀκίβδηλον οὐκ ἂν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ μηδὲν δεινὸν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων παθεῖν, διὸ ἐμὴ ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ τύχῃ καὶ ἡμῶν το κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων Δέος. οὐκὸν [ἡ] ἀπονασθι οὖν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ἠμεινὸν ἢ παρελθόντα ταύτα ἐχθρεῖν. Πέρσαι γὰρ πολλαῖς μὲν ἐλπίσιν ἠμένοι ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν, πάντων δὲ ταύτων ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμηταί. πάντων δὲ ταύτων ἐκπεπτωκότες ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμηταί. τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντων ἐκχείρθηκας μὲν τῆς ἐς τὴν υπαγωγὴν γνώμης, ἐς χεῖρας δὲ ἰέναι ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάσωμεν, νευρικῶς μὲν πλέον τῷ τοῦ παράπαν οὐδὲν ἔξομεν. τί γὰρ ἂν τῶν της ἐς φεύγονται τρέποι; σφαλέντες δὲ ἱσος τῆς ὑπαρχόντος στερηθοῦκασθα νίκης, οὐ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἀφαιρεθέντες, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ταύτην προέμενοι, καὶ τῇ βασιλέως γη τὸ τοῖς πολεμίως ἐκκείσθαι τῶν

164
was near and would take place on the following day; this feast is reverenced by the Christians above all others, and on the day before it they are accustomed to refrain from food and drink not only throughout the day, but for a large part of the night also they continue the fast. Then, therefore, Belisarius, seeing that all his men were passionately eager to go against the enemy, wished to persuade them to give up this idea (for this course had been counselled by Hermogenes also, who had come recently on an embassy from the emperor); he accordingly called together all who were present and spoke as follows: "O Romans, whither are you rushing? and what has happened to you that you are purposing to choose for yourselves a danger which is not necessary? Men believe that there is only one victory which is unalloyed, namely to suffer no harm at the hands of the enemy, and this very thing has been given us in the present instance by fortune and by the fear of us that overpowers our foes. Therefore it is better to enjoy the benefit of our present blessings than to seek them when they have passed. For the Persians, led on by many hopes, undertook an expedition against the Romans, and now, with everything lost, they have beaten a hasty retreat. So that if we compel them against their will to abandon their purpose of withdrawing and to come to battle with us, we shall win no advantage whatsoever if we are victorious,—for why should one rout a fugitive?—while if we are unfortunate, as may happen, we shall both be deprived of the victory which we now have, not robbed of it by the enemy, but flinging it away ourselves, and also we shall abandon the land of the emperor to lie open hereafter to the attacks of
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

21 ἀμυνομένων χωρίς τὸ λοιπὸν δώσομεν. καίτοι καὶ
tούτο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς ἄξιον, ὡς τῶν ἄναγκαιόν,
οὐ τῶν αὐθαίρετων κινδύνων ξυναίρεσθαι οὐ θεὸς
22 αὐτοὶ ἀνθρώποις φιλεῖ. χωρίς δὲ τούτων τοῖς
μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀν ὅπῃ τραπεῖν ἀνδραγαθίζε-
σθαι οὐχ ἔκουσίοις ξυμβήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ πολλὰ τὰ
ἐναντίον ματαὶ ἐστὶν ἡμιμολῆ τετύχηκεν εἶναι:
23 πεζῇ τε γὰρ βαδίζοντες πολλοὶ ἤκουσι καὶ
νῆστεῖς ἀπαντεῖς τυγχάνομεν ὑπὲρ. ἀφίημι γὰρ
λέγεω ὡς τινες οὕτω καὶ νῦν πάρεισι." Βελισά-
ριος μὲν τοσάτα εἶπεν.

24 ᾗ δὲ στρατός ἐστιν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζον 1 οὐ συγη
τινος οὐδὲ ἐν παραβύστῳ, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς ἐστι ὃν
κραυγῇ ἠκούσαν μαλακοὺν τε καὶ τῆς προθυμίας
dιαλυτὴν ἐκάλουν, δὴ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων τινὲς
ἐκεῖ τὸ στρατιωτάτον ἡμάρτανον, τούτῃ τοῦ εὐθολ-
25 μον ἐνδεικνύμενοι. καὶ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναισχύντῳ
καταπλαγεὶς Βελισάριος ἀντιστέρεσα τὴν παραβ-
νεσίν ἐγκελευομένῳ τῇ ἡδί ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους
έφκει καὶ διατάσσοντι ἐστὶν παρᾶταξιν, ἐφοσκέ τε
ὥς οὐκ εἰδεὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐστὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι προ-
θυμίαν τὰ πρῶτα, νῦν δὲ ἔρασθε τοι ἐκ νῦν
ἐλπίς τῇ ἅμεινοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμιους ἰέναι.
26 καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα μετωπηδόν ποιησάμενος διε-
ταξεν ὅτε. ἐστὲ קέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν πρὸς τῷ
ποταμῷ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀπαντάς ἐστησεν, ἐστὶ δὲ τῷ
deξίον, ἢ δὴ ὁ χώρος ἀνάρτης ἢν, Ἄρεθαν τε καὶ
τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῶ Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπαντᾶς, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν
τοὺς ἵππευσε κατὰ μέσον εἰσῆκε. οὗτῳ μὲν
27 Ρωμαίοι ἔταξαντο. Ἀζαρίθης δὲ ἐπεῖ ἐξισόντας
ἐστὶν παράταξιν τοὺς πολέμιους εἶδε, τοιὰδε παρε-

1 ὑβρίζον Suidas: ὑβρίζον MSS.

166
the enemy without defenders. Moreover this also is worth your consideration, that God is always accustomed to succour men in dangers which are necessary, not in those which they choose for themselves. And apart from this it will come about that those who have nowhere to turn will play the part of brave men even against their will, while the obstacles which are to be met by us in entering the engagement are many; for a large number of you have come on foot and all of us are fasting. I refrain from mentioning that some even now have not arrived.” So spoke Belisarius.

But the army began to insult him, not in silence nor with any concealment, but they came shouting into his presence, and called him weak and a destroyer of their zeal; and even some of the officers joined with the soldiers in this offence, thus displaying the extent of their daring. And Belisarius, in astonishment at their shamelessness, changed his exhortation and now seemed to be urging them on against the enemy and drawing them up for battle, saying that he had not known before their eagerness to fight, but that now he was of good courage and would go against the enemy with a better hope. He then formed the phalanx with a single front, disposing his men as follows: on the left wing by the river he stationed all the infantry, while on the right where the ground rose sharply he placed Arethas and all his Saracens; he himself with the cavalry took his position in the centre. Thus the Romans arrayed themselves. And when Azarethes saw the enemy gathering in battle line, he exhorted
κελεύσατο "Πέρσας μὲν θντας ύμᾶς μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦ βίου την άρετην ἀνταλλάξασθαι, 1 ἢ τις αἴρεσιν ἄμφοτὲν διδοῖς, οὐδὲς ἂν ἀντείποι. ἐγὼ δὲ φημὶ οὐδὲν βουλομένου ἐφ’ ύμῖν εἶναι τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἔξω διαφυγοῦσι τῶν κίνδυνων ξύν τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ βιοῦν, οὐδὲν, ἢ γε βούλευτο, ἀπεικός ἂντ’ τῶν βελτίστων ἐλέσθαι τὰ ἢδιστα, οἷς δὲ τὸ θυμήσκειν ἑπάναγκες, ἢ ξύν τῇ εὐκλείᾳ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ἢ πρὸς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐς τὴν κόλασιν αἰσχρῶς ἀγομένους, πολλὴ ἀνοια μὴ πρὸ τῶν αἰσχίστων ἐλέσθῃ τὰ κρείσσω. 29 ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκειν ύμᾶς ἀπαντᾶς οἷμαι μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπότην τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας, οὕτως ἐς μάχην τῆν ἡδίστασθαι." 30 Τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀξαρέθθης παρακελευσάμενος ἀντίξον τοῖς ἑναντίοις τὴν φάλαγγα ἔστησε, Πέρσας μὲν τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντας, Σαρακηνοῖς δὲ τὰ εὐώνυμα. καὶ αὐτικὰ μὲν ἐς χεῖρας ἀμφότεροι ἠλθοῦν. ἢν δὲ ἡ μάχη καρτερὰ μάλιστα. τὰ τε γὰρ τοξεύματα ἑκατέρωθεν συναλλ. ἐπὶ πλεῖστον βαλλόμενα φόνου ἀμφοτέρων πολλὰ ἐποίησε, καὶ τινες ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενοι ἔργα ἐς ἄλληλοις ἐπεδείκνυτο ἀρετῆς ἁξία, μᾶλλον δὲ Πέρσαϊ ἐκ 32 τῶν τοξευμάτων πολλοὶ ἔθνοτοι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν βέλη συχνότερα μὲν ἄτεχνῶς ἦν, 2 ἐπεὶ Πέρσαι τοξόται τε σχεδὸν τὶ εἰσὶν ἀπαντες καὶ πολὺ θάσσου ἐ<oi> ἄλλοις ξύμπαντες άνθρωποι ποιεῖ. 33 σθαί τὰς βολὰς ἑκείδισκοντας, ἐκ δὲ τὸξων μαλ...

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

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

θακών τε καὶ οὗ λίαν ἐντεταμένων βαλλόμενα
θώρακι ἵσως ἢ κράνει ἢ καὶ ἀσπίδι ἐντυχόντα
Ῥωμαίον ἀνδρός ἀπεκαυλίζετο τε καὶ λυπεῖν τόν
προσπιτπτοντα οὐδαμῆ εἴχε. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὰ [τε]
tοξεύματα βραδύτερα μὲν ἐστὶν, ἀτε δὲ ἐκ
tόξων σκληρῶν τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ δεινώς ἐντετα-
μένων βαλλόμενα, προσθείη δὲ ἀν τις καὶ πρὸς
ἂν ἄνδρων ἵσχυρωτέρων, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ
Πέρσαι οἵς ἀν ἐντύχοιεν εὐπετοῦς σίνονται, ὀπλοῦ
οὐδενὸς ἐμποδόνιν αὐτῶν γινομένου τῇ ῥύμῃ. ἦδη
μὲν οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας αἱ δύο παραφήκησαν μοῦραι,
καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔτι ἀγχώμαλος ἦν. τοτε δὲ ξυμφρονη-
σαντες ὅσοι δὴ ἀριστοὶ ἐν τῷ Περσῶν στρατεύ-
ματι ἦσαν, ἐσθλαυνον ἐς τῶν πολεμίων τῷ δεξίῳ
κέρας, οὐ δὴ Ἀρέθας τε καὶ οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἔτετα-
χατο. οἱ δὲ οὖτω τῆς φάλαγγα διαλύσαντες
դίχα ἐγένοντο, δοστε καὶ δόξαν ἀπήνεγκαν οτι δὴ
Πέρσαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα προύδοσαν. τοὺς
γὰρ ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑποστάντες αὐτίκα ἐς φυγήν
37 ἀπάντες ὄρμηντο. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι διαρρῆξαντες
οὔτω τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων παράταξιν, κατὰ νότον
εὔθυς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἵππου ἐγένοντο. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ
κεκμηκότες ἢδη τῇ τε ἄδω καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τῆς
μάχης νήστεις τέ ἀπάντες ἐς τὸ δέ τῆς ἡμέρας ὑντες,
καὶ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐνοχλούμενοι,
οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φεύγοντες
ἀνά κράτος ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νῆσους ἀγχίστα
ποι οὕσας ἑχώρησαν, τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ μένοντες
ἐργα θαυμαστά τε καὶ λόγον πολλοῦ ἄξια τούς
38 πολεμίους εἰργάσαντο. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀσκάν ἦν, δὴ
ἡ πολλοῦς μὲν κτείνας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων,
κρεουργηθεὶς δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ μόλις ἔπεσε, λόγου
170
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xviii. 33-38

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

αὐτοῦ πολὺν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπολεπών. καὶ ξῦν αὐτῷ ἄλλους ὀκτακόσιοι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τοῦτῷ ἀπέθανον, οἱ τε Ἰσαυροὶ ξῦν τοὺς ἀρχοῦσι σχεδὸν ἀπαίτες, οὐδὲ ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν τοὺς πολεμίους τολμήσαντες. ἀπειρίᾳ γὰρ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου πολλῆς εἰχούτο, ἔπει ἄρῃ τῆς γεωργίας ἀφέμενοι ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου κατέστησαν, ἀγνωτὰ σφίγα τὰ πρῶτα ὅντα. καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα πάντων αὐτοῦ ἐναγχός ἐς τὴν μάχην ἀγνοίᾳ πολέμου ὄργωντες Βελισαρίῳ τότε τὴν δειλίαν ὀνείδιζον. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ Ἰσαυροὶ ἀπαίτες, ἄλλα Ἀγάδονες οἱ πλείστοι ἦσαν.

41 Βελισάριος δὲ ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισίν ἐνταῦθα μείνας, τεχνὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀσκὰν ἀντέχοντας ἑώρα, καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἠμύνας. ἔπει δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ὁπῆ ἐξόντα ἐς φυγῇν ὄρμησαν, τότε δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένους φυγὼν ἐς τῶν πεζῶν τῆς φάλαγγας ἤλθεν, οὗ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐπὶ ἑμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἔπει καὶ αὐτῶν ἑτυχοῦν φυγόντες οἱ πλείοντες.

42 Ξὺθα δὴ αὐτὸς τὸν ἰππὸν ἀφῆκε καὶ πάντας αὐτὸ δρᾶν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐκέλευε, πεζοῦς τε ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. Πέρσων δὲ ὅσοι τοὺς φεύγωσιν εἶποντο, δὲ ὀλίγου τῆς δύνασιν ποιησάμενοι, εὕθες ἐπάνηκον, ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς καὶ Βελισαρίον ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπαίτες ὄρμησαν. οἱ δὲ τὰ νῦτα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τρέψαντες, ὅπως μὴ τις αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κύκλωσις γένοιτο, ἐκ τῶν παρόντων τοὺς.
to the enemy abundant reason to remember him. And with him eight hundred others perished after showing themselves brave men in this struggle, and almost all the Isaurians fell with their leaders, without even daring to lift their weapons against the enemy. For they were thoroughly inexperienced in this business, since they had recently left off farming and entered into the perils of warfare, which before that time were unknown to them. And yet just before these very men had been most furious of all for battle because of their ignorance of warfare, and were then reproaching Belisarius with cowardice. They were not in fact all Isaurians but the majority of them were Lycaones.

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

45 ἐπιόντας ἥμύνοντο. ἀδῆς τε ἡ μάχη καρτέρα γέγονε, καίπερ οὖκ ἔξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως οὔσα. πεζοὶ τε γὰρ καὶ λίαν ὅλγοι πρὸς ξύμπασαν ἐμάχοντο τὴν Πέρσαν ὶππον. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμους οὔτε τρέπεσθαι οὔτε ἄλλως
46 βιάζεσθαι εἶχον. ἐν χρῷ τε γὰρ ἀλλῆλοις ἐς ὅλγον ἀεὶ ἑυναγόμενοι καὶ ὡς ἰσχυρότατα ταῖς ἀστισίᾳ φραξάμενοι, ἐβάλλον μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπιτηδεύοις ἢ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνων ἐβάλλοντο. πολλάκις τε ἀπειπώντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἔπταυντοι ἢ ἢ αὐτοῖς ἢ λάμπουν, ὡς ξυνταράξοντες τε καὶ διαλύσοντες τὴν παράταξιν, ἀλλ’ ἀπρακτοὶ ἐνθέντε ὀπίσω αὐθεὶς ἀπηλαυνοῦν. οἱ γὰρ ἢ τοὺς αὐτοῖς τῷ τῶν ἀσπίδων πατάγη ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαίριζοντο τε καὶ ἐς ταραχὴν ἔχω τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καθίσταντο. διαδιαγόνασι τε οὕτως ἐκάτεροι ἐστὶς ἐγερόμενοι τῆς
49 ἡμέρας ὁψε. νυκτὸς δὲ ηὕθῃ ἐπιλαβοῦσας Πέρσαι μὲν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, Βελισάριος δὲ ὀλκάδος ἐπιτυχών ἕκα πόλιος τισιν ἐς τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν νήσου κατήρευ, οὐ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
50 Ὀρμαῖοι νηχόμενοι ἠλθοῦν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ὀρμαῖοι μὲν ὀλκάδων σφίσει ἐκ Καλλινίκου πόλεως παραγεγομένων πολλῶν ἐς αὐτῆς ἐκομίσθησαν, Πέρσαι δὲ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἑσκυλευκότας ἐπ’ οὐκ ἀπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν. οὐ μὴν τοὺς σφετέρους νεκροὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐλάσσοσι εὐρον.
51 Ἀξάρεθης δὲ, ἐπεὶ ξύν τῷ στρατῷ ἐς Πέρσας ἀφίκετο, καίπερ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ εὐμερήσας, ἀχαρίστου Καβάδου μάλιστα ἐτυχεν εἴς αὐτίας τοιᾶς δε. 52 νόμος ἐστὶ Πέρσαις, ἡμίκα ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων τινῶς στρατεύεσθαι μέλλωσι, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα
their assailants. And again the battle became fierce, although the two sides were not evenly matched in strength; for foot-soldiers, and a very few of them, were fighting against the whole Persian cavalry. Nevertheless the enemy were not able either to rout them or in any other way to overpower them. For standing shoulder to shoulder they kept themselves constantly massed in a small space, and they formed with their shields a rigid, unyielding barricade, so that they shot at the Persians more conveniently than they were shot at by them. Many a time after giving up, the Persians would advance against them determined to break up and destroy their line, but they always retired again from the assault unsuccessful. For their horses, annoyed by the clashing of the shields, reared up and made confusion for themselves and their riders. Thus both sides continued the struggle until it had become late in the day. And when night had already come on, the Persians withdrew to their camp, and Belisarius accompanied by some few men found a freight-boat and crossed over to the island in the river, while the other Romans reached the same place by swimming. On the following day many freight-boats were brought to the Romans from the city of Callinicum and they were conveyed thither in them, and the Persians, after despoiling the dead, all departed homeward. However they did not find their own dead less numerous than the enemy's.

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

ἐπὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου καθῆσαι, κοφίνους δὲ οἱ πολλοὶς ἐν τῇ εἰναι, καὶ παρείναι μὲν τὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ δὴ τὸ στρατὸ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναρτίους ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξος ἡστι, παρεῖναι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα τούτο εἰς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν ὄψιν κατὰ ἄνδρα ἔνα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν βέλος ἐν ἐς τὰς ταρπᾶς ῥυτίεν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶς μὲν τῇ βασιλέως σφραγίδι καταστημασμένας φυλάττεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐς Πέρσας ἔπαυοί τοῦ στράτευμα τούτο, τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστὸν ἐκ τῶν 53 ἁρρίχων ἐν ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἕ βέλος. ἄριθμουντες οὖν τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τῶν ἄνδρῶν οὐκ ἀνήρηται, οῖς ἐπίκειται ἡ τιμή αὕτη, ἄγγέλλουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οὐκ ἔπανηκόντων στρατιωτῶν, ταύτη τε ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτή- 54 κασιν ξυμηλοῖ γίνονται. οὐτὼς μὲν οὖν Πέρσας ὁ νόμος ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄζαρέθης ἐς ὄψιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦλθεν, ἀνεπυθάνετο αὐτῶν ὁ Καβᾶδης εἰ τι χωρίων παραστησάμενος Ρω- μαίων ἦκοι, ἐπεὶ ἔπ Γ Άλαμονδάρῳ ὡς Ἀντιόχειαν καταστρεψόμενος ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους στρατεύσειεν. ὁ δὲ Ἄζαρέθης χωρίων μὲν ἐλείν οὐδὲν ἔφασσε, Ρωμαίων δὲ καὶ Βελίσαριον μάχη 55 νευκηκέναι. Καβᾶδης μὲν οὖν παριέαι τὸ ἔξω τῷ Ἄζαρέθη ἐκέλευε στράτευμα, ἐκ τε τῶν ταρπῶν βέλος ἐκαστὸς ἀνήρητο ὑπερ εἰώθει. 56 πολλῶν δὲ ἀπολελειμμένων βελῶν ὀνείδιζε τε τῷ Ἄζαρέθη ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν νίκην καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτους τὸ λοιπὸν εἰχε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς νίκης ἐς τούτο ἐτελεύτα τῷ Ἄζαρέθη.

1 ἀναιρεῖσθαι Christ: ἀφαιρεῖσθαι MSS.

176
foes, the king sits on the royal throne, and many baskets are set there before him; and the general also is present who is expected to lead the army against the enemy; then the army passes along before the king, one man at a time, and each of them throws one weapon into the baskets; after this they are sealed with the king's seal and preserved; and when this army returns to Persia, each one of the soldiers takes one weapon out of the baskets. A count is then made by those whose office it is to do so of all the weapons which have not been taken by the men, and they report to the king the number of the soldiers who have not returned, and in this way it becomes evident how many have perished in the war. Thus the law has stood from of old among the Persians. Now when Azarethes came into the presence of the king, Cabades enquired of him whether he came back with any Roman fortress won over to their side, for he had marched forth with Alamoundaras against the Romans, with the purpose of subduing Antioch. And Azarethes said that he had captured no fortress, but that he had conquered the Romans and Belisarius in battle. So Cabades bade the army of Azarethes pass by, and from the baskets each man took out a weapon just as was customary. But since many weapons were left, Cabades rebuked Azarethes for the victory and thereafter ranked him among the most unworthy. So the victory had this conclusion for Azarethes.
1 'Εννοια δὲ τότε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Ἀιθιοπᾶς τε καὶ Ὀμηρίτας ἐπὶ τῷ Πέρσῳ πονηρῷ ἐταιρίσασθαι. ὡσὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς οἱ ἄνθρωποι οἶδε φιμενται καὶ καθ’ ὅ τι αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίους ξυνόσειν
2 βασιλεὺς ἦλπισεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. τὰ Παλαιστίνης ὅρια πρὸς ἄναχοντα ἤλιον ἐσ θάλασσαν τὴν
3 Ἐρυθρᾶν καλομένην διήκει. αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ θάλασσα εἰς Ἰνδῶν ἀρχομένη ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. καὶ πόλεις Αἰλᾶς καλομένη πρὸς τῇ ταύτῃ ἡ ἡνίον ἐστὶν, ἐνθα ἡ θάλασσα, ὥσπερ μοι εἰρηται, ἀπολήγουσα πορθμός τις ἐσ ἄγαν στενὸς γίνεται. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνθέντε ἐστιν ἐν θέσιν ἐνθέντε ἐστιν, ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῶ ἐρμος ἄνθρωπων ἐπὶ πλείστων διήκει πρὸς βορράν ἄνεμουν, ἡ τῇ ἡ ἄντη τῷ ἐστιν ἐστὶς ἐκεῖρωθεὶν ὀρατῇ γίνεται, μέχρι ἐς τὴν Ἰωτάβην καλομένην νήσου, Αἴλᾶ πόλεως
4 σταδίους υἱὸς ἔσσει ἡ χείλιας διέχουσαν. ἐνθα Ἐβραῖοι αὐτοῦνοι μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ φίληντο, ἐπὶ τοῦτο Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύντος κατήκουι
5 Ῥωμαίων γεγένηται. πέλαγος δὲ τῷ ἐνθέντε μέγα ἐκδέχεται. καὶ γην μὲν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἱ ταύτῃ ἐσπέλαυσαν οὐκέτι ὀρῶν, ἐς μέντοι τὴν εὐώνυμον
6 νυκτὸς ἀεὶ ἐπιμομενής ὃρμζονται. ἐν σκότῳ γὰρ ναυτίλλεσθαι ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ θάλασσῃ ἀδύνατα ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ βραχὺς αὐτὴν ἔμπλεων ἐπὶ πλείστου
7 ἕμβανεν εἰναι. ὄρμοι δὲ ἐσθιν ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ οὗ χερσίν ἄνθρωπων, ἀλλὰ τῇ φύσει τῶν χωρίων
178
At that time the idea occurred to the Emperor Justinian to ally with himself the Aethiopians and the Homeritae, in order to injure the Persians. I shall now first explain what part of the earth these nations occupy, and then I shall point out in what manner the emperor hoped that they would be of help to the Romans. The boundaries of Palestine extend toward the east to the sea which is called the Red Sea. Now this sea, beginning at India, comes to an end at this point in the Roman domain. And there is a city called Aelas on its shore, where the sea comes to an end, as I have said, and becomes a very narrow gulf. And as one sails into the sea from there, the Egyptian mountains lie on the right, extending toward the south; on the other side a country deserted by men extends northward to an indefinite distance; and the land on both sides is visible as one sails in as far as the island called Iotabe, not less than one thousand stades distant from the city of Aelas. On this island Hebrews had lived from of old in autonomy, but in the reign of this Justinian they have become subject to the Romans. From there on there comes a great open sea. And those who sail into this part of it no longer see the land on the right, but they always anchor along the left coast when night comes on. For it is impossible to navigate in the darkness on this sea, since it is everywhere full of shoals. But there are harbours there and great numbers of them, not made by the hand of man, but by the natural contour of the land, and for this reason it is not
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ Ο ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑ

πεποιημένοι, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸς πλέουσιν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔστιν ὅτι παρατύχοι ὁρμίζεσθαι.

Ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἡδονά εὐθὺς μὲν ὀροὺς τοὺς
8 Παλαιστίνης ὑπερβάντω Σαρακηνὸν ἔχουσιν, οἱ
9 ἐν τῷ φοινικῷ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυούσι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ
φοινικόν ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ ἐς χώραν κατατείχων
πολλῆν, ἐνθα δὴ ἀλλο τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ
10 φοίνικες φύονται μόνοι. τούτῳ τῷ φοινικῷ βα-
σιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδωρήσατο, οἱ
τῶν ἑκείνη Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχων, καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς
φύλαρχον τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Σαρακηνῶν κατε-
στήσατο. ἀδὴξωτὸν τε τὴν χώραν διεφυλάξε τὸν
ἀπαντα χρόνον, ἐπεὶ τοῖς τε ἄρχομένοις ἐμφάνως
καὶ οὐδέν τι ἕσον τοὺς πολεμών φοβηρὸς τε ἀεὶ
Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδοξεῖ εἰναι καὶ διαφερόντως δρα-
12 στήριος. τῷ μὲν οὖν λόγῳ τῶν φοινικῶν βασιλεὺς
ἐχει, μετεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων οὐδὲ
13 ὀπωστιοῦν δυνατά ἔστι. γῇ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων
παντελῶς ζημιοῦ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἀνυδρός ἐν μέσῳ
οὐδὰ ἐκεῖ ἠμέρων ὡδὸν διῆκε, καὶ αὐτὸς λόγον
οτουνῶν ἄξιος ὁ φοινικῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’
όνομα δόρου ὁ τε Ἀβοχάραβος ἐδώκε μόνον καὶ
βασιλεῦς εὐ εἰδῶς ἔλαβε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ
14 φοινικῶν ταύτη πη ἐχει. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων ἄλλοι Σαρακηνοὶ ἔχομενοι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἔχουσιν,
οί δὲ Μαδηνᾶν καλοῦνται, Ὀμηρίτων κατήκουν
15 ὄντες. οἱ δὲ Ὀμηρίται οὐτοὶ ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ ἐπέκεινα
φιλοῦνται πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡδονήν. ὑπὲρ τε
αὐτοὺς ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ μέχρι ὑπὸ οὓς ἄνθρω-
16 ποφάγους Σαρακηνοὺς ἱδρύσατι φασί. μεθ’ οὗ δὴ
tὰ γένη τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἔστιν. ἄλλα τούτων μὲν περὶ
λεγέτω ἔκαστος ὡς πη αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ ἔστιν.
difficult for mariners to find anchorage wherever they happen to be.

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

¹ The coast described here is that of Arabia.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΟΕ ΚΑΕΣΑΡΕΑΣ

17 Ομηριτῶν δὲ καταντικρὺ μᾶλιστα ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἢπειρῷ Αἰθίοπες ὦκούσιν, οἱ Αὐξῶμεῖται ἐπικαλοῦνται, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὰ βασιλεῖα ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Αὐξῶμιδι. καὶ θάλασσα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶν ἀνέμου μετρίως ἐπιφόρου ἐπιτεσόντος ἐστὶν καὶ πέντε ἥμερῶν τε καὶ νυκτῶν διάπλουν διήκει.
18 ταύτη γὰρ καὶ νύκτωρ ναυτίλλεσθαι νευομίκασιν, ἐπεὶ βράχος ἐνταῦθα οὐδαμὴ ἐστὶν· αὕτη πρὸς ἐνών ἡ θάλασσα Ἑρυθρὰ κέκληται. τὰ γὰρ ταύτης ἐκτὸς ἐκπλεοῦντι ἄχρι ἐστὶν τὴν ἡδύνα καὶ
20 Αἰλᾶ πόλιν Ἄραβικος ὀνόμασται κόλπος. χώρα γὰρ ἡ ἐνθένδε ἄχρι τῶν Γάζης πόλεως ὀρίων Ἄραβια τὸ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐν Πέτραις ἡ
21 πόλει ὁ τῶν Ἄραβων βασιλεὺς εἶχεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν ὁμοίος ἐξ οὗ ἀπαίροντες εἰώθασιν
22 ἐς Αἰθίοπας πλείν Βούλικας ὀνομάζεται. διαπλεύσαντες δὲ αἰὲ τὸ πέλαγος τοῦτο καταίρουσιν ἐς τῶν Ἄδουλιτῶν τῶν λιμένα. Ἄδουλις δὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ μὲν λιμένος μέτρῳ ἐκκοσι σταδίων διέχει (τοσοῦτο γὰρ διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἐπιθαλάσσιος εἶναι), πόλεως δὲ Αὐξῶμιδος ὀφθ. ἥμερῶν δώδεκα.
23 Πλοία μέντοι δια ἐν τῇ Ἰνδίδης καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐστὶν οὗ ὀρισφὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὑπέρ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆς πεποίηται. οὐδὲ γὰρ πίσσῃ οὐδὲ ἀλλὰ ὀρφοῦν χρίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιδήρῳ διαμπερεῖς ἱόντι ἐς ἀλλήλας αἱ σανίδες ξυμπετήγασιν, ἀλλὰ
24 βρόχοις τισὶ ξυνδέεσθαι. αἰτίοι δὲ οὐχ ὑπὲρ οἱ πόλλοι οἴονται, πέτραι τινὲς ἐνταῦθα οὖσαι καὶ τὸν σίδηρον ἐφ' ἐαυτᾶς ἐλκουσαι (τεκμηρίων δὲ ταῖς γὰρ Προμαίων ναυσίν εἴξ Αἰλᾶ πλεοῦσαις

182
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xix. 17–24

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

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

ἐς θάλασσαν τήνδε, καίπερ σιδήρῳ πολλῷ ἤμοσμέναις, οὐποτε τοιούτων ἐξυπνέχθη παθεῖν), ἀλλ' ὅτι οὔτε σίδηρον οὔτε ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐς ταῦτα 25 ἐπιτηδείων Ἰνδολ ἢ Αἰθίοπες ἔχουσιν. οὐ μὴν οὔτε πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ὄνεισθαι τούτων τι οἷοί τε 26 εἰσιν, νόμῳ ἀπασὶ διαρρήκτην ἀπειρήμενον. θάνατος γὰρ τῷ ἀλόντι ἡ ζημία ἑστὶ. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἕρμηρᾷ καλουμένῃ θαλάσσῃ καὶ χώρᾳ ἡ αὐτῆς ἐφ' ἐκατερὰ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἔχει. 27 Ἐκ δὲ Ἀιγύπτιος πόλεως ἐς τὰ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτιον ὄρια τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, οὐ δὴ πόλις ἢ Ἑλληνικὴν καλουμένη οἰκεῖτα, τριάκοντα ὡδὸς ἡμέρα 28 ῥῶν ἐστιν εὐζώνφρον ἀνδρὶ. ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἱδρυταί καὶ Βλέμνες τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη. ἀλλὰ Βλέμνες μὲν ταύτῃ δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ἴκνηται, Νοβάται δὲ ἀμφὶ Νείλου ποταμὸν ἔχουσι. πρότερον δὲ οὗ ταῦτα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἑσχατά τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπέκεινα ὅσον ἐπτὰ ἑτέρων 29 ἐπιπροσθεν ὅδον ἰμερῶν ἡρίκα δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Διοκλετιανὸς ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος κατενόησεν ὅτι δὴ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνη χωρίων οἱ φόροι λόγου ἄξιοι ὡς ἰκιστα ἴν, ἐπεὶ στενὴ μάλιστα τῆς γῆς ἑνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι (πέτραι γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεθυμηλαίαν ἱππόλατος τῆς χώρας τὰ λοιπὰ ἔχουσι), στρατιωτῶν δὲ πάμπολυ τι πλῆθος ἑνταῦθα ἐκ πάλαιου ἱδρυτοῦ, ὄντος ταῖς διπάναις ὑπερφυσὶς ἀχθεσθαι συνεβαίνει τὸ δημόσιον, ἀμα δὲ καὶ Νοβάται ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ὅσιον ἰκισταντοὺς τὰ πρότερα ἡγὸν τε καὶ ἔφεσων ἀπαντᾷ ὅτι ἀεὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνέπεισεν ἀναστήναι μὲν ἐξ

184
they are fitted with much iron, no such thing has ever happened to them), but rather because the Indians and the Aethiopians possess neither iron nor any other thing suitable for such purposes. Furthermore, they are not even able to buy any of these things from the Romans since this is explicitly forbidden to all by law; for death is the punishment for one who is caught. Such then is the description of the so-called Red Sea and of the land which lies on either side of it.

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

1 Rather the "Arabian Gulf."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ηθόν τῶν σφετέρων, ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν δὲ Νεῖλον ἱδρύσασθαι, δωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσας πόλεσί τε μεγάλας καὶ χώρα πολλή τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμένοις ἦσπερ τὰ πρότερα φικνυτο. 30 οὕτω γὰρ φέτοι αὐτοὺς τε οὐκέτι τὰ γε ἀμφὶ τὴν Ὁρασιν ἐνοχλήσειν χωρία καὶ γῆς τῆς σφίσι διδομένης μεταποιουμένους, ἄτε οἰκείας οὐσίας, ἀποκρούσθαι Βλέμνας τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καὶ βαρβάρους τοὺς ἀλλους. ἐπεὶ τε τοὺς Νοβάτας ταῦτα ἠρέσκε, τὴν τε μετανάστασιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα πεποίητο ἦπερ Διοκλητιανὸς σφίσιν ἐπέστελλε, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ χώραν ἐξυπασαν ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως 32 ἔσχον. τὸτε δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος αὐτοῖς τε καὶ Βλέμνουν ἔταξε δίδοσθαι ἀνα πᾶν ἄτον ῥητόν τι χρυσίον ἐφ᾽ ὃ μηκέτι γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων λησυν- 33 ται. δὴπερ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κομιζόμενοι οὐδὲν τι ἡσυχαν καταθέουσι τὰ ἑκείνῃ χωρία. οὕτως ἄρα βαρβάρους ἀπαντας οὐδεμία μηχανή διασώσθασθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πιστιν ὅτι μὴ δεί τῶν ἀμυνο- 34 μένων στρατιωτῶν. καίτοι καὶ νήσων τινα ἐν ποταμῷ Νείλῳ ἀγχιστὰ πη τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως εὐρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος φρούριόν τε ταύτῃ δειμάμενος ὁχυρώτατον, κοινῶς τινας ἐνταύθα νεώς τε καὶ βωμοὺς Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ τούτους δὴ κατεστήσατο τοῖς βαρβάροις, καὶ ἰερεῖς ἐκάστων ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τούτῳ ἱδρύσατο, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῖς ἑσεθαί τῷ μετέχειν τῶν ἱερῶν 35 σφίσιν οἴκομενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωυνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἀμφὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἐθνῆ, οἱ τε Βλέμνες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐσπερ

1 ἀποκρούσθαι Braun: ἀποκρούσθαι MSS.

186
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xix. 29-35

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

"Ελληνες νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἰσιων τὸν τε Ὅσιων σέβοντοι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαμον. οἱ μέντοι Βλέμνες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἠλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Фίλαις ἰερὰ οὕτω δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐλίχαν, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἐγγὼ. Ναρσῆς γοῦν, Περσαρμένιος γένος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἀπε ἵστομοληκότος ἐς Ὀρμαλοὺς ἐμνήσθην, τῶν ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων τὰ τε ἱερὰ καθεῖλε, βασιλεὺς οἱ ἐπαγγελλότος, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεῖς ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπέμεψεν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον λόγον ἐπάνειμι.

XX

1 'Τπὸ τοὺς χρώνους τοῦ πολέμου τούδε Ἕλληνισθεαῖος οἱ τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλεὺς, Χριστιανὸς τε ὄν καὶ δόξης τής ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιμελοῦμενος, ἐπειδὴ Ὀμηριτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀντιτέρα ἥπειρῳ ἐγγὼ πολλοῦς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις ὄντας, πολλοῦς δὲ δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν σέβοντας ἥν δὴ καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνικήν οἱ νῦν ἀνθρωποι, ἐπιβούλη μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνην Χριστιανὸν χρῆσθαι, στόλου τε ὑψῶν καὶ στράτευμα ἀγέλας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἦλθε, καὶ μάχη νικήσας τὸν τε βασιλέα καὶ τῶν Ὀμηρίτων πολλούς ἐκέτεινεν, ἅλλον τε αὐτὸθι Χριστιανὸν βασιλέα καταστησάμενος, Ὀμηρίτην μὲν γένος, δόμα δὲ Ἑσιμφαίον, φόρον τε αὐτῷ τάξασι Αἰθιοψὶ φέρειν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος, ἐπ` οἴκου 2 ἀνεχώρησε. τοῦτο τοῦ Αἰθιόπων στρατοῦ δοῦλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσοι ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τὸ κακοῦργειν
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xix. 35—xx. 2

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

XX

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

¹ Cf. ch. xv. 31.

189
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

eίχον τῷ μὲν βασιλεί τέσσαρα οὐδαμὴ ἤθελον, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενον ἤμεν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ τῆς Ὀμηρίτων χώρᾳ. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ύπερφυσῶς ἦστιν.

3 Οὕτως ο λεώς χρόνῳ οὗ πολλῷ ύστερον ξυν ἐπέρεοις τυσίν Ἐσιμφαίρῳ τῷ βασίλει ἐπαναστάντες, αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἑκείνῃ φανερωμέν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπερεύτως φύσιν ὁ Ὀμηρίτας βασιλέα κατέστησε, Ἀβραμον δὲ Ἀβραμος συνόμων. ὀ δὲ Ἀβραμος σύννομος Χριστιανὸς μὲν ἦν, δούλος δὲ Ῥωμαιῶν ἁγρός ἐν πόλει Ἀδούλιδι ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ ἡελικοῦ συν ἐργασίᾳ διατρίβησιν ἐκοινοῦσα. ἀ δὲ Ἑλλησθεαίων μαθῶν τίσασθαι τε Ἀβραμον ὑμοῦ τοῖς ξυν αὐτῷ ἐπαναστάσας τῆς ἐς τὸν Ἐσιμφάιριον ἁδικείας ἐν σπουδῇ ἐκοινω, στρατευμά τε τρισκελίων ἁγρών καὶ ἄρχεται τῶν τιαν ἔργων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεμψεν. οὕτως ὁ στρατὸς οὐκετί ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ οὐκον ἐπανεύρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώρᾳ ἀγαθῇ μένειν, κρύφα τοῦ ἁρχοντος τῷ Ἀβραμῷ ἐς λόγους ἔλθουν, ἐς τε ἐμβολῆν καταστάσεις τοῖς ἑαυτόις, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἐργῷ ἐγένοντο, κτείναντες τὸν ἁρχοντα τῷ τῶν πολεμίων ἱ στρατῷ ἀνεμίγνυσα καὶ αὐτοῦ ἤμεν. θυμῷ δὲ πολλῷ Ἑλλησθεαίως ἐχόμενος καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεμψεν, οδ' ἄυ τοῖς ἄμφι τὸν Ἀβραμὸν ἐς χείρας ἐλθόντες παρὰ πολὺ τε ἱσσικέντες τῇ μάχῃ ἐπ' οὐκον εὐθὺς ἀνεχόμησαν. δεῖσας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ τῶν Ἀδούλιδων βασιλεύσ

6 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀβραμον οὐκετί ἐστράτευσεν. Ἐλληνθεαίων δὲ τελευτήσαντος φόρους Ἀβραμος ὁμολόγησε φέρειν τῷ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀδούλιδων βασίλειαν παραλαβούσι, οὗτοι τῇ τῶν ἁρχὴν ἐκρατοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ύστερῳ ἐγένετο. 190
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xx. 2-8

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

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

191
9 Τότε δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς [ὁ] βασιλεὺς ἐν μὲν Αἰθίοψι βασιλεύοντος Ἑλλησθεαίου, Ἑσιμφαίου δὲ ἐν Ὀμηρίταις, πρεσβευτὴν Ἰουστινίαν ἐπεμψεν, ἀξιῶν ἀμφοὶ Ῥωμάιοι διὰ τὸ τῆς δόξης ὀμόγωμον Πέρσας πολεμοῦσι ξυνάρασθαι, ὅπως Αἰθιοπεῖς μὲν ὁμούμενοί τε τὴν μεταξαν ἔξ Ἰνδῶν ἀποδιδόμενοι τε αὐτὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοὶ μὲν κύριοι γένονται χρημάτων μεγάλων, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ τούτο ποιήσσαι κερδαίνειν μόνον, ὅτι δὴ οὐκέτι ἀναγκασθῆσονται τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν χρήματα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους μετενεχκεῖν (αὕτη δὲ ἔστιν ἡ μεταξα ἐξ ἦς εἰώθασι τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐργάζεσθαι ἣν πάλιν μὲν Ἑλληνες Μηδικῆν ἐκάλουν, ταύτην δὲ σημικῆν ὄνομάξουσιν), Ὀμηρίται δὲ ὅπως Καίσων τὸν φυγάδα φύλαρχον Μαδηνοῖς καταστήσωσι καὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ αὐτῶν τε Ὀμηρίτων καὶ Ἀρακηνῶν τῶν Μαδηνῶν ἐσβάλωσιν ἐς τὴν.

10 Περσῶν γῆν. (ο δὲ Καίσως οὗτος γένοις μὲν ἂν τοῦ φύλαρχικοῦ καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, τῶν δὲ τινα Ἑσιμφαίου ξυγγεγενῶν κτείνας ἐς γῆν εἴφευγεν ἢ δὴ ἕρμοις ἀνθρώπων παντάπασιν ἐστιν,) ἔκατερος μὲν οὖν τὴν αἰτησιν ὑποσχόμενος ἐπιτελῆ ποιήσειν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπετέματο, ἔδρασε δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ ὄμολογη.

11 μένα οὐδέτερος. τοῖς τε γὰρ Αἰθίοψι τὴν μεταξαν ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἄδυνατα ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἄει οἱ Περσῶν ἐμποροὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὄρμους γινόμενοι οὐ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα αὐτῶν Ἰνδῶν νῆς καταίρουσιν, ἀπεννότα ὁνεῖσθαι τὰ φορτία εἰώθασι, καὶ τοῖς Ὀμηρίταις χαλεπῶν ἔθοξεν εἰναι χῶραν ἀμειψαμένοις ἔρημον.
At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations on account of their community of religion should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy. (This is the silk of which they are accustomed to make the garments which of old the Greeks called Medic, but which at the present time they name "seric"\(^1\). As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caïsus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians. This Caïsus was by birth of the captain's rank and an exceptionally able warrior, but he had killed one of the relatives of Esimiphaeus and was a fugitive in a land which is utterly destitute of human habitation. So each king, promising to put this demand into effect, dismissed the ambassador, but neither one of them did the things agreed upon by them. For it was impossible for the Aethiopians to buy silk from the Indians, for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, (since they inhabit the adjoining country), and are accustomed to buy the whole cargoes; and it seemed to the Homeritae a difficult thing to cross a country which was a desert and which extended so far that a

\(^1\) In Latin serica, as coming from the Chinese (Seres).
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

τε καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ ὅδεν κατατείνουσαν ἐπ’
13 ἄνθρωποι πολλῷ μαχιμωτέρους οἶναι. ἀλλὰ καὶ
"Αβραμος ὤστερον, ὅτε δὴ τῇ ἁρχῇ ὡς ἁσφαλέ-
στατα ἐκρατύνατο, πολλάκις μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ
βασιλεῖ ωμολόγησεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἐςβάλ-
λειν, ἀπαξ δὲ μόνον τῆς πορείας ἀρξάμενος ὡς ὠς
εὐθὺς ἀπεχώρησε. τὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιόπων τε καὶ
Ὀμηριτῶν ταύτη Ρωμαίους ἐχώρησεν.

XXI

1 Ἐρμογένης δὲ τότε, ἑπεὶδὴ τάχιστα ἢ πρὸς
τῷ Εὐφράτῃ μάχη ἐγένετο, παρὰ Καβάδην ἐπὶ
πρεσβεία ἥκων, ἐπέραινεν οὐδὲν τῆς εἰρήνης
πέρι ἣς ἐνεκα ἤλθεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν οἰδαίνοντα ἐτὶ
ἐπὶ Ἐρμογένης εὑρέ. διὸ δὴ ἀπρακτὸς ἀνεχώρησε.
2 καὶ Βελισάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετά-
πεμπτος ἤλθεν περιηγημένος ἦν εἰρήνη ἁρχὴν, ἐφ’
3 ὅ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους στρατεύειε. Σύντας δὲ, Ἰου-
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦτο δεδουγμένου, ὃς φυλάξων
4 τὴν ἠφάν ἐνταῦθα ἤλθε. καὶ Πέρσαι αὖθις
στρατῷ πολλῷ ἐς Μεσοποταμίαν, Χαναράγγοι
τε καὶ Ἀστρεβέδου καὶ Μερμερόου ἠγομένων
5 σφίσων, ἐσέβαλον. ἐπεί τε αὐτῶς ἐτόλμα οὐδές
ἐς χειρὰς οἶναι, Μαρτυρόπολιν ἐγκαθεζόμενοι
ἐπολιόρκουν, οὐδὲ Βουζῆς τε καὶ Βέσσας τεταγ-
6 μένου ἐπὶ τῇ φυλαχῇ ἔτυχον. αὐτὴ δὲ κεῖται
μὲν ἐν τῇ Σοφανηνή καλομένη χώρᾳ, πόλεως
Ἀμίνης τεσσαράκοντα τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους
διέχουσα πρὸς Βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ

194
long time was required for the journey across it, and then to go against a people much more warlike than themselves. Later on Abramus too, when at length he had established his power most securely, promised the Emperor Justinian many times to invade the land of Persia, but only once began the journey and then straightway turned back. Such then were the relations which the Romans had with the Aethiopians and the Homeritae.

XXI

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

Νυμφίῳ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔστιν, ὃς τήν τε Ἡρμαίων
7 γῆν καὶ Πέρσων διορίζει. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι τῷ
περίβολῳ προσέβαλλον, οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦμενοι
κατ’ ἄρχας μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείως ὑφίσταντο, οὐ
8 διὰ πολλοῦ δὲ ἀνθρέψειν ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. Ὁ τε γὰρ
περίβολος ἐπιμαχώτατος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
καὶ πολιορκίᾳ Πέρσων ὅστα ἀλώσιμος, αὐτοῖς
τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐ διαρκῶς εἶχον, οὐ μὴν οὔτε
μηχανᾶς οὔτε τὸ ἄλλο ἀξιόχρεως καθ’ ὁ τι ἀμύ-
9 νωνται. Σύντας δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἡρμαίων στρατὸς ἔσ
χωρίων μὲν Ἀτταχᾶς ἦλθον, Μαρτυροπόλεως
ἐκατὸν στάδιοι διέχον, ὡς τὰ πρόσω δὲ οὐκ
ἐτόλμων ἴναι, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι
10 ἔμενον. ξυνήν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἐρμογένης αὐθεῖς
ἐπὶ προσβεία ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἡκὼν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
τοιόνδε τι ξυνήρχθη γενέσθαι.

11 Κατασκόπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐν τε Ἡρμαίως καὶ
Πέρσης δημοσία σετίζεσθαι νόμος, οὐ δὴ λάθρα
ἰέναι παρὰ τοὺς πολέμιους εἰσόθασιν ὅπως περι-
σκοπήσαντες ἐστὶ ἀκριβὲς τὰ πρασόμενα
12 εἰτα ἐπαινώντες τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἐσαγγείλωσι. τού-
των πολλοὶ μὲν εὐνόια, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, χρήσθαι ἐσ
τοὺς ὁμογενεῖς ἐν σπούδῃ ἔχουσι, τινὲς δὲ καὶ
13 τοὺς ἐναντίους προῄειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα. τότε
οὖν ἐκ Πέρσων κατάσκοπός τις ἐσ Ἡρμαίων
σταλεῖς ἐς ὅψιν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἡκὼν,
ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐξεῖπτεν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις πρασ-
σόμενα καὶ ὡς γένος Μασσαγετῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡ-
μαίῳ πονηρῷ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ Πέρσῶν
ἔσθη ἐξίασιν, ἐνθεόντε τε ἐς Ἡρμαίων τὴν γῆν
196
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxi. 6–13

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

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

ιόντες τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἐτοιμοὶ εἰσὶν ἀναμένοντες, χρύμασιν αὐτὸν ἄδροις τις χαρισάμενος πείθειν ἐστὶν τῷ Περσῶν στρατόπεδου ἱέναι ὅ δὴ Μαρτυροπολίται εἴπολόρκει, καὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις ἀγγέιλαι ὅτι δὴ οἱ Μασσαγέται οὗτοι χρύμασιν ἀναπεισπῆντες τῷ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλεὺς μέλλουσιν

οὗτος οὖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤξειν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, ἐστὶν τῷ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδου ἀφικόμενος τῷ τῇ Χαναράγγῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπῆγγελλε στράτευμα Ὀυνυνε πολεμίων σφίσθην οὐκ ἐστὶν

μακρὰν ἐστὶν τῷ Ῥωμαίοις ἀφίξεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἤκουσαν, κατωρρώθησαν τε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι διηποροῦντο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ξυνέβη πονήρως τῷ Καβάδη νοσήσαι τό σῶμα, καὶ Περσῶν ἐν τῶν 1 οἱ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδειοτάτων 2 καλέσας, Μεβόδην ὄνομα, ἐκοινολογεῖτο ἀμφί τε τῷ Χοσρόῃ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ, δεδιέναι τῷ Πέρσαις ἔφασκε μὴ τι τῶν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἀλογηθῆναι ἐν σπουδῇ ἤξονι

ὁ δὲ οἱ τῆς γυνῆς τὴν ἐκλεισεν ἐν γράμμασὶν ἀπολιπεῖν ἤξιον, θαρσοῦντα ὡς οὐ μὴ τοτε

αὐτὴν ὑπεριδεῖν τομήσωσι Πέρσαι. Καβάδης μὲν οὐν ἀντίκροις διετίθετο βασιλεὰ Χοσρόην Πέρσας καθίστασθαι. το δὲ γράμμα οἱ Μεβόδης αὐτὸς ἔγραφε, καὶ ο Καβάδης αὐτίκα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἴππαι ἤφανεν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ νόμιμα πάντα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ταφῆ ἐγεγόνει, ο μὲν Κάοσης

1 τῶν Haury : τῶν MSS.
2 ἐπιτηθειοτάτων Haury : επιτηθειοτάτων MSS.

198
Romans, and unite with the Persian army. When the emperor heard this, having already a proof of the man's truthfulness to him, he presented him with a handsome sum of money and persuaded him to go to the Persian army which was besieging the Martyropolitans, and announce to the barbarians there that these Massagetae had been won over with money by the Roman emperor, and were about to come against them that very moment. The spy carried out these instructions, and coming to the army of the barbarians he announced to Chanaranges and the others that an army of Huns hostile to them would at no distant time come to the Romans. And when they heard this, they were seized with terror, and were at a loss how to deal with the situation.

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

τῶν νόμων θαρσῶν ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ὁ δὲ Μεσβόδης ἐκώλυτε, φάσκων οὐδένα χρῆμα αὐτόματον ἐσ τὴν βασιλείαν ἴναι, ἄλλα ψήφφο

21 Περσῶν τῶν λογίμων. καὶ δὲ ἔπετρεπε ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὴν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος γνῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἐνθέντε ἐσεσθαί οἱ ἐναντίωμα ὑποτοπάζων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντεῖ οἱ Περσῶν λόγιμοι ἐσ τοῦτο ἀγγερμένοι ἐκάθηντο, τὸ μὲν γράμμα τὸ Μεσβόδης ἀναλεξάμενος τῆν Καβάδου ἀμφὶ τῷ Χοσρόῃ ἐδήλου γνώμην, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῆς Καβάδου ἀρετῆς ἀπαντεῖ βασιλέα Πέρσαις αὐτίκα Χοσρόῃ ἀνεῖπον.

22 Οὔτω μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχεν. ἐν δὲ Μαρτυροπόλει Σίττας τε καὶ Ἐρμόγενης ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δειμαίνοντες, ἀμύνειν γὰρ κινδυνευόσῃ συναι ἐξήκον, ἔπεμψά οἰ τίνας ὡς τοὺς πολέμους, οὗ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες ἔλειπαν τοιάδε

23 "Δελήθατε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖ τῷ Περσῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πολιτείᾳ ἐκατέρα ἐμποδῶν οὐ δέον γινόμενοι. πρέσβεις γὰρ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐσταλμένοι ταῦτα πάρεσιν, ἐφ' ὃ παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα ἴνατε τα τε διάφορα διαλύσωσι καὶ τὰς σπονδάς πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσουται ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα ἐξαισθάμενοι τῆς Ὀρμαῖων γῆς εὐγηρείτε τοῖς πρέσβεις πράσσειν ἢ ἐκα-

24 τέρους εὐνοίσεων μέλλει. ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἐσμέν ὑπὲρ τοῦτων αὐτῶν καὶ ὅμηρος διδοῦσι ἄνδρας δοκίμως, ὡς δὴ ἔργον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐπιτελῇ ἐσταύ. " Ὀρμαῖων μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις τοι-26 αὐτὰ ἐθίπου. ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ ἄγγελος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκων, δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς τετελευ-

200
confident by reason of the law, tried to lay claim to the office, but Mebodes stood in his way, asserting that no one ought to assume the royal power by his own initiative but by vote of the Persian notables. So Caoses committed the decision in the matter to the magistrates, supposing that there would be no opposition to him from there. But when all the Persian notables had been gathered together for this purpose and were in session, Mebodes read the document and stated the purpose of Cabades regarding Chosroes, and all, calling to mind the virtue of Cabades, straightway declared Chosroes King of the Persians.

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

τηκέναι μὲν Καβάδην ἐσήγγελε, Χοσρόην δὲ τὸν Καβάδου βασιλέα καταστήναι Πέρσαις, 27 ταύτη τε τὰ πράγματα ἠφρήθαι σφίσι. καὶ ἂπ’ αὐτοῦ τούς Ῥωμαίους λόγους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἁμενοὶ ἤκουσαν, ἀτε καὶ τὴν Οὐννων ἔφοδον δείσαντες. Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν ἐν ὀμήρων λόγῳ εὐθὺς ἔδοσαν Μαρτίνων τε καὶ τῶν Σίττα δορυφόρων ἔνα, Σενέκιον ὄνομα. Πέρσαι δὲ διαλύσαντες τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθὺς ὑπον τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐπεισάντο. οἱ τε Οὐννοι οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον ἑσβαλόντες εἰς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίου, ἐπεὶ τὸν Περσῶν στρατὸν ἐνταῦθα οὐχ ἔδρον, δι’ ὅλιγον τὴν ἐπιδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι ἐπ’ οἰκου ἀπεκομὶςθησαν ἀπαντες.

XXII

1 Αὐτίκα δὲ καὶ Ὡρφύνος τε καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Θωμᾶς ὃς ξυν Ἐρμογένει πρεσβεύσωμεν ἥλθον, παρὰ τε Περσῶν τὸν βασιλέα πάντες
2 ἀφίκοντο ἐς ποταμόν Τίγρην. καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπειδὴ εἰδε, τοὺς ὀμήρους ἀφήκε. τιθασσεύντες δὲ Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγωγά τε πολλὰ ἔλεξαν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἥκιστα πρέσβεισ
3 πρέποντα. οἷς δὴ χειροῆθη ὁ Χοσρόης γενόμενος τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην πέρας οὐκ ἔχουσαν δέκα καὶ ἐκατον κεντηναρίων ὁμολογεί πρὸς αὐτοὺς θήσεθαι, ἐφ’ οὗ δὴ ὁ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων µηκέτι ἐν Δάρας τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς, ἀλλ’ ἐν Κωνσταντίνη τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον διαγένειο ήπερ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν εἶθιστο· φρούρια δὲ τὰ ἐν Λαξικῇ

202
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxi. 26–xxii. 3

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

XXII

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

οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν, καὶ περ αὐτὸς τὸ τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βώλον τὸ φρούριον δικαιῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαιοῖ οἱ μαίνων ἀπολαβεῖν. Ἐκεῖ δὲ λίτρας τὸ κεντηνάριον ἐκατόν, ἀν' όυ δὲ καὶ ὄνομασται. κέντων γαρ τὰ ἐκατόν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαιοὶ. τοῦτο δὲ οἱ δίδοσθαι τὸ χρυσίον ἡξίου, ὡς μήτε πόλιν Δάρας Ῥωμαιοὶ καθελεῖν ἀναγκάζωνται μήτε φυλακτηρίῳ τοῦ ἐν πύλαις Κασπιάς μεταλαχεῖν Πέρσαις. οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπῆνυν, τὰ δὲ φρούρια ἐνδιδόναι οὐκ ἔφασκον οἷοί τε εἶναι, ἡν μὴ βασιλείως ἀμφὶ αὐτοῖς πῦθωνται πρῶτορον. ἔδοξε τοίς Ρουφίνῳ μὲν ύπὲρ τούτων ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλεσθαι, τους δὲ ἄλλους, ἐως αὐτὸς ἐπανεῖ, μένεις, καὶ χρόνος ἡμερῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα Ρουφίνῳ

8 ξυνέκειτο ἐς τὴν ἄφιξιν. ἔπει δὲ οὗ Ρουφίνος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος βασιλεῖ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅσα Χοσρόη ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ δοκοῦντα εἶνη, ἐκέλευσε βασιλεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα σφίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ξυνιστασθαι.

9 Ἥλλ' ἐν τούτῳ φήμη τούτης οὐκ ἄλλης ἦκουσα ἐς τὰ Περσαῖ ήθη βασιλεᾶ Ἰουστινιανῦ ἡγεμόνος ὁργισθέντα Ρουφίνῳ κτείναι. οἷς δὲ Χοσρόης ξυνταραχθεῖς τε καὶ θυμῷ πολλῷ ἡθὴ ἐχόμενος τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαιοὺς ἤει. Ρουφίνος δὲ οἱ μεταξὶ ἐπανήκου ἐνέτυχε πόλεως Νισίβιδος

10 οὗ μακρὰν ἀποθετεν. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ τε ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ἐγένοντο καὶ, ἔπει τὴν εἰρήνην βεβαιοῦν ἐμελλόν, τὰ χρήματα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐνταῦθα ἐκά- μεζον. ἰλλ' Ιουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Δαξίκης φρούρια ἔνηκεχωρηκότι μετέμειλεν ἡδη, γράμματα
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxii. 3–11

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. chap. xvi. 7.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

te ἀντικρος ἀπολέγοντα τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔγραφε
12 μηδαμῶς αὐτὰ προτεσθαὶ Πέρσαις. διὸ δὴ Χοσρόης
tὰς σπονδὰς θέσθαι οὐκέτι ἦξιον, καὶ τότε Ὄου-
φίνοι ἔννοια τις ἐγένετο ὡς ταχύτερα ἢ ἀσφαλέ-
στερα θουλευσάμενος ἐς γῆν τὴν Περσῶν τὰ
13 χρήματα ἐσκομίσειεν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος
καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, κείμενος τε προθῆς Χοσρόην
ικέτευε τὰ τε χρήματα σφίσι ἐξυμπέμψαι καὶ μὴ
ἐπὶ Ὀρμαῖον εὐθὺς στρατεύειν, ἀλλὰ ἐς χρόνον
14 τινὰ ἐτέρου τοῦ πόλεμου ἀποτίθεσθαι. Χοσρόης
dὲ αὐτῶν ἐνθένυ ἐκέλευεν ἐξανίστασθαι, ἀπαντά
οἱ ταύτα χαριεῖσθαι ὑποσχόμενοι. οἱ τε γοῦν
πρέσβεις ἔνν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐς Δάρας ἦλθον, καὶ
ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ὅπισώ ἀπῆλαυνε.
15 Καὶ τότε μὲν Ὅουφίνοι οἱ ἐξυμπρεσβευταὶ δι’
ὑποψίας τε αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἔσχον καὶ ἐς
βασιλέα διέβαλλον, τεκμαίρομενοι ὅτι δὴ οἱ
ἀπαντὰ ὁ Χοσρόης ὅσα ἔχρηξεν αὐτοῦ ἀναπει-
16 σθεὶς ἐνεκέρχησεν. ἔδρασε μεντοι αὐτῶν διὰ
ταύτα βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἄχαρι. χρόνῳ δὲ οὗ πολλῷ
ὑπερο Ὅουφίνος τε αὐτῶς καὶ Ἑρμογένης αὕθης
παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐστέλλοντο, ἐς τε τὰς σπονδὰς
αὐτίκα ἄλληλοις ἐννέβησαν, ἐφ’ ὅ ἐκάτεροι ἀπο-
δῶσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἀμφότεροι χωριὰ ἐν τῷ ἐν
τῶν πολέμῳ ἄλληλοις ἀφεῖλσαν, καὶ μηκέτι στρα-
τιωτῶν τις ἄρχῃ ἐν Δάρας εἰς τοῖς τε Ἰβηρσια
ἐδεδοκτο ἐν γνώμῃ ἐναι ἢ μένειν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βυ-
ζαντίῳ, ἢ ἐς σφῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐπανεῖναι. ἦσαν
dὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ μένοντες καὶ οἱ ἔπαινοντες ἐς
206
holds of Lazica, and he wrote a letter to the ambassadors expressly commanding them by no means to hand them over to the Persians. For this reason Chosroes no longer saw fit to make the treaty; and then it came to the mind of Rufinus that he had counselled more speedily than safely in bringing the money into the land of Persia. Straightway, therefore, he threw himself on the earth, and lying prone he entreated Chosroes to send the money back with them and not march immediately against the Romans, but to put off the war to some other time. And Chosroes bade him rise from the ground, promising that he would grant all these things. So the ambassadors with the money came to Daras and the Persian army marched back.

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

17 tā πάτρια ἡθ. οὕτω τοῖςν τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλομέμενην εἰρήνην ἐσπείσαντο, ἐκτον ἡθ ἔτος 18 τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἔχοντος. καὶ Ῥωμαίοις μὲν τὸ τε Φαράγγιον καὶ Βόλου τὸ φρούριον ἔχον τοῖς χρῆμασι Πέρσαις ἔδοσαν, Πέρσαι δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ Δαξικῆς φρούρια. καὶ Δάγαριν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέδοσαν Πέρσαις, ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔτερον 19 κεκομισμένοι οὐκ ἀφανῇ ἄνθρα. οὕτος ὁ Δάγαρις χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις Οὐννοις ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβεβληκότας μάχαις νικήσας ἐξῆλεσεν. ἦν γὰρ διαφερόντως ἁγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἄλληλους σπουδᾶς τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἁμφότεροι ἑκρατύναντο.

XXIII

1 Εὕθης δὲ βασιλεὶ ἐκατέρῳ ἐπιβουλήν γενέσθαι ξυνηγέχθη πρὸς τῶν ὑπηκόων. οὕτως μὲν τρόπον αὐτίκα δηλώσω. Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου ἀτακτός τε ἡ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων 2 ἐραστής ἀτοπος. διὸ δὴ αὐτός τε αἰε ἐμπλεως ταραχῆς τε καὶ θροβύνων ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν ῥημάτων 3 τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασίν αἰτιώτατος. ἀρχήμενοι οὖν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἁρχῇ δοσι ἐν Πέρσαις δραστήριοι ἦσαν, ἔτερον σφίσει βασιλεία καταστήσασθαι ἐκ τῆς Κα- 4 βάδου οἰκίας ἐν βουλή εἰχον. καὶ (ἡν γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολύς τις πόθος τῆς Ζάμου ἁρχῆς ἤν δὴ ὁ νόμος αἰτία τῆς τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ λάβης, ὡσπερ μοι ἔρ- ρηθη, ἐκώλυτε) λογισάμενοι πορίσκου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον εἶναι Καβάδην μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ

1 φροφία GPH: χωρία V. 2 ἁρχῇ VP: ταραχῇ G.

208
homes. Thus, then, they concluded the so-called "endless peace," when the Emperor Justinian was already in the sixth year of his reign. And the Romans gave the Persians Pharangium and the fortress of Bolum together with the money, and the Persians gave the Romans the strongholds of Lazica. The Persians also returned Dagaris to the Romans, and received in return for him another man of no mean station. This Dagaris in later times often conquered the Huns in battle when they had invaded the land of the Romans, and drove them out; for he was an exceptionally able warrior. Thus both sides in the manner described made secure the treaty between them.

XXIII

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

τῷ πάππῳ ὁμώνυμων ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστήσασθαι.\(^1\) Ζάμην δὲ, ἀτε τῷ παιδὶ ἐπιτροπὸν ὄντα, διοικεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ βουλευτοῦ τὰ Περσῶν πράγματα.

5 γεγομένοι τε παρὰ τὸν Ζάμην τῷ τε βουλευμα έξηνεγκαί καὶ προθυμία πολλή ἐγκελευόμενοι ἐς τὴν πράξεων ἐνήγουν. καὶ ἐπεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα η βουλὴ ἤρεσκεν, ἐς καιρὸν τῷ Χοσρῷ ἐπιθῆσεσθαι διενοθύντο. ἐκπυστος δὲ ἡ βουλὴ μέχρι ἐς τὸν βασιλέα

6 γεγενημένη τὰ πρασσόμενα διεκόλυπσε. Ζάμην τε γὰρ αὐτὸν Ἵχοσρός καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Ζάμου ἀδελφοὺς ἀπαντας ἔσω γόνῳ παντὶ ἀρσεν ἐκείνε, καὶ Περσῶν τῶν δοκίμων ὅσοι τῶν ἐτί αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων ἡ ἀρξαὶ ἡ μεταλαχεῖν τρόπῳ δὴ ὁτι πετύχχενεν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἄσπεβέδης ἤν ὁ τῆς Χοσρόου μητρὸς ἀδελφός.

7 Καβάδην μέντοι τὸν Ζάμου νῦν αὐτὸς μὲν κτείνειν οὐδαμῇ εἴρενε. ἐτὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ χαναράγγη τῷ Ἀδεργουδουββάδῃ ἐκρέφητο. αὐτῷ δὲ χαναράγγη τὸν παῖδα τούτον ὄντερ ἔθρεψατο ἐπέστελλε διαχρήσασθαι. οὐτε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστεῖν εὐκαίριον

8 οὔτε ἄλλως αὐτὸν βιάζεσθαι εἴρενε. ὃ μὲν οὖν χαναράγγης, ἐπεὶ τάς Χοσρόου εὐτολὰς ἦκουσε, περιαλγῆςας τε καὶ ἀποκλαύσας τὴν συμφορὰν ἐκοινολογεῖτο τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Καβάδου τίτηθ’ ὡσ εἰ ὁ βασιλεύς ἐπιστείλειε. δακρύσασα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τῶν γονάτων τοῦ ἄνδρος λαβομένη, ἔχρηζε

9 τέχνη μηδεμα Καβάδην κτείνα. Βουλευσάμενοι οὖν ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐλογίσαντο κρυπτόμενον μὲν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὸν παῖδα ἐκτρέφειν, τῷ δὲ Χοσρῷ κατὰ τάχος σημῆναι ὡς ὁ ὁ Καβάδης ἔξ

10 ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιρεθεὶ. καὶ τῷ τε βασιλείς κατὰ

---

\(^1\) καταστήσασθαι Wahler : καταστήσεσθαι MSS.

210
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxiii. 4–10

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

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

taûta ēsήμαινον τὸν τε Καβάδην οὕτως ἀπέκρυ-
ψαν ὅστε τούτοις παρείχοντο οὐδενὶ αἰσθήσιν, ὁ-
τι μὴ Ὀναρράμη τε τῷ σφέτερῳ παίδι καὶ τῶν
οἰκετῶν ἐνί, δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς πιστότατος ἐς τὰ μὰ-
λιστα ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι. ἔπει δὲ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου
ἐς ἡλικίαν ὁ Καβάδης ἦλθε, δείσας ὁ χαναράγγης
μὴ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐς φῶς ἄγοιτο, χρήματά τε τῷ
Καβάδῃ ἐδίδου καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐκέλευ
διασώζεσθαι ὅτι οἱ φεύγοντι δυνατὰ εἶν. τὸτε
μὲν οὖν Χοσρόην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας
ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένος ὁ χαναράγγης ἐλάνθανε.

12 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης ἐς γῆν τὴν
Κολχίδα στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλλεν, ὡς μοι ἐν
13 τοῖς ὅπισθεν λόγοις γεγραφέται. ἐиπετο δὲ αὐτῷ
ὁ τούτοις δή τοῦ χαναράγγου νῦς Ὀναρράμης,
ἄλλους τε τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπαγόμενοι καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ
τὰ ἐς τὸν Καβάδην ἐυνεπιστάμενος ἐτυχεν
ἐνταῦθα τῷ βασίλει Οὐαρράμης τὰ ἀμφὶ τῷ
Καβάδῃ ἀπαντα ἐφραξε, καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην ἐφ.

14 ἀπασίν οἱ ὁμολογοῦντα παρείχετο. ταῦτα ἔπει τὸ
Χοσρόης ἔγνω, τῷ τε θυμῷ ἤδη ὑπερφυῶς εἰχετο
καὶ δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο εἰ πρὸς δούλου ἄνδρος τοιαῦτα
ἔργα πεποιθῶς εἶν, οὐκ ἔχων τε ὅπως οἱ ὑποχεί-

15 ριον τὸν ἄνδρα ποιοίς, ἐπενόει τάδε. ἤνικα ἐκ γῆς
τῆς Κολχίδος ἐπ’ οίκου ἀναχωρεῖν ἐμελλε, γρά-

φεῖ τῷ χαναράγγῃ τοῦτῳ ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ βεβουλευ-

μένα εἰ ἡ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἐσβάλλειν, οὐκ ἐν μὰ μέντοι τῆς χώρας εἰσόδῳ,
ἀλλὰ δίχα ποιησάμενο τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα,
sent word to the king to this effect, and concealed Cabades in such a way that the affair did not come to the notice of any one, except Varrames, their own child, and one of the servants who seemed to them to be in every way most trustworthy. But when, as time went on, Cabades came of age, the chanaranges began to fear lest what had been done should be brought to light; he therefore gave Cabades money and bade him depart and save himself by flight wherever he could. At that time, then, Chosroes and all the others were in ignorance of the fact that the chanaranges had carried this thing through.

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

1 Cf. Book II. xvii.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

δι' ως οἱ ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου
16 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἦσται. μὴ μὲν σὺν
tῆς στρατιῶς μοὴρα ἐστὶν τὴν πολεμίαν αὐτού, ὡς τὸ
eἰκός, ἐξέγγυσθαι, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνδιδόναι τῶν
αὐτοῦ δούλων ἵσα τῷ βασίλει ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ
tιμῇ ἔχειν, ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ χαναράγγη τῆς ἀρετῆς
17 ἐνεκα. δεῦν τῶν αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ
κατὰ τάχος οἱ ἐσ ὧν ἔλθειν, ὅπως αὐτῷ κοινο-
λογισμένος ἀπαντᾷ ἐπιστέλλοι ὁ σα ἐννοίσειν
tῇ στρατιά μέλλοι, τοὺς δὲ ἔσω αὐτῷ ὅπισθε
18 κελεύειν ὅδοι ἓναι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ὁ χαναράγγης
ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδε, περικαρθὶς γεγονός τῇ ἔ
αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμή μακράν τε ἀπολειμμ
μένος τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν, αὐτίκα τὰ ἐνταλμένα
19 ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὅδῃ ταύτῃ ἀντέχειν τῷ
πόνῳ οὐδαμὴ ἔχον (ὡ ἃρ τοῖς γέρων ὁ ἄνηρ
μάλιστα) τῶν τε χαλινῶν μεθείς τοῦ ἱππὸν
ἐκπίπτει καὶ οἱ τὸ ἐν τῷ σκέλει ὁστέον ἔρράγη.
διὸ δὴ αὐτῷ ἐπάναγκε ηο ἐνταύθα θεραπευομένω
ὅσυχῃ μένειν, ὅσ τὸ χωρίον τούτῳ τῷ βασίλει
20 ἦκοντι ὃ ων ἦλθε. καὶ αὐτῷ Χοσρός ἔφασκε
εὐστρατεύσειν σφίσιν οὕτως ἔχοντι τοῦ ποδὸς
ἀδύνατα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χρήναι αὐτὸν ἐσ τῶν
ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων ἑώτα τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἱα-
21 τῶν ἐπιμελείας ἐνταύθα τυχεῖν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ
Χοσρός τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν ἀνθρώπων
ἀπεπέμψατο, καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ ὅπισθεν ἐπιστεύ
οὐτερ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἀπολεῖν ἔμελλον,
ἀνδρα ἐν Πέρσαις ἀρτητοῦ στρατηγὸν ὅντα τε
καὶ λεγόμενον, ὅπερ ἐπὶ δώδεκα ἐβηνο βαρβάρων

1 ἀποπορείᾳ Ρ : ἀποτορα Β, ἀποτορα Α, cf. II. x. 24.

214
attack might be made upon the enemy on both sides of the River Euphrates. Now one division of the army he himself, as was natural, would lead into the hostile land, while to no one else of his subjects would he grant the privilege of holding equal honour with the king in this matter, except to the chanaranges himself on account of his valour. It was necessary, therefore, that the chanaranges should come speedily to meet him as he returned, in order that he might confer with him and give him all the directions which would be of advantage to the army, and that he should bid his attendants travel behind him on the road. When the chanaranges received this message, he was overjoyed at the honour shown him by the king, and in complete ignorance of his own evil plight, he immediately carried out the instructions. But in the course of this journey, since he was quite unable to sustain the toil of it (for he was a very old man), he relaxed his hold on the reins and fell off his horse, breaking the bone in his leg. It was therefore necessary for him to remain there quietly and be cared for, and the king came to that place and saw him. And Chosroes said to him that with his leg in such a plight it was not possible that he make the expedition with them, but that he must go to one of the fortresses in that region and receive treatment there from the physicians. Thus then Chosroes sent the man away on the road to death, and behind him followed the very men who were to destroy him in the fortress,—a man who was in fact as well as in name an invincible general among the Persians, who had marched against twelve nations of barbarians.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

...appaντα Καβάδη βασιλεία παρεστή-
22 σατο. τού δὲ Αδεργουδουνβαδον εξ άνθρωπων
άφανισθέντος, Ουαρράμης ο παϊς το τού χαναράγ-
23 γου ἀξίωμα ἐσχε. χρόνω δὲ ού πολλῷ ὑπερθερ
εἶτε Καβάδης αὐτός, ὁ τοῦ Ζάμου νῦσ, εἶτε τις
άλλος ἐπιβατέων τού Καβάδου ὁνόματος ἐς Βυζάντιων ἦλθε. Καβάδη μέντοι βασιλεί τήν
24 ὄχιν ἐμφερέστατος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς
βασιλεὺς ἀμφιγνωσίοι μέν, ἀτε δὴ Καβάδου
βασιλέως νιών, ἔξω φιλοφροσύνη πολλῇ ἐν
τιμῇ ἐσχε. τα μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Πέρσας τοὺς Χοσρόης
ἐπαναστάντας ἐγένετο ὅδε.
25 "Τετερον δὲ καὶ τὸν Μεβόδην ὁ Χοσρόης
διεχρήσατο εξ αἰτίας τοιάσδε. τῶν τι σπουδάϊων
διαχειρίζων, παρόντι τῷ Ζαβεργάνῃ ἐπέταττε
τοὺν Μεβόδην καλείν ἐπίγχανε δὲ τῷ Μεβόδῃ ὁ
Ζαβεργάνης διάφορος ὃν. δὲ δὴ παρ' αὐτὸν
ἀφικόμενος εὐρισκε μὲ στρατιώτας τοὺς αὐτῷ
ἐπομένους διέποντα, ἔλεγε δὲ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸν ὅς
28 τάχιστα ὁ βασιλεὺς καλοὶ, καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα
μᾶλα, ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἐν ποσὶ διάθηται, ἐφεσθαὶ
ὡμολογεί, ὅ δὲ τῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἔχει ήγεμόνοι ἀπήγ-
γελλε Χοσρόη ὃς οὐ βούλοιτο Μεβόδης ἐν τῷ
παρόντι ἤκειν, φάσκων οἳ τινα ἀσχολάν εἶναι.
27 θυμὸ τοίνυν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος, στείλας τῶν ῞οι
ἐπομένων τινὰ παρὰ τοῦ τρίποδα τοῦ Μεβόδην
ἐκέλευεν ἵναι. ὥ τι δὲ τούτῳ ἔστων, αὐτίκα
28 δηλώσω. τρίπος σιδήρος πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων
ἐσαει ἐστηκεν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν τις τῶν Περσῶν
πύθηται ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς χαλεπὼς ἔχοι,
τούτῳ δὲ ὅτι η ἐς ἱερὸν καταφυγεῖν θέμις οὔτε

1 δὲ MSS.: Haury suggests ὅ, Christ brackets.

216
and subjected them all to King Cabades. After Adergoudounbades had been removed from the world, Varrames, his son, received the office of chanaranges. Not long after this either Cabades himself, the son of Zames, or someone else who was assuming the name of Cabades came to Byzantium; certainly he resembled very closely in appearance Cabades, the king. And the Emperor Justinian, though in doubt concerning him, received him with great friendliness and honoured him as the grandson of Cabades. So then fared the Persians who rose against Chosroes.

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

ἀλληλοκαίρεις ἱέναι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τούτων καθημένῳ τῶν τριτῶν τὴν βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι ψήφου, τῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν ἀξιούντος.

29 ἐνταῦθα ὁ Μεθόδης ἐν σχῆματι οἰκτρῷ ἐκάθετο ἡμέρας πολλάς, ἐφ᾽ ὅς τις αὐτὸν Χοσρόου ἐπαγγείλατος λαβῶν ἐκείνεν. ἐς τούτο τε αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ἐς Χοσρόην ἐνεργείας ἐχώρησεν.

XXIV

1 Τπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Βυζαντίῳ στάσις τῷ δήμῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἐνέπεσεν, ἡ μεγίστη τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐγένετο καὶ ἐς κακῶν μέγα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἠτελεύτησε τρόπῳ.

2 τοῦδε. οἱ δὲ γάρ ἐν πόλει ἐκάστῃ ἐς τε Βενέτους ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ Πρασίνους διήρηντο, οὐ πολὺς δὲ χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τούτων τε τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν βαθρῶν ἐνεκα οἷς δὴ θεώμενοι ἐφεστήκασι, τὰ τε χρήματα δαπανώσι καὶ τὰ σώματα αἰκισμοῖς πικροτάτοις προερχομενοι καὶ θυνήσκειν οὐκ ἀπα-

3 εἰοῦσι θανάτῳ αἰσχίστῳ. μάχονται δὲ πρὸς τούς ἀντικαθισταμένους, οὔτε εἰδότες ὅτου αὐτοὺς ἐνεκα ὁ κύνδυνος ἔστιν, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τε ὅς, ἢν καὶ περιέσωσιν τῶν δυσμενῶν τῇ μάχῃ, λειλαψεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαχθήναι μὲν αὐτίκα ἐς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, αἰκισμοῖς ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα εἶτα ἀπολω-

4 λέναι. φύει τε μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐς τοὺς πέλας ἔχθος αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχον, μένει δὲ ἀτελεύτητον ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰώνα, οὔτε κῇ ὁ δὲ ἐνεργείας οὔτε
sanctuary nor to go elsewhere, but he must seat himself by this tripod and await the verdict of the king, while no one at all dares protect him. There Mebodes sat in pitiable plight for many days, until he was seized and put to death at the command of Chosroes. Such was the final outcome of his good deeds to Chosroes.

XXIV

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

φιλίας θεσμῷ εἶκον, ὡς καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἡ ἄλλο τι
toioûton oî ès tà χρώματα ταῦτα διάφοροι εἶν.
5 μέλει τε αὐτοῖς οὔτε θείων οὔτε ἀνθρωπείας
πραγμάτων παρὰ τὸ ἐν τούτοις νικᾶν, ἡν τε 
ἀσέβημα ἐσ τὸν θεόν υφ’ ὅτουν ἀμαρτάνει 
ην τε οἱ νόμοι καὶ ἡ πολιτεία πρὸς τῶν οἰκείων
ἡ τῶν πολεμίων βιάζωνται, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτη-
δείων σπανίζοντες ἵσως καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαστάτους
ἀδικουμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ προσποι-
οῦνται, ἵνα γε αὐτοῖς κείσθαι τὸ μέρος ἐν καλῷ
μέλλῃ οὖτω γὰρ τοὺς συστασιῶτας καλοῦσι.
6 μεταλαγαχάνουσι δὲ τοῦ ἄγους τούτοις καὶ γυναίκες
αὐτοῖς, οὐ τῶν ἀνδρόσιν ἐπομένα μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τούτοις, ἀν οὔτω τύχοι, ἀντιστατοῦσαι,
καὶ περ οὔτε εἰσ τὰ θέατρα τὸ παράπαν ἵνα 
τοῦ ἄλλῳ αὐτῷ ἠγομένῳ· ὡστε οὖκ ἔχω ἄλλο
τι ἔγωγε τοῦτο εἴπειν ἢ ψυχής νόσημα.
7 τάυτα μὲν οὖν ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ δήμῳ ἐκάστῳ ὧδὲ
πη ἔχει.

7 ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, τῶν στασιωτῶν τινας τὴν ἐπὶ 
θανάτῳ ἀπήγε. 
ξυμφοροῦσαντες δὲ καὶ σπεισάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους ἐκάτεροι τοὺς τε ἁγομένους ἀρπάζουσιν καὶ
ἢ τὸ δεσμωτήριον αὐτίκα ἐσβάντες ἀφιάσιν
ἀπανταὶ ὧς καὶ στάσεως ἢ ἐτέρου τοῦ ἀλόντες
8 ἀποτήματος ἐδέδεντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν υπηρέται, ὡσι
τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχῇ ἐπονται, ἐκτείνοντο οὐδενὶ
λόγῳ, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν εἰ τι καθαρὸν ἦν ἐς τὴν
220
place neither to the ties of marriage nor of relationship nor of friendship, and the case is the same even though those who differ with respect to these colours be brothers or any other kin. They care neither for things divine nor human in comparison with conquering in these struggles; and it matters not whether a sacrilege is committed by anyone at all against God, or whether the laws and the constitution are violated by friend or by foe; nay even when they are perhaps ill supplied with the necessities of life, and when their fatherland is in the most pressing need and suffering unjustly, they pay no heed if only it is likely to go well with their "faction"; for so they name the bands of partisans. And even women join with them in this unholy strife, and they not only follow the men, but even resist them if opportunity offers, although they neither go to the public exhibitions at all, nor are they impelled by any other cause; so that I, for my part, am unable to call this anything except a disease of the soul. This, then, is pretty well how matters stand among the people of each and every city.

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

ἀντιπέρας ἦπειρον ἐφευγον, καὶ τῇ πόλει πῦρ

9 ἐπεφέρετο, ὡς δὴ ὑπὸ πολεμίους γεγενημένη. καὶ
tὸ ἱερὸν ἢ Σοφία τὸ τε βαλανεῖον ὁ Ζεύξιππος
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐλῆς τὰ ἐκ τῶν προπυλαίων
ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Ἀρεώς λεγόμενον οἶκον καυθέντα
ἐβήκα, ἐπὶ τούτων τε ἄμφοτεραι μεγάλαι στοιχέια
μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνήκουσαι ἢ Κωνσταντῖνον
ἐπώνυμος ἔστω, εὐδαιμόνων τε ἀνθρώπων οἰκίαι

10 πολλαὶ καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα. βασιλεῖς δὲ καὶ ἢ
συνοικοῦσα καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ βουλής ἐνιοῖ καθείρ-
ξαντες σφῶς αὐτοὺς ἐν παλατίῳ ἡσύχαζον. ἔμ-
βολον δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν οἱ δῆμοι τὸ νίκα,
καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ δὲ του χρόνου ἡ κατάστασις
ἐκείνων προσαναγρεῖται.

11 Τότε τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς ἐπαρχος Ἰωάννης ἢ τὸ
Καππαδόκης, Τριθοιμιανὸς δὲ, Πάμφυλος γένος,
βασίλει πάρεδρος κοινότητα τοῦτον καλοῦσι

12 Ἀριωνίνοι. τοῦτων ἀτέρος, Ἰωάννης, λόγων μὲν
tῶν ἐλευθερίων καὶ παιδεῖς ἀνήκουσιν. οὐ γὰρ
ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν ἐς γραμματιστῶν φοιτῶν ἔμαθεν, ὅτι
μὴ γράμματα, καὶ ταύτα κακὰ κακῶς [γράψαι].

13 ἡμεῖς ἵσμεν. γνῶναι τε γὰρ τὰ δέοντα ἰκανῶ-
tatos ἢ καὶ λύσιν τοὺς ἀπόρους εὐρεῖν. πονηρό-
tatos δὲ γεγονός ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τῇ τῆς

189.
sane-minded were fleeing to the opposite mainland, and fire was applied to the city as if it had fallen under the hand of an enemy. The sanctuary of Sophia and the baths of Zeuxippus, and the portion of the imperial residence from the propylaea as far as the so-called House of Ares were destroyed by fire, and besides these both the great colonnades which extended as far as the market place which bears the name of Constantine, in addition to many houses of wealthy men and a vast amount of treasure. During this time the emperor and his consort with a few members of the senate shut themselves up in the palace and remained quietly there. Now the watchword which the populace passed around to one another was Nika,¹ and the insurrection has been called by this name up to the present time.

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

¹ i.e. "Conquer."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

14 μελές ἦν. χρόνου γοῦν ὀλίγου χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλόμενος, ἐς κραιπάλην τινα ἐκκλησιάκες ὄρους οὐκ ἔχουσαν, ἀχρι μὲν ἐς τοῦ τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ληξόμενος τὰς τῶν ὑπηκόων οὐσίας, μέθη δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σώματος ἔργων ἀσελγέσιων ἁγιολεμένος· κατέχειν δὲ ἐαυτὸν οὕδαμὴ ἱσχύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τε βράμματα μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἕμετον ἴσθιε καὶ τὰ χρήματα κλέπτειν μὲν ἦν ἐς ἀεὶ έτοίμος, προτεσθαί δὲ καὶ δαπανᾶν ἐτοιμότερος. Ἰωάννης

16 μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτός τις ἦν. Τριβοθυνανός δὲ φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει ἐξρήτῳ καὶ παιδείας ἐς ἀκρόν ἀφικετο τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἱσσον, ἐς δὲ φιλοχρηματίαν δαιμονίως ἐστοῦδακός οἶδος τε ἦν κέρδους ἀεὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀποδίδοσθαι, τῶν τε νόμων ἥμερα ἐκ τοῦ ἔττι πλείστων ἑκάστη τοὺς μὲν ἀνήρι, τοὺς δὲ ἐγραφεν, ἀπεμπολοῦν τοῖς δεομένοις κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἑκάτερον.

17 "Εώς μὲν οὖν ὁ δήμος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς χράμασιν ὁνομάτων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἄλλην οὐδέποτε διέφερον, λόγος οὐδεὶς ἦν δὲν οὕτως ἐς τὴν πολεμεῖαν ἡμάρτανων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ξυμφορνήσαντες, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐς τὴν στάσιν κατέστησαν, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἄνα πάσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζων καὶ περιμόντες ἐξήτουν ἐφ' ὅ ἐκείνως. διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἔταιριζεσθαι τὸν δήμον ἐθέλων ἄμφω τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ παραντικὰ παρέλυσε. καὶ Φωκᾶν μὲν, ἀνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐπαρχὸν τῆς αὐλῆς κατεστήσατο, ἐνυπετότατον τε καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἰκανῶς πεφυκότα. Βασιλείδην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κοινότορος ἀρχὴν ἐχειν ἐκέλευεν, ἐκ τε ἐπιεικείας γνώριμον ἐν πατρικίοις ὁντα καὶ ἄλλως
constant concern. So within a short time indeed he had acquired vast sums of money, and he flung himself completely into the sordid life of a drunken scoundrel; for up to the time of lunch each day he would plunder the property of his subjects, and for the rest of the day occupy himself with drinking and with wanton deeds of lust. And he was utterly unable to control himself, for he ate food until he vomited, and he was always ready to steal money and more ready to bring it out and spend it. Such a man then was John. Tribunianus, on the other hand, both possessed natural ability and in educational attainments was inferior to none of his contemporaries; but he was extraordinarily fond of the pursuit of money and always ready to sell justice for gain; therefore every day, as a rule, he was repealing some laws and proposing others, selling off to those who requested it either favour according to their need.

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

19 δόκιμον. οὐδὲν μέντοι ἤσοσιν ἡ στάσις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἡκμαξὲ. πέμπτη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἡμέρα περὶ δείλην ὁφίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰππατίφ τε καὶ Πομπηίῳ τοῖς Ἀναστασίον τοῦ βεβαιο-λευκότος ἀδελφίδος οἶκας ὡς τάχιστα ἐπέ-σκηπτεν ἑναὶ, εἴτε τι νεώτερον πράσσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἢ ὅφημα τὸ οἰκεῖον ὕποτοπῆςας εἴτε καὶ
20 αὐτοὺς ἡ πεπρωμένη ἐς τούτο ἡγεν. οἳ δὲ, ὅτερ ἐγένετο, δείσαντες μὴ σφᾶς ὁ δῆμος ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν βιάζοιτο, ἐφασαν οὐ δίκαια ποιήσειν εἰ σφῶν τὸν βασιλέα παρήσουσιν ἢ τοσοῦτε
21 κίνδυνον ἡκοντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐτί μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτίκα μάλα ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάσσε-σθαι. οὐτω γοῦν οἰκαδε τῷ ἄνδρε τοῦτω ἐκομι-ζέσθην καὶ, τέως μὲ νῦ ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, ἐν-ταῦθα ἡσυχαζέτην.
22 Τῇ δὲ ύστεραιᾷ ἄμα ἡλίῳ ἀνύσχοντι ἐκπυθτα ἐς τὸν δήμου ἐγένετο ὡς ἀμφότερο ἀπελλαγήτην τῆς ἐν παλατίῳ διατριβῆς. ἔτρεχον οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λεως ἄπας, βασιλέα τε Ἰππατίον ἀνη-γόρενον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς παραληψόμενον τὰ πράγ-23 ματα ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἡγον. ή δὲ Ἰππατίου γυνὴ Μαρία, ἐνυπετή τε οὕσα καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη μεγίστην ἔχουσα, εἴχετο μὲν τοῦ ἄνδρος καὶ οὐ μεθίε, ἐβόα δὲ ὀλολυγῆ τε χρωμένῃ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις ἀπασί ἐγκελευομένη, ὡς αὐτῶν τὴν
24 ἐπὶ θανάτῳ οἱ δῆμοι ἄγοιεν. ὑπερβιαζομένου μέντοι τοῦ ὀμέλου, αὐτῇ τε οὐχ ἐκούσα μεθήκε τῶν ἄνδρα καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ λεως οὕτω ἐκούσιον ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἀγορὰν ἡκοντα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν

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

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

ἐκάλουν, καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς οὔτε διάδημα οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἃν δὴ βασιλέα περιβάλλεσθαι νόμος) στρεπτὸν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ θέμενοι

25 βασιλέα Ρωμαίων ἀνείπου. ἡδὲ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ βουλῆς ξυμιότων, ὅσοι οὐκ ἀπολειφθέντες ἐτύγχανον ἐν τῇ βασιλέῳ αὐλῇ, πολλάκις μὲν ἐλέγουσιν γνώμαι ἃς αὐτοῖς ἰτέον ἀγωνιουμένοις ἐς παλάτιον. Ὑμηρέως δὲ, ἀνήρ ἐκ βουλῆς, παρελθὼν ἔλεξε τοιαδήν "Τὰ μὲν παρόντα ἥμι, ὃ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαίοι, πράγματα μὴ οὐκὶ πολέμῳ διακριθῆναι οὐχ οἴνον τε. πόλεμος 1 δὲ καὶ βασιλεία 2 τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἄνθρωποις ἀπάντων ἀμολογηται εἶναι.

27 τῶν δὲ δὴ πράξεων αὐτοῦ μεγάλα οὐ βραχύτητι καρποῦ καταρθοῦσα θέλουσιν, ἀλλ' εὐθυλία τε λογισμῶν καὶ πόνους σωμάτων, ἀπερ ἄνθρωποί ἐστιν ἡμῶν μήκος ἐνδείκνυται. ἤν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμον 3 οἰμεὺν, ἔπι ἕτερον μὲν ἀκμῆς τὰ πράγματα ἥμιν στήσεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἐν βραχεὶς διακινδυνεύσωμεν χρόνῳ, τῶν δὲ ἀποβήσεσθαι μελλόντων ἐνεκα τὴν τύχην ἡ προσκυνήσομεν ἡ μεμψόμεθα πάντως. τὰ γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων δεύτερα ἐς τὸ τῆς τύχης ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περισταται κράτος. ἤν δὲ σχολαίτερον τὰ παρόντα διοικησόμεθα, οὐδὲ βουλομένους παρέσται ἡμῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐν παλατίῳ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄγαπῆσιν ὅσοι τάχυστα ἡ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐφή 30 φυγεῖν. ἀρχή γὰρ περιορωμένη καταρρεῖν εἰσθαι, ἀπολήγουσις αὐτὴ τῆς ἱσχύος ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. ἢστι τοίνυν ἡμῖν βασιλεία ἐτερα, Πλακιλλιαναὶ τε καὶ τὰ Ἑλένης ἐπώνυμα, ὅθεν χρὴ βασιλεά

1 πόλεμος P: πόλεμον VG. 2 βασιλεία P: βασιλείαν VG. 3 πολέμον GP: πόλεμον V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxiv. 24–30

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

tόνδε ὀρμώμενον τόν τε πόλεμον διενεχεῖν καὶ 31 τὰ ἄλλα διουκήσασθαι ἢ ἁμεινον ἔξει. Ὄργανης μὲν τοσαίτα εἴπεν. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὁμιλοῖ ποιεῖν, ἄξιτερόν τε ἀντελαμβάνοντο καὶ τὸ παραυτικὸ ὄντο ξύμφορον εἶναι, καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστά γε Ἰπάτιος (χρὴν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τῆς ἔπτι τῶν ἱππόδρομων ὁδοῦ ἐκέλευεν ἡγεῖσθαι. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐξεπίτηδες αὐτὸν ἐνταῦθα ἤκειν, βασιλεῖ εὐνοικῶς ἔχοντα.

32 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἐν βουλῇ ᾦσαν, πότερα μένουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ ταῖς ναυσίν ἢ φυγὴν τρεπομένοις ἁμεινον ἐσταὶ. καὶ λόγοι μὲν πολλοὶ 33 ἐλέγουσον ἢ ἐκάτερα φέροντες. καὶ Θεοδώρα δὲ ἡ βασίλισσα ἔλεξε τοιάδε “Τὸ μὲν γυναικά ἐν ἀνδράσι μὴ χρήναι τολμᾶν ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκούσι νεανικεῖσθαι, τὸν παρόντα οἶμαι καὶρὸν ἥκιστα ἐφείναι διασκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε ἄλλῃ πῃ 34 νομιστέον. οἶς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα ἢ κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον ἤκει, οὐκ ἄλλο οὔδεν εἶναι δοκεῖ 35 ἀριστοῦ ἢ τὰ ἐν ποσίν ὡς ἀριστα θέσθαι. ἤγοιμαι δὲ τὴν φυγὴν ἐγώγη, εἴπερ ποτέ, καὶ νῦν, ἢν καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπάγηται, ἄξιμφορον εἶναι. ἀνθρώπῳ μὲν γὰρ ἐς φῶς ἢκοντε τὸ μὴ οὗχι καὶ νεκρῷ γενέσθαι ἀδύνατον, τῷ δὲ βεβασιλευκότι 36 τὸ φυγάδε εἶναι οὐκ ἄνεκτόν. μὴ γὰρ ἄν γενοίμην τῆς ἀλουργίδος ταύτης χωρίς, μὴ ἂν τῇ ὡμέραν ἐκείνην βιώνῃ, εἰ ἡ μὲ δέσποιναν οἱ ἐντυχόντες οὐ προσερούσω. εἰ μὲν οὖν σώζεσθαι σοι βουλομένης ἐστίν, ὡ βασιλεῖ, οὔδεν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. 230
make his headquarters and from there he should carry on the war and attend to the ordering of all other matters in the best possible way." So spoke Origenes. But the rest, as a crowd is accustomed to do, insisted more excitedly and thought that the present moment was opportune, and not least of all Hypatius (for it was fated that evil should befall him) bade them lead the way to the hippodrome. But some say that he came there purposely, being well-disposed toward the emperor.

Now the emperor and his court were deliberating as to whether it would be better for them if they remained or if they took to flight in the ships. And many opinions were expressed favouring either course. And the Empress Theodora also spoke to the following effect: "As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way. For in the case of those whose interests have come into the greatest danger nothing else seems best except to settle the issue immediately before them in the best possible way. My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not also to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from this purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For
37 χρήματα <γάρ> 1 τε πολλά ἐστιν ἡμῖν, καὶ θάλασσα μὲν ἐκεῖνη, πλοία δὲ ταῦτα. σκόπει μέντοι 
μὴ διασωθέντι ξυμβῆσεται σοι ἡδίστα ἂν τῆς 
σωτηρίας τὸν θάνατον ἀνταλλάξασθαι. ἐμὲ γάρ 
τις καὶ παλαιὸς ἄρέσκει λόγος, ὥς καλὸν ἐντά 
φιον ἡ βασιλεία ἔστι.” τοσαῦτα τῆς βασιλίδος 
eπούσης, θάρσος τε τοῖς πᾶσιν 2 ἐπεγένετο καὶ 
ἐς ἀλήθειν τραπόμενοι ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιοῦντο ἡ ἃν 
ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατὸ γένοιτο, ἢν τις ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ 
39 πολεμήσων ὅιοι. οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιωταὶ 
ξύμπαντες, οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ ὅσιοι ἀμφὶ 
τὴν βασιλέως 
αὐλὴν ἔτεταχατο, οὗτος τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοίκως εἶχον 
οὗτο ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἐργον ἔχεσθαι ἤθελον, ἀλλὰ 
40 τὸ μέλλον ἐκαράδοκον ὅτι ἐκβῆσται. πᾶσιν 
δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐν Βελισαρίῳ τε καὶ Μοῦνδω 
ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν, ὅν ἄτερος μὲν, Βελισάριος, ἄρτι 
ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τὴν 
41 τὰς μελέτας πεποιημένον. Μοῦνδος δὲ, Ἱλλυ 
ρίων στρατηγὸς ἀποδεδυγμένος, τοῦτο 
ἐκ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ ἐπανήκων πολέμου τὴν 
θεραπείαν 
δυνατὴν τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν ἐπήγετο 
καὶ δορυφόρων τε εἶχε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν 
πλῆθος ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς τοῦ 
πολέμου κινδύνοις 
42 ὁ τπάτιος μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ εἰς τὸν ἰππόδρομον 
ἀφίκετο, ἀναβαίνει μὲν αὐτικὰ οὐ 
ὅτι βασιλεὰ 
καθίστασθαι νόμος, κάθηται δὲ 
ἐς τὸν βασιλείου 
θρόνον, ὅθεν ἂλτ 
βασιλεὺς εἰὼθε 
τὸν τε ἰππικῶν 
43 καὶ γυμνίκων 
θεᾶσθαι ἀγώνα. ἐκ δὲ παλατίου 
Μοῦνδος 
ἐν τῇ 
κυκλοτεροῦσ 
σύστε 
νομα 
51 <γάρ> Haury: om. MSS. 2 πᾶσιν GP: παροῦσιν V.
we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud.” When the queen had spoken thus, all were filled with boldness, and, turning their thoughts towards resistance, they began to consider how they might be able to defend themselves if any hostile force should come against them. Now the soldiers as a body, including those who were stationed about the emperor’s court, were neither well disposed to the emperor nor willing openly to take an active part in fighting, but were waiting for what the future would bring forth. All the hopes of the emperor were centred upon Belisarius and Mundus, of whom the former, Belisarius, had recently returned from the Persian war bringing with him a following which was both powerful and imposing, and in particular he had a great number of spearmen and guards who had received their training in battles and the perils of warfare. Mundus had been appointed general of the Illyrians, and by mere chance had happened to come under summons to Byzantium on some necessary errand, bringing with him Erulian barbarians.

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

44 Βελισάριος δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα εὔθυ αὐτοῦ τε Τπατίου καὶ θρόνου τοῦ βασιλείου ἀνέβαινεν, ώς δὲ ἐσ τὸ πλησίον οῖκημα ἤλθεν οὗ δὴ στρατιωτῶν φουρὰ ἐκ παλαιῶν ἑστών, ἔβα εἰς στρατιώταις ἐγκελευόμενος ἀνοιγόνυαι οἱ τὴν θύραν 45 ὡς τάχιστα ὅπως ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἐσ. δεδογμένων δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτατος μηδετέρῳ ἀμύνειν ἐως αὐτῶν ἄτερος λαμπρῶς νική, ώς ἡκιστα ἐπαθεῖν 46 δοκοῦντες διεκρούσαντο. ἀναστρέψας οὖν Βελισάριος ὡς βασιλέα, διεφθάρθαι ἱσχυριζότο φίεσι 47 τα πράγματα. νεωτέρικειν γὰρ ἐς αὐτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ τὴν παλατίων φουρὰν ἠχουσίν. ἐκέλευεν οὖν αὐτῶν βασιλεύος ἐπὶ τὴν καλουμένην 48 Χαλκήν καὶ τὰ ἐνταύθα προπύλαια ἱέναι. ὁ δὲ δὴ μόλις καὶ οὐτε κινδύνων οὔτε πόνων μεγάλων χωρίς δὴ ἐρειπίων τε καὶ χωρίων ἡμιφλέκτων 49 διεξιών εἰς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἀναβαινεῖ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τὴν Βενέτειον ἐγεγόνει στοάν, ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως θρόνου ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑστιν, ἐβούλευε μὲν ἐπὶ πρῶτον αὐτῶν Τπατίου ἱέναι, βραχείας δὲ οὖσας ἐνταύθα πυλῶν ἢ ἀπεκέκλειστό τε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑντὸς Τπατίου στρατιωτῶν ἐφυλάσσετο, καταφρόδισε μὴ οἱ ἐν στεφήνι πονουμένῳ ὁ δῆμος ξυνεπιθέμενος αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπεμένους ἀπαντάς διαφθείραντες ῥᾶς τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον ἐπὶ βασιλέα χωρή- 50 σωσί. λογισάμενος οὖν ὃς οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἵενι ἑστίν, οἱ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἐστήκεςαν, πληθεὶς τε ἄμετροι καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκοσμίας υπ’ ἀλλήλων ὠθούμενοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κολεοῦ τὸ ξέφος ἀράμενος τοῖς τοῖς τε ἀλλοις κατὰ ταύτα ποιεῖν

234
the name of the Snail. Belisarius meanwhile began at first to go straight up toward Hypatius himself and the royal throne, and when he came to the adjoining structure where there has been a guard of soldiers from of old, he cried out to the soldiers commanding them to open the door for him as quickly as possible, in order that he might go against the tyrant. But since the soldiers had decided to support neither side, until one of them should be manifestly victorious, they pretended not to hear at all and thus put him off. So Belisarius returned to the emperor and declared that the day was lost for them, for the soldiers who guarded the palace were rebelling against him. The emperor therefore commanded him to go to the so-called Bronze Gate and the propylaea there. So Belisarius, with difficulty and not without danger and great exertion, made his way over ground covered by ruins and half-burned buildings, and ascended to the stadium. And when he had reached the Blue Colonnade which is on the right of the emperor's throne, he purposed to go against Hypatius himself first; but since there was a small door there which had been closed and was guarded by the soldiers of Hypatius who were inside, he feared lest while he was struggling in the narrow space the populace should fall upon him, and after destroying both himself and all his followers, should proceed with less trouble and difficulty against the emperor. Concluding, therefore, that he must go against the populace who had taken their stand in the hippodrome—a vast multitude crowding each other in great disorder—he drew his sword from its sheath and, commanding the others to do likewise, with a
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐπαγγείλας, δρόμῳ τε καὶ κραυγῇ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἤει. 51 ὁ δὲ δήμος, ἀτε δὴ ἐν ὀμίλῳ καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει ἰστάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ στρατιώτας εἶδον τεθωρακισμένους τε καὶ δόξαν πολλὴν ἐπὶ τε ἀνδρίας καὶ πολέμων ἐμπερίᾳ ἔχοντας, καὶ τοὺς ξίφεων οὐδεματί θείδοι παίοντας, ἐς φυγήν 52 ὀρμηντῳ. κραυγῆς δὲ πολλῆς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γεγενήμενης, πλησίον που ἐστι Μοῦνδος καὶ Βουλόμενος ἄργου ἔχεσθαι (ἂν γάρ τις τολμήτης καὶ δραστήριος), ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἦ χρῆσται τοῖς παρούσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἐτεκμηριαὶ ὡς Βελσάριος ἐν τῷ πόνῳ εἶν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἰπποδρόμου διὰ τῆς 53 εἰσόδου ὃ Νεκρὰ καλεῖται εἰσβάλλει. τότε δὴ ἐκατέρωθεν οἱ Τπατίου στασιῶται κατὰ κράτος πλησιόμενοι διεφθείροντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ τροπὴ λαμπρὰ εγεγόνει καὶ φῶς ἦν ἡ ἡδῆς τοῦ δήμου πολύς, Βοραίδης τε καὶ Ἰούστος, Ἰουστινανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεψιοὶ, χείρας αὐτοῦς οὕδεσθαι ἀνταίρειν τολμῶντος, καθεῖλον τε ἁπὸ τοῦ βρόνου Τπάτιον καὶ αὐτῶν ἑσαγαγόντες βασιλεῖ ἀμα 54 Πομπηῖο παρέδωκαν. θυνάκουσί τε τοῦ δήμου πλέον ἢ προσμύριοι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτοῦς ἐν φυλακῇ χαλεπῇ ἐκέλευεν εἰναι. 55 ἐνταῦθα Πομπῆιος μὲν ἐδάκρυε τε καὶ ἄξια ἔλεου ἐφθέγγητο· ἂν γὰρ δὴ ὁ ἄνηρ πραγμάτων τε καὶ κακῶν τοιούτων ἦκιστα ἐμπειροίς· Ἦπτατος δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας οὐκ ἔφη χρῆναι τοὺς οὕκ 56 ἐν δίκῃ ἀπολογοῦμενοι ὀδύρεσθαι. ἀρχὴν τε γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἄκοντας βιασθῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὕστερον ἐς τὸ ἰπποδρόμων ἀφικέσθαι. κτείναντες δὲ οἱ στρατιώται τῇ
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxiv. 50–56

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

υστεραίᾳ ἐκάτερον, ἐς θάλασσαν καθήκαν τὰ
57 σώματα. βασιλεύς δὲ αὐτῶν τε τὰ χρήματα ἐς τὸ
dημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα ἑποιήσατο καὶ ἄλλων τῶν
ἐκ βουλής ἀπάντων οἱ δὴ τὴν γνώμην ἔχων αὐτοῖς
58 ἔθεντο. ἐπειτα μέντοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασι καὶ
toῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Πομπηίου παϊσί τά τε ἀξιώ-
ματα οἷς πρὸτερον ἔχρωντο ἀπέδωκε καὶ τῶν
χρημάτων ὅσων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς οὐκ ἔτυχε
δωρησάμενος. ἐς τόδε μὲν Βυζαντίῳ ἡ στάσις
ἐτελεύτα.

XXV

1 Τριβουνιάνος δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης τῆς τιμῆς οὗτο
παραλυθέντες χρόνῳ ύστερον ἐς ἀρχὰς τὰς αὐτὰς
2 κατέστησαν ἀμφω. ἀλλὰ Τριβουνιάνος μὲν ἐτη
πολλὰ ἐπιβιούς τῇ τιμῇ ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, ἄλλο
οὐδὲν ἀχαρί πρὸς οὐδὲνος παθῶν. ἦν γὰρ αἰμύλος
τε καὶ τάλλα ἡδύς καὶ τῆς φιλοχρηματίας τὸ
νόσημα ἐπισκιάσατο ἱκανοτάτος τῆς παιδείας
3 περιουσία. Ἰωάννης δὲ (πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις
βαρὺς τε ὁμοῖος καὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν, πληγᾶς τε τοῖς
προσπιπτούσιν ἐντεινόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα
ἀπαξάπαντα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ληξόμενος) δεκατον ἐτὸς
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων τὴν δίκην ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῆς
ἔς τὴν διάιταν παρανομίας ἐξέτισε τρόπῳ τοιοῦτοι.
4 Θεοδώρα ἡ βασίλεις ἤχθετο αὐτῷ πάντων
μάλιστα. καὶ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ προσκεκρουκὼς οἷς
ημάρτανε, θωπεία μὲν αὐτήν ἡ χάριτι μετελθεῖν
ὡς ἤκιστα ἔγνω, ἐς ἐπιβουλὴν δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοῦς καθιστάμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέα διέβαλα.
of them on the following day and threw their bodies into the sea. The emperor confiscated all their property for the public treasury, and also that of all the other members of the senate who had sided with them. Later, however, he restored to the children of Hypatius and Pompeius and to all others the titles which they had formerly held, and as much of their property as he had not happened to bestow upon his friends. This was the end of the insurrection in Byzantium.

XXV

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

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

λευ, οὔτε τὴν τύχην ἐρυθρωτὰν οὔτε τὴν στοργήν ἀισχυνόμενος ἤπερ ἐσ ἀυτήν ὁ βασιλεύς εἶχεν 5 ἐξαισίαν οἶαν. αἰσθομένη δὲ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν ποιομένων κτείναι μὲν διενείποι τῶν ἀνθρωπών, μὴχανὴ δὲ οὐδεμιὰ εἶχεν, ἐπεὶ λόγον αὐτοῦ 6 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεύς ἐποιεῖτο πολὺν. γνῶν δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος ἐσ ἀυτῶν γνώμην 7 ἐν δείμασι μεγάλοις ἐγίνετο. ἑπεὶ δὲν τὸς καθευδὴσαν ἐς τὸν κοιτῶνα ίοι, τῶν τινας βαρβάρων ἐπιστήσεσθαι οἱ ὁς ἀπολούντα ὑπόπτευεν ἐς νῦκτα ἐκάστην, ὑπερκύπτον τε ἂεὶ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους περισκοπῶν ἀυπνος ἐμενε, καλπερ ἐταιρισιμος οὐραφορῶν τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν χιλιάδας πολλάς, οὐ γεγυνὸς ὑπάρ- 8 χων τινι πρότερον τοῦτο γε. ἀλλ’ ἐπιλελη- σμένος ἀμα ἡμέρα θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπείων δειμάτων ἀπάντων, ὀλεθρος αὐθίς κοινῆ τε καὶ ἰδία πάσι Ρωμαίους ἐγίνετο. καὶ φαρμακεύσι μὲν τὰ πολλὰ ὅμιλει, μαντείαι δὲ ἄσσεσιν ἐς ἂεὶ χρώμενος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ τερατευ- μέναις ἁρχῆν, ἀεροβατῶν τε καταφάνης ἦν καὶ 9 μετέωρος ἀρθείς ταῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐπλίσι. τῆς μέντοι πονηρίας αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν διάστα- 10 παρανομίας οὔδεν οὔτε ἐλώφα οὔτε ὑπέληγε. καὶ τις αὐτῷ θεου λόγος τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλα καὶ εἰ που εἰς ἐν ὀρῶ εὐξόμενος τε καὶ δια- νυκτερεύσων ἐνταῦθα ίοι, οὔδεν ὀμολογος τοῖς Χριστιανῶν ἥθεσιν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλα τριβώνων ἐνδυσκόμενος ἱερεὶ πρέπον τῆς παλαιᾶς δόξης ἦν νῦν Ἐλληνικὴν καλεῖν νεομίκασι, λόγος σοῦ ὁσίους τινάς οὐσπερ ἐμεμελετήκει ἀπεστο- μάτιζεν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν νῦκτα ἐκείνην, ὅπως οἱ 240
before her high station nor feeling shame because of the extraordinary love which the emperor felt for her. When the queen perceived what was being done, she purposed to slay the man, but in no way could she do this, since the Emperor Justinian set great store by him. And when John learned of the purpose of the queen regarding him, he was greatly terrified. And whenever he went into his chamber to sleep, he expected every night that some one of the barbarians would fall upon him to slay him; and he kept peeping out of the room and looking about the entrances and remained sleepless, although he had attached to himself many thousands of spearmen and guards, a thing which had been granted to no prefect before that time. But at daybreak, forgetting all his fears of things divine and human, he would become again a plague to all the Romans both in public and in private. And he conversed commonly with sorcerers, and constantly listened to profane oracles which portended for him the imperial office, so that he was plainly walking on air and lifted up by his hopes of the royal power. But in his rascality and the lawlessness of his conduct there was no moderation or abatement. And there was in him absolutely no regard for God, and even when he went to a sanctuary to pray and to pass the night, he did not do at all as the Christians are wont to do, but he clothed himself in a coarse garment appropriate to a priest of the old faith which they are now accustomed to call Hellenic, and throughout that whole night mumbled out some unholy words which he had practised, praying that the mind of
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἡ τε βασιλέως διάνοια ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὑποχειρία εἴη καὶ αὐτὸς κακῶν γενοιτο ἀπαθής πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

11 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος Ἰταλίαν καταστρεφόμενος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔδω Ἀντωνίνη τῇ γυναικεὶ μετάπεμπτος ἤλθεν, ἐφ᾽ ὃ ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύσει. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀπασι ἐντιμῶς τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίου, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἦν, μόνος δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ πολλῇ ἐπιβουλῇ ἐς αὐτὸν εἴχετο, κατ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν τὸ ἐκ πάντων ἔχθος ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτὸν εἶλκε, Βελισάριος δὲ πάντων εὐδοκιμῶν μᾶλλον ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τε γενομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπίποδος αὐθίς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευσε, τὴν γυναικὰ ἐν Βυζάντιῳ ἀπολιπὼν. Ἀντωνίνα δὲ ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ (ὅν γὰρ ἱκανωτάτη ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων μηχανάζαι τὰ ἀμήχανα) χαριεῖσθαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ βουλευσαμένη ἐπενέβη τοιάδε. ἦν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ θυγάτηρ Ἐὐφημία, δόξαν μὲν ἔπὶ σωφροσύνῃ πολλῇ ἐχουσα, νέᾳ δὲ κομιδῇ, καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ λίαν εὐάλωτος, ἢν δὴ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπεργάσα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ἐγεγόνει πατὴρ.

13 ταῦτην ἡ Ἀντωνίνα τιθασεύουσα ἐς ἡμέρας συχνὰς προσποιήσασθαι τε ἢτε φίλην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἴσχυσε καὶ τῶν αὐτῆς ἀπορρήτων μετα- διδόναι οὐκ ἀπήξου. καὶ ποτὲ αὐτῆς οἱ μόνης ἐν τῷ δοματίῳ παροῦσῃ ἀδύρεσθαι τῦχας τὰς παρουσάς ἐπλάσσετο, ὅτι δὴ Βελισάριος εὐρύτεραν ποιησάμενος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πλείον μέτρῳ ἢ πρῶτον οὔσα ἐτύγχανε, βασιλείς τε δορυφόρους δύο καὶ πλούτου τοσοῦτον τι χρῆμα ἐς Ἐν
the emperor might be still more under his control, and that he himself might be free from harm at the hands of all men.

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

---

1 Book VI. xxx. 30.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

ξάντιου ἁγαγών, ἀχαρίστου Ἰουστινανοῦ ἔτυχε·
tὰ τὲ ἄλλα ὡς οὗ δικαίων οὐσαν τὴν πολιτείαν
16 διέβαλλε. περὶχαρῆς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ γενομένη ἡ
Εὐφημία (δέει γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ αὐτῆς
τῇ παρούσῃ ἀρχῇ ἡχηθε) “Καὶ τούδε μέντοι, ὁ
φιλτάτη,” ἔφη, “ὑμεῖς αἰτιοί, ὅτι ἐκ παρόν ύμῖν
17 τῇ δυνάμει οὐ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι.” ὑπολαβοῦσα δὲ
ἡ Ἀντωνία “Ὅ γὰρ οἶοι τὲ ἐσμεν, ὁ θύγατερ,“
eἶπεν, “ἐν στρατοπέδῳ νεωτέροις ἐγχειρεῖν πράγμασιν,
ἠ μὴ τοῦ ἐργου εὐνοπειλάβωνται ἡμῖν τῶν
ἐνδον τιμῆς· ἀλλ’ εἰπέρ ὁ σος πατὴρ ἤθελε, ὅστα
ἀν ἐν τῇδε τὴν πρᾶξιν καθιστάμενοι όσα ἡ τῷ
18 θεῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπράσσομεν.” ἀκούσασα ταῦτα
Εὐφημία προθύμως μὲν ὑπέσχετο ἐπιτελῆ ἐσεσθαι,
ἀπαλλαγείσα δὲ ἐνθέντε τὰ πράγμα ἐπὶ τὸν
19 πατέρα εὐθὺς ἤγεικε. καὶ ὁ τῷ λόγῳ ἤσθεῖς
(ταύτῃ γὰρ οἰ όδοι ἐς τα τὰ μαντεία καὶ τὴν
βασιλείαν ὑπετόπαζε φέρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν) εὐθὺς
μελλάται συνεμα ὁμολόγησε, πράσσειν τῇ τὴν
παιδα ἐκέλευεν ὅποις τῇ ὕστερᾷ ἐς λόγους τῇ
Ἀντωνίᾳ αὐτὸς ἄμμυμβη καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοίῃ.
20 μαθοῦσα δὲ Ἀντωνία τὴν Ἰωάννου γνώμην καὶ
ὡς ἀπωτάτω τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῆς τοῦ ἀληθοῦς
ἀπαγαγὼν ἐνοίας ἐθέλουσα, νῦν μὲν ἔφη οἱ ἔνηγ
γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἄξυμφορον εἶναι, μὴ τὰ ὑποψίᾳ
μεταξὺ ἐπιγενομένῃ διακωλύσα τὰ πρασσόμενα
ἰκανή εἰς· μέλλειν δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὴν ἔως
21 παρὰ Βελισάριον στέλλεσθαι. ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐκ
Βυζαντίου ἀπαλλαγείσα ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ γένηται
(ο δὴ Ρουμιναῖοι μὲν ὄνομάζεται, Βελισαρίου δὲ
ἴδιον ἑτύγχανεν δὲ), ἐνταῦθα τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς
244
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxv. 15–21

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

ἀσπασόμενον τε καὶ προπέμψοντα ἥκεν, καὶ τοὺς τε ἱεροὺς περὶ τῶν ὄλων ποιήσασθαι καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβεῖν τε καὶ δοῦναι. ταῦτα εἰποῦσα εὗ τε τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰπεῖν ἔδοξε καὶ ἡμέρα τακτῇ ἔπι 22 τῇ πρᾶξει διώριστο. ἦ τε βασιλὺς τὸν πάντα ἱερὸν παρὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίνης ἀκούσασα ἐπήνει μὲν τὰ βεβολευμένα, ἐγκελεσμένη δὲ πολλῷ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν ἐνήγειν.

23 Ἐπειδὴ τε ἡ κυρία παρῆν, ἀσπασαμένη μὲν ἡ Ἀντωνίνη τὴν βασιλίδα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπηλλάσσετο, ἐν τε τὴς Ρουφιναναίς ἐγένετο, ὡς τῇ υστεραίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐω ὁδοῦ ἀρξομένη, οὐ δὴ καὶ Ἰωάννης 24 τὰς ξυγκειμένα ἐπιτελέσαν ἐς πῦκτα ἤλθεν. ἦ δὲ βασιλὶς διαβάλλουσα πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα τὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ τῇ τυρμαννίδῃ πρασσόμενα, Ναρσήν τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ Μάρκελλον τῶν τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ φυλάκων ἄρχοντα ἐς Ρουφιναναίς ἔδω στρατιώταις πολλοῖς ἐπεμψεν, ἐφ’ ὃ δὲ διερευνησάμενοι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἢν τὸν Ἰωάννην πράγμασι νεωτέρους ἐγχειροῦντα εὐρήσωσι, κτεῖ 25 ναντεῖ εὐθὺς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπανήξουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐργῷ τούτῳ ἐστέλλουσι. φασὶ δὲ βασιλέα τῶν ποιομένων αἰσθόμενον τὸν τὴν Ἰωάννην ἐπιτηδείων παρ’ αὐτὸν πέμψαι, ἀπεροῦντα 26 αὐτῷ μηδαμὴ τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ἐντυγχαίν ἱάθρα. Ἰωάννης δὲ (χρήσι γὰρ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τὴν βασιλέως ὑποθήκην ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀμφὶ νῦκτα μέσαν τῇ Ἀντωνίνῃ ξυνέμεζεν αἰμασιάς παύ τινος ἁγχοστα, ἦ δὴ ὡσίδευ καθίσασα ἐτύγχανε τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ναρσήν τε καὶ Μάρκελλον, ὅπως τῶν 27 λεγομένων ἀκούσειαν. ἐνταῦθα Ἰωάννης μὲν ἀφυλάκτῳ στόματι τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ὁμολόγει.
come as if to salute her and to escort her forth on the journey, and they should confer regarding matters of state and give and receive their pledges. In saying this she seemed to John to speak well, and a certain day was appointed to carry out the plan. And the empress, hearing the whole account from Antonina, expressed approval of what she had planned, and by her exhortations raised her enthusiasm to a much higher pitch still.

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

te kal ὅρκους δεινοτάτως ἀπισχυρίζετο, Ναρσῆς
dὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Μάρκελλος ἐκ τοῦ αἰфυιδίου ἐπέστη-
28 σαν. θορύβου δὲ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένου οἱ τοῦ
Ἰωάννου δορυφόροι (ἀγχιστα γάρ τη ἔστήκεσαν)
29 παρ’ αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἐγένοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τις Μάρ-
κελλοῦ, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅστις ποτὲ ἦν, ξίφει ἐπλήξεν,
οὗτῳ τε Ἰωάννης διαφυγεῖν ἦν αὐτοῖς ἵσχυσεν ἐς
30 τε τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τάχος ἄφικεν. καὶ εἰ μὲν
eὑθὺς ἐλθεῖν παρὰ βασιλεὰ ἑθάρσησεν, οἶμαι ἂν,
οὔδὲν ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄχαρι· νῦν δὲ κατα-
φυγόν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν δέδωκε τῇ βασιλείᾳ κατ’ ἐξου-
σίαν τῇ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλή χρήσθαι.

31 Τότε μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἐπάρχουν ἰδιώτης γενόμενος ἐς
ἐτερον ἐνθέντε ἀναστὰς ἐκομίσθη, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ
προαστεῖῳ Κυζίκου πόλεως ἱδρυται,—Ἀρτάκη
καλοῦσι Κυζικην τὸ προάστειον. ἐνταῦθα
ιερέως οὗ τι ἐκούσιος περιβεβληται σχήμα, οὐκ
ἐπισκόπου μέντοι, ἀλλ’ ὄντερ καλεῖν πρεσβύτε-
32 ρον νεομίκασον. ὁ δὲ ἱερουργεῖν ήκιστα ήθελεν,
ὡς μὴ ποτὲ αὐτῷ ἐμπόδιον εἰη ἐς τὰς ἄρχας αὐθίς
ἐλέειν· τῶν γὰρ ἐλπίδων μεθίσθαι οὐδαμή ἦθελε.
τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνάγραπτα εὑθὺς
33 γέγονεν. ὅλος δὲ αὐτῷ μοιρὰν βασιλεύς πολλὴν
34 ἤφιε τι γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν φειδοὶ εἰχετο. ἐνταῦθα
παρῆν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἀφροντιστήσαντι μὲν κινδύνων ἀπάντων,
χρήματα δὲ περιβεβλημένῳ μεγάλα, ὡσ το αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανε κρύψας καὶ ὡςα βασιλεὺς
γνώμῃ παρ’ αὐτῷ ἔμεινε, τρυφαν τε κατ’ ἐξουσίαν
καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἤγεισθαι λογισμῷ σώφρονι εὐδαί-
35 μονα εἶναι. διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντες Ῥωμαϊοὶ ἐπὶ τῷ
attack and binding himself with the most dread oaths, Narses and Marcellus suddenly set upon him. But in the natural confusion which resulted the bodyguards of John (for they stood close by) came immediately to his side. And one of them smote Marcellus with his sword, not knowing who he was, and thus John was enabled to escape with them, and reached the city with all speed. And if he had had the courage to go straightway before the emperor, I believe that he would have suffered no harm at his hand; but as it was, he fled for refuge to the sanctuary, and gave the empress opportunity to work her will against him at her pleasure.

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

άνθρωπῳ ἀτεχνώς ἤχθοντο, ὅτι δὴ πονηρότατος
γεγονὼς δαιμόνων ἀπάντων, βίον παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν
36 εὑραιμονέστερον ἢ πρότερον ἔχοι. ἀλλ' ὁ θεός,
oιμαί, οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ἐς τούτο τὴν τίσιν Ἰωάννη
ἀποκεκρίθαι, ἐπὶ μέγα τε αὐτῷ τὴν κόλασιν
ἐξηρύτετο. ἐγώνετο δὲ ὅδε.
37 Ἡν τις ἐν Κυζίκῳ ἐπίσκοπος Εὐσέβιος ὄνομα,
χαλεπός ἀπασὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνουσιν Ἰωάννου οὔδέν
τι ἢσσον τούτων Κυζικηνοὶ βασιλεῖ διαβάλλοντες
38 ἐς δίκην ἐκάλονν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦνυν, δυνάμει
αὐτοὺς περιελθόντος Εὐσέβιου πολλῆς, ξυμφορή-
σαντες νεανία τινὲς ἐν τῇ Κυζίκῳ ἀγορᾷ κτείνου-
39 σιν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰωάννης τῷ Εὐσέβιῳ διάφορος
γεγονὼς μάλιστα, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
40 ὑπόψια ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἦλθε. στέλλοντα τοῖς ἐκ
βουλῆς ἄνδρες διερευνησόμενοι τὸ μάσμα τούτῳ
οὗ δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην πρῶτα μὲν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
καθείρζαν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπαρχοῦ μὲν δυνατὸν
οὕτω γενόμενον, ἐς πατρικίους δὲ ἀναγραφέντα
καὶ ἐς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναβεβηκότα τὸν δίφρον, οὗ
μείζον εἰναι οὐδὲν ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ
δοκεῖ, ἐστηθάν τε γυμνῶν, ἀτε ληστῆν τινα ἡ
λατρεύσαν, καὶ ξινόντες κατὰ τὸν νότον πολ-
41 λας ἐπείν τὰ βεβωμένα ἣνάγκαζον. καὶ τοῦ
μὲν Εὐσέβιου φόνου αἰτίος Ἰωάννης, οὐ λιῶν
ἐξελήλυγκτο, ἐφοῖκε μέντοι ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ δίκη ποινὰς
42 αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης 2 ἐστρατομένη. ἐπειτὰ δὲ
tὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀφελόμενοι γυμνῶν ἐς τὴν
ναῦν εἰσεβίβασαν, ἰμάτιον ἐν, καὶ τοῦτο τραχύ.

1 δαιμόνων VP: ἀνθρώπων G.
2 οἰκουμένης VGP corr: οἰκουμένας P pr. m.
3 τραχύ P: παχύ VG.

250
vexed with the man, because, forsooth, after proving himself the basest of all demons, contrary to his deserts he was leading a life happier than before. But God, I think, did not suffer John's retribution to end thus, but prepared for him a greater punishment. And it fell out thus.

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

κομματὶ, ἀμπεχόμενου, ὀβολῶν ὁνθῆν ὀλύγων
tινῶν, οἳ τε αὐτὸν παραπέμποντες ὅπη ἄν ἡ ναῦς
ὄρμοθείη ἐκέλευν ἄρτον ἢ ὅβολοις ἐκ τῶν
43 προσπιπτόντων αἰτεῖσθαι. οὗτῳ τε πτωχεύων
πανταχόθι τῆς πορείας τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὴν
Ἅττινόν κομίζεται. καὶ τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτος αὐτῶν
44 ἐνταῦθα καθείρξαντες τηροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ, καὶπερ ἐν
τουτοῖς γεγονὼς πάθεσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῆς βασι-
λείας ἐπίδια μεθήκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρεών
tινάς, ἀτε τῷ δημοσίῳ χρυσίον ὁφείλοντας, δια-
βαλεῖν ἔγγοι. Ἰωάννην μὲν οὖν τῶν Καππαδόκης
δέκα ἐναντίος ύστερον αὐτῇ τῶν πεπολυτεμένων
κατέλαβε τίσιν.

XXVI

1. Τότε δὲ βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν τε τῆς ἐφας αὐτὸς
Βελισαρίου κατεστήσατο καὶ ἐς Διβύην πέμψας
τὴν χώραν ἔσχαν, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὁπίσθεν λελέ-

2. ξετα λόγοις. ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ἐς τε Χοσρόην καὶ
Πέρσας ἤλθε, δεινῶς ἤσχαλλον, καὶ αὐτοὶς τὴν
eἰρήνην ἐς Ῥωμαίους πεποιημένοις μετέμελεν
ηῇ, ὦτι δὴ αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μέγα χωρεῖν

3. ἡσθοντο. πέμψας τε ὁ Χοσρόην ἐς Βυζάντιων
πρέσβεις, ἑγξαχάρειν τε Ἰουστινιανῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ
ἐφάσκε, καὶ τὸ μέρος λαβεῖν ἔδω κινῆσαι δήθεν

τῶν ἐκ Διβύης λαφύρων ἡξίου, ὦτι δὴ οὐκ ἂν
ποτε Βανδίλων τῷ πολέμῳ περιεσθῆσθαι ἱσχύσειν,

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

XXVI

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

5 Ἑν δὲ πόλει Δάρας τοιόνδε τι ξυνέβη γενέσθαι.

Ἰωάννης της ἤν ἐνταύθα ἐν καταλόγῳ τεταγμένος πεζῶν· οὗτος οὖν ἀπάντων οἱ ἄμφρονοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὀλίγων τινῶν, τυραννίδε ἐπιθέ-μενος τὴν πόλιν ἔσχεν. ἐν τε παλατίῳ καθήμενος ὀσπερ ἐν ἀκρωτόλει, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐκρατύνετο

7 ἡμέρα ἐκάστη. καὶ εἰ μὴ Πέρσας ἐχεσθαι εἰρήνης ἐς τοὺς Ἰρανίους τηνικαύτα ξυνέβη, ἂν ἴκεσατα ἂν ἐνθένδε Ἰρανίους ἐγεγόνει κακά. νῦν δὲ τούτο ἐκόλυσε φθάσασα, ὀσπερ μοι ἐρρήθη, ἡ ἕμ-βασις. ἡμέρα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος τετάρητη ἄμφρονοις στρατιῶται γρώμη. Μάμαντος τε τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ιερέως καὶ Ἀναστασίου τῶν δοκίμων τίνος πολιτῶν, ἐς τὸ παλάτι μεσημ-βρίας ἀκραζούσης ἀνέβησαν, κρύψας ἐκαστὸς

9 ὑπὸ τῷ ἤματίῳ ξυφίδιον. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ θύρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων εὑρόντες ὀλίγους τινὰς εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα ἕσταντες τοῦ τυράννου ἤπτουτο· τις δὲ φασίν οὗ τοὺς στρατιῶτας αὐτὸ πρῶτους εἰργάσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν ἔτι μελλόντων τε ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ καὶ κατωρρειδηκότων τοῦ κίνδυνου, τῶν τινα ἀλλαντοπωλῶν ἐναυτὸς ὑπατα ἐσπερχῆσαι τε ξύν. τῇ κοπίδι καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐνυχώντα

10 ἀπροσδοκήτως παῖσαι. καὶ τὸν αὐτοὶ πληγέων μὲν καιρίαν πληγήν, ἐναυτῆς δὲ πολλῷ φεύγοντα, ἐς τούτοις δὴ τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐμ-

11 πεσεῖν ἄφαν. οὗτοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοὺς ἀγαμέμνονος πῦρ μὲν αὐτίκα τῷ παλατίῳ ὑψάσματος καίσαι, ὡς μὴ τῶν ἐπιστὶ ἐνθένδε ἀπο-

λειφθείη τοῖς τὰ νεώτερα πράγματα πράσσουσιν,

1 ξυνέβη ΒΡ: συνέπεσεν Θ.

254
In the city of Daras the following event took place. There was a certain John there serving in a detachment of infantry; this man, in conspiracy with some few of the soldiers, but not all, took possession of the city, essaying to make himself tyrant. Then he established himself in a palace as if in a citadel, and was strengthening his tyranny every day. And if it had not happened that the Persians were continuing to keep peace with the Romans, irreparable harm would have come from this affair to the Romans. But as it was, this was prevented by the agreement which had already been reached, as I have said. On the fourth day of the tyranny some soldiers conspired together, and by the advice of Mamas, the priest of the city, and Anastasius, one of the notable citizens, they went up to the palace at high noon, each man hiding a small sword under his garment. And first at the door of the courtyard they found some few of the body-guards, whom they slew immediately. Then they entered the men's apartment and laid hold upon the tyrant; but some say that the soldiers were not the first to do this, but that while they were still hesitating in the courtyard and trembling at the danger, a certain sausage-vendor who was with them rushed in with his cleaver and meeting John smote him unexpectedly. But the blow which had been dealt him was not a fatal one, this account goes on to say, and he fled with a great outcry and suddenly fell among these very soldiers. Thus they laid hands upon the man and immediately set fire to the palace and burned it, in order that there might be left no hope from there for those making revolutions; and John
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

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

256
HISTORY OF THE WARS, I. xxvi. 11–12

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

THE PERSIAN WAR (Continued)
ΤΙΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ
ΔΕΤΤΕΡΟΣ

I

1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὖ πολλῷ ὑστερον ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν ὡς καὶ Ἱταλίαν Βελισάριος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ προσποιεῖν ἦρξατο, οὐκέτι κατέχειν οἴος τε ἡ τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σκῆψεις ἐπινοεῖν ἥθελεν ὡπως δὴ λόγῳ τινὶ εὐπρεπεὶ τὰς σπουδὰς λύσειν.

2 ὑπὲρ δὲν κουνολογησάμενος Ἀλαμουνδάρφῳ ἐκεῖ

3 λευνὲν αὐτὸν ξυμπορίζεσθαι πολέμου αἰτίας. ὁ δὲ Ἀρέθα ἑπικαλέσας ότι αὐτὸν περὶ γῆς ὀρίων βιαζότο, ἐς χείρας τε αὐτῷ ἐν σπουδαῖς ἔλθε καὶ γῆν τὴν Ἡρωμαίων ἀπί ταύτη τῇ σκῆψει

4 καταθεῖν ἦρξατο. ἐφασκὲ τε ὡς αὐτὸς οὐ λύει τὰς Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἡρωμαίων σπουδὰς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν

5 ἐς ταύτας οὐδέτεροι ἐσεγράψαντο. καὶ ἢν δὲ οὕτως. οὐ γάρ τις πῶς τὸν Σαρακηνῶν λόγος ἐν σπουδαῖς γέγονεν, ἀπὸ ἠς ἀναγομένων τῶν Περσῶν

6 τε καὶ Ἡρωμαίων ὄνοματι. αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ χώρα, ἡ δὴ πρὸς ἐκατέρων τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀντελέγετο, Στράτα μὲν κέκληται. Παλμύρας δὲ πόλεως πρὸς νότου ἀνεμον τέτραπται, δένδρων μὲν ἢ τὰ τῶν

260
HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK II

THE PERSIAN WAR (Continued)

I

Nor long after this Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius had begun to win Italy also for the Emperor Justinian, was no longer able to restrain his thoughts but he wished to discover pretexts, in order that he might break the treaty on some grounds which would seem plausible. And he conferred with Alamoundaras concerning this matter and commanded him to provide causes for war. So Alamoundaras brought against Arethas, the charge that he, Arethas, was doing him violence in a matter of boundary lines, and he entered into conflict with him in time of peace, and began to overrun the land of the Romans on this pretext. And he declared that, as for him, he was not breaking the treaty between the Persians and Romans, for neither one of them had included him in it. And this was true. For no mention of Saracens was ever made in treaties, on the ground that they were included under the names of Persians and Romans. Now this country which at that time was claimed by both tribes of Saracens 1 is called Strata, and extends to the south of the city of Palmyra; nowhere does it produce a single tree or any of the useful growth of

1 That is, the Saracens subject to the Romans and those subject to the Persians.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

ἐν τοῖς ληίοις ἄγαθῶν οὐδαμῆ φέρουσα (ἡλιό-καυστος γὰρ ὑπερφυώς ἐστὶ), προβάτων δὲ τισιν
7 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνειμένη νομαίς. Ἀρέθας μὲν οὖν
Ῥωμαίων ἱσχυρίζετο εἰναὶ τὸν χῶρον, τῷ τε
ὄνόματι τεκμηριώμενος οὗ δὴ πρὸς πάντων ἀνω-
θεν ἔτυχε (Στρατὰ γὰρ ἡ ἐστρωμένη ὀδὸς τῇ
Δατίνων καλεῖται φωνῇ) καὶ μαρτυρίαις παλαιο-
tάτων ἀνδρῶν χρώμενος. Αλαμούνδαρος δὲ φιλο-
νεικεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὄνόματος ἣκιστα ἐδικαίω,
μισθοῦς δὲ οἱ τοῦ ἐνταύθα νομοῦ ἐκ παλαιοῦ
ἐφασκε τοὺς τὰ πρόβατα κεκτημένους διδόναι.
8 διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Στρατηγῷ τε
πατρικίᾳ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν
ἀρχοντὶ, ἄλλως δὲ ἐξεταζόν καὶ εὐπατρίδη, ἐπὶ
μέντοι καὶ Σοῦμμῳ τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ στρατω-
τῶν ἡγησαμένῳ, τὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἐπέτρεψε
9 διὰ ταύτων. οὐ δὲ Σοῦμμος Ἰουλιανοῦ ἄδελφος ἦν,
δε μάλιστα ἐμπρόσθεν ἐν Αἰγυπτίᾳ τὸ καὶ Ὁμήρας
ἐπηρέασε. καὶ αὐτῶι ἀτεροῖς μὲν, Σοῦμμῳ,
μὴ χρῆναι Ῥωμαίους καταποίηθαι τὴν χώραν
ὁξίου, Στρατηγὸς δὲ βασιλέως ἐδείτο μὴ χώρας
τυχόν ἐνεκα βραχείας τε καὶ ὧς ἡκιστὰ λόγου
ἀξίας, ἀλλὰ ἀγῶνον τε καὶ ἀκάρπου παντάπασιν
ὑσῆς, Πέρσαις πολεμησίσθαι σκήψεις τοῦ πο-
λέμου χαρίζεσθαι βασιλεὺς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς
tαύτα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ χρόνον πολὺς ταύτῃ
δὴ τῇ διαίτῃ ἐτρίβη.
10 Χοσρόης δὲ ὁ Περσῶι βασιλεὺς λελύσθαι πρὸς
Ἰουστινιανοῦ τὰς σπονδᾶς ἐφασκε, πολὺν ἐπι-
βουλῆν ἐς οἴκον τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄρτι ἐνδείξαμένον, οὐς
δὴ ἐταιρίζεσθαι Ἀλαμούνδαρον ἐν σπονδαῖς ἐνε-
262
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. i. 6–12

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

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

13 χείρησε. Σούμον γὰρ ἐναγχός ἔπι διαίτη δήθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἦκοντα ἐπαγγελλάς αὐτὸν περιελθεῖν μεγάλων χρημάτων, ἐφ’ φ’ προσχωρήσει Ρωμαίοις, γράμματα τε προσέχετο ἡ δὴ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον ὑπὲρ τούτων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἔγραψε. καὶ πρὸς Οὐννων δὲ τινας ἱσχυρίζετο αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψας, ἐγκελευμένην αὐτοῖς ἐσβάλειν τε ἐς τὴν Περσάων γῆν καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ χωρίοις ἐπὶ πλείστων λυμήνασθαι. ἦν δὴ οἱ τοὺς Οὐννους αὐτοὺς ἐφασκέν ἐγχειρίσαι 15 ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντας. ταῦτα μὲν Χοσρόης ἐπικαλῶν Ῥωμαίοις τὰς σπονδὰς λυεῖν διενοεῖτο. εἰ μέντοι ταῦτα λέγοντι οἱ ἀληθίζοντας ξυνέβαινεν, οὐκ ἔχω εἴπειν. 1

II

1 Ἂ'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Οὐάττιγι, ο ὁ τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος, ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κεκακωμένος, πρέσβεις δύο παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐπεμψας, ἀναπείσθοτος ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους στρατεύσεσθαι, οὐ Γότθους μέντοι, ὡς μὴ κατά δηλοὶ αὐτόθεν γινόμενοι ἐνυγχέωσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἀλλὰ Δυσσάους ἱερεῖς, χρηματιῶν ἀδροῖς ἐς ταύτ-2 τὴν ἡγμένους τὴν πρᾶξιν. δῶς ἄτερος μὲν ὡσπέρ ἀξιώτερος ἐδοξέαν εἶναι, δόκησιν τε καὶ ὅνωμα ἐπισκόπου περιβεβλημένος υόπεν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ἐς τὴν πρεσβείαν καθίστατο, ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔτερος αὐτῷ 3 ὑπηρετῶν ἐίπετο. ὃδ’ τε ἵντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐράκης χωρία ἐταιρίζονται τινα ἐνθένδε Σύρας τε

1 εἴπειν GPW : λέγειν V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. i. 12–ii. 3

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

II

At this point Vittigis, the leader of the Goths, already worsted in the war, sent two envoys to him to persuade him to march against the Romans; but the men whom he sent were not Goths, in order that the real character of the embassy might not be at once obvious and so make negotiations useless, but Ligurian priests who were attracted to this enterprise by rich gifts of money. One of these men, who seemed to be the more worthy, undertook the embassy assuming the pretended name of bishop which did not belong to him at all, while the other followed as his attendant. And when in the course of the journey they came to the land of Thrace, they attached to themselves a man from there to be
καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος φωνῆς ἑρμηνεύα σφίσιν ἐσό-
μενον, ἀπαντᾶς τε Ἡρωμαίους λαθόντες ἐς τὰ
Περσῶν ἦθη ἄφικοντο. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν σπουδαῖς
καθεστώτες οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές ταύτη 1 ἐφύλασσον.
4 Χοσρόου τε ἐς ᾠνὶν ἐλθόντες ἔλεξαν τοιάδε ὁμοῦ:
Τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαντας, ὃς βασιλεύ, πρέσβεις τῶν
αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα ξυμφόρων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ξυμ-
βαίνει ἐς τὴν προσβείαν καθίστασθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ
Οὐάττυν ὁ Γόθθων τε καὶ Ἰταλωτῶν βασιλεύς
ἐπερεῖ πιὸ εὐγείας υπὲρ τῆς σῆς ποιησομένους
ἀρχῆς καὶ αὐτῶν νόμιζε παρόντα σοι ταύτων.
5 φθέγγεσθαι τάδε. εἰ τίς σε, ὃς βασιλεύ, ἐξελέξας
φαίη τὴν τε σῆ βασιλείαν καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπων
6 Ἰουστινιανὸν προεσθαί, ὅρθιός ἂν εἴποι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
νεωτεροποίος τε ὃν φύσει καὶ τῶν οὐδ' ὀπωσ-
τιῶν αὐτῷ προσηκόντων ἔρων, μένειν τε σοῦ δυνά-
μενος ἐν τοῖς καθεστώσι, γῆν μὲν ἄπασαν
ξυλλαβεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν, ἐκάστην δὲ ἄρχῃν περι-
7 βαλέσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἐσχεν. εἶτα (οὐδὲ γὰρ Πέρ-
σαις 2 κατὰ μόνας ἐγχειρεῖν ἴσχυεν οὐδὲ Περσῶν οἱ
ἀντιστατούντων οἴος τε ἦν ἐπ' ἄλλους ιέναι) σὲ μὲν
τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης παραπτάσματι ἐξαπατᾶν ἔγνοι,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς βιαζόμενος μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ
8 τῇ σῇ ἀρχῇ ἐταιρίζεσθαι. Ἁβανδίλων μὲν οὖν ἡδή
καθελὼν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους κατα-
στρεφάμενος, Γόθθων αὐτῷ φιλίας ὅμοιατε
ἐκποδῶν ἰσταμένων, χρήματα τε μεγάλα καὶ
9 σώματα πολλὰ ἐπαγόμενος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ᾧκει. ἐνδη-
λοις δὲ ἐστὶν, ἦν καὶ Γόθθων παντάπασιν ἐξελεύ
δύνηται, ὡς ἐξὸν ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῖς ἡδὴ δεδο-

1 ταύτη GPW: αὐτόι V. 2 πέρσαις GW: πέρσαις VP.
an interpreter of the Syriac and the Greek tongues, and without being detected by any of the Romans, they reached the land of Persia. For inasmuch as they were at peace, they were not keeping a strict guard over that region. And coming before Chosroes they spoke as follows: "It is true, O King, that all other envoys undertake their task for the sake of advantages to themselves as a rule, but we have been sent by Vittigis, the king of the Goths and the Italians, in order to speak in behalf of thy kingdom; and consider that he is now present before thee speaking these words. If anyone should say, O King, putting all in a word, that thou hast given up thy kingdom and all men everywhere to Justinian, he would be speaking correctly. For since he is by nature a meddler and a lover of those things which in no way belong to him, and is not able to abide by the settled order of things, he has conceived the desire of seizing upon the whole earth, and has become eager to acquire for himself each and every state. Accordingly (since he was neither able alone to assail the Persians, nor with the Persians opposing him to proceed against the others), he decided to deceive thee with the pretence of peace, and by forcing the others to subjection to acquire mighty forces against thy state. Therefore, after having already destroyed the kingdom of the Vandals and subjugated the Moors, while the Goths because of their friendship stood aside for him, he has come against us bringing vast sums of money and many men. Now it is evident that, if he is able also to crush the Goths utterly, he will with us and those
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λωμένοις ἑπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύει, οὔτε τὸ τῆς φιλίας ἐννοῶν ὅνομα οὔτε τι τῶν ὁμομοσμένων ἐρμηθεύων. ἦσὼ σὺν ἑτὶ σοι λείπεται τις σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, μήτε ἡμᾶς ἐργάζη κακὸν περαιτέρῳ μὴ δὲν μὴτε αὐτὸς πάθης, ἀλλ’ ὅρα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις κακοῖς ὡσα ὅλῳ ύστερον ἐμβῆσται Πέρσας, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εὐνοῖ μὲν σοὶ ἀν ποτε εἴειν, δυνάμει δὲ κρείσσους γενόμενοι οὐδὲν μελλῆσουι τὸ ἐς Πέρσας ἔχος ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἑξούσια, μὴ παυσάμενην ἐπιζητήσης. λωφήσασα γὰρ η τῶν καιρῶν ἀκμή ἐπανεῖναι οὐδαμῶς τείνει. ἀμείνων δὲ προτερήσαντα ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεῖ εἰναι ἃ τῶν καιρῶν ύστερηκότα τὰ πάντων αἰσχρότατα πρὸς τῶν πολεμῶν παθεῖν."

12 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Χοσρόης ἠκούσεν, εὗ τε οἱ παρα- νεῖν Ὀὔτττιγως ἔδοξε καὶ λύειν τὰς σπουδὰς ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐν σπουδῇ εἰχε. φθόνῳ γὰρ ἐς Ἰουστινια- νὸν βασιλεὰ ἐχόμενος, λογίζεσθαι ὡς ἡκιστα ἔγνω ὅτι δὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεῖ δυσμενῶν μάλητα οἱ λόγοι ἐς αὐτῶν γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι ἐς τὸ πεισθῆναι αὐτόμολος ἡλθεν. δὴ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίων τε καὶ Δαζῶν λόγους ὅλῳ ύστερον ἐδρασεν ἀπερ μοι αὐτικα

13 μᾶλλα λελέξεται. καίτοι τοιαῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸ ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα, ἀπερ ἃν εἰκότως βασιλεὶς γενναίῳ ἐγκώμια εἴη, ὅτι δὴ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτῶν μείζω τε ποιῆσαι καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανε- 15 στέραν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐχοῖ. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Κύρφ ἄν τις

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

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

ἐπενέγκας τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐδαμὴ εἴωθε χυνοκίζεσθαι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τὰς σπουδὰς λύειν διενοεῖτο.

III

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι γενέσθαι τοιάνδε ξυνέβη. Συμεώνης ἔκεινος, ὁ τῷ Φαράγγιον Ῥω-μαίοις ἐνδούς, Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλέᾳ πείθει, ἐτὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀκμάζοντος, κῶμας αὐτῶν τισιν
2 ἀνδρῶν Ἀρμενίων δωρήσασθαι. κύριος τε τῶν χωρίων γενόμενος πρὸς τῶν αὐτὰ πάλαι κεκτη-
3 μένων εἰς ἐπιβουλής θυήσκει. ἐξειργασμένον δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ τού φόνου αὐτουργὸι ἕνεγκαν ἔτι τὰ Περσῶν ἥθη. ἀδελφῷ δὲ ἡττην δύο Περόξου παίδε. βασιλεύς τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας τὰς τε κόμας
4 Ἀμαζάσπης παραδίδωσι τῷ Συμεώνου ἀδελφίδι καὶ
5 ἄρχοντα κατεστήσατο Ἀρμενίωις αὐτῶν. τούτων τοῦ Ἀμαζάσπην, προίοντος τοῦ χρόνου, Ἰου-
στινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν τις ἐπιτηδεύων διέβαλλεν.
6 Ἀκάκιος ὄνομα, κακοργείν τε ἐς Ἀρμενίοις καὶ
7 βούλεσθαι Πέρσαις ἐνδοῦναι Θεοδοσιούπολιν τε
8 καὶ άλλα ἄτα πολύσματα. ταῦτα εἰπὼν γνώμῃ
9 βασιλέως Ἀκάκιος τοῦ Ἀμαζάσπην δόλῳ ἔκτεινε,
10 καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴν δόντος βασιλέως ἔσχεν
11 αὐτὸς. πονηρὸς δὲ ὁ φύσει ἔσχε καθ' ὁ τε τὰ
tῆς ψυχῆς ἥθη ἐνδειξετο. γέγονεν οὖν ἐς τοὺς

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

III

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

7 ἀρχομένους ὁμότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. τα τε γάρ κρήματα ἐληφέτο σώμαν λόγῳ καὶ φόρου ἀυτούς ἀπαγωγὴν ὑποτε ὁναν ἐς κεντηνάρια τέσσαρα ἔταξεν. Ἀρμενίων δέ (φέρει γάρ οὐκέτι ἀυτὸν όλοι τε ἦσαν) κατείνωσεν τε ἐξιμμορνήσαντες τοὺς Ἀκάκιον καὶ ἐς τὸ Διαράγγιον καταφεύγοντο.

8 Διὸ δὴ Σίτταν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐκ Βυζάντιον βασιλεὺς ἐπεμένεν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Σίττας διέτριβεν, ἐπειδὴ Ρωμαίοις ἐγένοντο αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας στον-9 δαῖ. δς δὴ ἐς Ἀρμενίων ἐλθὼν τα μὲν πρώτα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὁκνηρὸς ἦς, τιθασσεῖνεν μέντοι καὶ ἐπὶ τα πρότερα ἡ ἄντικαθιστάναι τοὺς ἀνθρώ-10 πους ἠπείγετο, πείθειν βασιλέα Υποσχόμενος ἀφείναι αὐτοῖς τὴν καλὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.

11 τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐξιμμορνήσεις ἐξηρτύετο. πρῶτον μὲν όιν ὑποσχέσετι πολλὰς ἄγαθῶν ἀναπείδειν τε καὶ ἐταιρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τινας ἐνεχείρησεν, ὅπως αὐτῷ ῥάων τε καὶ ἀπονοστέα ἡ ἐς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπι-12 κράτησις γένοιτο. καὶ οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀσπητειανῶν καλουμένων γένος, μέγα τε ὁ καὶ πολυἀθρωπον,

13 προσχωρεῖν ἦθελε. πέμψατες τε παρὰ τὸν Σίτταν ἐν γράμμασιν ἐδότων διδόναι τὰ πιστὰ σφίζουν, ὅτι δὴ, ἢ ἦν ἐς τὸ ἔργο τοῦ ὅμογενεῖς ἀπολυπόντες ἦξοντες ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων παράταξις, κακῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαθεῖν μείνωσι,1 τα σφέτερα 14 αὐτῶν ἐξουσίες. ὃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀσμενὸς τε γράφας ἐν βιβλίῳ καθάπερ ἐδότων τὰ πιστὰ ἐδώκε, καὶ τὸ γράμμα κατασημηναμένος ἐς αὐτοὺς

1 μείνωσι VP: μείνωσιν G, μενοῦσι Herwerden.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. iii. 6–14

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

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

1 Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

15 ἐπεμψε. θαρσῶν τε ὃς δι' αὐτῶν ἀμαχητὲ τοῦ πολέμου κρατῆσει, τὸ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς χωρίον Ὀινοχάλακων ἦε̣, ἐνθὰ τοὺς 'Αρμενίους ἐστρα- 16 τοπεδεύεσθαι ἐξυνέβαινε. τύχῃ δὲ τινὶ οἴ τὸ βαβλῶν ἔχοντες ἔτερα ἱόντες ὅδ' Ἀσπετιανοὺς 17 ἐντυχεῖν οὐδαμὴ ἱσχύσαν. μοῖρα μέντοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ὀλίγοις τισίν αὐτῶν ἐντυ- χόντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τε τὰ ἕξυγκείμενα, ὡς πο- 18 λεμφος ἐχερσάντω. καὶ αὐτὸς Σίττας ἐν σπηλαίῳ που παῖδας τε αὐτῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λαβὼν ἔκτεινεν, ἥ τὸ γεγονὸς οὐ ἔμνεις ἢ δι' ὀργῆς Ἀσπετιανοὺς ἔχων, ὅτι οἱ καθάπερ ἐκνέκειτο οὐ προσεχώρουν. 19 Οἱ δὲ θυμὸν ἰδὴ ἔχομενοι ξῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐστάσαντο. ἀτε δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίαις χαλεπάς τε καὶ κρημνώδεσιν ἐκά- τεροι ὄντες οὐκ ἐν εὐν χόρῳ ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλὰ διασκεδασμόντες καὶ διάφανες ἀν τε ὑποφέλεις καὶ φάραγξι. τετύχκενοι τοῦ το Ἀρμενίων ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ Σίτταν τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πολλοὶς ἔχοντα ἄλληλων τῇ ἀγχίστα ἤνει, φάραγγος σφίξι τινὸς 20 μεταξὺ οὐς. ἰππεῖς δὲ ἦσαν ἐκάτεροι. ο μὲν οὖν Σίττας, ὀλίγων οἱ ἐπισπομένων, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίων τὴν χαλαγία διαδάς ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρμενίωι δὲ ὑπὸ ὑποχωρήσαντες ἐστησαν, καὶ ὁ Σίττας 21 οὐκέτι ἐδίωκεν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν. ἅφευ δὲ τις τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, Ἐρούλους γένος, δίωξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πεποιημένος ἐνθέδε τε ἔξων θυμῷ ἀπελαύνων, παρὰ τοὺς ἅμφι τὸν Σίτταν ἤλθεν. ἐπίγχανε δὲ ὁ Σίττας ἐς τὸ ἐδάφος τὸ δόμου ἐρέσας. ὁ δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἐροῦλου Ἰππος ἐπι-

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

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

22 πεσὼν ξὺν πολλῇ ρύμη κατέαξε. τὸν τε στρατηγὸν τούτῳ ἤνιασεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶν τις Ἀρμενίων ἰδὼν ἔγνω τε καὶ Σίτταν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίων ἱσχυρίζετο εἶναι. ἦνεβαίνε γὰρ οἱ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος οὐκ εἶναι. διὸ δὴ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἔλαβε ξὺν ὅλγοις τοὺς
23 ἐνταῦθα ἕκων. Σίττας μὲν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ταῖτα τοῦ Ἀρμενίου λέγοντος ἦκουσε καὶ τὸ δόρυ, ὁσπερ ἐρρήθη, οἱ ἀποκαυλυσθέν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκεῖτο, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τὴν φάραγγα διαβαίνειν
24 εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρησεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμοις σπουδὴ πολλή ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἤλαυνον, καὶ τις αὐτὸν καταλαβὼν ἐν τῇ φάραγγι ἔξεφε ἐς ἀκραν κεφαλὴν ἐτυρχεὶ πληγῇ ἐγκαρσία. καὶ τὸ μὲν βρέγμα ὅλου ἀφελεῖτο.
25 τοῦ δὲ ὁστέου ὁ σίδηρος οὐδαμῆ ἤπατο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Σίττας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον πρόσω ἤλαυνεν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ Ἰωάννου παῖς Ἀρακίδης ὄπισθεν ἐπιπεσόν καὶ πάσας τῷ δόρατι ἔκτενεν.
26 οὗτω τε ὁ Σίττας ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο οὕδει λόγῳ, ἀναξίως τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄει πεπραγμένων, ἀνὴρ τὸ τε σώμα ἐς ἁγαν καλὸς γεγονός καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, στρατηγός τε ἄριστος τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς
27 ἔσσων. τινὲς δὲ φασὶ τὸν Σίτταν οὐ πρὸς τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου ἀπολωλέναι, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνα, λαον ἐν Ἀρμενίως ἄφανη ἄνδρα, τὸν ἀνθρώπον διαχρῆσασθαι.
28 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σίττα Βούζην βασιλεὺς ἔπλη τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ἐκέλευσεν ἱέναι: δὴ ἐπεὶ ἀγχιστά ποὺ ἐγένετο, ἐπεμψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς βασιλεῖς τε καταλάξειν Ἀρμενίους ὑποσχόμενος ἀπαντάς καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐς λόγους οἱ ἐλθείν ἄξιῶν τῶν αὐτῶν.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. iii. 21–28

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

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

29 δοκίμων τινάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι οὕτε πιστεύειν τῷ Βούζῃ εἶχον οὕτε τοὺς λόγους ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς αὐτὸν ἤθελον. ὡς δὲ τις αὐτῷ μᾶλιστα φίλος ἄνηρ Ἀρσακίδης, Ἰωάννης δῶμα, Ἀρταβάνου πατήρ, ὁ δὲ τῷ Βούζῃ τότε ἄτε φίλος θαρσῆσαι ἔστι τῷ Βασσάκῃ τῷ κηδεστῇ καὶ ἄλλως ὁλόγοι τις παρ' αὐτὸν ἤθελεν. οὐ δὲ ἐν χωρίῳ γενόμενοι τε καὶ αὐλοσειστες ἐνθα τῷ Βούζῃ τῇ υπεραια ἐνυχεῖν ἐμελλόν, ἐσθοῦντο ἐς κυκλώσιν πρὸς τὸν Ῥωμαίον στρατοῦ ἤκοντες. 30 πολλὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἰωάννην Βασσάκης ὁ γαμβρὸς ἐλπίσαρε δρασμοῦ ἐχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πεῖθεν οὐκ εἶχε, μόνον ἐνταύθα καταλιπὼν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπάσι λαθῶν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὁδῷ τῇ αὐτῇ 31 ὀπίσω αὕτης ἀπῆλαυνε. Βούζης τε τὸν Ἰωάννην μόνον εὐρών ἐκτεινε, καὶ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ οὕτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα ἐστὶ περεσσεος περὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐχοντες οὕτε βασιλεά τῷ πολέμῳ ῥυπεραίρειν οὐδὲ τὸ ὅντε παρὰ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλεά ἤθελον, Βασσάκου σφίσιν ἠγομένου, δραστή- 32 ρίον ἄνδρός. δὲν τότε οἱ πρῶτοι Χασρόν ἢ φύνε ἐλθόντες ἔλεγαν τοιάδε "Εἰςὶ μὲν ἡμῶν πολλοὶ Ἀρσακίδαι, ὃ δέσποτα, ἐκεῖνον Ἀρσάκου ἀπόγονον ὁ δὲ οὕτε τῆς Πάρθων βασιλείας ἀλλότριος ἐτύχανεν νῦν, ἦνικα ὑπὸ Πάρθως ἐκείτο τα Περσῶν πράγματα, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐπιφανῆς. 33 γέγονε τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦσσον. πάρεσμεν δὲ τανύν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἁπαντες δούλοι τε καὶ δραπεται γεγενημένοι, οὐχ ἐκούσιοι μέντοι, ἀλλ' ἡναγκασμένοι ὡς μάλιστα, τῷ μὲν φαινομενῷ ὑπὸ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς, τῷ δὲ ἀληθείς λόγῳ ὑπὸ σῆς, 34 ὁ βασιλεὺς, γνώμης· εἶπερ ὁ τὴν ἴσχυν τοῖς
Now the Armenians as a whole were unable to trust Bouzes nor were they willing to receive his proposals. But there was a certain man of the Arsacidae who was especially friendly with him, John by name, the father of Artabanes, and this man, trusting in Bouzes as his friend came to him with his son-in-law, Bassaces, and a few others; but when these men had reached the spot where they were to meet Bouzes on the following day, and had made their bivouac there, they perceived that they had come into a place surrounded by the Roman army. Bassaces, the son-in-law, therefore earnestly entreated John to fly. And since he was not able to persuade him, he left him there alone, and in company with all the others eluded the Romans, and went back again by the same road. And Bouzes found John alone and slew him; and since after this the Armenians had no hope of ever reaching an agreement with the Romans, and since they were unable to prevail over the emperor in war, they came before the Persian king led by Bassaces, an energetic man. And the leading men among them came at that time into the presence of Chosroes and spoke as follows: "Many of us, O Master, are Arsacidae, descendants of that Arsaces who was not unrelated to the Parthian kings when the Persian realm lay under the hand of the Parthians, and who proved himself an illustrious king, inferior to none of his time. Now we have come to thee, and all of us have become slaves and fugitives, not, however, of our own will, but under most hard constraint, as it might seem by reason of the Roman power, but in truth, O King, by reason of thy decision,—if, indeed, he who gives the strength to those who wish to
(PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA)

άδικείν βουλομένους διδούς αὐτὸς ἀν φέροιτο καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἐργῶν δικαίως. εἰρήσεται δὲ μικροὶ ἀνωθὲν ὅπως δὴ ἀπασί παρακολουθεῖν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δυνήσετε. Ἀρσάκης γὰρ ὁ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέως υἱότατος ἔξεστι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ Ἰεροδοσίῳ τῷ Ἡρωμαίῳ αὐτοκράτορι ἕκαν γε εἰναι, εἴπ οὖ ἔτη ἀπαντοῦντες οἳ κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ μὲλλοντες πάντα τῶν αἰῶνα προσήκειν τά τε ἄλλα βιοτεύσουσι κατ' ἑξοοςίαν καὶ φόρου ὕποτελεῖς οὐδαμὴ ἔσονται. καὶ διεσωσάμεθα τά ἐνυγκέιμενα ἕως ὅμειρα ταύτας πεποίησε τὰς διαβοήτους σπουδάς, ἃς δὴ κοινῶν τινα ὀλεθροῦν καλῶν τις, οἰόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτοῦν.

37 φίλων τε γὰρ καὶ πολεμίων τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀφροντιστήσας, ἀπαντα ξινέχει τε καὶ ξυνετάραξε τὸ ἀνθρώπεια ὁ σός, ὁ βασιλεύς, τῷ λόγῳ μὲν φίλος, ἔργῳ δὲ δυσμενής. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτῶς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν εἰς ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τοὺς ἐσπερίους οἶδος τε ᾗ παντάπασι καταστρέψασθαι. τί γὰρ τῶν πρότερον ἀπειρημένων οὐκ ἔπραξεν; ἡ τί οὐκ ἐκίνησε τῶν εὐ καθεστῶτων; οὐχ ἦμιν μὲν φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἐταξεν οὗ πρότερον οὐσαν, καὶ Τξάνων τοὺς ὀμόροις ἦμιν αὐτούμονος οὐτας δεδοῦλωται, τῷ δὲ βασιλεύς τῶν ἀθλῶν Δαζών ἀρχοντα Ρωμαίων ἐπέστησε; πράγμα οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων εὐμβαίνον οὔτε λόγῳ δάδιον ἐρμηνεύσθαι. οὐ Βοσπορίταις μὲν τοῖς Ὀὐννων κατηκόσις στρατηγοὺς ἐπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν προσεποίησατο οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκον, ὁμαχμῶν δὲ πεποίηται πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἀιδιότων ἀρχαῖς, ὡν καὶ ἀνήκου τὸ παράπαν Ἡρωμαῖοι ἐτύγχανον ὅτε; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὄμηριτας τε καὶ θάλασσαν

280
do injustice should himself justly bear also the blame of their misdeeds. Now we shall begin our account from a little distance back in order that you may be able to follow the whole course of events. Arsaces, the last king of our ancestors, abdicated his throne willingly in favour of Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, on condition that all who should belong to his family through all time should live unhampered in every respect, and in particular should in no case be subject to taxation. And we have preserved the agreement, until you, the Persians, made this much-vaunted treaty, which, as we think, one would not err in calling a sort of common destruction. For from that time, disregarding friend and foe, he who is in name thy friend, O King, but in fact thy enemy, has turned everything in the world upside down and wrought complete confusion. And this thou thyself shalt know at no distant time, as soon as he is able to subdue completely the people of the West. For what thing which was before forbidden has he not done? or what thing which was well established has he not disturbed? Did he not ordain for us the payment of a tax which did not exist before, and has he not enslaved our neighbours, the Tzani, who were autonomous, and has he not set over the king of the wretched Lazi a Roman magistrate?—an act neither in keeping with the natural order of things nor very easy to explain in words. Has he not sent generals to the men of Bosporus, the subjects of the Huns, and attached to himself the city which in no way belongs to him, and has he not made a defensive alliance with the Aethiopian kingdoms, of which the Romans had never even heard? More than this he has made the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tην Ἐρυθρὰν περιβέβληται καὶ τὸν φοινικόνα
42 προστίθησι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἀφίεμεν γὰρ
λέγειν τὰ Διβύων τε καὶ Ἰταλών πάθη. ἡ γῆ
τὸν ἀνθρώπον οὐ χωρεῖ ξύμπασα· μικρόν ἔστιν
43 αὐτῷ πάντων ὁμοῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κρατεῖν. ὁ
δὲ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα περισκοπεῖ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τὸν
ἀκεανὸν διερεύναται μυχοὺς, ἀλλὰ αὐτῷ τοια
44 οἰκουμένην περιποιεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι. τί οὖν
ἐστι, ὁ βασιλεὺς, μέλλεις; τί δὲ τὴν κάκιστα
ἀπολογμένην εἰρήνην αἰσχύνη, ὅπως δηλαδὴ σε
ύστατην ποιήσηται βρώσιν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων;
45 εἰ μὲν εστὶ σοι βουλόμενον μαθεῖν ὅποιός τις ἂν
Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐς τοὺς αὐτῷ εἰκονᾶτα γένοιτο,
ἐγγύθεν τοῦ παράδειγμα παρὰ ἦμων τε αὐτῶν
46 ἐστι καὶ τῶν ταλαίπωρῶν Δαξῶν. εἰ δὲ, ὅπως
ποτε εἴθεθε τοὺς τε ἀγνῶσι καὶ σου ὀτιῶν ἡδικη-
κόσι χρῆσθαι, Βασίλειος τε καὶ Γότθους καὶ
47 Μαυρουσίους διαλογίζειν. τὸ τε ἰή κεφάλαιον
οὕτω λέλεκται. οὐκ Ἐραμοῦνδαρον μὲν ἐν
σπουδαῖς τὸν σῶν, ὃς κράτιστε βασιλεὺς, δούλου
ἀπάτη τε περιέλθει καὶ βασιλείας ἀποστῆσαι
τῆς σῆς ἔργων πεποίηται. Οὕνως δὲ τοὺς σύδα-
μόθεν αὐτῷ γνωρίμους ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐναγχος
ἐταιρίζεσθαι πράγμασιν ἐν σπουδῆ ἐσχε; καίτοι
πρᾶξις ἀποτωτέρα ταύτης οὐ γέγονεν ἐκ τοῦ
48 παντὸς χρόνου. ἐπετεὶ γὰρ ἡσθεν. οἷμαι, εἰς
πέρας αὐτῷ ὁσον οὕτω ἀφίξεσθαι τὴν τῶν ἐσπε-
ρίων καταστροφῆν, τοὺς ἐσων ἢ ἡθη μετελθεῖν
ὑμᾶς ἐγκεκείρηκεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ μόνον ἀπολέλειπται
49 αὐτῷ ἐσ ἄγονα τὸ Περσῶν κράτος. ἡ μὲν οὖν
εἰρήνη τὸ ἐκεῖνον μέρος ἢ ἦθη σοι λέλυται, καὶ
σπουδαῖς αὐτὸς πέρας ταῖς ἀπεράντως ἐπέθηκε.
HISTORICAL WRITINGS OF THE WARS, II. iii. 41-49

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

50 λύουσι γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐχ οἳ ἂν ἐν ὄπλοις
gένοιτο πρῶτοι, ἀλλ' οἳ ἂν ἐπιβουλεύοντες ἐν
51 σπονδαῖς τοῖς πέλασις ἁλοίειν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγκλημα
tῷ ἐγκεχειρήκοτι, κἂν ἀπῇ τὸ κατορθοῦν, πε-πρακταί. ὅτη ποτὲ δὲ ὁ πόλεμος χωρήσει παντί
που δῆλον. οὐ γὰρ οἳ τὰς αἰτίας τῷ πολέμῳ
παρασχόμενοι, ἀλλ' οἳ τοὺς παρασχόμενους αὐτάς
ἀμφότεροι, κρατεῖν ἂεὶ τῶν πολεμίων εἰώθασιν.
52 οὐ μὴν οὖσθε εἰς ἀντιπάλου ἣμῶν τῆς
dυνάμεως ὁ ἀγών ἔσται. Ῥωμαίοις γὰρ τῶν τε
στρατιωτῶν πλεῖστος πρὸς ταῖς τῆς οἰκουμενῆς ἐσχατίας
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν, οὕτε
αὐτοῖς ἁριστοὶ ἤσαν, τῶν ἔτερον μὲν Σίτταν
cτείναντες ἥκομεν, Βελλαρίῳ δὲ ὤμοτε Ἰου-
στινιανὸς τὸ λουπὸν ὑψεῖται. οὕτε ἐκεῖνος ὅλο-
γορήσας μεμένηκε πρὸς ταῖς ἥλιοι δυσμαῖς,
53 αὐτὸς ἔχων τὸ Ἰταλῶν κράτος. ὅστε σοι ἐπὶ
toὺς πολεμίους ἴδοι τε ἀπαντήσει τῶν πάντων
οὐδείς, εἴτε δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς εὐνοία τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
kαὶ χωρίων ἐμπειρίᾳ πολλῆ τῷ σῷ στρατῷ
54 ἔξηγουμένους.· ταῦτα ἔπει Χασρός ἦκουσεν,
ἦσθι τε καὶ ἐνυγκαλέσας εἰ τι ἐν Πέρσαις καθαρὸν
ἢν ἐς πάντας ἐξήνεγκεν ἢ τε Οὐζτίνιος ἐγραψε
καὶ ὡσα οἱ Ἀρμένιοι εἶπον, ἀμφὶ τότε πρακτέω
55 βουλὴν προὔθηκεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐλέξχησαν μὲν
gνώμαι πολλαὶ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέρουσι, τέλος δὲ
πολεμητέα σφίσιν ἀμα ἢρ ἄρχομεν ἐπὶ Ῥω-
56 μαίος ἐδόξει εἶναι. ἢν γὰρ τούτων μετόπω-
ρον, τρίτον καὶ δέκατον ἥτοι Ἰουστινιανὸς βασι-
57 λέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος. οὐ μέντοι
Ῥωμαιοὶ τοῦτο ὑποτετεινόν, οὐδὲ δὴ Πέρσαι λύ-
σειν ποτὲ τὰς ἀπεράντους καλουμένας σπονδὰς
284
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. iii. 50-57

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

φόντο, καίπερ Χωσρήν ἀκούσαντες τῷ τε σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλεῖν οἰς εὐημέρησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματα ἐπεφέρειν ταῦτα ὃν ἀρτι ἐμνήσθην.

IV

1. Τότε καὶ ὁ κομήτης ἀστήρ ἐφάνη, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ὅσον εὐμήκης ἀνήρ μάλιστα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ πολλῷ μεῖζων· καὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ μὲν πέρας πρὸς δύνατα ἤλιον, ἢ δὲ ἀρχή πρὸς ἀνύσχοντα ἢν,
2. αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὁπισθὲν εἶπε τοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν αὐγοκέροφ ἢν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τοξότῃ. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν τινες ἐκάλουν ἔφαν, ὅτι δὴ ἐπιμήκης τε ἢν καὶ λίαν δεῖξαν τὴν ἀρχήν εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ πωγοννίαν, ἡμέρας τε πλείους ἡ τεσσαράκοντα ἐφάνη.
3. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σοφοὶ ἀλλήλοις ὡς ἢκιστα ὀμολογοῦντες ἄλλος ἄλλα προύλεγον πρὸς τούτοις δὴ τοῦ ἀστέρος σημαίνεσθαι· ἐγὼ δὲ δοσα γενέσθαι ἐξοφνήχθη γράφων δίδωμι ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ἀποβε-
4. βηκόσι τεκμηριούσθαι ἢ βούλωτο. μέγα μὲν εὐθὺς στράτευμα Οὐνικόν, διαβάντες ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, ἐξομάκην Ἐὐρώπη ἐπέσκηψαν, γεγονὸς μὲν πολλάκις ᾧδη, τοσαῦτα δὲ τῷ πλῆθος κακὰ ἢ τοιαῦτα τῷ μέγεθος οὐκ ἐνεγκόν πῶστε τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ κολποῦ γὰρ τοῦ Ἰονίου οἱ βάρβαροι οὕτω ἀπαντὰ ἐφεξῆς ἐλησαντο
5. μέχρι ἐς τὰς Ὑπαντίας πρόστεια. καὶ φρούρια μὲν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ἐν Ἰλλυρίοις εἶλον, πόλιν δὲ τὴν Κασσάνδρειαν κατεστρέφοντο βία (ὅν οἱ παλαιοὶ ἕκαλουν, ὃσα γε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι)

286

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

IV

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

6 οὐ τειχομαχήσαντες πρότερον. καὶ τὰ τε χρήματα ἔχοντες αἰχμαλώτων τε μυριάδας δυσκαλέσκα ἀπαγόμενοι ἐπὶ οἶκου ἀπαντεῖς ἀνεχόμεθασαν, οὐδὲνος σφίσιν ἐναντιώματος ἀπαντήσαντος.

7 χρόνον τε τῷ ὑστέρῳ πολλάκις ἐνταῦθα γενόμενοι ἀνήκεστα ἐς Ῥωμαίους δεινὰ ἔδρασαν. οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐν Χερρόνησῳ τειχομαχήσαντες, βιασάμενοι τε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἀμυνομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης ροθίου τὸν περίβολον ὑπερβάντες δε πρὸς κόλπον τὸ μέλαν καλουμένο ἐστίν, οὕτω τε ἐντὸς τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν γεγενημένοι καὶ τοῖς ἐν Χερρόνησῳ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπεσόντες, ἔκτειναν τε πολλοὺς καὶ ἡμιραπόδισαν.

9 σχεδὸν ἀπαντασίας. ὅλγοι δὲ τινες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν μεταξὺ Σηστοῦ τε καὶ Ἁβύδου πορθμον, λησάμενοι τε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας χωρία καὶ αὕτες ἐς Χερρόνησον ἀναστρέφαντες, ἔν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐπὶ οἶκον ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

10 ἐν ἐτέρᾳ τε εἰσβολῇ τοῖς τε Ἡλληνικοῦς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς λησάμενους, τειχομαχεῖν μὲν ἐνεχειρησάν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι φουρών καρτερώτατα ἀμυνομένων διερευνόμενοι τὰς περιόδους παρὰ δόξαν τὴν ἄτραπον εὑρόν.

11 ἢ φέρει εἰς τὸ ὄρος ὑπαὐτὴ ἀνέχει. οὖτω τε σχεδὸν ἀπαντασία ᾿Ελληνας πλὴν Πελοποννησίων.

12 διεργάσασθαι ἀπεχόρησαν. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερῳ τὰς σπονδάς λύσαντες ἔργα Ῥωμαίους τοὺς ἐφούς εἰργάσαντο ἀπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα δηλώσω.

13 Βελισάριος [ἐπεί] τῶν Γότθων τέ καὶ Ἰταλικῶν βασιλεία Ὕπτιτιγιν καθελῶν ζώντα ἐσ.

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} The Huns placed a part of their force in the rear of the defenders of the pass, which lies between the sea and the mountains, sending them around by the same path, probably, as that used by Xerxes when he destroyed Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans; see \textit{Herod.} vii. 216–218.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΟΥ ΚΑΕΣΑΡΕΑΣ

Βυζάντιων ἱνεγκεν. ὅπως δὲ ὁ Περσῶν στρατὸς ἔσ γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλεν ἔρων ἐρχομαὶ.

14 ἡμῖνα Χισρόνου πολεμησεῖοντος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασίλεις ἱσθῆτο, παραίνεσιν τε ποιεῖσθαι τινα καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρῆσεως αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν ἥθελεν.

15 ἐτύγχανε δὲ τις ὡς Βυζάντιων ἠκού ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, Ἀναστάσιος άνομα, δῶξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει ἔχον, δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Δάρας ἐναγχός γενομένην

16 τυραννίδα καταλείκει. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν Ἀναστάσιον παρὰ Χισρόνὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπεμψε

17 γράμματα γράψας, ἐδῆλον δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε "Ἄνυστῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ καὶ οἷς τὰ ἐσ τὸ θείου ἱκανῶς ἱσκηται πόλεμον φυσικῶς αἰτίας, ἀλλος τε καὶ πρὸς ἀνδράς τὰ μάλιστα φίλους, σθένει παντὶ ἀποτείμησθαι. ἄξυνέτων δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ράστα ποιομένων πολέμων μάχης τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἀφορμάς οὐδαμῆ

18 οὕσας ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι. εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ καταλυσαῖν ἐσ πόλεμον οὐναι οὑδὲν πράγμα ἐστὶν, ἐπει τῶν ἐπιπηδεμάτων τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀτιμοτάτοις εὐκολὰ τίθεσθαι ἢ τῶν

19 πραγμάτων νεκρίς, πόλεμον δὲ κατὰ γνώμην διαθεμένους αὐτὶς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χωρεῖν

20 ἀνθρώπως  ὁμιας ὡς ῥάδιον εἶναι. καίτοις τού μὲν ἡμῖν γράμματα οὐκ ἐπίτηδες γεγραμμένα ἐπικαλεῖσ, ταῦτα τε γνώμη αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐρμηνεύειν ἑσπούδακας, οὐχ ἦπερ ἡμεῖς διανοηθέντες γεγράφαμεν, ἄλλα γ᾽ οὐ τὰ βεβουλεμένα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐκ ἀνευ τινὸς παραπέτασματος ἐφε-

21 μένῳ ξυνοίσεως δοκεῖ. ἡμῖν δὲ πάρεστιν Ἁλα-

1 ἀνθρώπως Haury : ἀνθρώπω MSS.
And I shall now proceed to tell how the army of the Persians invaded the land of the Romans. When the Emperor Justinian perceived that Chosroes was eager for war, he wished to offer him some counsel and to dissuade him from the undertaking. Now it happened that a certain man had come to Byzantium from the city of Daras, Anastasius by name, well known for his sagacity; he it was who had broken the tyranny which had been established recently in Daras. Justinian therefore wrote a letter and sent it by this Anastasius to Chosroes; and the message of the letter was as follows: "It is the part of men of discretion and those by whom divine things are treated with due respect, when causes of war arise, and in particular against men who are in the truest sense friends, to exert all their power to put an end to them; but it belongs to foolish men and those who most lightly bring on themselves the enmity of Heaven to devise occasions for war and insurrection which have no real existence. Now to destroy peace and enter upon war is not a difficult matter, since the nature of things is such as to make the basest activities easy for the most dishonourable men. But when they have brought about war according to their intention, to return again to peace is for men, I think, not easy. And yet thou chargest me with writing letters which were not written with any dark purpose, and thou hast now made haste to interpret these with arbitrary judgment, not in the sense in which we conceived them when we wrote them, but in a way which will be of advantage to thee in thy eagerness to carry out thy plans not without some pretext. But for us it is possible to
μούνδαρον δεικνύει τὸν σὸν γῆν ἕναγχος κατα-
δραμόντα τὴν ἠμετέραν ἔργα ἐν σπονδαῖς δια-
tεπράχθαι ἀνήκεστα, χωρίων ἀλώσεις, χρημάτων
ἀρπαγάς, ἀνθρώπων φόνους τε καὶ ἀνδραπο-
dισμοὺς τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὑπὲρ δὲν σὲ οὐκ
22 αἰτιᾶσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀπολογεῖσθαι δεῖσθε. τὰ
γὰρ τῶν ἡδικηκότων ἐγκλήματα αἱ πράξεις,
οὐχ αἱ διάνοιαι, δηλοῦσι τοῖς πέλας. ἀλλὰ καὶ
τούτων τοιούτων ὄντων ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐχεσθαί καὶ
διὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐγκώμας, σὲ δὲ πολεμησίστοντα
ἐπὶ Ρωμαίους ἀκούομεν ἀναπλάττειν αἰτίασ
23 οὐδαμόθεν ἡμῖν προσηκούσας. εἰκότως· οἱ μὲν
γὰρ τὰ παρόντα περιστέλλειν ἐν σπονδῇ ἐχοντε
καὶ σφόδρα ἐγκεκρεμένας ἀποσείόνται τὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς
φίλους αἰτίας, οὐς δὲ ὁ τῆς φιλίας οὐκ ἀρέσκει
θεσμός, καὶ τὰς οὐκ οὖσας ἐφίενται πορίζονθαι
24 σκῆψεις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς τυχόσων
ἀνθρώπως, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλεύση, πρέπειν ἄν
25 δόξει. σὺ δὲ τούτων ἀφέμενος σκότει μὲν τὸ
μέτρον τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀπο-
lουμένων καὶ τίς ἀν εἰη τῶν ἑξυμπεσουμένων τὴν
αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι δίκαιοι, λογίζου δὲ τοὺς ὄρκους,
οὐς δὴ ὀμοσάμενός τι καὶ τὰ χρηματα κομισά-
μενος, εἰτὰ ἀτιμᾶσας οὐ δέον τέχναις τισῶν ἡ
σοφίσμασι παραγαγεῖν οὐκ ἄν δύνασθο τὸ γὰρ
θείου κρείσσον ἡ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι πέφυκε πρὸς
28 πάντων ἀνθρώπως." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ο Χοσρόης
ἀπενεχθέντα εἰδεν, ἐν μὲν τῷ αὐτίκα οὕτε τι
ἀπεκρίνατο οὕτε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψετο,
ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μένειν ἣνάγκαζεν.

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


PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

V

1 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ μὲν χειμῶν ήδη ὑπέληγεν, τρίτον δὲ καὶ δέκατον ἐτῶς ἐτελεύτατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεῖ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι, Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδον ἔσ γὰρ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄμα ἤρι ἀρχομένῳ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε, τὴν τε ἀπέραντον καλουμένην εἰρήνην λαμπρῶς ἔλυεν. ήει δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ τὸν

2 Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξίᾳ ἕχων. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα Ῥωμαίων φρούριον ἔσχατον ὁ Κερκήσιον ἐπικαλεῖται, ἐχυρὸν ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα ὅν, ἐπεὶ Ἄβόρρας μὲν ποταμὸς μέγας ἐνταῦθα τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἕχων τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμίγνυται, τὸ δὲ φρούριον τούτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ποὺ τῇ γωνίᾳ κεῖται

3 ἦν δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ μέξις ποιεῖται. καὶ τείχος δὲ ἀλλο μακρὸν ὁ τοῦ φρούριον ἐκτὸς χώραν τὴν μεταξὺ ποταμοῦ ἐκατέρων ἀπολαμβάνου τρίγωνον

4 ἐνταῦθα ἀμφὶ τὸ Κερκήσιον ἐπιτελεῖ σχῆμα. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης οὔτε φρούριον ἐθέλων οὔτω δὴ ἐχυρὸν ἀποπειράσθαι οὔτε διαβαίνειν ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην διανοούμενος, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ Σὺρως τε καὶ Κίλκας ἵνα, οὐδὲν διαμελλήσας, ἐπιπρόσθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἥλαυνε, τριῶν τε σχεδὸν τι ὄντων ἦμερῶν εὐζωνὶς ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τοῦ Εὐφράτην τὴν ὁχθὴν ἀνύσας πόλει Ζηνοβία ἐπιτυγχάνει· ήν ἡ Ζηνοβία ποτὲ δειμμαμένη τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῇ πόλει,

5 ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐδώκεν. ἤν δὲ ἡ Ζηνοβία Ὀδονάθου γυνῆ, τῶν ἐκείνης Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχοντός, οἱ Ῥω- 6 μαίοις ἐνσπουνδοί εἰς παλαιοῦ ἑσαυ. οὐτὸς [ὁ]

1 μακρὸν VP: μικρὸν G.
V

When the winter was already reaching its close, and the thirteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian was ending, Chosroes, son of Cabades, invaded the land of the Romans at the opening of spring with a mighty army, and openly broke the so-called endless peace. But he did not enter by the country between the rivers, but advanced with the Euphrates on his right. On the other side of the river stands the last Roman stronghold which is called Circesium, an exceedingly strong place, since the River Aborras, a large stream, has its mouth at this point and mingles with the Euphrates, and this fortress lies exactly in the angle which is made by the junction of the two rivers. And a long second wall outside the fortress cuts off the land between the two rivers, and completes the form of a triangle around Circesium. Chosroes, therefore, not wishing to make trial of so strong a fortress and not having in mind to cross the River Euphrates, but rather to go against the Syrians and Cilicians, without any hesitation led his army forward, and after advancing for what, to an unencumbered traveller, is about a three days' journey along the bank of the Euphrates, he came upon the city of Zenobia; this place Zenobia had built in former times, and, as was natural, she gave her name to the city. Now Zenobia was the wife of Odonathus, the ruler of the Saracens of that region, who had been on terms of peace with the Romans.
Οδονάθος ἀνεσώσατο ὅσις ἄρχην ὑπὸ Μήδιος γεγενημένην. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν 7 τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο. Χοσρόης δὲ τότε ἀγχιστά που τῆς Ζηνοβίας ἦκον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον οὔτε ἀξιόλογον ἐμαθεὶ εἶναι καὶ τὴν χώραν κατενόησεν ἀοίκητον τε καὶ πάντων ἁγαθῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν, δείσας μὴ τίς οἶχ χρόνος ἐνταῦθα τρίβεις πράξεσι μεγάλαις ἐπ' οὔδενι ἔργῳ ἐμπόδιοι εἴη, ἀπεπειράσατο μὲν ὁμολογία τὸ χωρίον ἐλείν. ὡς δὲ οὖδὲν προὔχωρει, πρὸς τὸ κατὰ τάχος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἠλλοῦν. 

8 Ὅδον τε αὕτης τοσαύτην ἀνύσας ἀφίκετο ἐς τόλμῃ Σοῦρων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ οὖσαν, ἤς δὴ ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος ἐστη. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ ξυνέβη ἐφ' οὗ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐκάθητο χρε-μετίσαι τε καὶ τῷ ποδὶ τὸ ἐδαφὸς κρούειν. δ δὴ οἵ μάγοι ξυμβαλόντες ἀλώσεθαί τὸ χωρίον 10 ἀπέφανον. ὁ δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περιβολοῦ ὡς τειχομαχήσων τὸ στράτευμα 
11 ἔπηγεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὶς ὄνομα μὲν Ἀρσάκης, Ἀρμένιος δὲ γένος, τῶν ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν ἄρχων, δις τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀναβαβάσας, ἐυθέως τε μαχόμενος ἰσχυρότατα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κτεῖνας, τοξεύματι 
12 βληθεὶς ἑτελεύτησε. καὶ Πέρσαι μὲν τότε (ἡμὶ γὰρ τῆς ἡμέρας ζέ) ἀφ' αὐτῆς τῇ ὕστερᾳ τει-χομαχῆσοντες ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησαν, ὅσις δὲ ἀπορρύντες, ἀτε τετελευτηκότος σφίς τοῦ ἄρχουτος, ἴκεται διενοῦντο Χοσρόου γενέ- 
13 σθανί. τῇ οὖν ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπον δεησόμενον τε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἔξαιτη-

1 τὶς οἶ V(1): πως ὁ Π.
from of old. This Odonathus rescued for the Romans the Eastern Empire when it had come under the power of the Medes; but this took place in former times. Chosroes then came near to Zenobia, but upon learning that the place was not important and observing that the land was untenanted and destitute of all good things, he feared lest any time spent by him there would be wasted on an affair of no consequence and would be a hindrance to great undertakings, and he attempted to force the place to surrender. But meeting with no success, he hastened his march forward.

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

σώμενον ἔπεμψαν, ὡς τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τινας ἐπαγόμενος ὄρνης τε φέροντας καὶ οἶνον καὶ καθαροῦς ἀρτοὺς, παρὰ Χοσρῆν ἀφίκετο, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἔδαφος καθήκεν αὐτῶν καὶ δεδακρυμένος ἤκτενει φείδεσθαι ἄνθρωπων οἰκτρῶν καὶ πόλεως Ῥωμαίοις μὲν ἀτιμοτάτης, Πέρσαις δὲ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ οὔτε τὰ πρῶτα γεγενημένα οὔτε ύστερον ποτε ἐσομένης· λύτρα τέ οἱ τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς δώσειν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεως ἦσπερ οὐκοῦσιν ἐπαξίως

14 ὑπέσχετο. Χοσρῆς δὲ Σουρηνοῖς μὲν χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ὡς δὴ αὐτῷ πρῶτοι περιπετευκότες Ῥωμαίων ἀπάντων οὔτε τῇ πόλει ἐδέχαντο ἐθελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταίρειν οἱ ὁπλα τολμήσαντες πολύν τινα δοκίμων Περσῶν ὄμλυν ἔκτεναν.

15 τὴν μέντοι ὀργήν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀκριβῶς ἐκρυψεν, ὅπως τὴν κόλασιν ἐς Σουρηνοὺς ποιησάμενος φοβερόν τε Ῥωμαίοις αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμαχὸν τινα καταστήσεται. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ προσχωρῆσιν οὐδεὶς πῶς ὑπετόπαξε

16 τοὺς ἐν ποσίν ἀεὶ γεγενημένους. διό δὴ ξύνε τῇ φιλοφοροῦντι πολλῇ τῶν ἐπίσκοπων ἐξανέστησε, καὶ τὰ δώρα δεξάμενος παρεῖχετο τίνα δόκησιν ὡς ἀμφὶ τοὺς Σουρηνῶν λύτροις αὐτίκα κοινολογησάμενος Περσῶν τοῖς λογίμωσι εὐ τὴν δέσιν

17 διαθήσεται. οὕτω τε ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις τῶν ἐπίσκοπων ἀπεπέμψατο οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἐπιτβουλῆς αἰσθησιν ἔχοντα, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων τινὰς παραπομποὺς ἐσομένους δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ

18 ἐξυπέμψεν. οὕς δὴ λάθρα ἐκέλευε μὲν ἔναι ξύν αὐτῷ ἀχρί ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, παρηγοροῦντας καὶ

298
spared; so he took with him some of his attendants, who carried fowls and wine and clean loaves, and came before Chosroes; there he threw himself on the ground, and with tears supplicated him to spare a pitiable population and a city altogether without honour in the eyes of the Romans, and one which in past times had never been of any account to the Persians, and which never would be such thereafter; and he promised that the men of Sura would give him ransom worthy of themselves and the city which they inhabited. But Chosroes was angry with the townsmen because, being the first he had met of all the Romans, they had not willingly received him into their city, but even daring to raise their arms against him had slain a large number of Persian notables. However he did not disclose his anger, but carefully concealed it behind a smooth countenance, in order that by carrying out the punishment of the inhabitants of Sura he might make himself in the eyes of the Romans a fearful person and one not to be resisted. For by acting in this way he calculated that those who would from time to time come in his way would yield to him without trouble. Accordingly with great friendliness he caused the bishop to rise, and receiving the gifts, gave the impression, in a way, that he would immediately confer with the notables of the Persians concerning the ransom of the townsmen, and would settle their request favourably. Thus he dismissed the bishop and his following without any suspicion of the plot, and he sent with him certain of the men of note among the Persians, who were to be ostensibly an escort. These men he secretly commanded to go with him as far as the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tisin agathais epairontas elpisisin, oste auton kai tois xivn auti apantias kairontas te kai 19 oudein dediotes tois endon orfhvrai. epieidan de oi fulakes anaklainantes tin pulida to polite autous degethovai mellassi, lithon tina h xivon
tou te oudoi kai tis theuras metabzri pignantes ou
zhexwrein epitidevai, alla kai autous tois
epitheinai bouloemois chronon h tina empodon
istasthai oik Eis makran ghar autous tou stratou
xhesvai.
20 Tahta tois andrasin o Xosrois entel-
lamevos en paraskevi tou stratov epoeito,
dromof te xorhein epi tihn polin oiav autous
21 smhnia ekleven. epei de anxhista tou peri-
bolou eyenontos, oi mene Persai tou episkopon
aspaasamenoi ektois elmeno, oi de Sourenoi per-
chari gegovota tou andra orwntes xin timi
to polh prupemponemov prois tov polemov,
aphroutisthsantes duokolov apantov tihn te
pulida olhn anefygon kai tou iereto xin
tois epomevovs krotontes te kai pollla eufhmenovtes
22 edexanto. epei te apantes eisow eyenontos,
tihn mene pulida wos epithsontes oi fulakes
oudon, oi de Persai lithon de autous paraskevastos
23 meso eiriptov. oie te fulakes eti mallo
athontes te kai biazoemenoi exiknevai tihn
pulide
24 es tou oudoi oudamh ischyon. ou mene oude
anovgynai autin aubits etolmov, epeis prois tov
pole
mivn autin exhesvai exhontos. tines de ou
lithon, alla xivon Persas es tihn pulida fasin embe-
25 blyshai. oupo de Sourenovn schedon ti tihn
epi,boulh ous thmenov, parh n te tou panto
300
wall, encouraging him and cheering him with fair hopes, so that he and all those with him should be seen by those inside rejoicing and fearing nothing. But when the guards had set the gate open and were about to receive them into the city, they were to throw a stone or block of wood between the threshold and the gate and not allow them to shut it, but should themselves for a time stand in the way of those who wished to close it; for not long afterwards the army would follow them.

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

301
Χοσρόης στρατῷ καὶ τὴν πυλίδα οἱ βάρβαροι βιασάμενοι ἀνεπέτασαν, δι’ ὅλιγον τε κατὰ
26 κράτος ἥλω. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος τᾶς τε οἰκίας ἔλησσατο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων πολλῶν μὲν κτείνας, τούς δὲ λουποὺς ἀπαν-
tας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιησάμενος λόγῳ πυρπο-
λήσας τε ἐξύπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἐδαφὸς καθεῖ-
27 λεν. οὕτω τε τὸν Ἀναστάσιον ἀπεπέμψατο,
Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλειν κελεύσας ὅτι,
pοτὲ γῆς Χοσρόην τὸν Καβάδου ἀπολυτῶν εἴῃ.

28 Μετὰ δὲ, εἶτε φιλανθρωπία εἶτε φιλοχρηματία
ἐχόμενος, ἢ γυναῖκι χαριζόμενος ἢν ἢ ἐνθένδε
δορυφόρων ἔξελων, Ἐνφημίων ὄνομα, γυναῖκα
gαμετήν ἐποίησατο, ἔρωτα ἐξαίσιον αὐτῆς ἔρα-
σθείς (ἡν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς μάλιστα) δράν τι
29 ἄγαθον ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς Σούρηνοις ἐγνω. πέμψας
οὖν ἐς Σεργιοῦπολιν, τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατήκουν, ἢ
Σεργίου ἐπιφανοὺς ἄγιον ἐπώνυμος ἔστι, πόλεως
τῆς ἀλούσης ἐξ καὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἕκατον σταδίων
dιέχουσα, κειμένη δὲ αὐτῆς πρὸς ἀνεμον νότον
ev τῷ βαρβαρικῷ καλομένῳ τεθεί, Κάνδιδον
τὸν ταύτη ἐπισκοποῦν κεπηναρίῳ δυοῦ δισχε-
lίους τε καὶ μυρίους ὄντας ὁμοίωθαι τοὺς ἀχμα-
30 λῶτος ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ (χρήματα γάρ οἱ οὐκ
ἐφασκεν εἰναι) τὴν πραξιν ἀντικρυς ἀνεδύετο.

diὸ δὴ αὐτὸν ὁ Χοσρόης ἦξιον ἐν βιβλιδίῳ τὴν
ὁμολογίαν ἅφεντα τοῦ δώσειν χρόνῳ τῷ υστέρῳ
tὰ χρήματα οὕτω δὴ ὄλιγον χρημάτων πρίασθαι
31 ἀνδραπόδα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος. Κάνδιδος δὲ
κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ μὲν χρυσόν ὀμολο-
γησεν ἔναιατον δώσειν, ὅρκους δειτοτάτους ὃμω-

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

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

μοικώς, ξημίαν δὲ οἱ αὐτῷ διώρισε ταύτην, ἦν μὴ διδοῖς χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ τὰ χρήματα, δι- πλάσια μὲν αὐτὰ δῶσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἱερέα μηκέτε
32 εἶναι, ἀτε τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα ἡλογηκότα. ταύτα Κάνδιδος ἐν γραμματείᾳ γράψας τοὺς Σουρηνοὺς
33 ἀπαντας ἔλαβεν. ὅν ὀλίγοι μὲν τινὲς διεβίωσαν,
οί δὲ πλείστοι ἀντέχειν τῇ ξυμπεσούσῃ ταλαι- πωρίᾳ οὐχ οἷοί τε ὄντες ὀλίγῳ ύστερον διεφθάρ- ρησαν. ταύτα διαπεραγμένος Χοσρόης πρόσω ἐπήγα τὸ στράτευμα.

VI

1 Ἐτύχανε δὲ ὁλίγῳ ἐμπροσθεν βασιλεὺς ἀρχὴν
tῆς ἔως τὴν στρατηγίδα διελών δίχα, καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἀρχὶ ἐσ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐς τὸ Βελυσάριον
ἀπολιτῶν ὄνομα δὲ ξύμπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τὰ
πρότερα εἶχε, τὰ δὲ ἐνθέντε μέχρι τῶν Περσικῶν
ὁρίων τῷ Βούζῃ ἐπιτρέψας, ὅπου ἁπάσης
ἐπιμέλεσθαι τῆς ἐφιαλος ἀρχῆς, ἐς ὁς Βελυσάριος ἐς
2 Ἰταλίας ἐπανήκοι, ἐκέλευε. διὸ δὴ ὁ Βούζης
ἀπαντά τὸν στρατὸν ἐπόμενον ἔχων τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰεραπόλεως ἐμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ
ξυμπεσούν Σουρηνοὺς ἐμαθε, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς
3 Ἰεραπολιτῶν πρῶτοτ ώς ἐλεξε τοιάδε "Οὶς μὲν ἐξ
ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως πρὸς τοὺς ἐπίνοντας οὶ
ἀγών ἐστιν, ἐς χείρας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκ τοῦ
ἐὐθέος καθίστασθαι οὐδὲν ἀπεικός, οἰς δὲ τῶν
ἐναντίων πολλῷ τῷ διάλλασσοντι καταδεσσέτεροι

1 Ἰεραπόλεως Dindorf: ιερᾶς πόλεως MSS.

304
specifying that he should receive the following punishment if he should not give the money at the time agreed upon, that he should pay double the amount and should himself be no longer a priest, as one who had neglected his sworn promise. And after setting down these things in writing, Candidus received all the inhabitants of Sura. And some few among them survived, but the majority, unable to support the misery which had fallen to their lot, succumbed soon afterwards. After the settlement of this affair Chosroes led his army forward.

VI

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

ξυμβαλεῖ εἶναι, μηχαναῖς τοὺς πολεμίους περιελθέντος μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἀντιτασσομένους ἐς κύινυνόν τινα προσποτον ἵναι.

4 ἥλικος μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ὁ Χοσρόου στρατὸς ἀκούτε δὴπου. ἂν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν πολιορκία ἦμᾶς ἐξελεῖν βούληται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τὸν πολέμον διενέγκωμεν, ἦμᾶς μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιλείψειν εἰκός, Πέρσας δὲ ἀπαντᾷ ἢ καὶ τής ημετέρας ούδενος ἡμετέρας οὐδενὸς ἀντιστατοῦντος κομίζεσθαι. ταύτη τε τῆς πολιορκίας μηκενομένης, οὐδὲ ἀρκέσειν τῶν περίβολοι ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλαῖς ὀμαί, ὧν δὴ ἐπιμαχότατον πολλαχῶς τετύχθηκεν εἶναι, καί τι Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἀνήκεστων ἄµβησθεσθαι. ἢν δὲ γε μοῖρα μὲν τινι τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως φυλάξωμεν τείχος, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὰς ἁμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπωρείας καταλάβωσιν, ἐνθενδὲ καταθέντες πῇ μὲν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον, πῇ δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἐπιτήδειων ἐνεκα στελλομένους, ἀναγκάσοντοι Χοσρόην αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλα λύσαντα τὴν προσεδρεῖαν, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ὀλίγου ποιῆσασθαι, οὕτε τὰς προσβολὰς ἀδεέστερον ἐπάγειν τῷ περιβόλῳ παντελῶς ἧχοντα οὕτε τὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων στρατῳ τοσοῦτος πορίζεσθαι."

7 τοσαῦτα ὁ Βούζης εἶπὼς λέγειν μὲν τὰ ἕξισμορα ἐδοξεῖν, ἔπραξεν δὲ τῶν δεόντων οὐδέν. ἀπολέξας γὰρ εἰ τι ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίω ν στρατῷ δόκιμον ἤν, ἀπίων φρατεί. καὶ ὅποι ποτὲ γῆς ἐτύχονεν οὕτε τις τῶν ἐν Ἰεραπόλει Ῥωμαίων οὕτε ὁ τῶν πολεμίων στρατὸς μαθεῖν ἵσχυσε. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῆδε.

1 ἀπαντᾷ P: ἀπαντᾷς VG.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. vi. 3–8

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

9 Βασίλειε, δὲ Ἡσυχιανίας πυθόμενος τὴν
Περσῶν ἐφόδου, Γερμανόν μὲν εὐθὺς τῶν ἀνεψιόν
τῶν αὐτοῦ ξυν θορύβῳ πολλῷ τριακόσιοι ἐπό-
μένους ἔχοντα ἐπεμψε, στρατὸν δὲ οἶκον ἐς
10 μακρὰν ὑπέσχετο πολὺν ἔφεσθαι. ἦς τε Ἀντιο-
χείαν ὁ Γερμανὸς ἀφικομένος περὶ ἤλθε τὸν
περίβολον ἀπαντὰ κύκλω, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔχυρὰ μὲν
ἀντα τὰ πολλὰ ἱππισκεῖ (τὰ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ
ποταμὸς Ὀρόντης παραρρεῖ ξύμπαντα τοῖς ἐπιού-
σιν ἀπορα ἐργάζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει
χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ἀνεχόμενα ἐσβατὰ τοῖς
πολεμίοις ὃς ἦκιστα ἦν), ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ γενόμενος,
ἡ δὲ Ὀροκασιάδα καλεῖν οἱ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποι
νεομάκασιν, ἐπιμαχῶτατον κατενόησεν διὸ τὸ κατ
11 αὐτὴν τείχος. πετρα γὰρ τυγχάνει τις ἐνταῦθα
πη ὀνᾶ, εὐρόνει, μὲν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἰκανῶς ἔχουσα,
ὕψος δὲ ὀλίγῳ τοῦ περίβολον ἐλασσομένη.
12 ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἡ τὴν πετραν ἀποτεμνομένοις
βαθῶν τινα βόθρον ἀμφὶ τὸ τείχος ἐργάζεσθαι, μὴ
tis εὐθένδε ἀναβησόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ίοι,
ἡ πύργων μέγαν τινὰ δειμαμένους ἐνταῦθα τὴν ἀπ
αὐτοῦ οἰκοδομῶν ἐνάψαι τῷ τῆς πόλεως τείχει.
13 ἄλλα τοῖς τῶν οἰκοδομῶν ἀρχιτέκτοσι ποιήτει
τοῦτον ἐδόκει οὐδέτερα εἶναι. οὐτε γὰρ ἐν χρόνῳ
βραχεῖ ἐπιτελῇ ἐσεσθαι οὔτως ἐγκειμένης τῆς τῶν
πολεμίων ἐφόδου, ἀρχόμενοι τε τοῦ ἐργου τούτου
καὶ οὐκ ἐς πέρας αὐτοῦ ἐξικνούμενοι οὐκ ἄλλο
οὐδὲν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἐνδεικνύοι τῇ λῃστῇ τοῦ
14 τείχων σφίσι πολεμήτεια εἰς. Γερμανὸς δὲ ταύτης
δὴ τῆς ἐννοιας σφαλεὶς, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα στρατὸν ἐκ
Βυζαντίου καρακοκῶν ἐλπίδα τινὰ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ εἶχεν.
15 ἔπει δὲ χρόνου τριβόετος συχνοῦ οὔτε τις εἰκ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. vi. 9-15

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

βασιλέως στρατὸς ἀφίκετο οὔτε ὅτι ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ- δοξος ὡς, ἐς δὲς ἤλθε μὴ ὁ Χοσρόης πυθόμενοι
βασιλέως ἀνεφίγον ἐνταῦθα εἶναι, προοριγιαίτερον
ἄλλου ὄτοιον ποιήσηται Ἀντιόχειαν τε καὶ
αὐτὸν ἐξελέιν, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων
ἀφέμενος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ίοι. ταῦτα
καὶ Ἀντιοχείαν ἐν νῷ ἔχουσι βουλήν τε ὑπὲρ
τούτων πεποιημένοις ἐξαφορώτατον 1 ἔδοξεν εἶναι
χρήματα προομένου Χοσρόη κίνδυνον τὸν παρόν-
tα διαφυγεῖν.

17 Μέγαν τοίνυν, τὸν Βεροίας ἐπίσκεψαν, ἄνδρα
ἐξουσίον (ἐπιχωριάζων γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανε τότε)
Χοσρόην δεσμόμενον πέμπουσιν, δι' ἡ ἐνθένδε
σταλεῖς καταλαμβάνει τοὺς Μήδων στρατὸν Ἰερα-
pόλεως 2 οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεῖν. Χοσρόη τε ἐς ὃν ἦκων
ἡκὼν πολλὰ ἐλυπάρει ἀνθρώπους οἰκτείραι οὐ
οὔτε μὴ αὐτὸν ἤμαρτον οὔτε τῇ Περσῶν στρα-
tιᾷ οὐκ οὐ οὐ προτείνειν εἰς. πρόπεθε γὰρ ἄνδρὶ
βασιλείς πάντων ἱκεστα τοῖς ὑποχωροῦσι καὶ οὐδὰμὴ
ἐθέλουσιν ἀντιτάσσεθαι ἐπεμβαίνειν τε καὶ βιά-
ζεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὖδε τῶν νῦν δρωμέων βασιλικῶν
ti oūdē gēnavaion autōío ἐργασθεῖν, ὅτι δὴ οὐ παρα-
σχόμενος τῷ Ῥωμαίοις βασιλεῖ βουλὴς tina
χρόνου, ὥστε ἡ τὴν εἰρήνην κρατῶσαθαι, ὡς ἂν
ἐκατέρω δοκοῖ, ἢ τὰ ἐς τῶν πόλεμον ἐκ συν-
θήκης, ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἐξαρτύσθαι, ἀλλ' οὕτως
ἀνεπισκέπτως ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ὀπλοὶς ἐλθοῖν,
οὐπω τοῦ ςφετέρου βασιλέως ἐπισταμένου τὰ

1 ἐξαφορώτατον VG: ἀναγκαίοτατον P.
2 Ἰεραπόλεως VG: ἱερᾶς πόλεως PH.

310
army arrived from the emperor nor was expected to arrive, he began to fear lest Chosroes, learning that the emperor's nephew was there, would consider it more important than any other thing to capture Antioch and himself, and for this reason would neglect everything else and come against the city with his whole army. The natives of Antioch also had these things in mind, and they held a council concerning them, at which it seemed most advisable to offer money to Chosroes and thus escape the present danger.

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

20 παρόντα σφίσι. ταύτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας λόγῳ ἔνυστῳ τὸν τρόπον ῥυθμίζεσθαι ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας οὐδαμῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν διάνοιαν
21 ἡ πρότερον ἡρθη. Σύρουσ τε σὺν ἤπειλησε καταστρέφασθαι καὶ Κίλικας πάντας, καὶ οἱ τὸν Μέγαν ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας ἐς τὴν Ἰεράπολιν ἐπῆγε
22 τὸ στράτευμα. οὐ δὴ ἀφικόμενός τε καὶ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τε περίβολον ὀχυρὸν ὁντα εἰδε καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐμαθε φυλακτήριον διαρκῶς ἔχειν, χρήματα τοὺς Ἰεραπολίτας ὑπεί, Ἐλεγετο δὲ καὶ Ἐρμαῖος γένος τὸ εξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι.
23 Παύλον ἐρμηνεύα παρ’ αὐτοὺς πέμψας. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὕτος ἐτέθραπτο τε ἐν γῇ τῇ Ἐρμαίων καὶ εἰς γραμματιστοῦ παρὰ Ἀντιοχείου εὐφοίτησεν, ἐξεύρετο δὲ καὶ Ἐρμαιὸς γένος τὸ εξ ἀρχῆς εἶναι.
24 οἱ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ ὁς ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δειμαίνοντες, χώραν περιβεβλημένοι πολλὴν μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὁ ταύτῃ ἄνεχει, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀδήωτον ἔχειν ἐθελοντες, ὡμολόγησαν ἀργυρῷ
25 ροῦ σταθμᾶ δισχίλια δῶσειν. τότε δὴ Μέγας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐβόων ἀπάντων Χοσρόην ἱκέτευον οὐκέτι ἄνει, ἐξω αὐτῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ὡμολόγησε δέκα τε χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια λήψεσθαι καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Ἐρμαίων ἀρχῆς.

VII

1 Οὔτω μὲν οὖν ἑκεῖνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ τε Μέγας ἐνθέντε ἀπαλλαγεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀντιοχείας ἡλωντε καὶ ὁ Χοσρόης τὰ λύτρα λαβὼν ἐς Βέροιαν

1 Ἰεράπολιν Dindorf: ἱερὰν πόλιν VGP, ἱερὰν πόλην superscr.  

ο Η.

312
come upon them. When Chosroes heard this, he was utterly unable by reason of his stupidity to order his mind with reason and discretion, but still more than before he was lifted up in spirit. He therefore threatened to destroy all the Syrians and Cilicians, and bidding Megas follow him, he led his army to Hierapolis. When he had come there and established his camp, since he saw that the fortifications were strong and learned that the city was well garrisoned with soldiers, he demanded money from the Hierapolitans, sending to them Paulus as interpreter. This Paulus had been reared in Roman territory and had gone to an elementary school in Antioch, and besides he was said to be by birth of Roman extraction. But in spite of everything the inhabitants were exceedingly fearful for the fortifications, which embraced a large tract of land as far as the hill which rises there, and besides they wished to preserve their land unplundered; accordingly they agreed to give two thousand pounds of silver. Then indeed Megas entreated Chosroes in behalf of all the inhabitants of the East, and would not cease his entreaty, until Chosroes promised him that he would accept ten centenaria of gold and depart from the whole Roman empire.

VII

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

2 ἥει. Βέροια δὲ 'Αντιοχείας μὲν καὶ Ἰεραπόλεως μεταξὺ κεῖται, δυοῖν δὲ ἡμερῶν ὀδῷ εὐξώνῃ ἀνδρὶ ἔκατέρας διέχει. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μέγας ἀτε ξὺν ὀλύγους τοιῷ πορευόμενος ἀξύτερον ἦε, ὁ δὲ Περσῶν στρατὸς μοίραν ἀεὶ τῇ ἡμίσειαν τῆς ὀδοῦ ἦνε. 4 τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα ὁ μὲν ἐς 'Αντιοχειαν, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ 5 Βεροῖας προάστειον ἠλθοῦ. καὶ χρήματα Χοσρῆς τοὺς Βεροιαῖους τὸν Παύλου στείλας εὐθὺς ἐπραττεῖν, ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τῶν Ἰεραπολῶν ἐλαβεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων διπλάσια, ἐπεὶ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ἡμέρα δὲ πολλαχῇ εἶδε. Βεροιαῖοι δὲ (θαρρεῖν γὰρ ἐτὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ οὐδαμῇ εἶχον) ἕνων προθυμία μὲν ὑπεδέξαντο ἄπαντα δόσεων, δισ-χίλια δὲ δόντες ἀργύρου σταθμά, τὰ λειτομένα 7 διδόναι οὐκ ἔφασαν ὅτι τε εἰναι. ἐγκειμένου τε σφίσι διὰ ταύτα Χοσρῶν, νυκτὸς ἐπελαθοῦσας ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἄπαντες ὅ ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολει ἐστὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὸς τούς [άλλοις] 8 στρατιώτασι, οἱ δὲ ἡ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακή ἐτετάχατο. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐστέλλοντο μὲν πρὸς Χοσρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τινὲς ἐφ᾽ ὃ τὰ χρήματα λήψονται, οἱ δὲ ἀγχιστά πη τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι κεκλεισμένοι μὲν τὰς πύλας ἀπάσας εὑρον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πάντων ἐντυχεῖν ἔχοντες τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ παρόντα σφίσι ἔσήγγελ- 9 λον. καὶ δὴ τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἐπιθέντας ἀπο- πείρασθαι τῆς ἀνδοῦ ἐκέλεος, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα 10 ἑποίουν. οὐδενὸς τε σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι τὰς μὲν πύλας κατ᾽ ἐξοικολαν ἀνέφγον, ἐδέχοντο δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν τε στρατὸν ἄπαντα καὶ Χοσρῶν αὐτῶν. θυμῷ τε 1 αὐτῶι VG: αὐτῆς PH. 2 ἀλλοι VG: om. PH.

314
This city lies between Antioch and Hierapolis, at a distance from both of two days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. Now while Megas, who travelled with a small company, advanced very quickly, the Persian army was accomplishing only one half of the distance which he travelled each day. And so on the fourth day he reached Antioch, while the Persians came to the suburb of Beroea. And Chosroes immediately sent Paulus and demanded money of the Beroeans, not only as much as he had received from the Hierapolitans, but double the amount, since he saw that their wall in many places was very vulnerable. As for the Beroeans, since they could by no means place confidence in their fortifications, they gladly agreed to give all, but after giving two thousand pounds of silver, they said that they were not able to give the remainder. And since Chosroes pressed them on this account, on the following night all of them fled for refuge into the fortress which is on the acropolis together with the soldiers who had been stationed there to guard the place. And on the following day men were sent to the city by Chosroes in order to receive the money; but on coming near the fortifications they found all the gates closed, and being unable to discover any man, they reported the situation to the king. And he commanded them to set ladders against the wall and to make trial of mounting it, and they did as directed. Then since no one opposed them, they got inside the fortifications and opened the gates at their leisure, and received into the city the whole army and Chosroes himself. By this time the king was furious.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς θηδὲ ἐχόμενος τὴν πόλιν ὅλγουν δέοντος ἐνέπρησε πάσαν. ές δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
12 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω. ἐν-
tαῦθα οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαίοι στρατιῶται καρπερῶς ἀμυνόμενοι τῶν πολεμίων τινῶς ἐκτείνουν, τῷ δὲ
Χοσρῷ ἐυτύχημα μέγα τῷ τῶν πολυορκομένων ἀξυνέτῳ γενέσθαι ξυνέβη, οἷς δὴ οὐ μόνον ἐς τὸ
φρούριον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ ἔτι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ἄρσεις
tοῖς ἄλλοις κατέφυγον, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ
13 καταστρατηγήθεντες ἐς κίνδυνον ἠλθοῦν. μᾶς γὰρ
οὖσης ἐνταῦθα πηγῆς, ἵππων τε καὶ ἡμίονων καὶ
ξίφων ἐτέρων οὐ δέον αὐτὴν ἐκπετωκότων, ἀπο-
ξηρανθήσει ξυνέβη τὸ ὑδαρ. Βερουαίοις μὲν τὰ
πράγματα ὤδε τῇ εἴχεν.

14 Ὅ δὲ Μέγας εἰς Ἀντιοχείαν ἀφικόμενος ἀγ-
γείλας τε ὅσα οἱ πρὸς Χοσρῆν ξυνέκειτο, ἔργῳ
15 ταῦτα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἐπείθεν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Ἰωάννης τε τὸν Ῥου-
φῖνον καὶ Ἰουλιανὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων γραμ-
ματέα πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρῆν στείλας. ἀνεκρήτις
καλοῦσι τὸ ἄξιομα τούτῳ Ῥωμαιοῦ σήκρητα γὰρ
16 καλεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα γενομίκασιν. οὐ δὴ ἐς Ἀντιο-
χείαν ἀφικόμενοι ἔμενον. Ἰουλιανὸς τε, τῶν πρέσ-
βεων ἄτερος, διαρρήδῃ ἀπείπεν ἀπασὶ χρήματα
μὴ διδόναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, μηδὲ τὰς βασιλέως
ἀνείσθαι πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Γερμανῷ διέβαλλε
τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐφραίμων, ἀτε τῷ Χοσρῆν ἐνδοῦναί
17 τὴν πόλιν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντα. διὸ δὴ Μέγας
ἀπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν. Ἐφραίμος δὲ, ὁ τῆς Ἀν-
τιοχείας ἐπίσκοπος, δεῖσας τὴν Περσῶν ἑφοδοὺν ἐς
18 Κιλικᾶς ἠλθεν. οὐ δὴ καὶ Γερμανὸς ἀφικετο οὐ
with anger and he fired nearly the whole city. He then mounted the acropolis and decided to storm the fortress. There indeed the Roman soldiers while valiantly defending themselves slew some of the enemy; but Chosroes was greatly favoured by fortune by reason of the folly of the besieged, who had not sought refuge in this fortress by themselves, but along with all their horses and other animals, and by this inconsiderate act they were placed at a great disadvantage and began to be in danger. For since there was only one spring there and the horses and mules and other animals drank from it when they should not have done so, it came about that the water was exhausted. Such, then, was the situation of the Beroeans.

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

---

1 "Secretary of secrets."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλῷ ύστερον, ὀλύγους μὲν τινας ἐπαγόμενοις, τοὺς δὲ πλείους τοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐάσασ.

19 Μέγας δὲ κατὰ τάχος ἐς Βέροιαν ἦκων περιώ-
δυνὸς τε τοῖς ἐξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος ἢτιάτο
Χοσρόην εἰργάσθαι Βεροιαῖος ἀνόσια ἔργα, διὰ
ἵνα αὐτῶν μὲν ἐς ᾽Αντιόχειαν ὡς ἐπὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς
στείλειν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν οūδὲν τὸ παράπαν
ἡδικηκότων τά τε χρήματα ἐλησάτο καὶ ἦμαγ-
κασε σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ φιορίῳ
καθεῖρξαι, οὕτω τε τῆς πόλις ἐμπρῆσας ἐστὶ τὸ
20 ἔδαφος οὐ δέον καθεῖλε. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης
ἀπεκρίνατο ὡδε "Τούτων μὲντοι, ὃ ἐταῖρε, αὐτῶς
αἴτιος, ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκάσας ἡμᾶς διατρῆσαι· ὥν
γὰρ ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ
21 τούτων ἐς υστερήσας ταῦτα ἀφίξαι. τῶν δὲ σῶν
πολιτῶν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῇ ἁν τις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὃ
βέλτιστε, μακρολογοῖς; οἱ γε τακτῶν ἢμῖν
ἀμολογηκότες ἀργύριον δῶσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν
αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἐπιτελεῖν οἴοιται
dεῖν τὰ ἤγγειμενα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνέδην οὕτω χωρίων
ἰσχύι θαρσήσαντες περιορῶσιν ἡμᾶς ὡς μάλιστα
ἠναγκασμένους ἐς φιορίῳ πολιορκίαν, ὡς ὀρᾶς
22 δῆπον, καθίστασθαι. οὐσ γε δὴ ἐγὼν τε ᾽Εὐι
ἐπίδα ἐξο ὀλύνυ ὑστερον τίσασθαι, καὶ Περ-
σῶν τῶν μοι ὡδε ὁ δέον πρὸ τοῦδε τοῦ τείχους
ἀπολωλότων τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τοὺς αἴτιους ἐπι-
23 τελέσειν." ὁ μὲν Χοσρόης τοσαύτα ἐίπει, ὁ
Μέγας δὲ ἀμεῖβεται ὡδε "Εἰ μὲν, ὃτι βασιλεὺς
ἀνθρώπων ὀίκτροῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμοτάτοις τοῦτα
ἐπικαλεῖς, ἐκατερός ἐν τις, ἀνάγκη μηδὲν

1 τίσασθαι MSS.: τίσασθαι Herwerden.
2 ἐπικαλεῖς Hoeschel: ἐπικαλεὶ MSS.
wards, taking with him some few men but leaving the most of them in Antioch.

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

ἀντιλέγοντα τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὁμολογεῖν· τῇ γὰρ ἐξουσίᾳ τῇ ἄλλῃ καὶ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ κρατεῖν ἔπεσθαι
24 πέφυκεν· ἵνα δὲ τῷ ἐξή τιλλα ἀποσεισαμένῳ τῶν ἀληθῆ λόγον ἐλέσθαι, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦμιν, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
δικαίως ἐπικαλεῖν ἐχοῖς. ὡς δὲ ἄπαντα ἀκούσῃ
25 πρῶς. ἕγω μὲν γὰρ, ἐπείδη ἄπερ Ἀντιοχεύσις
ἐπηγγελλείς, δηλώσων ἐστάλην, ἐβδομαίος σοι ἡ
ὅψιν ἦκων (οὐ τί ἂν γενέσθαι δύνατο θάσσον;) ταύτα σοι ἐξειργασμένα ἐς πατρίδα τὴν ἐμῆν εὗρον.
26 οἱ δὲ δὴ πάντων ἡδή τῶν τιμωτάτων ἐκστάντες,
εἶπα ἐς τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς ἀγώνα καθίστανται μόνον,
κρείσσους, οἶμαι, γεγενημένοι ἦ σοι τί τὸ λοιπὸν
27 τῶν χρημάτων εἰσφέρειν. τὸ γὰρ ἐκτινωνύμαι τι
τῶν οὐ παρόντων ἀνθρώπῳ ἄν οὐδεμία μηχανή
28 γένοιτο. πάλαι δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὖ τε καὶ
καλῶς διώρισται τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ὑνόματα· ἐν
οἷς καὶ τὸδε ἔστιν, ἀγνωσμοσύνης κεχωρίσθαι
29 ἀσθένειαν. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τρόπον ἀκολογία ἐς τὸ
ἀντιτείνειν χωροῦσα μισεῖσθαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
eἰσθεν, ἢ δὲ τῷ τῆς ὑπουργίας ἀδυνάτῳ ἐς ταύτῳ
tοῦτο ἐκφερομένη ἐλεύθερα ἰκανῶς πέφυκεν.
30 ἔσον τοῖνυν ἡμᾶς ἄπαντα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κληρο-
σαμένους τὰ χείριστα τοῦτο γοῦν φέρεσθαι
παραμύθιον, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν τῶν ἐνυππεπττοκότων
31 ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ἐγενέσθαι. καὶ χρήματα μὲν
σοι ὀσα λαβὼν ἔχεις διαρκεῖν οἶου, μὴ τῷ σῷ

1 αὐτοὺς aitios Haury: αὐτοῖς aitiois (aitias H) MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. vii. 23-31

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

tauta staithmomenos a'xiwmati, alla t'hen Veroi-
32 aion svnpwv dýnamon. peraritew de h'mas biárou
mødêv, m' pote do'xes ol' enkecheirikas adunatos
èina: to gar uberballo ai t'f ampxhânp
tetimetai: to de m' tois adunatos encheirein
33 kratingston. tauta me'n ou' moi apokaleoghto
en t'f parantika uber andrów twnde. hi de
ge tois talaiptwros xynugeneíthai dunatos eîn,
exoi mi an ti kai álllo tov vûn me lelthotan
34 eîpein." topoauta tov Mégan eîpônta o Xosrôs
èi t'hen akropolin afîkein lenai. de' de entauða
gevômenos kal t'xumpestonata amfî t'h phegî
mabwv ananta, dedakrwmênos te parà Xosrôwn
auðis afîketo kal prhnhs keîmenos oûðen me'n
Veroiaioi isxurízeto apokaleifthei tivn pántan
chrhmatwv, mônà de oî tov anðlôpovn ëketeue
35 xarneíçai tâ svômatà. tais te tov anðlôs olw-
phûrsen o Xosrôs hgmênos t'h dêson épitetê
ëpoeîto, kal diomosámênos apasai tois en akro-
36 pûleî tâ piota ëdôke. Veroiaioi de parà
tosóîton kivdûwv ëlthontes, apéléitôn te t'h
akropolin apathêis kakow kal apîontes phîunvo
37 oî ëkastòs pî' ebousêto. tûn de stratwtoûn
ólwgoi mên autoîs mpes eîpontos, oî de plevidot
ëthelûsioi parà Xosrôwn autoîmoloi ëlthon, ëpî-
kaloûntes oti de tás svnthexeis chrhnou makroû
sfìsi tô dêmôsion õphle, kal ëxun autoî ûsteron
èis tâ Perwôn ëthi ëkwrhsean.

322
position, but with regard to the power of the Beroeans. But beyond this do not force us in any way, lest perchance thou shouldst seem unable to accomplish the thing to which thou hast set thy hand; for excess is always punished by meeting obstacles that cannot be overcome, and the best course is not to essay the impossible. Let this, then, be my defence for the moment in behalf of these men. But if I should be able to have converse with the sufferers, I should have something else also to say which has now escaped me." So spoke Megas, and Chosroes permitted him to go into the acropolis. And when he had gone there and learned all that had happened concerning the spring, weeping he came again before Chosroes, and lying prone on the ground insisted that no money at all was left to the Beroeans, and entreated him to grant him only the lives of the men. Moved by the tearful entreaties of the man Chosroes fulfilled his request, and binding himself by an oath, gave pledges to all on the acropolis. Then the Beroeans, after coming into such great danger, left the acropolis free from harm, and departing went each his own way. Among the soldiers some few followed them, but the majority came as willing deserters to Chosroes, putting forth as their grievance that the government owed them their pay for a long time; and with him they later went into the land of Persia.
VIII

1. Χοσρόης δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μέγας χρήματα ἐφασκεν οὐδαμὴ πεπεικέναι Ἀντιοχέας φέρειν)
2. παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦσε. Ἀντιοχέας δὲ τινας μὲν ἐνθένθε εὖν τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξαινοστάντες ἠφευγον ὡς ἐκαστὸς πη ἐδύνατο. ταὐτὸ δὲ τούτῳ διενοῦντο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες, εἰ μὴ μεταξύ ἥκοντες οἱ τῶν ἐν Δισάνῳ στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντες, Θεόκτιστὸς τε καὶ Μολάτζης, εὖν ἐξαισχιλοὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιπίστη τε αὐτοὺς ἐπιρρώσατες διεκώ-3. λυσαν. οὐ δὴ οὐ πολλῆς ὑστερον καὶ τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἦλθεν. ἐνταῦθα τε διεσκηνημένοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἄπαντες πρὸς τῇ Ὄροντῃ τῷ 4. ποταμῷ καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐ πολλῆς ἀποθεν. Χοσρόης τε Παύλου παρὰ τὸν περὶβολον στείλας τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας χρήματα ἦτε, δέκα χρυσοῦ κεντη-5. ναρίων ἀπαλλαγῆς σεσθαὶ ἐνθένδε, ἐνδηλός τε ἦν καὶ τοῦτων ἐλάσσω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναχωρήσει ληψο-6. μενος. καὶ τότε μὲν ἥκοντες παρὰ τὸν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις, εἰπόντες τε ἅμφι τῇ διαλύσει τῆς εἰρήνης πολλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀκούσαντες ἄνεχωρήσαν. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Ἀντιο-7. χέων ὁ δήμος (εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐ κατεσπουδασμένοι, ἀλλὰ γελοίοις τε καὶ ἀταξίᾳ ἰκανοὶς ἔχονται) πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Χοσρόην ὑβριζόν τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἅπαλξεων καὶ εὐν γέλωντι ἀκόσμῳ ἐτώθαζον καὶ Παύλου τοῦ περίβολον ἐγγὺς ἥκοντα παραμινωῦντα

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

\(^{1}\) Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

te χρημάτων ὁλύνων σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅνειδιαν, ὁλύνου ἐδέσαν τοξεύσαντες κτεῖναι, εἰ μὴ προϊῶν ἐφυλάξατο. διὸ δὲ ἥξεων τῷ θυμῷ ὁ Χοσρόης τειχομαχεῖν ἔγνω.
8 ἦν οὖν ύστεραία ἐπαγαγὼν ἀπαντάς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἄλλους μὲν ἄλλη προσβάλλειν τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους ἔχων κατὰ τὴν ἀκραν προσέβαλλε. ταύτη γὰρ, ὡς μοι ἐμπροσθεὶς ἔρρήθη, ἐπιμαχότατος ὁ περίβολος ἦν. ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαιοὶ (στενοτάτη γὰρ οἰκοδομία ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα ἐφ᾽ ἢς ἰστάμενοι πολεμεῖν ἐμελλοῦν) ἐπενόησαν τάδε. δοκοὺς μακρὰς ἐστὶ ἄλληλοις ξυνδεόντες μεταξὺ τῶν πύργων ἐκρέμων, οὕτω τε πολλῷ εὐρυτέρας δὴ ταύτας τὰς χώρας ἐποίουν, ὅπως ἐτὶ πλείους ἐνθέντες ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς τειχομαχοῦντας οἷοὶ τε ὁσιῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι ἵσχυρότατα ἐγκείμενοι πανταχόθεν τὰ τοξεύματα συχνὰ ἐπεμποῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀκρας ὑπερβολῆν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ ἡμύνοντο δυνάμει πάσης, οὐ στρατιῶται μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ ὅρμου εὐτολμότατοι νεανία
9 πολλοί. ἐδόκουν δὲ οἱ τειχομαχοῦντες ἐνταῦθα ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου τοῖς πολεμίοις καθίστασθαι. ἡ γὰρ πέτρα, εὐρείᾳ τις καὶ ἴσχυλῇ οὖσα καὶ ὡσπερ ἀντιτεταγμένη τῷ περίβολῳ καθάπερ ἐφ᾽ ὁμαλῶν εἶναι τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐποίει. 12 καὶ εἰ μὲν τις ἐθάρσης τοῦ Ῥωμαιῶν στρατοῦ ξὺν τριακοσίοις ἔξω τε γενόσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν πέτραν ἐκείνην προτερήσας καταλαβεῖν ἐνθένδε <τε> τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι, οὐκ ἀν
326
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. viii. 7-13

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

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

ποτε, οἴμαι, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐς κίνδυνον τινα
14 ἡ πόλις ἤλθεν. οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅθεν ὅρμωμενοι
τειχομαχοίες οἱ βάρβαροι, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐκ τε
τῆς πέτρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους βαλλόμενοι· νῦν
dὲ (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Ἀντιοχέας τοῦτο τῷ Μήδων
στρατῷ ἀπολέσθαι) οὐδενὶ τούτο ἐς ἐννοιαν ἠλθε.
15 τῶν μὲν οὖν Περσῶν, ἄτε Xosróou παρόντος
σφίσι καὶ κρανγὴ ἐγκελευομένου μεγάλη, ὑπὲρ
dύναμιν βιαζομένων καὶ οὐδένα τοῖς ἐναντίοις
ἐνδιδότων καιρὸν ὡστε διασκοπεῖσθαι ἡ φυλάσσες
tαι τὰς τοξευμάτων βολάς, τῶν δὲ Ρωμαίων
ἐν μᾶλλον πλῆθει τε πολλῷ καὶ θορύβῳ ἀμυνο-
mένων, οὐκ ἐνεγκούσαι τὸ ἄχθος αἰ σχοῖνοι αἰς αῖ
δοκοί ξυνεδέατο, διερράγησαν ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
καὶ εἶν ταῖς δοκοῖς ἀπαντεῖ σοί αὐταῖς ἐφεστή-
κεσαν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐξέπεσον πατάγῳ πολλῷ.
16 οὐ δὴ αἰσθόμενοι καὶ ἄλλοι Ρωμαίων οἱ ἐκ
πόργων τῶν ἐχομένων ἐμάχοντο, καὶ ξυμβάλλειν
μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς οὐδαμὴ ἔχοντες, διεφθάρθαι δὲ
17 ταύτῃ τὸ τείχος οἰμόμενος ἐς φυγήν ὁρμητότι.
τού μὲν οὖν δὴνυμον γεαινίαι πολλοὶ ὅσοι τὰ πρότερα
πρὸς γε ἀλλήλους στασιάζειν ἐν τοῖς ἐποδρο-
mίοις εἰσώθεσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου κατέ-
βησαν, οὐδαμὴ ἐφευγν, ἀλλ' αὐτόν ἔμενον, οἱ δὲ
στρατιῶται ξύν τε Θεοκτίστῳ καὶ Μολατζῆς εὐθὺς
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐποὺς ἀναθοροῦντες οἱ δὴ ἐνταύθα πη
παρεσκευασμένοι ἐτύγχανον, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἀπῆ-
λαυνον. Βοῦζην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦντες ξὺν στρατῷ
ἡκειν, ἐθέλειν τε κατὰ τάχος δέξασθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς
from there, never, I believe, would the city have come into any danger from the enemy. For the barbarians had no point from which they could have conducted their assault, for they would be exposed to missiles from above both from the rock and from the wall; but as it was (for it was fated that Antioch be destroyed by this army of the Medes), this idea occurred to no one. So then while the Persians were fighting beyond their power, since Chosroes was present with them and urging them on with a mighty cry, giving their opponents not a moment in which to look about or guard against the missiles discharged from their bows, and while the Romans, in great numbers and with much shouting, were defending themselves still more vigorously, the ropes with which the beams had been bound together, failing to support the weight, suddenly broke asunder and the timbers together with all those who had taken their stand on them fell to the ground with a mighty crash. When this was heard by other Romans also, who were fighting from the adjoining towers, being utterly unable to comprehend what had happened, but supposing that the wall at this point had been destroyed, they beat a hasty retreat. Now many young men of the populace who in former times had been accustomed to engage in factional strife with each other in the hippodromes descended into the city from the fortification wall, but they refused to flee and remained where they were, while the soldiers with Theoctistus and Molatzes straightway leaped upon the horses which happened to be ready there and rode away to the gates, telling the others a tale to the effect that Bouzes had come with an army and they wished to
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tῇ πόλει, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ἀμύνασθαι.
18 ἐνταῦθα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παιδίοις ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἤσαν· εἶτα πρὸς τῶν ἔπιπων ὁθούμενοι ἅτε ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπιττοῦν.
19 οἱ δὲ στρατιώται τῶν ἐν ποσὶν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν φειδόμενοι ἐτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ὑπερθέν τῶν κειμένων ἀπαντεῖ ήλαινον, γέγονε τε φόνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς ἄλλως τε καὶ κατὰ τὰς πύλας αὐτάς.
20 Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατοῦντος, κλάμακας ἐπιθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀνέβαινον. ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι χρόνον τινὰ καταβαίνειν οὐδαμὴ ἤθελον, ἄλλα διασκοπουμένοις τε καὶ ἀπορουμένοις ἐφόκεσαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, προλοχίζεσθαι τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐνέδρας τις τῶν πολεμίων ὑποτοπάζοντες. τὰ γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας εὕθυς κατίοντι [λοιπὸν] ἀοίκητος χώρα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἔστι. πέτραι τε λίαν ψηλαὶ 22 ἀνέχονσιν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τόποι κρημνώδεις. ἔμοι δὲ φασί Χοσρόου γνώμη γεγονέναι τὴν μέλλησιν 23 Πέρσαις. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τε δυσχωρίαν κατενόησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας φεύγοντας εἶδεν, ἔδεισε μὴ τινὶ ἀνάγκη ἐκ τῆς ὑπαγωγῆς ἀναστρέφωντες πράγματα σφίσι παράσχονται, ἐμπόδιοι τε γένωνται, ἄν οὐτω τύχω, πόλιν ἔλειν ἀρχαίαν τε καὶ λόγου ἄξιαν καὶ πρώτην Ἡρωμαίοις οὐσαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐω πασῶν πόλεων, πλούτῳ τε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πολυναυθρωδία καὶ κάλλει καὶ τῇ
receive them quickly into the city, and with them to
ward off the enemy. Thereupon many of the men of
Antioch and all the women with their children made
a great rush toward the gates; but since they were
crowded by the horses, being in very narrow
quarters, they began to fall down. The soldiers,
however, sparing absolutely no one of those before
them, all kept riding over the fallen still more
fiercely than before, and a great many were killed
there, especially about the gates themselves.

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

331
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΕΣΑΡΕΑΛ

24 ἄλλη εὐδαίμονία. οὐ δὴ, περὶ ἐλάσσονος τάλλα ποιούμενος ἀπαντᾷ, ζηθελε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις στρατιώταις καταφέρην ἄνδραθα, ὡστε κατ' ξενοσίαν τῇ φυγῇ χρήσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ ταῖς χεραῖ τοῖς φεύγονσι Πέρσαι σημαίνοντες ἐνεκελεύοντο φεύγειν ὡς τάχιστα. οἵ μὲν οὖν στρατιώται Ῥωμαίοι ξύν τοῖς ἀλλοίοις ἁρχούσιν ἀπίγνοντες φόχοντο ἀπαντᾷ διὰ πύλης ἢ ἐπὶ Δάφνην ἀγεῖ τό τῶν Ἀντιοχέων προάστειον ταύτης γὰρ μόνης, τῶν ἀλλών κατελημμένων, ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι· τοῦ δὲ δῆμου ὅλης τινὲς ξύν τοῖς στρατιώταις 27 διέφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Πέρσαι ἀπαντᾶς τοῖς Ῥωμαίοι στρατιώταις εἴδον πρόσω χρῆσαντας, καταβάντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν μέσῃ πόλει 28 ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων νεανίας πολλοὶ ἐς χείρας ἔλθοντες τὰ πρῶτα καθυπέρτεροι ἔδοξαν τῇ ξυμβολῇ εἶναι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῶν τινὲς μὲν ὀπλῖται, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι γυμνοὶ 29 καὶ λίθων βολαῖς χρώμενοι μόναι. ὡσάμενοι δὲ τοὺς πολέμους ἐπαίνιζον τε καὶ Ἰονοτινιαν βασιλέα καλλίκου, ἀτε νεικηκότες, ἀνέκραγον. 30 Εν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσρῆς ἐν πύργῳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἄκραν καθήμενος τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐθέλων τι εἴπειν μετεπέμψατο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν τις ἁρχόντων, ὁ Ζαβεργάνης, οἰόμενος ξυμβάςεως πέρι βουλεύσθαι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς λόγους ἴεναι, ἐς ὅψιν τε τῷ 31 βασιλεῖ κατὰ τάχος ἠλθεὶς καὶ ἔλεξεν ὅπερ "Οὐχὶ ταύτα 1 μοι δοκεῖς, ὡ δὲσποτα, Ῥωμαίοις ἀμφὶ τῇ τούτων σωτηρία γινόσκειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὑβρίζουσιν ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν καὶ ἴσσημένοι πολίωδέ ι τα 332

1 ταύτα Maltretus: ταύτα MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. viii. 23-31

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

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

άμήχανα καὶ δρῶσι τοὺς Πέρσας ἀνήκεστα ἔργα, ὡσπερ δεδιότες μὴ τις αὐτοῖς παρὰ σοι φιλανθρωπίας λει λείηται λόγος· σὺ δὲ τοὺς τε σώζεσθαι οὐκ ἁξιούντας ἐλεεῖν βούλει, καὶ φείδε 32 σθαι τῶν οὐδαμὴ ἐθελόντων ἐσπούδακας. οἱ δὲ προλοχίσαντες ἐν ἀλούσῃ πόλει τοὺς νεικηκότας ἐνέδρας τισὶ διαφθείρουσι, καὶ περ ἀπάντων 33 αὐτοῖς πάλαι πεθευγότων στρατιωτῶν." ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης ἀκούσας, τῶν ἀρίστων πολλοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέμψεν, οὐκ ἔς μακρὰν ἐπανήκοντες 34 οὐδὲν ἐμπήκονται φλαύρων ἀπήγγελλον. ἦδη γὰρ Ἀντιοχέας Πέρσαι βιασάμενοι πλήθει ἐτρέφαντο, καὶ γέγονε φῶνος ἐνταῦθα πολὺς. οἱ γὰρ Πέρσαι οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας θείομενοι τούς ἐν ποσὶν 35 ἀπαντᾷ ἡθηδὸν ἔκτεινον. τότε φασὶ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐν Ἀντιοχείσσιν ἐπιφανῶν δύο γενέθαιαν μὲν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου, αἰσθομένας δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ τῶισ πολεμίων γενήσονται (πανταχόσε γὰρ ἢδη περιώντες καθεσθώτο) δρόμω μὲν παρὰ [τῶι] ποταμῶν Ὅροντιν ἐλθεῖν, φοβοῦμενας δὲ μὴ τι σφάς ἐς τὸ σῶμα ὑβρίσσωσι Πέρσαι, ταῖς τε καλύπτραις ἐγκαλύψαμενας τὰ πρόσωπα καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἰέμα ἐμπεσούσας ἀφανισθήναι. οὕτω πάσα κακοῦ τοὺς Ἀντιοχέας ἴδεα ἔσχεν.

IX

1 Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ᾧ Όυκ ἔξω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον οὐμαι εἶναι, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀκραφῆ τάγαθα ὁ θεός, 334
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. viii. 31–ix. 1

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

IX

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

ἀλλὰ κεραυνών αὐτὰ τοῖς κακοῖς εἶτα τοῖς
2 ἀνθρώπωις παρέχεται. καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ τὸ γελᾶν
ἀκλαυστον ἔχομεν, παραπέπηγε δὲ τις ἄει τοῖς
μὲν εὐτυχῆμασι συμφορά, ταῖς δὲ ἱδοναῖς λύπη,
οὐκ ἔσαί τινα γνησίας ποτὲ τῆς δεδομένης
3 εὐημερίας ἀπόνασθαι. πόλιν γὰρ τήμυ, ἄξιο-
λογωτάτην ἐστὶ τὰ μάλιστα λεγομένην τε καὶ
οὗσαν ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίοις, ἀπονωτάτα μὲν ἑλεῖν
ίσχυσα, τού θεοῦ αὐτοσχεδίασαντος ἡμῖν, ὡς
4 ὀρᾶτε δὴπο, τὴν νίκην. φόνον μὲντοι ἄνθρωπων
ὅρωντι μοι τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτοὶ τε πολλῷ
βεβαπτισμένοι τὸ τρόπαιον, οὐδέμεια τῆς ἀπὸ
5 τῆς πράξεως ἱδονής γέγονεν αἰσθήσις. καὶ τῶν
οί ταλαίπωροι Ἀντιοχείς αὐτοὶ, οἳ γε τεχνο-
μαχοῦντας μὲν οὐχ οἷοι τε γεγόνασι Πέρσας
ἀπώσασθαι, πρὸς δὲ νευκηκότας ἦδη καὶ αὐτοβοεῖ
τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντας θράσει θανατώντες ἀλογίστω
6 ξυγομαχεῖν ἐγνωσαν. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ Περσῶν
δόκιμοι πολλὰ ἐνοχλοῦντες σαγηνεύσαντες τὲ μὲ τὴν
πόλιν ἡξίουν καὶ ξυμπαντας διαφθείρατοι τοὺς ἥλω-
κότας, ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φεύγοντας ἐκέλευον εἰς τὴν
ὕπαγωγὴν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὀρμᾶν, ὡς δὲ τὰξιστα
σώζοντο. τὸ γὰρ ἐπεμβαίνειν τοῖς ἠλωκοῖσιν οὐχ
7 ὅσιον. τοσαύτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης τερατευμένοις τε
καὶ διαθρυπτόμενοι τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐπεν, οὐκ
ἐλαθε μέντοι αὐτούς ὅτου ἔνεκα τὸν καιρὸν
φεύγουσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνδοϊ.
8 Ἡν γὰρ δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων τὰ
μὲν οὔκ ἄντα εἰπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ἀποκρύψασθαι,

1. τῆς ἀπὸ affert Dindorf MS. α: τὸ ἀπὸ VG, τίς ἀπὸ P.

336
unmixed, but He mingles them with troubles and then bestows them upon men. And for this reason we do not even have laughter without tears, but there is always attached to our successes some misfortune, and to our pleasures pain, not permitting anyone to enjoy in its purity such good fortune as is granted. For this city, which is of altogether pre-eminent importance in fact as well as in name in the land of the Romans I have indeed succeeded in capturing with the least exertion, since God has provided the victory all at once for us, as you doubtless see. But when I behold the massacre of such a multitude of men, and the victory thus drenched with blood, there arises in me no sense of the delight that should follow my achievement. And for this the wretched men of Antioch are to blame, for when the Persians were storming the wall they did not prove able to keep them back, and then when they had already triumphed and had captured the city at the first cry these men with unreasoned daring sought to die fighting against them in close combat. So while all the notables of the Persians were harassing me unceasingly with their demand that I should drag the city as with a net and destroy all the captives, I was commanding the fugitives to press on still more in their flight, in order that they might save themselves as quickly as possible. For to trample upon captives is not holy.” Such high-sounding and airy words did Chosroes speak to the ambassadors, but nevertheless it did not escape them why he gave time to the Romans in their flight.

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

καὶ ὅν αὐτὸς ἔξημάρτανε τὰς αἰτίας τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐπενεγκεὶν· ἔτι δὲ ὀμολογῆσαι μὲν ἔτοιμος ἀπαντά καὶ ὅρκῳ τὴν ὀμολογίαν πιστώσασθαι, λέαν δὲ τῶν ἔναγχως αὐτῷ ἐνυγκειμένων τε καὶ ὄμωμοσμένων ἐτοιμότερος ἐς λήθην ἄφικθαι, καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἑκεῖνεν ἔπι πᾶν ἄγος καθεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν ἀοικον, τῷ δὲ προσώπῳ σχηματίζεσθαι τὴν εὐλάβειαν ἀτεχνώς ἐμπειρος, ἀφοσιωθαί ἑτό λόγῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν. δὲς καὶ Σουρηνώς, πρότερον οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἡδικηκότας, δόλῳ τὲ περιελθὼν καὶ τρόπῳ ἀπολέσας τῷ εἰρήμενῷ, ἐπειδὴ γυναῖκα κοσμίαν τε καὶ οὐκ ἄφανή ἁλισκομένης τῆς πόλεως εἰδέν ἐκ χειρὸς μὲν τῆς ἀριστερᾶς πρὸς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλκομένην ξυν πολλή βία, παιδίων δὲ ὁπερ αὐτῇ ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἑναλλαγέν ἄφειναι μὲν οὐ βουλομένην, ἔλκουσαν δὲ θατέρα χειρὶ ἐμπεπτωκός εἰς τὸ ἐδαφος, ἐπεὶ οἱ ξυντρέχειν οὐχ οἶον τῇ ἡν τοῦτον δὴ τῶν βλαιων δρόμον, τῶν οἰκείων καὶ- ταῦθα ἐνδεδεικται τρόπον. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν στενάξαντα δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δόκησιν τε ὥς εἶνθε δεδακρυμένος παρεχόμενον τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἀλλοις τε καὶ ἀναστασίᾳ τῷ πρεσβευτῇ, εὔξασθαι τὸν θεον τίσασθαι τῶν τῶν γεγονότων κακῶν αἰτίων. Ἰουστινιανὸν δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα παραδηλοῦν ἢθελεν, ἐξεπιστάμενος ὃτι δὴ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἀπάντων εἶη. τοσαύτη χρώμενος φύσεως ἀτοπίᾳ Χοσρόης βασιλεὺς τε

1 ἄφικθαι P: ἄφικθαι V, εἶδειν G.  
2 δς P: ὃς VG.  
3 <ἡν> Haury: om. MSS.

338
attributing the blame for the wrongs which he committed to those who suffered the wrong; besides he was ready to agree to everything and to pledge the agreement with an oath, and much more ready to forget completely the things lately agreed to and sworn to by him, and for the sake of money to debase his soul without reluctance to every act of pollution—a past master at feigning piety in his countenance, and absolving himself in words from the responsibility of the act. This man well displayed his own peculiar character on a certain occasion at Sura; for after he had hoodwinked the inhabitants of the city by a trick and had destroyed them in the manner which I have described, although they had previously done him no wrong at all, he saw, while the city was being captured, a comely woman and one not of lowly station being dragged by her left hand with great violence by one of the barbarians; and the child, which she had only lately weaned, she was unwilling to let go, but was dragging it with her other hand, fallen, as it was, to the ground since it was not able to keep pace with that violent running. And they say that he uttered a pretended groan, and making it appear to all who were present at that time including Anastasius the ambassador that he was all in tears, he prayed God to exact vengeance from the man who was guilty of the troubles which had come to pass. Now Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, was the one whom he wished to have understood, though he knew well that he himself was most responsible for everything. Endowed with such a singular nature Chosroes both
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Περσῶν γέγονε (Ζάμου τὸν ὄφθαλμον τοῦ δαιμονίου πηρόσαντος, ὅσπερ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρωτεῖα ἐσ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐφέρετο μετὰ γε τὸν Καόσθην, ὅπερ οὔδενι λόγῳ ἐμίσει Ἐκβάδης) καὶ πόνῳ οὔδενι τῶν οὶ ἐπαναστάντων ἐκράτησε, κακὰ τε ἔρρησεν ὅσα ἔβαλεν εὐπετῶς ἔδρασε. Βουλήθη γὰρ τινὰ μέγαν ἢ τὴν πρᾶσσει τῶν καθῆκουσι χρόνωι τὰ δόξαντα, οὔδενός τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς βουλήσεως ἀντιστατοῦντος, οὔτε τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς διασκοπομένη ἄξιωμα οὔτε ὅπως μὴ γένηται τὶ τῶν οὐ δεόντων λογιζομένη, οὔτε ὅτι βλασφημήσουσιν ἐς αὐτὴν διὰ τἀτα πολλοί, τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτῇ παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τοῦ τῆς χάριτος τετυχηκότος χλευάζοντες, οὔτε ἀλλο τῶν πάντων οὔδεν ἐν νῷ ποιουμένη, ἢ τὸ δόξαν αὐτῇ περαινοῦντο μόνον. ἀλλὰ τἀτα μὲν ὅπῃ τῷ θεῷ φίλου ἐχέτω.

14 Χοσρόης δὲ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς περιόντας ξογρεῖν καὶ ἀνδραποδίζειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ληξεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξύν τοὺς πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀπὸ τῆς άκρας κατέβαινεν, ὅπερ ἐκκλητίαν καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα κειμήλια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου τοσάττα τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Χοσρόης εὑρεῖν, ὡς τῆς λείας ἀλλο οὔδεν ὃτι μὴ τὰ κειμήλια τἀτα λαβὼν πλοῦτου

15 τὸ μὲγαθὸς περιβεβλημένος ἄπειρον ὄχθετο. καὶ μάρμαρα τὰ πολλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἐνθεύει ἄφελῶν ἔξω τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε κατατίθεσθαι, ὅτι πὰσαι

16 καὶ τἀτα ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη κομίσωται. τἀτα διαπεπραγμένοις ξύμπασαν τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρῆσαι

340
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. ix. 12-17

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

Chosroes commanded the army to capture and enslave the survivors of the population of Antioch, and to plunder all the property, while he himself with the ambassadors descended from the height to the sanctuary which they call a church. There Chosroes found stores of gold and silver so great in amount that, though he took no other part of the booty except these stores, he departed possessed of enormous wealth. And he took down from there many wonderful marbles and ordered them to be deposited outside the fortifications, in order that they might convey these too to the land of Persia. When he had finished those things, he gave orders to the
Πέρσας ἐπέστελλε. 1 καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πρέσβεις ἔδειχσαν τής ἐκκλησίας ἀπέχεσθαι μόνης, ὡς τὰ 18 λύτρα κεκομισμένοι διαρκῶς ἔχ. ο ὁ δὲ τούτῳ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ξυγκεχωρικῶς τάλλα καὶ εἰς ἑκ- λευς πάντα, ὅλγος τέ τινας αὐτόθι ἀπολειπόν τους τήν πόλιν ἐμπρήσοντας, αὐτὸς ἔχον τοὺς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησεν οὕτως καὶ πρότερον διεσκηνημένοι ἐτύγχανον.

X

1  Τούτου τοῦ πάθους χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον τέρας ὁ θεὸς ἐνδειξάμενος τοῖς ταύτῃ φιλημένοις ἐσήμηνε τὰ ἐσόμενα. τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν, οὕτε ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἔδρυται, τὰ σημεῖα πρότερον ἐστώτα πρὸς δύοντά ποιον τὸν ἥλιον, ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτω προβολήτη πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἔστησαν, ἐστάλω τε αὐτὸς ἐπανήκου τὴν προτέραν οὐδενῶς ἀναμενόν. ταῦτα οἱ στρατιώται ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀγχικτά πη παροῦσι καὶ τῷ χορηγῷ τῆς τοῦ στρατοπέδου δαπάνης ἔδειξαν, ἕτοι τῶν ση- μείων κραδαιμομένων. ἦν δὲ οὕτος ἀνήρ, Τα- τιανὸς ὄνομα, ἀνυντὸς μάλιστα, ἐκ Μοσχουστίας ὁ ορμώμενος. ἀλλ’ οὖν ὅσος ἔγνωσαν οἱ τὸ τέρας τούτῳ ἴδοντες ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως τοῦ ἐσπερίου ἔπει τοῦ ἐφον τοῦ χωρίου ἀφίξεται κράτος, ὅπως δηλαδὴ διαφυγεῖν μηδεμία μηχανή δύναται οὐσπερ ἐδει ταῦτα ἀπερ ἐνυνέχθη παθεῖν.

4 Ἔγὼ δὲ ἐλπιγω πάθος τοσοῦτον γράφων τε καὶ παραπέμπων ἐς μνήμην τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ,

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

X

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

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

καὶ οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι τὶ ποτε ἄρα βουλομένῳ τῷ θεῷ εἰπ τράγματα μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἡ χωρίου του ἐπαίρειν εἰς ψυχός, αὕθις δὲ ριπτεῖν τε αὐτὰ καὶ ἀφανίζειν εξ οὐδεμᾶς ἡμῶν φαινομένης αἰτίας.

5 αὐτῷ γὰρ οὐ θέμες εἰπεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀπαντα κατὰ λόγου αἰει γύνεσθαι, δή δὴ καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν τὸτε ὑπέστη ἐσ τὸ ἑδαφὸς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσιώτατον καταφερομένην ἰδεῖν, ἥτί το τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἀπαντα μεγαλοπρεπῆς οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποκρύπτεσθαι παντάπασιν ἔσχεν.

6 Ὅ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθαιρεθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἐλείφθη μόνη, πόνῳ τε καὶ προνοία Περσῶν ὀις

7 τὸ ἔργον ἐπέκειται τοῦτο. ἐλείφθησαν δὲ καὶ ἀμφί τὸ λεγόμενον Κεραταίων οἰκίαι πολλαί, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας ἀνθρώπων τινός, ἀλλ' ἐπει ἐκεινῷ ποὺ πρὸς ἐσχάτοις τῆς πόλεως, ἔτερος αὐτῶν οὐδεμᾶς τινος οἰκοδομίας ξυναπτομένης, τὸ πῦρ

8 <ἐς> 

9 αὐτῶς ἐξεικνεῖται οὐδαμὴ ἱσχύσεων. ἐνεπηρσάν τε καὶ ἡ ἐκτὸς τοῦ περιβόλου οἱ βαρβαροί, πλὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὲρ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀνεί-

10 τοῦ τυχάνουσιν οὖσαν. τοὺς γὰρ πρέσβεις ἐνταύθα καταλύει αἰεί的样子. τοῦ μέντοι περι-

βόλου παντάπασιν ἀπέσχοντο Πέρσαι.

10 Ὅλων δὲ ὠστερον ἦκουσεν αὕθις παρὰ τῶν Χοσρόην οἱ πρέσβεις ἐξεαν ὡς, Ἐ ὡς πρὸς παρόντα σε, ὁ βασιλεῦ, οἱ λόγοι ἐγίνοντο, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁμοιοί Χοσρόην τοῦ Καβάδου ἐς γῆν τῆν Ὀμαϊῶν ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἥκειν, ἀπικάσαντα μὲν τοὺς διομομοσμένους σοι ἐναγχος ὄρκους, ὃ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀπάντων ὑστατον τε καὶ ὀχυρώ-

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

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

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

345
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tatov einai dokēi tηs es allhlous pistēwς te kal alltheias enēxuron, diaλūsanta de tás spoudās, ón h elπis aπoλēleipptai mōnη tois dieira tīn en polemf kαkopragιan oūk en tōs άsφαλει biō-
teuνοssun. oū gar alle oūdēn tō toioûton eipoi tis av einai h tōn anthrōpωn tīn dieia tais es tīn
tōn therjōn metαβεβλητhai. en gar tō mhdaμh
spēnvedstai tō polemeiν άπεραντa leleipsei
pāntwss,1 polemos de o peras oūk eχoν eξoukίζewn
b tīs fūsēs tous av tōv χρωμένους es ael péfuke.
ti de kai bouλhmενos prōs tōn soun aδελφou
δλήγω πρόteron yγグラφαs ώs aυtōs eι̂ tōu lelū-
sthai tās spoudās aītios; h dēlon oti oμολογια
kakon ti paμmēgeves einai tīn tōn spoudōn
lūsion; eι mēn oūn ekeiνos oūdēn ἤμαρτεν, oū
dikaiōs tāν tēf ἡμās ἤκεi. eι de tī toioûton
t' aδελφo2 tō sō eirγasθai ξυμβαίνει, alla kai
soi méχri tōtou ge kai mh peraiτerō dia-
peπrάxhō to éγκλημα, ὅpωs aυtōs kρείσσων
einai dōkhes.3 o gar en tois kakaís elαssouμενos,
oūtōs an en tois ameiνos iκωf dikaiōs. kaiτoι
hμeis eξeπιστάμεθα 'Ioυstινιανόν bαsileśa μηδε-
pōptote tīs eirhēnīs ὁpt 'eνantias elhλυθεναι, kai
soi dēmētha mh tōmania éργασασθαι 'Ρωμαίous
kakα, eξ dw Πέρσαιs mēn dνhēs oυδεμία ἕσται,
sō de tōtō kerdanveis mōnοn, ἀνήκεστα ἔργα
tōus ārti soi spēisamēnous oū déon eirγασθαι.'
oi mén prēβeis tōsαnta eipoi.

Xosrōh de tātα aκouśas iσχυρίζετo mēn tās
spoudās prōs 'Ioυstιnιανό bαsilewς lelūṣthai

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

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

καὶ τὰς αἰτίας κατέλεγεν ἂσπερ ἐκεῖνος παρέσχετο, τὰς μὲν τινὰς καὶ λόγου ἀξίας, τὰς δὲ φαύλας τε καὶ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐμπεπλασμένας. ¹ μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιωτάτας ἥξιον δεικνύει πρὸς τε Ἀλαμούνδαρον καὶ Ὀὐννοις αὐτῷ γεγραμμένας, καθάπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς 17 ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρηθη. ἀνδρα μέντοι Ἦρωμαίου ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν ἐσβεβληκέναι ἢ πολέμαι ἔργα 18 ἐνδείξασθαι οὔτε λέγειν εἴχεν οὔτε δεικνύει. οἱ μέντοι πρέσβεις πή μὲν τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐς Ἰουστινιανόν ἀνέφερον, ἀλλὰ ἐς τὸν ὑπουργόκοτον τινάς, τὴ δὲ ὡς οὕς οὖτος γεγονότων ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν εἰρημένων. τέλος δὲ χρήματα μὲν οἱ πολλαὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἥξιον διδόναι Ἦρωμαίους, παρήγαγε δὲ μὴ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα μόνου παρεχομένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐθέλειν ἐς τὸν πάντα 19 αἰῶνα κρατίνωσθαι. τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινομένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλισκομένοις ἐκ τοῦ 20 αἰῶνα κρατίνωσθαι. τὴν γὰρ ἐπὶ χρήμασι γινομένην ἀνθρώποις φιλίαν ἀναλισκομένοις ἐκ τοῦ 21 ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ξυνδαπανάσθαι τοῖς χρήμασι. δεῖν τούν Ἦρωμαίους τακτὸν τι φέρειν ἐπέτειον Πέρςας. “Οὐτό γὰρ αὐτοῖς,” ἔφη, “τὴν εἰρήνην Πέρσας βέβαιον ἔξουσί, τὰς τε Καστίας αὐτοῖ τυλίγοντες τύλας καὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς ἄχθομον διὰ τὸν Ἴρασα, ύπερ ὧν ἐμισθοῖ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐς 22 ἀεὶ ἐσονται.” “Οὐκοῦ,” οἱ πρέσβεις ἔφασαν, “ὑποτελεῖς Πέρσας βούλονται Ἦρωμαίους ἐς 23 φόρον ἀπαγωγῆν ἔχεις.” “Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτάς ὑπεν, ὁ Χοσρόης ἔπει, “ἔξουσί τοῦ λοιπὸν Πέρσας Ἦρωμαιοι, μισθοῦν γῆς ὑπουργίας αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦντες ῥητῶν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀὐννων τισὶ ¹ ἐμπεπλασμένας Η.
Justinian; and he enumerated the causes of war which the Emperor afforded, some of them of real importance and others idle and fabricated without any reason; most of all he wished to show that the letters written by him to Alamoundaras and the Huns were the chief cause of the war, just as I have stated above. But as for any Roman who had invaded the land of Persia, or who had made a display of warlike deeds, he was unable either to mention or to point out such a one. The ambassadors, however, referred the charges in part not to Justinian but to certain of those who had served him, while in the case of others they took exception to what he had said on the ground that the things had not taken place as stated. Finally Chosroes made the demand that the Romans give him a large sum of money, but he warned them not to hope to establish peace for all time by giving money at that moment only. For friendship, he said, which is made by men on terms of money is generally spent as fast as the money is used up. It was necessary, therefore, that the Romans should pay some definite annual sum to the Persians. "For thus," he said, "the Persians will keep the peace secure for them, guarding the Caspian Gates themselves and no longer feeling resentment at them on account of the city of Daras, in return for which the Persians themselves will be in their pay forever." "So," said the ambassadors, "the Persians desire to have the Romans subject and tributary to themselves." "No," said Chosroes, "but the Romans will have the Persians as their own soldiers for the future, dispensing to them a fixed payment for their service;

1 Cf. Book II. i. 13; iii. 47.
καὶ Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπέτειον χορηγεῖτε χρυσῶν, οὐ
φόρου αὐτοῖς ὑποτελεῖσθ ὄντε, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἀδῆ-
τον γῆν τὴν ὑμετέραν φυλάξωσιν ἐς τὸν πάντα
24 αἰῶνα.” τοιαύτα Χοσρόης τε καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις
πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγόμενες, ἐξυνεβησαν
ὑστερον ἐφ’ ὧν Χοσρόην ἐν μὲν τῷ παραντίκα
κεντηνάρια πεντήκοντα πρὸς Ρωμαίων λαβόντα,
pέντε δὲ ἄλλων φερόμενον ἐπέτειον ἐς τὸν πάντα
αἰῶνα δασμόν, μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι περαι-
tέρω κακόν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν μὲν ὀμήρους ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῇ
ὀμολογίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πρέσβεων κεκοιμισμένον τῇ
ἀποστολὴν1 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἂθη
ποιῆσασθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρέσβεις παρὰ βασιλέως
Ἰουστινιανοῦ στελλομένους τὰς ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ
ξυνθήκας ἐν βεβαιῷ τὸ λοιπὸν θέσθαι.

XI

1 Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθα-
λασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν
stadioi diēkousan ἠθένεν, ἐνταῦθα τε Ἡρωμαίων
ουδένα οὔτε εἰρών2 οὔτε λυμηνάμενος ἀπελούσατο
μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ἐδατὶ μόνος, θύσας τε
τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἰστισιν ἄλλοις ἔβουλετο, πολλά τε
2 ἐπιθειάσας ὁπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν. ἐς τε τὸ στρατό-
πεδον ἀφικόμενος, ἐπιθυμοῦσιν οἱ ἐφασκέ τινα εἶναι
τὴν Ἀπαμένα πόλιν ἐν γειτόνων ὄντων οὐκ ἄλλου
3 τοῦ ἑνεκα ἡ ἱστορίας θεάσασθαι. ξυνεχώρουν τε
οὐχ ἐκούσιοι καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρέσβεις, ἐφ’ ὧν μέντοι

1 ἀποστολὴν VG: ἀποστολὴν P, ἀποστολὴν H.
2 εἰρών: Haury suggests eirōn. 3 ἐκ VH: om. G, ἐν τε P.
350
for you give an annual payment of gold to some of the Huns and to the Saracens, not as tributary subjects to them, but in order that they may guard your land un plundered for all time.” After Chosroes and the ambassadors had spoken thus at length with each other, they at last came to terms, agreeing that Chosroes should forthwith take from the Romans fifty centenaria, and that, receiving a tribute of five more centenaria annually for all time, he should do them no further harm, but taking with him hostages from the ambassadors to pledge the keeping of the agreement, should make his departure with the whole army to his native land, and that there ambassadors sent from the Emperor Justinian should arrange on a firm basis for the future the compact regarding the peace.

XI

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

1 Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

αὐτὸν θεασάμενόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὕργυρον χιλίας κομισάμενον ἐνθένθε λίτρας, οὐδὲν τι ἄλλο
4 λυμηνάμενον ἀπελαύνειν ὑπίσω. ἤνηλθος δὲ ἦν ὁ Χοσρόης τοῖς τε πρέσβεσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις
ὅτι δὴ ἐς τὴν Ἀπάμειαν τούδε ἔνεκα στέλλοιτο μόνον, ὅπως δὴ τινος σκηψεως οὐκ ἀξιολόγου
λαβόμενος αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνη χώραν λητήται. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐς Δάφνην ἀνέβη, τὸ
5 Ἀντιοχείας προάστειον. ἔνθα δὴ τὸ τε ἄλλος ἐν
θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιήσατο καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων
6 πηγὰς ἀμφῷ γὰρ ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ἐστὶ. καὶ
θύσαι ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπίων φίλετο, ἄλλο μὲν οὖν ὑδά
λυμήναμενοι, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ. τὸ
ἰερόν καύσας ἐξ ἐτέραις τις ὁ ὀἰκίας ἐξ αἰτίας
7 τοιάσθε. Πέρσης ἄνὴρ ῥήπῳ ὄρχυμον, ἐν τε
τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ δόκιμος καὶ Χοσρόη βασιλεῖ
νόμιμος, ἐς χώραν κρημνώδη ἀμφὶ τὸν λεγόμενον
Τρητοὺν ἠλθεὶ ἐξ ἐτέρων τις, ὡς δὴ τοῦ ἀρχαγ-
γέλου Μιχαήλ νεῶς ἐστιν, Εὐαρίδος ἔργον.
8 οὕτος ἄνηρ τῶν τινα Ἀντιοχείων νεανίαν πεζόν τε
καὶ μόνον κρυπτόμενον ἐνταῦθα ἰδὼν ἐὰν ἐδώκε τῶν
ἐτέρων χωρίς. ἦν δὲ κρεοπώλης ὁ νεανίας,
9 'Αιμαχος ὄνομα. Ὁ ἐπειδὴ καταλαμβάνεισθαι
ἐμέλλειν, ἐπιστραφεῖς ἐκ τοῦ αἰθιων λίθῳ τῷ
διώκοντα βάλλει, ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῦ τοῦ μετώπου ἐς
tὴν παρὰ τὸ οὐς μήνυγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος
ἐνθὺς ἔπεσεν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸ τὸν ἀκινάκην σπα-
10 σάμενον κτείνει τὸν ἄλτρα. σκυλεύσας τε αὐτοῦ
κατ' ἔξοστάν τά τε ὁπλα καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἄπαντα
καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἐτύγχανεν ἀμπεχόμενος, ἐπὶ τε τῶν
11 ἔπτων ἀναθορῶν πρόσω ἠλαυνεν. εἴπτε δὲ τύχη

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

ἐίτε χωρίων ἐμπειρία χρησάμενος, λαθεῖν τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφυγεῖν παυτελῶς ἱσχυσε.
12 τάφτα ὁ Χοσρόης μαθὼν καὶ τοὺς ξυμπεσοῦσι περιμαλγήσας, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινῶς καύσαι τῶν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου νεῶν οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνήσθην
13 ἐκέλευν. οἱ δὲ τοῦτον ἑκείνον εἶναι ἥγοομενοι εἰν τοῖς ἀμφὴν αὐτῶν οἰκοδομίας ἐνέπρησαν,
ἐπιτελεῖς τε πεποίησθαι τὰς Χοσρόου ἐντολὰς ἠφινε. τάφτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔσχε.
14 Χοσρόης δὲ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀπάρ-
μειαν ἦ. έστι δὲ ξύλου πηχυαίον ἐν Ἀπαμεία, τοῦ σταυροῦ μέρος ἐν δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν Ἱερο-
sολύμων ποτὲ τὴν κόλασιν οὕτω ἄκοισιον ὑπο-
στήναι ὁμολογεῖται, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν χρόνον
15 ἐνταῦθα πρὸς Σύρου άνδρός κομισθὲν λάθρα. καὶ
αὐτὸ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι φυλακτήριον μέγα σφίζω
τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι θήκην
αὐτοῦ ἐξολήν τινὰ πεποιημένοι κατέθεντο, ἴν
δὴ χρυσῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ λίθους ἐντύμως ἐκο-
σμήσαν, καὶ τρισὶ μὲν ἱερεύσι παρέδοσαν, ἐφ᾽
ὃ εἰς ἀσφαλεία φυλάξονται, ἔξαγοντες δὲ
ἀνά πάν ἔτος πανδημεῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ προσκυνοῦσι
16 μᾶλ. τότε οὖν οὗ τῶν Ἀπαμεών λεώς, ἔπειδη
τῶν Μήδων στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐπύθουσο ἤνει,
ἐν δεῖμι μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο. Χοσρόης δὲ ἀκού-
οντες ὡς ἤκιστα ἀληθίζεσθαι καὶ παρὰ Θωμάν
τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεά γενόμενοι ἐδέοντο
τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλου ἐπὶδείξει σφίσιν, ὅπως
αὐτὸ ὅστατα προσκυνήσαντες τελευτήσωσιν.
17 δὲ κατὰ τάφτα ἐποίει. τότε δὴ θέαμα ξυνη-
354
by the favour of fortune or by his knowledge of the
country, he succeeded completely in eluding the
Persians and making good his escape. When
Chosroes learned this, he was deeply grieved at
what had happened, and commanded some of his
followers to burn the sanctuary of the archangel
Michael which I have mentioned above. And
they, thinking that the sanctuary at Daphne was
the one in question, burned it with the buildings
about it, and they supposed that the commands of
Chosroes had been executed. Such, then, was the
course of these events.

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

νέχθη λόγου τε καὶ πίστεως κρείσσον ἐν-
ταύθα γενέσθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξύλον ὁ ἱερεὺς
φέρων ἑδείκνυεν, ὑπέρθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ σέλας πυρὸς
ἐπεφέρετο καὶ τὸ κατ’ αὐτὸν τῆς ὀροφῆς μέρος
18 φωτὶ πολλῇ ὑπὲρ τὸ εἰωθὸς κατελάμπητο. βαδί-
ζόντος τε τοῦ ἱερεῖς πανταχῆ τοῦ νεὼ συμπροφέ-
tὸ σέλας, φυλάσσον άεὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῆς
19 ὀροφῆς χώραν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἄπαμεὼν δήμος
ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ θαύματος ἡδονῆς ἐθαμβεῖτο τε καὶ
ἐγεγήθη καὶ ἔκλαιεν, ἦδη τε ἄπαντες ὑπὲρ τῆς
20 σωτηρίας τὸ θαρσεῖν εἰχον. ὁ δὲ ᾽Ωμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ
περιήλθε τὸν νεὼν ἄπαντα, καταθέμενος ἐν τῇ
θήκῃ τοῦ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον ἐκάλυψε, καὶ τὸ
σέλας ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνίδιον ἐπέπαυσε. μᾶθων δὲ τῶν
τῶν πολεμῶν στρατῶν ἄγχιστά που τῆς πόλεως
ἡκεν, σπουδὴ πολλῆ παρὰ τὸν Ἑσσρόην ἀφίκετο.
21 καὶ δὲ <ἐπεὶ> ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ ἱερεῖς εἰ βου-
λομένοις τοῖς Ἄπαμεῦσιν εἰ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου
ἀντιτάξασθαι τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ, ἀπεκρίνατο
Θωμᾶς οὕδεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοιούτῳ ἐς ἐννοιαν
22 ἡκεν. ὁ Ὁυκόον ἢφη ὁ Ἑσσρόης ἢ δεξασθὲ με
τῇ πόλει ξὺν ὅλγους τις πάσας ἀναπεπτα-
23 μέναις ταῖς πύλαις.” ὁ ἱερεὺς εἶπεν ὡς ἔπει ἀπὸ
γὰρ δὴ παρακαλέσων τοῦτο ἀφύγηαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν
στρατῶν ἄπας ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο διεσκηνήμενοι
πρὸ 2 τοῦ περιβόλου,
24 ὁ Ὁυκόον ἀνδρας τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἁρίστων
dιακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσῆλθαιν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ γέγονεν εἰσὶν πυλῶν, ἐπελάθετο ἐκῶν γε
ἐίναι τῶν αὐτῶ τε καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι ἕφικειμένοι,
καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκέλευε δοῦναι οὐ χίλια μόνον

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

356
Then indeed it befell that a sight surpassing both description and belief was there seen. For while the priest was carrying the wood and shewing it, above him followed a flame of fire, and the portion of the roof over him was illuminated with a great and unaccustomed light. And while the priest was moving through every part of the temple, the flame continued to advance with him, keeping constantly the place above him in the roof. So the people of Apamea, under the spell of joy at the miracle, were wondering and rejoicing and weeping, and already all felt confidence concerning their safety. And Thomas, after going about the whole temple, laid the wood of the cross in the chest and covered it, and suddenly the light had ceased. Then upon learning that the army of the enemy had come close to the city, he went in great haste to Chosroes. And when the king enquired of the priest whether it was the will of the citizens of Apamea to marshal themselves on the wall against the army of the Medes, the priest replied that no such thing had entered the minds of the men. "Therefore," said Chosroes, "receive me into the city accompanied by a few men with all the gates opened wide." And the priest said "Yes, for I have come here to invite thee to do this very thing." So the whole army pitched their tents and made camp before the fortifications.

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

ἀργύρου σταθμα ούδὲ τούτων δεκαπλάσια, ἀλλὰ <καὶ> τὰ κειμήλια ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔτυχε κείμενα, χρυσὰ τε καὶ ἄργυρα ἔμμπαντα, μεγάλα ὑπερ-25 φυώς ἄντα. οὐμαὶ δ’ ἄν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ἀνδραποδίσασθαι τε καὶ λησάσθαι οὐκ ἄν ἀποκνήσαι, εἰ μὴ τῇ θείῳ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς 26 διεκόλυσεν. οὗτος αὐτὸν ὡς τε φιλοχρηματία ἐξέπλησε καὶ ἐστρεφεν αὐτὸν τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ τῆς 27 δόξης ἐπιθυμίᾳ. κλέος γὰρ οἱ μέγα τοὺς τῶν πόλεων ἀνδραποδισμοὺς φητο εἴναι, οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ σπουδᾶς τε καὶ ξυνθήκας ἡλογηκὼς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐργάζεται. 28 ταῦτῃ τε Χοσρόου δηλόσει τὴν γνώμην ἃ τε ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ ἐνεχείρησε τῇ ἀποπορείᾳ, ἐν πάσῃ ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὰ ἐξυγκείμενα, καὶ ἡ Καλλινικησίος ὁλίγῳ ὑστερον ἐν σπουδᾶς ἔδρασεν, ἀπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπισθε λειλέξεται λόγοις. ἀλλ’ ὁ θεός, δόσσερ εἰρηται, 29 Ἀπάμειαν διεσώσατο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ κειμήλια οὐ Χοσρόης ἐξυμπάντα εἰδε καὶ αὐτὸν μεθύνοντα ἦδη τῇ τῶν χρημάτων ἀφθονίᾳ ὁ Θωμᾶς εἴδε, τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔξυλον ἔσω τῇ θήκῃ ἐξευεγκυκών ἀνέφει τῇ τῆς θήκης καὶ τὸ ἔξυλον ἐνδεικνύμενος “Ω κρά- τιστε βασιλεῦ” ἐφῃ “ταῦτα μοι ἀπολέειπται 30 μόνα ἐκ πάντων χρημάτων. θήκην μὲν οὐν τὴνδε (χρυσῷ τε γὰρ κεκαλύπτοται καὶ λίθοις ἐντι- μοῖς) φθόνος οὐδεὶς λαβόντα σε ἔνυν τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασιν ἔχειν, τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔξυλον, σωτηριων τε ἡμῖν καὶ τίμιον ἐστι, τούτο, ἰκετεύω σε καὶ δέομαι, δὸς μοι.” ο μὲν ιέρεις τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ἐξευεγκυκώ ὡς Χοσρόης καὶ τὴν δέσσιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποιεῖ. 31 Μετὰ δὲ φιλοτιμία πολλὴ χρώμενος τὸν τε δῆμον ἐς τὸ ἱπποδρόμιον ἀναβαίνει ἐκέλευε καλ
even ten times that amount, but whatsoever treasures were stored there, being all of gold and silver and of marvellous great size. And I believe that he would not have shrunk from enslaving and plundering the whole city, unless some divine providence had manifestly prevented him; to such a degree did avarice overpower him and the desire of fame turn his mind. For he thought the enslavement of the cities a great glory for himself, considering it absolutely nothing that disregarding treaties and compacts he was performing such deeds against the Romans. This attitude of Chosroes will be revealed by what he undertook to do concerning the city of Daras during his withdrawal at this same time, when he treated his agreements with absolute disregard, and also by what he did to the citizens of Callinicus a little later in time of peace, as will be told by me in the following narrative. But God, as has been said, preserved Apamea. Now when Chosroes had seized all the treasures, and Thomas saw that he was already intoxicated with the abundance of the wealth, then bringing out the wood of the cross with the chest, he opened the chest and displaying the wood said: "O most mighty King, these alone are left me out of all the treasures. Now as for this chest (since it is adorned with gold and precious stones), we do not begrudge thy taking it and keeping it with all the rest, but this wood here, it is our salvation and precious to us, this, I beg and entreat thee, give to me." So spoke the priest. And Chosroes yielded and fulfilled the request.

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

1 Cf. Book II. xxi. 30–32.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tous ἡμίχους ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὰ εἰσόθατα σφίσιν.
32 οὐ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβᾶς θεατής γενέσθαι τῶν
ποιουμένων ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο. ἔπει δὲ ἦκηκόει
πολλῷ πρῶτερον ᾽Ιουστινιανὸν βασιλέα χρώματος
tοῦ Βενέτου, ὃ δὴ κυνάειν ἐστιν, ἑκτόπως ἔραν,
ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ κἂνταῦθα ἴναι βουλόμενος
33 ἦθελε τῷ πρασίνῳ τὴν νίκην ἀρμόσαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν
ἤνιοχοι ἀπὸ βαλβίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἔργον εἶχοντο,
tύχη δὲ τις τῷ τὰ Βένετα ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ ἔγνετο
34 παρελάσαντι ἐπὶ προσθεθεὶν ἴναι. ἐπετεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ
κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἀματροχιὰς ὁ τὸ πράσινον ἀμπελ-
χόμενος χρώμα. ὁπερ ἐξεπιτηδεῖς ὁ Χοσρόης γε-
γονέαί οἴόμενος, ἤγανάκτει τε καὶ ξυν ἁπειλῇ
ἀνεβάζα τὸν Κάισαρα προτερήσατι τῶν ἄλλων οὐ
δὲν, ἐκελεύε τε τοὺς προτέρους ῥόντας ἵππους
ἐπέχεσθαί, ὅπως τὸ λοιπὸν κατόπτισθεν γενόμενοι
ἀγωνίζονται. ὁπερ ἐπειδῆ οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο ὡσπερ
ἐκεῖνος ἐκελεύε, νικᾶν οὕτως ὅ τε Χοσρόης καὶ
35 μέρος τὸ πράσινον ἔδοξεν. ἕνταῦθα τῶν τις Ἀπα-
μέων Χοσρόης ἐς ὧν ήκον ήτιάτο Πέρσην ἄνδρα
ἐς τὴν οἰκῖαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναβάντας τὴν παῖδα
36 οὖσαν παρθένου βιαῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας
cαὶ τῷ θυμῷ ἐξων ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκελεύε.
καὶ ἔπει παρὴν ἡδο, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι αὐτὸν
37 ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπέστειλε. γνώσε δὲ ὁ δῆμος
παντὶ σθένει ἀνέκραγον ἐξαισίσιον οἶνον, πρὸς
tῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὁργῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξαιτοῦ-
μενος. Χοσρόης δὲ ὠμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸν
ἄνδρα ἀφῆσεν, λάθρα δὲ ἀνεκπολίπθησαν οὐ πολ-
λῷ ύστερον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇ διαπεπραγμένοι
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὑπίσω ἀπῆλθανεν.
go up into the hippodrome and that the charioteers should hold their accustomed contests. And he himself went up there also, eager to be a spectator of the performances. And since he had heard long before that the Emperor Justinian was extraordinarily fond of the Venetus\(^1\) colour, which is blue, wishing to go against him there also, he was desirous of bringing about victory for the green. So the charioteers, starting from the barriers, began the contest, and by some chance he who was clad in the blue happened to pass his rival and take the lead. And he was followed in the same tracks by the wearer of the green colour. And Chosroes, thinking that this had been done purposely, was angry, and he cried out with a threat that the Caesar had wrongfully surpassed the others, and he commanded that the horses which were running in front should be held up, in order that from then on they might contend in the rear; and when this had been done just as he commanded, then Chosroes and the green faction were accounted victorious. At that time one of the citizens of Apamea came before Chosroes and accused a Persian of entering his house and violating his maiden daughter. Upon hearing this, Chosroes, boiling with anger, commanded that the man should be brought. And when he came before him, he directed that he should be impaled in the camp. And when the people learned this, they raised a mighty shout as loud as they could, demanding that the man be saved from the king’s anger. And Chosroes promised that he would release the man to them, but he secretly impaled him not long afterwards. So after these things had been thus accomplished, he departed and marched back with the whole army.

\(^1\) This term was applied to the “Blue Faction” in Byzantium and elsewhere.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XII

1 Ἡπείρι ἔσε Ἡσαλκίδα πόλιν ἀφίκετο, Βεροίας πόλεως τέτρασι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα στάδιοις διέχωσαν, αὕδις ἐσ θήρην τινά τῶν ἐνυγκειμένων ἦλθε, στρατοπεδευσάμενος τε του περιβόλου οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθενε ἐπεμψὲ Παύλου ἀπειλήσοντα Ἡσαλκίδεσι πολυρκία τήν πόλιν αἰρῆσεν, εἰ μή τήν τε σωτηρίαν ὄμων κτήσονται τά λύτρα διδόντες καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅσους ἐνταῦθα ἐξυμβαίνει εἶναι ἐὰν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ἐκδοίην σφίσι.

2 Ἡσαλκίδεσι δὲ ἔσε δόεις μέγα πρὸς ἐκατέρου βασιλέως ἐμπεπτωκότες στρατιώτας μὲν ἀπόμοισαν ὡς ἡκιστα ἐπιδημεῖν σφίσι, καίπερ ἄλλους τε καὶ ᾧ Ἀδόναχον τὸν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄρχοντα κρύψαντες ἐν οἰκίσκοι τισῶν, ὅπως μὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνδήλοι διὸν χρυσοῦ δὲ κεντημάρια δύο συλλέξαντες μόλις, ἐπεί πόλιν οὐ λίαν εὐδαίμονα ἕκουν, τῷ τε Ἡσαρά γρήγορα δόντες τήν τε πόλιν καὶ σφῆς αὐτοὺς διεσώσαντο.

3 Ἡνθένδε οὐκέτι ὁ Ἡσαράς ἐβούλετο τήν ἀποπορείαν ἦπερ ἐλληλέθει ποιήσασθαι, ἀλλ’ Ἐνθάρα τήν τε ποταμὸν διαβῆναι καὶ χρήματα ὅτι πλεῖς ἑκ τε Μεσοποταμίας ληξέσαται. γέγοραν οὖν ἑλεύς ἀμφὶ Ὁββάνης τῷ χωρίῳ, ὅπερ τοῦ ἐν Ἐβροσαλισσῷ φρουρίων τεσσαράκοντα στάδιοις ἀπέχει, αὐτὸς τε διέβη καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἡς τάχιστα διαβαίνειν ἐπέστελλεν, ὑπειπῶν μὲν τήν γέγοραν τρίτη ἡμέρα λύσεσθαι, τάξας δέ ἐκ τὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καιρὸν. καὶ ἐπεί παρῆν

362
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xii. 1–5

XII

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Book I. xxii. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

η κυρία, τινάς μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολελειφθαί μὴ πω διαβάντας ἁυνεβαινεν, ὁ δὲ οὖδ' ὅτιοιν ὑπολογισάμενοι ἔπεμψε τοὺς τὴν γέφυραν δια-
6 λύσουτας. οὐ τε ἀπολειπόμενοι, ὡς ἐκαστὸς πη ἐδύνατο, εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἥθη ἀνέβαινον.

Τότε δὴ φιλοτιμία τις Χοσρόην ἐσήλθε πόλυν
7 Ἕδεςαν ἐξελείν. ἐνήγη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐς τοῦτο Χρι-
στιανῶν λόγος καὶ ἔδακνεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν,
ὅτι δὴ ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἵσχυρίζοντο εἶναι εὖ
8 αἰτίας τοιάσθε. Αὐγαρος ἦς τις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
χρόνοις Ἕδεσθης τοπάρχης (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς κατὰ
ἔθνος βασιλείς τημικαῦτα ἐκάλουν). ὁ δὲ Αὐγα-
ρος οὗτος ἄνευτοτατος ἐγεγόνει τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ
9 Αὐγοῦστῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φίλοι. ἐνσπούδος γὰρ
Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι βουλόμενος ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἄφικετο,
καὶ τῷ Αὐγοῦστῳ ἐς λόγους ἢκων οὕτω δὴ
ἀυτὸν τῆς ἁυνέσεως τῷ περιόντι ἤξεπληξεν ὡστε
οὐκέτι αὐτοῦ μεθίεσθαι Αὐγοῦστος τῆς ἁυνουσίας
ἐβούλετο, ἀλλ' ἦν τε αὐτοῦ τῆς ὁμιλίας εὐθὺς
diάπυρος ἐραστής, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐντύχων, ἀπαλ-
10 λάσσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ὀυδάμῃ ἥθελε. χρόνος οὖν
ἀυτῷ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ συχνὸς τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ ἔτριβη.
καὶ ποτὲ ἦν ἡθη πάτρια ἐθέλων ἕναι πείθειν
tε τὸν Αὐγοῦστον μεθίειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἤκιστα ἔχων,
11 ἐπενδεῖ τάδε. ἐστάλη μὲν ὡς κυνηγητῆσών ἐς
tὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης χωρία· μελέτην γὰρ περὶ ταύτα
κατεσπουδάσμενην τινὰ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. περιών
dὲ χώραν πολλὴν συχνὰ τῶν ἑκένθω δηρίων
ζώντα ἑθήρα, καὶ χοῦν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἕναμισάμενος
ἐφερεν ἐκ χώρας ἐκάστης· οὕτω τε ἐπανῆκεν εἰς

364
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xii. 5-11

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

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

365
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

12 Ἡρώμην, τὸν τε χοῦν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἔχων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀὐγουστος ἐσ τὸν ἰππόδρομον ἀναβάς ἐκά-
θητο ἢπειρ εἰόθει, Ἀὐγαρος δὲ οἱ ἐς ὄψιν ἥκων
tὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰ θηρία ἐπέδειξε, καταλέγων
ἐκ πολαῖς ποτὲ χώρας ἢ τε γῆ ἐκάστη καὶ τῶν
13 θηρίων τίνα ποτὲ εἶλ. ἔπειτα τὴν μὲν γῆν ἄλλην
ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἰππόδρομον ἐκέλευε θέσθαι, πάντα
δὲ ἐς ταῦτα τὰ θηρία ξυναγαγόντας εἶτα ἀφεῖναι.
14 οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπηρέται κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. τὰ
dὲ θηρία χωρίς ἀλλήλων γενόμενα εἰς ἐκεῖνην ἐχώρει
tὴν γῆν ἢ δὴ τῆς χώρας ὅθεν εἰληπτο ἐτύγχα-
15 νεν οὖσα. καὶ οἷς μὲν Ἀὐγουστος ἐπὶ πλείστον
tὸ ποιούμενα ἐς τὸ ἁκρίβει ἔβλεπε, καὶ ἔθαυμαζέ
γε ὅτι δὴ τοῖς ἤτοις ἡ φύσις ἀδίδακτος οὐσα
ποθεινὴν ποιεῖται τὴν πάτριου γῆν. Ἀὐγαρος
dὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν γονάτων ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου λαβό-
16 μενος, "Εἰμὲ δὲ," εἴπε, "τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχειν,
ὡς δέσποτα, οὐει, ὃ γυνὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ παιδία καὶ
βασιλεία βραχεία μὲν, ἄλλα ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρίῳ;"
17 καὶ δὲ τῷ ἀληθεῖ τοῦ λόγου ἡσυχεῖς τε καὶ
βιασθεὶς ἀπιέναι τε ξυνεχώρει οὕτω ἐκούσιος καὶ
18 προσαίτεισθαι ἐκέλευεν ὅτου ἀν δέηται. ἐπεὶ
dὲ τοῦτον Ἀὐγαρος ἑτυχεῖ, Ἀὐγουστον ἐδειτὸ
ἰππόδρομον οἱ δείμασθαι ἐν πόλει Ἑδέσση. ὁ
dὲ ξυνεχώρει καὶ τοῦτο. οὕτω μὲν ἐκ Ἡρώμης
19 ἀπαλλαγεῖς Αὐγαρος ἐς Ἑδεσσαν ἤλθε. καὶ
αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοί ἀνεπιθύμοντο εἰ τι φέρων
ἀγαθὸν σφίσιν ἐκ βασιλείας Ἀὐγουστον ἦκοι.
ὁ δὲ ἀποκριμάμενος Ἑδεσσηνοὶς ἐνεγκεῖν ἐφή
λύπην τε αἰζήμων καὶ χαρὰν ἀκερδή, τὴν τοῦ
ἰππόδρομου παραδηλῶν τύχην.
20 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον πόρρω ποι ἡλικίας Ἀὐγαρος
366
the animals. Then Augustus went up into the hippodrome and seated himself as was his wont, and Augarur came before him and displayed the earth and the animals, telling over from what district each portion of earth was and what animals they were. Then he gave orders to put the earth in different parts of the hippodrome, and to gather all the animals into one place and then to release them. So the attendants did as he directed. And the animals, separating from each other, went each to that portion of earth which was from the district in which it itself had been taken. And Augustus looked upon the performance carefully for a very long time, and he was wondering that nature untaught makes animals miss their native land. Then Augarur, suddenly laying hold upon his knees, said: "But as for me, O Master, what thoughts dost thou think I have, who possess a wife and children and a kingdom, small indeed, but in the land of my fathers?" And the emperor, overcome and compelled by the truth of his saying, granted not at all willingly that he should go away, and bade him ask besides whatever he wished. And when Augarur had secured this, he begged of Augustus to build him a hippodrome in the city of Edessa. And he granted also this. Thus then Augarur departed from Rome and came to Edessa. And the citizens enquired of him whether he had come bringing any good thing for them from the Emperor Augustus. And he answering said he had brought to the inhabitants of Edessa pain without loss and pleasure without gain, hinting at the fortune of the hippodrome.

At a later time when Augarur was well advanced
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὅκων νόσῳ ποδάγρας χαλεπῆς τινος ὑπερφυῶς ἦλω. ταῖς γούν ὀδύναις ἀχθόμενος καὶ τῇ ἐνεδένδε ἀκινησίᾳ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς τὸ πράγμα ἤγεν, ἐκ πάσης τε γῆς ἤσυχέλιγε τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὺς ἀπαντας. ὃν δὴ ὕστερον (οὗ γάρ οἱ ἀκεσίν των τοῦ κακοῦ ἔξευρεν ἵσχυον) ἀπέστη τε καὶ ἐς ἀμηχα-νίαν ἐμπεσον τὰς παρούσας ὁδύρετο. ὡπὸ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων Ἰησοῦς οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ἐν σώματι διὰ τοῦ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνθρώπων ἀμύλει, τῷ τε μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀμαρτεῖν πῶς τοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμμίχανα ἐξεργάζεται διάφανως ἐνδεικνύ-

μενος ὅτι δὴ τοῦ θεοῦ παῖς ὃς ἀληθῶς εἰς νεκροὺς τε ἐνανάστη ὅσπερ ἐξ ὑπνον καὶ πηροῖς τῶν ὀφθαλμούς οὐτω τεχθείσων ἀνέργης, σώματος τε ὅλου λεύκας ἔκαθηρη καὶ ποδῶν πήρωσιν ἔλυσε, καὶ ὅσα ἀλλὰ ἰατροῖς πάθη 24 ἀνλατα ὠνομασμένα ἑστὶ. ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοντων Αὐγάρου τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἐς τὴν Ἐδεσσαν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἀκούσας, ἔθαρσης τε καὶ γράμ-

ματα πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν γράφας ἐδείκτο αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι μὲν τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀγνωμονῶν ἀνθρώπων, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν χυμ-

βιοτεύειν. ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ο Ἑρωδίας ἀπενεχθέντα εἶδεν, ἀντέγραψε πρὸς τὸν Αὐγάρον, ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀφίεται ἄντικρος ἀπολέγον, τὴν δὲ ὑγείαν τῷ 26 γράμματι ὑποσχόμενοι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἔσπειρεν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις ποτὲ βαρβάρους ἀλώ-

σιμος ἐσταί. τούτῳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύ-

τιον οἱ μὲν ἐκείνων τοῦ χρόνῳ τῆς ἱστορίαν ἤνεγράφαντες οὐδαμὴ ἔγραψαν· οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθησαν· Ἐδεσσηνοι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐξ

1 ἀπολέγον Scaliger: ἀπολείουν P, ἀπολείου Dindorf.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xii. 20–26

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

τῇ ἐπιστολῇ εὐρέσθαι φασίν, ὡστε ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάγραπτον οὕτω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντ᾽ ἂλλου τοῦ φυλακητῆρίου ἐν ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πεποίηται 27 πύλαις. γέγονε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ Μῆδως χρόνῳ τινὶ ὑστερον, οὐχ ἀλούσα μέντοι, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τοῖς. 28 ἐπειδὴ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Αὐγαρος ἔλαβε, κακῶν μὲν ὀλίγῳ ὑστερον ἀπαθῆς γέγονε, συχνὸν δὲ τῇ ὤγείᾳ ἐπιβίους χρόνων ἐπελεύθησεν· ὡστει δὲ διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ἀνυσιστάτως γεγονός ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐς τοὺς ἀρχιμένους ἐξήμαρτε καὶ τὴν ἐκ Ρωμαίων δεδίως τίνις προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσιος 29 Πέρσαις. χρόνῳ τε πολλῷ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ ὑστερον ἀνελόντες τῶν ἐπαρχῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ἐνδημοῦντας φυσίαρις ἐνέδοσαν Ῥωμαίοι τὴν πόλιν. * * * αὐτῷ προσποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμελέσεις ἐστὶ, τεκμαίρομενος ὅσ᾽ ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐμὲ χρόνον γέγονεν, ἀπερ ἐν τοῖς 30 καθήκουν λόγοις δηλώσω. καὶ μοὶ ποτε ἐννοια γέγονεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα ἀπερ ἑρρήθη ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγραφεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι ἐς τοῦτο δόξης ἀνθρωποι ἤλθον, φυλάξαι διὰ τοῦτο ἀνάλωτον ἑθέλει τὴν πόλιν, ὡς μὴ ποτε αὐτοῖς πλάνης τινὰ σκῆψιν διδοῖ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅτι τῷ θεῷ φίλοι, ταῦτα ἑχετῶ τε καὶ λεγέσθω. 31 Χοσρόη δὲ τότε προὐργον διὰ ταῦτα ἐδοξεν εἶναι Ἐδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν. καὶ ἐπεί ἐς Βάτνην ἀφίκετο, πόλισμα μὲν βραχὺ καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς ἡξιον, ἡμέρας δὲ ὅδὸ Ἐδεσσης διέχον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσατο, ὄρθρον δὲ βαθέως παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐδεσσαν

370
men of Edessa say that they found it with the letter, so that they have even caused the letter to be inscribed in this form on the gates of the city instead of any other defence. The city did in fact come under the Medes a short time afterwards, not by capture however, but in the following manner. A short time after Augarbus received the letter of the Christ, he became free from suffering, and after living on in health for a long time, he came to his end. But that one of his sons who succeeded to the kingdom showed himself the most unholy of all men, and besides committing many other wrongs against his subjects, he voluntarily went over to the Persians, fearing the vengeance which was to come from the Romans. But long after this the citizens of Edessa destroyed the barbarian guards who were dwelling with them, and gave the city into the hands of the Romans. * * *¹ he is eager to attach it to his cause, judging by what has happened in my time, which I shall present in the appropriate place. And the thought once occurred to me that, if the Christ did not write this thing just as I have told it, still, since men have come to believe in it, He wishes to guard the city uncaptured for this reason, that He may never give them any pretext for error. As for these things, then, let them be as God wills, and so let them be told.

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

¹ Nine MS. lines are missing at this point.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

32 ἧλαυνε. καὶ αὐτοῖς ξυνέβη πλάνη περιπεσοῦσιν τῇ ύστεραια ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλίζεσθαι χῶρον.
33 ὅπερ αὐτοῖς λέγουσι καὶ δῖς ξυμβῆναι. μόλις δὲ ἀγχίστα Ἐδέσσης γενομένῳ Χοσρόη ῥεύματός φασίν ἐς τῷ πρόσωπον ἐπιπεσόντος ἐπήρθαι τὴν γνάθον. διὸ δὴ τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἀποπειράσθαι οὕδαμή ἤθελε, Παύλου δὲ πέμψας χρῆματα Ἐδεσ-
34 σηνούς ἦτει. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει μὲν δεδέναι ἡκίστα ἔφασκον, ὅπως δὲ μὴ τοῖς χωρίοις λυμήνη-
tαι, ἀμολόγησαν δύο χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια δώσειν. καὶ δὲ τὰ τε χρῆματα ἔλαβε καὶ διεσώσατο τὰ
ξυγκείμενα.

XIII

1 Τότε καὶ γράμματα Χοσρόη βασιλεὺς Ἰου-
stiωνανὸς ἐγραψεν, ἐπιτελέσειν ὁμολογῶν τά τε
ἀυτῷ καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυγ-
2 κείμενα. ἀπερ ἐπεὶ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀπενεχθέντα
εἶδε, τούς τε ὁμήρους ἀφῆκε καὶ συνεσκευάζετο ἐς
τὴν ἀφοδον,1 τούς τε Ἀντιοχείων αἰχμαλώτων
3 ἀποδίδοσθαι ἀπαντᾶς ἤθελεν. ὅπερ Ἐδεσσηνοὶ
ἐπειδὴ ἐμαθὼν, προθυμίαν ἐπεδείξαντο ἀκοῆς
κρέισσω. οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὐδεὶς δς οὐ τὰ λύτρα ἐν
τῷ ἱερῷ φέρον ὑπὸ τούτων δὴ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων
4 κατὰ λόγον τῆς οὐσίας κατέθετο. εἴσι δὲ οἶς καὶ
μᾶλλον ἡ κατὰ λόγον ταύτα ἐπράσσετο. αἱ τέ
γὰρ ἐταίραι τῶν κόσμων ἀφελοῦσαι, ὅσος αὐταῖς
ἐν τῷ σώματι ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐρρίπτευσιν, καὶ εἰ τῷ
γεωργῷ ἐπίπλων ἢ ἀργυρίου σπανίζοντι ὅνος ἢ

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

XIII

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

1 Cf. Book II. x. 24.
προβάτων ἦν, τούτο δὴ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδῆ
5 πολλῆ ἦγεν. ἀθροίζεται μὲν οὖν χρυσοῖ τε καὶ
ἀργύρου καὶ ἄλλων χρημάτων πάμπολυν πλῆθος,
6 δὲ δέντα δὲ υπὲρ λύτρων οὐδὲν. Βούζης γὰρ
ἐνταῦθα παρὸν ἦτοχεν, δὲ διακωλύσαι τὴν πράξιν
ὑπέστη, κέρδος οἱ ἔσεσθαι μέγα τι ἐνθένδε καρα-
δοκῶν. διὸ δὴ ὁ Ἰσράηλ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους
7 ἀπαντᾷ ἐπαγόμενος πρόσω ἔχωρει. Καρπηνοῦ
δὲ ἀπῆντων χρῆματα πολλὰ προτεινόμενοι· ὅ
δὲ οὐ προσήκειν ἐφασκέν, ὅτι δὴ οἱ πλείστοι οὐ
Χριστιανοὶ, ἀλλὰ δόξης τῆς παλαιᾶς τυχανοῦσιν
ὀντες.
8 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Κωνσταντινιέων χρῆματα δι-
δόντων ἔδεξατο, καίπερ φάσκων οἱ ἐκ πατέρων
προσήκειν τὴν πόλειν. ἐπειδή γὰρ Καβάδης
Ἀμίδαν εἶλεν, Ἔδεσσάν τε καὶ Κωνσταντίνων
9 ἐξελεῖν ἦθελεν. ἀλλ᾽ Ἕδεσσάς μὲν ἀγχοῦ γενό-
μενος τῶν μάγων ἀνεπινυθάνετο εἰ οἱ ἀλώσιμοι ἢ
πόλεις ἔσται, δείξας τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ χωρίον
10 αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι οὐ-
δεμὲ μηχανῇ ἔλεγον, τεκμαίρομενοι ὅτι δὴ τὴν
δεξιάν αὐτῇ χειρα προτείνας, οὐχ ἀλώσεως ταῦτῃ
οὐδὲ ἄλλον ὀτουπὸν χαλεπὸν ξύμβολον, ἀλλὰ
11 σωτηρίας διδοίη. καὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας, ἐπει-
θετό τε καὶ ἐπήγειν ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνων τὸ στρά-
12 τενμα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐνστρατοπεδεύε-
σθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς πολυρκήσων ἐπέ-
13 στελλεν. ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίνης ἱερεὺς τότε
Βαράδοτος, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος τε καὶ τῷ θεῷ ἡ τὰ
μα-
λιστα φίλος, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργοῦσαν ἐς ὁ τι βού-
λοιτο ἄει τὴν εὐχὴν ἔχων· οὐ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον
ἰδὼν ἄν τις εὐθὺς εἰκασέν ὅτι δὴ τῷ θεῷ ἐνδελε-
374
of plate or of money, but who had an ass or a sheep, brought this to the sanctuary with great zeal. So there was collected an exceedingly great amount of gold and silver and money in other forms, but not a bit of it was given for ransom. For Bouzes happened to be present there, and he took in hand to prevent the transaction, expecting that this would bring him some great gain. Therefore Chosroes moved forward, taking with him all the captives. And the citizens of Carrhae met him holding out to him great sums of money; but he said that it did not belong to him because the most of them are not Christians but are of the old faith.

But when, likewise, the citizens of Constantina offered money, he accepted it, although he asserted that the city belonged to him from his fathers. For at the time when Cabades took Amida, he wished also to capture Edessa and Constantina. But when he came near to Edessa he enquired of the Magi whether it would be possible for him to capture the city, pointing out the place to them with his right hand. But they said that the city would not be captured by him by any device, judging by the fact that in stretching out his right hand to it he was not giving thereby the sign of capture or of any other grievous thing, but of salvation. And when Cabades heard this, he was convinced and led his army on to Constantina. And upon arriving there, he issued orders to the whole army to encamp for a siege. Now the priest of Constantina was at that time Baradotus, a just man and especially beloved of God, and his prayers for this reason were always effectual for whatever he wished; and even seeing his face one would have straightway surmised that
14 χέστατα κεχαρισμένος ο ἀνήρ εἶ. οὗτος ο Ἰαράδος την κάπτει παρὰ τὸν Καβάθινα ἐλθὼν οὖν τε ἡνεγκε καὶ ἰσχάδασ καὶ μέλε καὶ καθαροὺς ἀρτους, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἑδείτο μὴ ἀποτείχθαι πόλεως ἢ οὔτε λόγου ἄξια ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἀπημέληται λίγαν, οὔτε στρατιωτῶν φρουρῶν ἔχουσα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς οἰκήτορας μόνους, ἀνθρώπους ὁμι- 
15 τρούς. ο μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν Καβάθις δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν χαριεῖσθαι ὁμολόγησε καὶ τοῖς στείροις ἐδώρησετο αὐτοῦ ἀπασιν ὅσα οἱ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐστὶ τῆς πολιορκίαν ἠτοίμαστο, μεγά- 
λοις ὑπερφυσίων οὖσιν οὔτω τε ἀπηλλάσσετο ἐκ γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Χοσρής ἐκ πα- 
τέρων οἱ προσήκειν ἡξίου τὴν πόλιν.

16 Ἐς Δάρας τε ἀφικόμενος ἐστι πολιορκίαι καθί- 
στατο. ἐνδοθεν δὲ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ Μαρτῖνος ὁ 
στρατηγὸς (καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὅπερ ἐτυχε) τὰ ἐστὶ-
17 στασίων ἐξηρτύνωσο. δύο δὲ ἡ πόλις τείχες περι- 
βεβλήσθη, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐντὸς μέγα τε καὶ ἄσυνθετον 
ἀτεχνῶς ἐστιν (ἐσ ὑψος ὡρα διήκει πύργοις μὲν ἕκαστος ποδῶν ἐκατόν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο τεῖχος ἐξη- 
κοντα), τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς πολλῷ μὲν ἔλασσον συμβαίνει 
einae, ἀλλως δὲ ἐχυρῶν τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον 
18 ἐστι. τὸ δὲ μεταξί χωρίου εὐρος οἶχ ἡςον ἡ 
πεντήκοντα ἔχει ποδῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰῶθασι Δα- 
ρηνοι τοὺς τε βόις καὶ τᾶλα ξώα πολεμών 
19 σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων ἐμβάλλεσθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν 
πρῶτα ὁ Χοσρής προσβολήν ποιησάμενος ἐστὶ τὰ 
πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ περιβόλου πλήθει τε βελῶν 
βιασάμενος, τὰς πύλας τεῖχους τοῦ βραχέως 
20 ἐνέπρησεν. ἐντὸς μὲντοι γενέσθαι οὐδεὶς τῶν
this man was most completely acceptable to God. This Baradotus came then to Cabades bearing wine and dried figs and honey and unblemished loaves, and entreated him not to make an attempt on a city which was not of any importance and which was very much neglected by the Romans, having neither a garrison of soldiers nor any other defence, but only the inhabitants, who were pitiable folk. Thus spoke the priest; and Cabades promised that he would grant him the city freely, and he presented him with all the food-supplies which had been prepared by him for the army in anticipation of the siege, an exceedingly great quantity; and thus he departed from the land of the Romans. For this reason it was that Chosroes claimed that the city belonged to him from his fathers.

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

βαρβάρων ἐτόλμησεν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατώρυχα ποιεῖται λάθρα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐς τῆς πόλεως ἐγγυ. ταύτη γὰρ μόνον ὄρυσσεθαί ἡ γῆ οἷα τέ ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἐπὶ πέτρας τοῖς 21 δειμαμένοις πεποίηται. οἱ γούν Πέρσαι ἀπὸ τῆς τάφρου ἄρξάμενοι ὄρυσσον. ἤς δὴ βαθείας κομιδῆς οὕσης, οὔτε καθευρόντο πρὸς τῶν πολε-μῶν οὔτε αὐτοῖς τινα ἀσθήσιν τοῦ παινομένου 22 παρεῖχοντο. ἦδη μὲν οὖν ὑπέδυσαν τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ ἐκτὸς τείχους, ἐμελλὼν δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν ἐκατέρου περιβόλου γινόμενοι ὀλύγω ύστερον καὶ τὸ μέγα τείχος ἀμείβαντες τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν, ἀλλ' (οὐ γὰρ αὐτήν ἔδει Πέρσαις ἀλώναι) εἰς ἐκ τοῦ Χοσρόου στρατοπέδου ἀμφὶ ἠμέραν μέσην ἀγχιστά πὴ τοῦ περιβολοῦ μόνος ἀφίκετο, εἰτε ἀνθρω-πος ὅν εἰτε τὶ ἄλλο ἀνθρώπου κρείσσον, δόξαν τε τοῖς ὑρίσι παρεῖχετο ὅτι δὴ τὰ βέλη ξυλλέγοι ἀπερ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους Ὁρμαῖοι ὁλύγῳ πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας βαρβάρους ἀφῆ- 23 καν. ταύτα τε ποιῶν καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα προβε- βλημένοις ἔρεσαν τε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ τοὺς γέλωτι τωθάξεις εἴδοκει. εἰτα φράσας αὐτοῖς τὸν πάντα λόγων ἐγγρηγορέιαν πάντας ἐκέλευε καὶ ὥς ἐν μάλιστα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπιμε- 24 λείσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα σημήνας ἀπιῶν φχετο, Ὁρμαῖοι δὲ τὰ ἐν μέσῳ τείχους ἐκατέρους ἔβριβῳ 25 πολλῷ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐκέλευεν σκάπτειν. καὶ Πέρσαι μέντοι οὐκ εἰδότες τὰ πρασόμενα οὕδέν 26 τὴ ἴσσου ἐργον εἴχοντο. τῶν μὲν οὖν βαρβάρων ὀρθὴν τινα ἐνερθὲν ποιομένων ὁδὸν ὑπὶ τὸ τῆς

378
no one of the barbarians dared to get inside. Next he decided to make a tunnel secretly at the eastern side of the city. For at this point alone can the earth be dug, since the other parts of the fortifications were set upon rock by the builders. So the Persians began to dig, beginning from their trench. And since this was very deep, they were neither observed by the enemy nor did they afford them any means of discovering what was being done. So they had already gone under the foundations of the outer wall, and were about to reach the space between the two walls and soon after to pass also the great wall and take the city by force; but since it was not fated to be captured by the Persians, someone from the camp of Chosroes came alone about midday close to the fortifications, whether a man or something else greater than man, and he made it appear to those who saw him that he was collecting the weapons which the Romans had a little before discharged from the wall against the barbarians who were assailing them. And while doing this and holding his shield before him, he seemed to be bantering those who were on the parapet and taunting them with laughter. Then he told them of everything and commanded them all to be on the watch and to take all possible care for their safety. After revealing these things he was off, while the Romans with much shouting and confusion were ordering men to dig the ground between the two walls. The Persians, on the other hand, not knowing what was being done, were pushing on the work no less than before. So while the Persians were making a straight way underground to the wall of the city, the Romans by the
πόλεως τείχος, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων [τε] 1 Θεοδόρου γυναῖκα, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλουμένῃ μηχανικῇ λογίου ἀνδρός, ἐγκαρδίαν τε τὴν διάφραξα ἐργαζόμενων καὶ βάθους ἰκανός ἔχουσαν, ξυνέθη Πέρσας κατὰ μέσον τοῖν περιβόλοις γεγενημένους ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐμπεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων κατάφραξα. 27 καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν πρῶτον Ῥωμαίους ἔκτειναν, οἱ δὲ ὁπισθεν φυγόντες κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον διεσώθησαν. διόκειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν σκότῳ 28 Ῥωμαίου οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν. ταύτης οὖν τῇ πεĭρᾳ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀποτυχὼν ἔλειν τε τὴν πόλιν μηχανή τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδεμιὰ ἐπίσας, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐς λόγους ἤλθε, χείλια τε κεκομισμένος ἀργύρων σταθμὰ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθὴ ἐχώρει. 29 ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔμαθεν, οὐκέτι τὰ ἡγείμενα ἐπιτελὴ ποιήσειν ἤθελεν, ἐπικαλῶν Χοσρόη ὅτι δὴ πόλιν Δάρας ἐν σπονδαῖς ἔξελεῖν ἐνεχείρησε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῇ Ῥωμαίως ξυνέθη, καὶ τὸ θέρος μὲν ἐτελεύτα.

XIV

1 ὁ δὲ Χοσρόης πόλει ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις δειμαμένοις ἐν χάρῳ 2 Κτησιφῶντος πόλεως διέχοιτι ἡμέρας ὁδῷ, Ἀντιοχείαν τε τὴν Χοσρόου αὐτὴν ἐπωνύμασε καὶ Ἀντιοχέων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐνταῦθα ἤνωκισεν ἀπαντας, οἴς δὴ βαλανεῖλον τε καὶ ἰπποδρόμου κατεσκεύαζε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις 2 τρυφαῖς ἀνείσον ἐπολέει. τοὺς τε γὰρ ἰμιόχους

1 [τε] bracketed by Dindorf. 2 χάρῳ Maltretus: χάρα MS.
advice of Theodorus, a man learned in the science called mechanics, were constructing their trench in a cross-wise direction and making it of sufficient depth, so that when the Persians had reached the middle point between the two circuit-walls they suddenly broke into the trench of the Romans. And the first of them the Romans killed, while those in the rear by fleeing at top speed into the camp saved themselves. For the Romans decided by no means to pursue them in the dark. So Chosroes, failing in this attempt and having no hope that he would take the city by any device thereafter, opened negotiations with the besieged, and carrying away a thousand pounds of silver he retired into the land of Persia. When this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he was no longer willing to carry the agreement into effect, charging Chosroes with having attempted to capture the city of Daras during a truce. Such were the fortunes of the Romans during the first invasion of Chosroes; and the summer drew to its close.

XIV

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

καὶ τοὺς τῶν μουσικῶν ἔργων τεχνίτας ἐκ τε Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων πόλεων

3 ἡμῶν αὐτῷ ἤγεν. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ δημοσία τοὺς Ἀντιοχείας τούτοις ἐπιμελεστέρως ἡ κατά αἰχμαλώτους ἐστίτευσιν ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον, καὶ βασιλικοῦς καλεῖσθαι ἤξιον, ὡστε τῶν ἀρχόντων

4 οὐδενὶ ὑποχειρίους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖς μούφ. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων δραπέτης γεγονὼς ἐς Ἀντιοχείαν τὴν Χαράκον διαφυγεῖν ἰσχύσε, καὶ τις αὐτοῦ1 ἔχενεν τῶν ταύτης φύκημένων ἐκάλεσεν, οὐκέτι ἦν τῷ κεκτημένῳ τῶν αἰχμάλωτων τούτων ἄπαγεν, οὐδὲ ἦν τις τῶν λίκων ἐν Πέρσαις δοκίμων ὁ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἔξανδραποδίσας τυχάνοι.

5 Ἀντιοχεύσι μέντοι τὸ ξύμβαν ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύσοντος τέρας ἐς τούτο ἀποβαίνει ἐτελεύτησε. τότε γὰρ ἀνέμου σκληροῦ Δάφνη τῷ προσσεῖρῳ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπιπεσόντος, τῶν κυπαρίσσων αὐτα τἀυτῇ ἵψηλα ἀτεχνῶς ἤσαν ἐκ ρίξῶν τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀνατραπεύοντας εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπεσόν, ἀσπέρ

6 οὐ νόμος ἐκτέμνεσθαι οὐδαμῇ εἰς. οὐκίου μὲν οὐν ὅστερον, ἡμῖν Ἰουστίνως Ῥωμαίῳ ἰχρε, σεισμὸς τις ἐπιγενόμενος ἔξαισιος λείαν τῆς τῶ πόλεως κατέσειος πᾶσαν καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ταῦτα πλεύστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος εὐθὺς ἤνεγκε, καὶ λέγονται τότε τριάκοντα μυριάδες Ἀντιοχέων

7 ἀπολωλέναι. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ ἀλώσει ξύμπασα ἡ πόλις, ἀσπέρ μοι ἔρρηθε, διέφθαρται. τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἀντιοχεῶν πάθος τῇ ἑκόρησε.

8 Βελυσάριος δὲ βασιλεῖς ἤς Βυζάντιων ἐξ Ἰταλίας μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν καὶ αὐτὸν διαχειμάσαντα ἐν

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

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

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

Βυζαντίῳ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τε Χοσρόην καὶ Πέρσας ἀμα ἢρι ἄρχομένῳ βασίλεις ἐπεμψεν ἄρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας ξίνων αὐτῷ ἤκοντας, ἵνα δὴ ἑνα Βαλεριανοῦ ἤγείσθαι τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίων καταλόγουν 9 ἔκελευν. Μαρτίνος γὰρ ἔτυχεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἑώον σταλεῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Χοσρόης αὐτὸν, 10 ὡς προδέδηλωται, ἐς Δάρας εὗρε. τῶν δὲ Γότθων Οὐίττηγις μὲν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔμεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐξύμπαντες ἐπὶ Χοσρόῃν σὺν Βελσάρῳ ἔστρα- 11 τευσαν. τότε τῶν Οὐίττηγιδος πρέσβεων ἀτέρος μὲν, δοστὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὁμόματος ἐπεβάτευνεν, ἐν τοῖς Περσῶν ἥθεςι λυθῆκε, ὡς ἔγετο ἄτερος 12 αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν. δότις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐρμηνεύσει ἐπετο ἀνεχόρησαν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰωάννης, δι τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἢρχεν, ἀμφὶ τά Κωνσταντῖνης ὅρια ξυλαβῶν ἐς τῇ πόλιν εἰσαγαγὼν ἐν δεισμωτήριῳ καθ- εἴρξεν, δοστὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἄπαντα ἀναπυθα- 13 νομένῳ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐξήρεικε. ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως τῆς ἐχώρησε. Βελσάριος δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐπο- μένοις κατὰ τάχος ἦς, προτερῆς εἰς σπούδῃ ἐχῶν πρὶν τίνα ὁ Χοσρόης ἐσβολήν αὖθις ποιή- σεται ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν.

XV

1 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπὶ Κολχίδα τῶν στρατῶν ἦγε, Δαζὼν αὐτοῦ ἐπαγομένων ἐξ αἰτίας 2 τοιαῦτα. Δαζὸς τὰ μὲν πρώτα γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἄκουσ, ἩΡωμαίων κατέκασα ὅπως, οὐ μεντοὶ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, οὔτε τὸ ἄλλο ἐπαγγέλλουσιν

384
the winter in Byzantium, the emperor sent him as general against Chosroes and the Persians at the opening of spring, together with the officers who had come with him from Italy, one of whom, Valerianus, he commanded to lead the troops in Armenia. For Martinus had been sent immediately to the East, and for this reason Chosroes found him at Daras, as has been stated above. And among the Goths, Vittigis remained in Byzantium, but all the rest marched with Belisarius against Chosroes. At that time one of the envoys of Vittigis, he who was assuming the name of bishop, died in the land of Persia, and the other one remained there. And the man who followed them as interpreter withdrew to the land of the Romans, and John, who was commanding the troops in Mesopotamia, arrested him near the boundaries of Constantina, and bringing him into the city confined him in a prison; there the man in answer to his enquiries related everything which had been done. Such, then, was the course of these events. And Belisarius and his followers went in haste, since he was eager to anticipate Chosroes' making any second invasion into the land of the Romans.

**XV**

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

αὐτοὶς ἐπακούοντες, πλὴν γε ὅτι ἐπειδὰν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς τελευτήσειε, ἐξύμβολα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ διαδεξαμένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ῥωμαῖων
3 βασιλεὺς ἐπέμπτε. τὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ορια ἐξ ἕν τῶν ἀρχιμένοις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές διεφύλασσεν, ὅπως ἤ δή μὴ Ὁὐνυὶν πολέμοι ἐς ὄρους τοῦ Καυκάσου, ὁμόρουν σφίσιν ὄντως, διὰ Λαξικῆς πορευόμενοι
4 ἐσβάλλομεν ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων. ἐφύλασσον δὲ οὕτε αὐτοὶ χρήματα ἢ στρατιὰν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δεχόμενοι οὕτε Ῥωμαίοις τῷ ἐνστρατεύοντες, ἐπὶ ἐμπορία δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
5 ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐν πόντῳ φιλημένους ἔργαζόμενοι. αὐτοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὕτε ἀλάς οὕτε σῖτον οὕτε ἄλλο τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔχουσιν, δέρρεις δὲ καὶ βύρσας καὶ ἀνδράποδα παρεχόμενοι τὰ σφίσιν ἐπιτήδεια ἐκομίζοντο.
6 ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Γουργένει τῷ Ἱβήρῳ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ὡστερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθέν λόγοις ἐφήθη, στρατιῶται Ῥωμαίων ἐπιχρωμάζειν Λαξιᾶς ἔρχαντο, οἷς δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι οὕτοι ἔχθοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Πέτρῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ἐπηρεάζειν τοῖς ἑντυγχάνουσιν εὐπτετῶς
7 ἔχοντι. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος οὕτος ὁρμητοὶ μὲν ἐξ Ἀρχαννηῆς, ἢ ἐκτὸς Νυμφίου ποταμοῦ ἔστι, Περσῶν κατήκουσι ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα, πρὸς Ιουστίνου δὲ βασιλέως ἐτὶ παῖς ὣν ἠδραπόδιστο, ἡρίκα Ἰουστίνος μετὰ τὴν Ἀμίδης ἀλώσιν ἐξ οὗ τῷ Κέλερος στρατῷ ἐσέβαλλεν ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῆν. φιλανθρωπίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ χρωμένου τοῦ κεκτημένου
8 ὡς αὐτοῦν ἐς γραμματιστῶν ἐφοίτησε. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα Ιουστίνου γραμματεὺς γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀναστασίου τετελευτηκότος Ιουστίνος τὴν βασι-
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xv. 2–8

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

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λείαν παρέλαβε Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Πέτρος στρατηγὸς γεγονὼς ἐς τε φιλοχρηματίαν εἶπεν τις ἄλλος ἐξώκειλε καὶ ἄβελτερία πολλῇ ἐς ἀπαντας ἐχρήτῳ.

9 "Τστερον δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἱουστινιανὸς ἄλλοις τε ἐς Δαζικὴν ἀρχοντας ἐπεμψε καὶ Ἰωάννῃν ὑν Τζίβουν ἐκάλουν, ἀνδρὰ ἐς ἄφανων μὲν καὶ ἄδόξων ἄρχην γεγονότα, ἐς στρατηγιαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα κατ’ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἦ ὅτι πονηρότατός τοι ἦν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαντῶν καὶ πόρους χρημάτων ἄδικους ἰκανότατος ἐξευρεῖν. ἂς ἦ δὴ ἀπαντα ἐσφηλε τε καὶ συνετάραξε τα Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Δαζων πράγματα. οὕτως καὶ βασιλέα Ἱουστινιανὸν πόλεων ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Πέτραν ὅνομα, ἐν Δαζωὶς δείμασθαι· ἑνταῦθα τε ὑπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθήμενος ἦγε τε καὶ ἐφερε τα Δαζων πράγματα.

10 τούτῳ τε γὰρ ἄλλας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα φορτία Δαζῶις ἀναγκαία ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὐκέτι φέρειν ἐς γῆν τῇ Κολχίδᾳ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐξήν, ἢ ἄλλοι ἐνθέντε ὁμείσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐν Πέτρᾳ ἐξυπηρετήθησαν τὸ δὴ καλούμενον μονοπόλιον αὐτὸς κάτηλτο τε καὶ ἑυμπάσης τῆς περὶ ταύτα ἐργασίας ἐπιστάτης ἐγώνυμο, ἀπαντα ὁμούμενος τε καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος Κόλχως, οὐχ ὑπερ εἴδωτο, ἀλλ’ ὑπερ ἐξήν.

11 ἀμα δὲ καὶ ἄλλως οἱ βάρβαροι ἤχθοντο ἐπιχωρίαζοντι αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰσθῶς πρώτερον τῷ Ῥω- μαίων στρατῷ. ἂ δὴ οὐκέτι φέρειν οἷοί τε ὄντες Πέρσαις τε καὶ Χοσρήν προσχωρεῖν ἐγνώσαν,

---

1 ἄδικους VGP corr.: ἄδικων P pr. m.
2 Πέτρα Hoeschel: πέτρας MSS.
Roman empire, Peter was made a general, and he degenerated into a slave of avarice, if anyone ever did, and showed himself very fatuous in his treatment of all.

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

πρέσβεις τε αὑτίκα τοὺς ταύτα διαπραξομένους
13 κρύφα Ῥωμαίων παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψαν. οἷς δὴ εἰρήτο τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβοῦσιν ὅτι γε οὕτω ἔπεμψαν Δαξοῦς ἀκόντας ἐκδόσει Ῥωμαίοις, οὕτω δὴ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ ἐστὶν χώραν ἐπαγαγέοσθαι.1

14 Ἀφικόμενοι τὸλυνν ἐς Πέρσας οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ Χοσρόη λάθρα ἐς ὅψιν ἐλθόντες ἠλέξαν τοιάδε “Εἰ τις νῦν ἄλλους ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἁράντος τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀποστάντας ἀντιαν ὅτι τρόπον, ἀνθρασι τὸ παράπαν ἀγνώσθη προσκεχωρῆθησας οὐ δέον αἰθίς εὑ ποιοῦσα ἡ τυχη ὅσ μᾶλλον ἀσμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὶν ἐπανήγαγαν ἐπιτηδεύον, τοιούτους δὴ τινας καὶ Λαξοῦς, ὃ μέγιστε βασι-λεῖ, νόμιζε εἶναι. Κόλχοι γὰρ Πέρσας σύμ-μαχοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες πολλὰ τε εἱργάσαντο αὐτοὺς ἀγαθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαθῶν. δὴ ἐν γράμμασι μνημεια πολλὰ ἡμεῖς τε ἐχομεν καὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐς τὸ παρόν διασώζεται.

15 χρόνῳ δὲ ὑστερον τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις τετῦχθηκεν εἰτε παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀμεληθείσων εἰτε ἄλλου του ἔνεκα (οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν τι σαφές περὶ τούτων εἰδέναι) Ῥωμαίοις ἐνσπόνδοις γενέσθαι. καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὁ Δαξικῆς βασιλείας δίδομεν Πέρσας ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὃ τι βούλοι-

16 σθε χρήσθαι. δεόμεθα δὲ ύμῶν οὕτωσι σκοπεί-

17 σθαι περὶ ὑμῶν. εἰ μὲν οὐδὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων πεπονθότες δεινῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀγνωμοσύνῃ ἐχόμενοι κεχωρήκαμεν εἰς ύμᾶς, τόπων ὑμῶν εὐθὺς ἀπο-

18 σείσατε τῇ ἱκετείᾳ, οὐδὲ ύμῶν ποτε πιστοὺς

1 ἐπαγαγέοσθαι Haury: παραγαγέοσθαι VG, ἐπαγαγέοσθαι Ρ.

390
sent to them envoys who were to arrange this without the knowledge of the Romans. These men had been instructed that they should take pledges from Chosroes that he would never give up the Lazi against their will to the Romans, and that with this understanding they should bring him with the Persian army into the land.

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

ἔσεσθαι Κόλχους οἰόμενοι (φιλίας γὰρ διαλειμένης ὁ τρόπος τῆς μετ΄ ἐκείνην πρὸς ἑτέρους καθισταμένης ἕλεγχος γίγνεται): εἰ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν φίλοι Ὀμοίων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀνδράποδα γεγονότες πιστά, ἔργα πεπόνθαμεν πρὸς τῶν ἐφ' ἠμῶν τετυραννηκότων ἀνόσια, δεξασθεὶς μὲν ἠμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθε τυμμάχους, κτῆσασθεὶς δὲ δοῦλους οἶς φίλοις ἔχρησθε, μυσήσατε δὲ τυραννίδα πικρὰν ὅτως ἠμῶν ἐν γειτόνων ἐγχειρεμένῃ, τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀξία πράσσοντες ἦν περιστέλλειν ἀεὶ πάτρων Πέρσας. οὐ γὰρ ὁ μηδεν αὐτῶν ἀδικῶν δίκαιος, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἀδικουμένοις ἐχθρῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ῥύεσθαι πέφυκεν. ἔνια δὲ εἰπεῖν δυν τετολμήκασιν οἱ κατάρατοι Ὀμοίων καθ' ἠμῶν ἂξιον. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλείᾳ τὸ σχῆμα μόνον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολύτοπον, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἀφήρησται, καὶ κάθεται βασιλεὺς ἐν ὑπηρέτῳ μοῖρα, τῶν ἐπιτάθητον στρατηγῶν δεδικός· στρατιάς δὲ ἠμῶν ἑπέστησαν πλήθος, ὅπως τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνοχλοῦντων φρονήσουσιν (οὐ γὰρ οὐδὲ τις τῶν ὁμορόων ἠμῶς πλὴν γε δὴ Ὀμοίων ἡνώχλησεν), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἠμῶς ὡσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ καθείρζατες κύριοι τῶν ἡμετέρων γενήσονται. λογισάμενοι δὲ συντομωτέραν ποιήσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἠμῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἁφαίρεσιν, δρα, ὧν βασιλεία, ὃς ὁποίαν τινὰ ἐννοοῖς ἠλθὼν τῶν ἐπιτηθείων ἀ μὲν περιττὰ παρ' ἐκείνως εἶναι τετύχηκεν, ἀναγκάζουσιν οὐχ ἐκόντας ὁμείσθαι Δαξοὺς, ὃσα

1 φρονήσουσι VG: φρονήσωσιν P.

392
that with you likewise the Colchians will never be trustworthy (for when a friendship has been dissolved, a second friendship formed with others becomes, owing to its character, a matter of reproach); but if we have been in name friends of the Romans, but in fact their loyal slaves, and have suffered impious treatment at the hands of those who have tyrannized over us, receive us, your former allies, and acquire as slaves those whom you used to treat as friends, and show your hatred of a cruel tyranny which has risen thus on our borders, by acting worthily of that justice which it has always been the tradition of the Persians to defend. For the man who himself does no wrong is not just, unless he is also accustomed to rescue those who are wronged by others when he has it in his power. But it is worth while to tell a few of the things which the accursed Romans have dared to do against us. In the first place they have left our king only the form of royal power, while they themselves have appropriated the actual authority, and he sits a king in the position of a servant, fearing the general who issues the orders; and they have put upon us a multitude of soldiery, not in order to guard the land against those who harass us (for not one of our neighbours except, indeed, the Romans has disturbed us), but in order that they may confine us as in a prison and make themselves masters of our possessions. And purposing to make more speedy the robbery of what we have, behold, O King, what sort of a design they have formed; the supplies which are in excess among them they compel the Lazi to buy against their will, while those things which are most useful
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

dè αυτοίς χρησιμώτατα φέρειν Δαζική πέφυκεν, οἴδε1 ἀξιούσι δήθεν τῷ λόγῳ παρ’ ἡμῶν πρίσθαι, τιμῆς ἐκατέρωθι γνώμη τῶν κρατοῦντων ὀρίζο-μένης. οὔτω τε ξύν τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἀπαν ἄφαιρονται τὸ χρυσίον ἡμᾶς, ὑμὸματί μεν τῷ τῆς ἐμπορίας εὐπρεπεῖ χρώμενοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα βιαζόμενοι. ἐφέστηκε τε ἡμῖν ἄρχων κάπηλος, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπορίαν ἐργάσαν τινά 26 τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑξουσίᾳ πεποιημένος. ἢ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἀναστάσεως αἰτία τοιαύτη τις οὔσα τῷ δίκαιων ἐφ’ ἐαυτῆς ἔχει· ὅσα δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα ἔσται δεχόμενος τὴν Δαζών δέσαν 27 αὐτικά ἐρωμένην. τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχή βασιλέων ἀρχαιοτάτην προσθήσετε, μηκυνύμενόν τε ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἔπετε τῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας αξίωμα, μετείναι δὲ τῆς Ρωμαίων θαλάσσης υμῖν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ξυμβῆσται χώρας, εἴ ἡ πλοία σοι, ὡς βασιλεύ, ναυπηγουμένῳ βατόν οὐδὲν πόνῳ τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παλάτιον ἔσται. μεταξὺ γὰρ ἐναντίωμα οὐδέν 28 ἐστι. προσθεὶς δ’ ἄν τις ὡς καὶ ληξηθεῖ φίοις ὑμῶν ομόροις βαρβάρους τήν ‘Ρωμαίων γῆν ἀνὰ πᾶν 29 ἔτος ἐφ’ υμῖν κείσεται. ὅρει γὰρ τοῖς Καυ-κασίοις ἐπίπεδος σεβάς τούδε γεγονέναι τήν Δαζών χώραν πάντως πον εἰς καὶ υμεῖς ξυνεπι- 30 στασθε. ἠγομένου τοῖνυν τοῦ δίκαιου, προσόντος δὲ τοῦ ξυμφέροντος, τὸ μή σούχτε τοὺς λόγους προσέσθαι2 οὐδεμέας ἂν εὐθυνλίας οἴομεθα εἶναι.” τοσάιτα μὲν οἱ πρέσβεις εἴπον.

31 Χοσρόης δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἡσθεὶς ἀμύνει τε

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

And Chosroes, delighted by their words, promised
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Δαξοῦς ωμολόγησε καὶ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπυνθάνετο
εἰς τοὺς στρατοὺς μεγάλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα ἴναι
32 δυνατὰ εἴη. πολλῶν γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόντων ἐφα-
σκεν ἀκηκοέναι τὰ πρῶτηα δύσοδον ἐπιεικῶς
καὶ ἄνδρι εὐξώνῳ τὴν χώραν εἶναι, κρημνώδη
tε ὑπερφυσῆς οὕσαν καὶ δεόντως συχνοὶς τε καὶ
33 ἀμφιλαφέσιν ἐπὶ μακρότατον συνεχομένην. οἱ
δὲ οἱ ἰσχυρίζοντο παντὶ τῷ Περσῶν στρατῷ τὴν
ἐκεῖνῆς 1 ὁδὸν εὐπετή ἐσεσθαι, τέμνουσι μὲν τὰ
dεύνδρα, ἐς δὲ τῶν κρημνῶν τάς δυσχωρίας αὐτὰ
34 ἐμβαλλόμενοις. καὶ αὐτοὶ ωμολόγουν τῆς τε
ὁδοῦ ἤγεμῶνε καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου Πέρσας
35 ἐσεσθαι πρόπονοι. ταύτη ὁ Χοσρόης ἐπηρμένος
τῇ ὑποθήκῃ στρατιάς τε πολλῆν ἠγείρε καὶ τὰ
ἐς τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξηρτύετο, οὕτε τὸ βούλευμα ἐς
Πέρσας ἐξενεγκόμων, πλὴν γε δὴ οἷς τὰ ἀπόρρητα
κοινολογεῖσθαι μόνοις εἰώθει, καὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν
ἐπαγγείλας ὅπως τὰ πρασόμενα μηδενὶ φρά-
σωσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐς Ἰβηρίαν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστῆλετο, ὅσ
τὰ τῇ δε καταστησόμενοι πρῶγματα ἔθνος γὰρ
Οὐμικῶν ἐνταῦθα πῇ ἑπισκῆψι τῇ Περσῶν
ἀρχῇ ἐπεφήμισεν.

XVI

1 Ἑν τῷ τούτῳ δὲ γενόμενος Βελσάριος ἐν Μεσο-
ποταμίᾳ πανταχόθεν τὸν στρατὸν ἠγείρε, καὶ
τῶς ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἤθη ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆ ἐπεμπένεν.
2 αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς πολέμοις ἐνταῦθα ὑπαντιάζασι

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

XVI

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

βουλόμενος, ἢν τινα ἔσβολήν ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν αὐθίς ποιήσωνται, διείπε τε αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκόσμει τοὺς στρατιώτας, γυμνοὺς τε καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐπὶ πλείστων ὄντας, κατορρωδήκοτας 3 τὸ Περσῶν ὄνομα. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐπανήκοντες οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων ἱσχυρίζοντο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι. πολέμου γὰρ 4 Ὀούνικοῦ ἀσχολίαν Χοσρόη ἐτέρωθι εἶναι. Βελισσάριος δὲ ταύτα ἀκούσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ αὐτίκα ἔσβάλλειν ἐς τῶν πολέμων τὴν γῆν ἢθελε. καὶ οἱ 'Αρέθασ ὁ ξίτων πολλῷ στρατῷ Σαρακηνῶν ἤλθε καὶ βασιλεὺς γράμματα γράψας ἔσβάλλειν κατὰ τάχος ἐς τὴν πολέμων ἐπέ- 5 στέλλε γῆν. ἡγικαλέσας οὖν ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς ἀρχόντας ἐν Δάρας ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Ἀπαντᾷς ὑμᾶς, δὲξ ἐναρχοντες, πολέμων πολλῶν ἐμπείρους οἶδα, ἐννηγαγόν τε ἐν τῷ παρόντι, οὐχ ὅπως ὑπομνήσας ἤ παραίνεσί τινα ποιησάμενος τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὄρμησο (οὐ γὰρ λόγου δεῖ σθαι υμᾶς τοῦ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἑνάγοντος οἴμαι), ἀλλ' ὅπως ἐμμεθυμήν τινα ἐν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι ἐλώμεθα μᾶλλον ἀπέρ ἀν δοκῇ βέλτιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα τοῖς 6 βασιλεῶς πράγμασι εἶναι. πόλεμος γὰρ εὐ-βουλία πάντων μᾶλστα κατορθοῦσθαι φίλαί. δεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐς βουλήν καθισταμένους αἴδοις τε καὶ φόβων παντάπασιν ἐλευθέραν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν 7 γνώμην. δὲ τῇ γὰρ φόβοι, δεὶ τοὺς αὐτῷ περιπετειώσος ἐκπλήσσον, οὐκ εἶ τῇ διάνοιαν ἐλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσων, δὲ τῇ αἴδος ἐπισκείδισθαι τοῖς δόξασι εἶναι ἀμείνοσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν

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

9 ἐκφέρει τὴν γνώσιν. εἰ τι τοῦν ἢ βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἢ ἐμοὶ βεβουλεύσθαι ύπὲρ τῶν παρόντων
10 δοκεῖ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς τοῦτο εἰσίτω. ὃ μὲν γὰρ μακράν ποι ἀπολειμμένος τῶν πρᾳδομένων,
11 οὐκ ἔχει τοὺς καιροὺς ἀρμόσαι τὰς πράξεις. ὡστε φόβος οὐδεὶς ἀπ‘ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ ἴόντας τὰ ἔννοι-
12 σοντα ἐργάζεσθαι τοὺς αὐτοῦ πράγμασιν. ἐμὲ δὲ ἀνθρωπόν τε ὅντα καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἔσπερῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντα μὴ οὐχὶ διαιλαθεῖν τι
13 τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον. ὡστε οὐδὲν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην αἴδευσθέντας ὑμᾶς προσήκει διαρρήθην ἐπεῖν ὅσα ἂν ἔννοισειν ἡμῖν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ
14 βασιλεῖ μέλλη. 1 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνθάδε ἡκομέν; ὁ ξυνάρχοντες, ὡς διακωλύσοντες τὸν πολέμιον ἐσβολήν τινα ἐς τὴν ἡμετέραν ποιή-
15 σασθαι, νῦν δὲ, τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν ἁμεινὸν ἢ κατ’ ἐλπίδας κεχωρηκότων, πάρεστι περὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βουλεύσθαι. 2 ἐφ’ ὡς ἡ ξυνειλεγμένους ὑμᾶς δίκαιον, οἴμαι, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλαμένους εἰπεῖν ἄπερ ἄν ἄριστά τε δοκῇ καὶ ἕμφοροτά τα ἐκάστω εἶναι.”
16 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Βοῦζὶς ἐξηγείσθαι τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν μελλήσοντα 3
17 εἶποντο εὐθὺς ὁ ξύλλογος ἄπας. Ἡρείδαγγος μὲντοι καὶ Θεωκτίτος, οἱ τῶν ἐν Λιβάνῳ στρα-
τιώτων ἄρχοντες, ταύτα μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁμφὶ τῇ ἐσβολῇ βουλεύσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐφασαν, δεδιέναι δὲ

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

And Peter and Bouzes urged him to lead the army without any hesitation against the enemy’s country. And their opinion was followed immediately by the whole council. Rhecithancus, however, and Theoctistus, the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, said that, while they too had the same wish as the others concerning the invasion, they feared that if
μὴ σφῶν ἐκλελοίπότων τά τε ἐπὶ Φωικῆς καὶ Ἡσίας χωρία, κατ’ ἐξουσίαν μὲν Ἀλαμούνδαρος ταῦτα ληξήται, Βασιλεὺς δὲ σφᾶς δι’ ὀργῆς ἔχοι, ἄτε οὐ φυλάξαντας ἀδήσωτον τήν χώραν ἢς ἱρχον, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ συνεισβάλλειν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ 18 οὐδαμῇ ἦθελον. Βελισάριος δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε ὁ πρῶτο ὡς ἥκιστα ἀληθῆ οἷοθεν ἔλεγε. τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τρόπας θερινὰς ἐλναι. ταῦτας δὲ τῆς ὅρας δύο μάλιστα μήνας ἀνάθημα τῷ σφετέρῳ θεῷ Σαρακηνοῦ ἦ εἰς αἰέ φέροντας ἐν ταύτη ἐπι- δρομή τινι οὖποτε χρήσθαι ἐς γῆν ἄλλοτρίαν. 19 διὸ δὴ ἐξήκοντα ἡμερῶν ὁμολογήσας ἔξω τοῖς ἐπιμένοις ἄμφω ἀφῆσειν, ἐκέλευε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἔξω τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπεσθαί. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν τά ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν σπουδὴ πολλὴ ἐξηρτύσετο.

XVII

1 Ἡσσρόπης δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατός, ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀμείωσαντες ἐν τοῖς τῆς Δασκάλης ὁρίοις, τῶν πρέσβεων σφίσαν ἑγουμένων, ἔγενοτο, τὰ δένδρα οὐδενός ἀντιστοιχούς ἐκτέμνοντες, ἀπερ ἐνταῦθα συχνὰ τε καὶ δεινῶς ἀμφιλαφὴ τε καὶ ἴψηλα ἐν χωρίοις κρημνώδεσιν ὡντα παντά- πασιν ἄβατον τῷ στρατῷ τὴν χώραν ἐποίει, ταῦτα τε ἐς τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐρρίπτουν καὶ ὅλως 2 εὐπετῇ τὴν ὄδὸν ἀπειραγόμενο. ἀφικομένοις τε αὐτοῖς ἐς μέσην Κολχίδα (οὐ δὴ τά τε ἄμφι Μήδειαν καὶ Ἰάσσωνα τοῖς ποιηταῖς γεγενήσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν) ἔλθον Γουβάζης, ὁ Δασκάλων βασι-
they abandoned the country of Phoenicia and Syria, Alamoundaras would plunder it at his leisure, and that the emperor would be angry with them because they had not guarded and kept unplundered the territory under their command, and for this reason they were quite unwilling to join the rest of the army in the invasion. But Belisarius said that the opinion of these two men was not in the least degree true; for it was the season of the vernal equinox, and at this season the Saracens always dedicated about two months to their god, and during this time never undertook any inroad into the land of others. Agreeing, therefore, to release both of them with their followers within sixty days, he commanded them also to follow with the rest of the army. So Belisarius was making his preparation for the invasion with great zeal.

XVII

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

λεύς, ἐπροσκύνησεν ἀτε δεσπότην Χοσρόην τῶν Καβάδου, αὐτῶν τε οἱ ξύν τοῖς βασιλείσις καὶ Δαξικήν ἔνδιδοις ἀπασαν.

3 Ἔστι δὲ Πέτρα πώλης ἐπιθαλασσία ἐν Κόλχους, πρὸς τῷ Εὐζείφῳ καλομένῳ πώντῳ, ὦν δὲ φαύλον τι χωρίον τὰ πρότερα οὐσαις Ἰουνινιανὸς βασιλεύς τῷ τε περιβόλῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐχυρῶν τε καὶ ἄλλως ἐπιφανῆ κατεστάτο. ἔνταῦθα τὸ Ρωμαίῶν στράτευμα εἶναι ἐξ ἔν τῷ Ἰωάννης μαθῶν ὁ Χοσρόης στρατιάν τε καὶ στρατηγόν Ἀναβέδην ὡς αὐτοβοκελ ἐξε- λούντας 1 ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἐπέμψε. γνοὺς δὲ Ἰωάννης τὴν ἔφοδον οὔτε τοῦ περιβόλου τινὰ ἔξω γενέσθαι οὔτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλξεων φανῆναι τοῖς πολεμίως ἐκέλευσεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα πλησίον ποὺ τῶν πυλῶν ἔστησεν, ἐπιστείλας συγῆ ἐχεσθαι, μήτε ἦχον μήτε φωνῆν ἀφιέντας τινὰ. οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι ἀγχιστά ποὺ τοῦ περι- βόλου γενόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφῖσι πολέμιον οὔτε καθεωρᾶτο οὔτε ἥκουστο, ἐρήμων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν, Ῥωμαίῶν αὕτην ἐκελοπτῶν, ἐνόμιζον.

4 διὸ δὴ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἁμφὶ τὸν περιβόλου ἤθλουν, ὡς κλίμακας εὐθός, ἀτε οὐδενὸς ἀμυνομένου,

5 ἐπιθήσοντες. πολέμιον τε οὔτε οὔτε ὁ ὅρωντες οὔτε ἀκούοντες, πέμψαντες παρὰ Χοσρόῃν τὰ παρόντα σφίσιν ἐδήλουν. καὶ δὲ τὸ μὲν πλείστον τοῦ στρατοῦ πέμψας πανταχόθεν ἀποπειράσθαι τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκέλευε, κωφ τε τῇ μηχανῇ ἁμφὶ τὰς πύλας χρῆσθαι τῶν τινῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπέ- στελλεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ λόφῳ καθήμενος δεὶ δὴ τῇ

6 ξελούντας Ρ.: Haury conjectures ἰξαρήσοντας.

404
and did obeisance to Chosroes, the son of Cabades, as Lord, putting himself together with his palace and all Lazica into his hand.

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

πολεί ός ἀγχοτάτω ἐπίκειται, θεατής τῶν πρασ-
10 σομένων ἐγίνετο. αὐτίκα δὲ Ῥωμαίοι τᾶς τε
πύλας ἀνέκλινον ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου καὶ ἀπροσδό-
κητοί ἐπιπεσόντες πλείστους τῶν πολεμίων διε-
θείραν, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀμφὶ τῶν κριῶν τεταγ-
μένους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μόλις ἔψω τῷ στρατηγῷ
dιαφυγόντες ἐσώθησαν. θυμῷ τὸ ὁ Χοσρόης
ἐχόμενος Ἀνιαβέδην ἀνεσκολοπίσει, ἀτε κατα-
στρατηγηθέντα πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννου, καπήλου τε
12 καὶ ἀπολέμου τὸ παράπαν ἄνδρός. τινὲς δὲ οὐκ
Ἀνιαβέδην, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀρχοῦτα δὴ ἐφειστήκει
toῖς τῶν κριῶν ἐνεργοῦσιν, ἀνασκολοπισθήναι
13 φασί. αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀγχοστά
τε τοῦ Πέτρας περιβόλου ἀφίκετο καὶ στρατο-
pedeusάμενος ἐς πολυρκίαν καθίστατο. τῇ δὲ
14 ὑστεραία κύκλῳ περιμών τὸν περίβολον, ἔπει οὐ
λίαν ἡξίομαχον αὐτῶν ὑπώπτευσεν εἴναι, τειχο-
μαχείν ἐγνω. τὸ τε στράτευμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα
ἐπαγαγὼν ἔργον εἴχετο, καὶ τοξεύειν ἀπαντάς ἐπὶ
15 τας ἐπάλξεις ἐκέλευε. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἀμυνόμενοι
ταῖς τε μηχαναῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐχρῦντο τοξεύμασι.
tὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα Πέρσαι, καὶ περ ψυχὰ κομιδὴ
βάλλουσιν, ὅλῃς τα Ῥωμαίους ἐλύσουν καὶ
16 πολλὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνων, ἀτε ἀφ’ ἴνηλος βάλλομενοι,
κάκα ἐπασχοῦν. ἐπείτα δὲ (καὶ γὰρ ἔδει Πέτραν
Χοσρόη ἄλωναι) βληθεὶς Ἰωάννης τόχῳ τῷ ἐς
τοῦ τράχηλον θυνήσκει, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ῥωμαίοι ἐς ὀλογροῖαν ἀπάντων κατέστησαν.
17 τότε μὲν οὖν οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
ἀνεχώρησαν. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἐνυπεκόταξε· τῇ δὲ
ὑστεραία διώρυχα ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον ἐπενόουν
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
the hill which lies very close to the city, became a spectator of the operations. And straightway the Romans opened the gates all of a sudden, and unexpectedly fell upon and slew great numbers of the enemy, and especially those stationed about the ram; the rest with difficulty made their escape together with the general and were saved. And Chosroes, filled with rage, impaled Ani Abedes, since he had been outgeneralled by John, a tradesman and an altogether unwarlike man. But some say that not Ani Abedes, but the officer commanding the men who were working the ram was impaled. And he himself broke camp with the whole army, and coming close to the fortifications of Petra, made camp and began a siege. On the following day he went completely around the fortifications, and since he suspected that they could not support a very strong attack, he decided to storm the wall. And bringing up the whole army there, he opened the action, commanding all to shoot with their bows against the parapet. The Romans, meanwhile, in defending themselves, made use of their engines of war and all their bows. At first, then, the Persians did the Romans little harm, although they were shooting their arrows thick and fast, while at the same time they suffered severely at the hands of the Romans, since they were being shot at from an elevation. But later on (since it was fated that Petra be captured by Chosroes), John by some chance was shot in the neck and died, and as a result of this the other Romans ceased to care for anything. Then indeed the barbarians withdrew to their camp; for it was already growing dark; but on the following day they planned to assail the fortifications by an excavation, as follows.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

18 Πέτρα ἡ πόλις περὶ μὲν έκ θαλάσσης ἀπρόσοδός ἐστι, περὶ δὲ έκ πετρῶν ἀποτόμων, αὖ ταύτη πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσιν. ἂφ’ οὐ δὴ καὶ τὴν προσή-
19 γορίαν ἐλαχίς ταύτην. μᾶλιν δὲ εἰσόδου ἐν τῷ ὀμαλεὶ ἔχει, καὶ ταύτην οὐ λίαν εὐρείαν κρημνοῖ
γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐφ’ ἀκάτερα ἐξαισίων ἀποκρέμαται.
20 ἐνταῦθα προσφέρειν τὰ πρῶτα οἱ τὴν πόλιν
dειμάμενοι μὴ σφίσι τὸ ἐκείνη τοῦ περιβόλου
μέρος ἐπίμαχον εἶπ’ τείγῃ μακρά παρὰ τὸν κρημ-
νόν ἐκάτερον τῆς εἰσόδου ἐπὶ πλείστον πεπολ-
ηταί. τούτων τε τῶν τειχῶν ἐκατέρωθι πῦργοις
ἔτεκτήναντο δύο, οὐχ ἤπερ εἰσέθει, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ
22 ἔτερῳ. κενὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκοδομίας
χωρίον οὐδαμὴ ἔισαν, ἀλλὰ ὅλους ἐκ γῆς ἄχρι
ἐς υψός μέγα τοὺς πῦργους λίθοις παμμεγέθεσιν
ἀλλήλων ἐχομένων εἰργάσαντο, ὅτις δὲ κριόν ἢ
μηχανὴ ἄλλη ὡς ἡκιστα κατασείσαντο. τὰ μὲν
οὖν Πέτρας τοῦ περιβόλου ταύτῃ πη ἔχει.
23 Πέρσαι δὲ λάθρα ἐς τὴν γῆν κατώρχα ποιη-
sάμενοι ἐνερθεὶς θατέρου τῶν πῦργων ἐγένυτο,
tῶν τε λίθων ἐνθέντε πολλοὺς ἐκφοροῦντες, ἐξολ
ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἑτίθεντο χώρων, ἀπερ ὅλην
24 υπέτερον ἐκασαν. ἢ τε φλὼς κατὰ βραχύ αἴρο-
mενή, διέθρυσε μὲν τὴν τῶν λίθων ἱσχῦν, ὅλον δὲ
τῶν πῦργων κατασείσασα ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐς
25 τὸ ἔδαφος καθείλεν αὐτή. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ οἳ ἐν τῷ
πῦργῳ ἤσαν τοσοῦτον τῶν ποιουμένων ἃθοντο
πρῶτον, ὅσον αὐτῷ μὴ ἐξιστείν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος,
ἀλλὰ φυγόντες ἑντὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου
26 γενέσθαι. παρὴν τε ἢδη τοὺς πολεμίοις ἐν τῷ
ὀμαλέι τειχομαχοῦσι πῦρο [ἐν] οὐδενὶ τὴν πόλιν

¹ [ἐν] bracketed by Braun: Haury suggests ἐν οὐδενὶ, cf. v. iii. 29.

408
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xvii. 18–26

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

27 κατὰ κράτος ἔλειν. διὸ δὴ κατωρρωδηκότες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, καὶ τὰ πιστὰ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πρὸς Χοσρόου λαβόντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογία παρέδωσαν, οὔτω μὲν Πέτραν
28 Χοσρόης εἶλε. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἰωάννου χρήματα λίαν ἄδρα εὑρὼν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τῶν δὲ ἀλλῶν ὁδένος οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγατο, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῷ Μῆδῳ στρατῷ ἀνεμλήγαντο.

XVIII

1 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Βελισάριος τε καὶ ὁ Ῥωμαῖων στρατός, οὐδὲν τι πεπυσμένοι δὲν ταύτη ἐπράσ- σετο, κόσμω πολλῷ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἐπὶ
2 Νισίβιν ἤσωσαν. ἐπειδή δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ μέσον ἐγένοντο, Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν δεξίᾳ τὸ στράτευμα ἦγεν, οὐ δὴ πηγάὶ τε ὑδάτων διαρκεῖς ἦσαν καὶ ἔφη νῦν ἅπασιν ἐνστρατόπεδεύσασθαι ἱκανός ἔχων.
3 ἐνταῦθα τε στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖσθαι ὅσιον ἀπὸ σταδίων δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα Νισίβιδος
4 πόλεως. οὶ δὲ ἀλλοὶ ξύμπαντες ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποιοῦντο, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀγχιστά πὴ ἐθέλοι τοῦ περιβόλου στρατόπεδεύσασθαι, τινὲς δὲ ὡς
5 ἥκιστα οἱ ἐπεσθαὶ ἤσθελον. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῖς ἀμφότερον οὔσιν ἔλεξεν ὅδε ὁ Ὁμοί ἡμῖν ζωήν ἐβουλομένῳ ἐς ἄπαντας ὡς ἀνθρώπων χωνοὐκ χαίνειν. λόγος γὰρ ἐν στρατόπεδῳ περιφερόμενος οὐκ οἶδε τῆριν τὰ ἀπόρρητα, ἔπειλ
κατὰ βραχὺ προῖον μέχρι καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους

410
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xvii. 26–xviii. 5

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

XVIII

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

6 ἐκφέρεται. ὅρων δὲ τοὺς τε πολλοὺς ὑμῶν ἀταξία, πολλῆς εἰκονιας καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ἐθέλοντα εἶναι, λέξω τανών ἐν υἱῶν ὁς χρήν σωπᾶν, ἐκείνο μέντοι πρῶτερον ὑπειπών, ὡς πολλῶν ἐν στρατιᾷ γνώμη αὐτονόμῳ χρωμένων γενέσθαι τι τῶν δεόντων ἀδύνατον.

7 οἷμαι τοῖνυν Χασρόην ἐφ᾽ ἐτέρους ἱόντα βαρβάρους ὡς ἠκιστα φυλαχής τινὸς αὐτάρκους χωρὶς τὴν οἰκείαν. ἀπολιπεῖν γῆν, ἀλλως τε καὶ τύρπος τὴν πόλιν, ἡ πρώτη τε τυγχάνει οὔσα καὶ

8 πάσης τῆς ἐκείνου γῆς προβεβλημένη. εἰ δὲ στρατιώτας εὐ οἶδα ὅτι τοσοῦτος τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιοῦτος τὴν ἀρετὴν κατεστήσατο ὡστε ἰκανοὺς εἶναι ταῖς πάρ ἡμῶν ἐφόδους ἐμποδοῦν στῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ὑμῖν.

9 Ναβέδην γὰρ στρατηγὸν τούτοις ἐπέστησεν, δεὶς δὴ μετά γε τὸν Χασρόην αὐτὸν δόξῃ τε καὶ τῷ ἀλλῳ ἀξιόματι πρῶτος ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι δοκεῖ.

10 δυν ἐγώοι σοι καὶ ἀποσειράσεσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν πάροδον ἡμῖν οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ ἢ μάχῃ τινί πρὸς ἡμῶν ἡσσηθέντα ἐνδώσεων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀγχιστά ποιν τῆς πόλεως ή ξυμβολή εἰς, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπόλου ἡμῖν τε καὶ

11 Πέρσαις ο ἁγὼν ἔσται. αὐτὸι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐχυροῦ ἐπεξιόντες εὐημερῆσαντες τε, ἀν οὐτῶ τύχῃ, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῖς θαρρούσοις ἐπιθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἡσσηθέντες εὐπτωτῶς διαφεύγουσι τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπίθεσιν.

12 δὲ ὁλίγου γὰρ ἡμῖν ἡ δίωξις ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει εὐθέως οὐδὲν γενήσεται βλάβος, ἂν τοῖς τεχνομαχοῦσιν ἀνάλωσιν οὕσαν στρατιώτων αὐτῆς

13 ἀμυνομένων ὅρατε δήπου. ἢν δὲ γε τῶν πολεμίων

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

ἐνταύθα ἢ μίν ἐς χεῖρας ἱόντων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν πόλιν ἐξελεῖν πολλὴν τινα, ὃς ξυνάρχουτε, ἐλπίδα ἔχω. Φεύγουσι γὰρ τοῖς ἐναντίοις πολλῶν τινα ὁ ἀρχὸν ἢ ἀναμικθέντες εἰσώ πυλῶν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἡ ἰσοπεσούμεθα, ἡ προτερήσατες αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφ’ ἐτέρας τινὸς ἀναγκάσομεν τετράφθαι τε καὶ διαφυγεῖν χώρας, ἢ μίν ὁ ἀυτῶς Νήσιβιν τῶν ἀνυμνεὺν χωρίς εὐάλωτον καταστήσομεν.”

16 Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπείθοντο τε καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐμενον. Πέτρος δὲ Ἰώάννης ἐταυροσάμενος, διὸ τῶν ἐν Μεσσοποταμίᾳ καταλύσατον ἄρχον μούραν οὗ φαύλην τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶχεν, οὐκ ἀποθεὶν τοῦ περιβόλου, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀπὸ σταδίων δέκα ἑλθὼν ἥσυχη ἔμενε. Βελισάριος δὲ τούς τε ἔξω αὐτῷ ὡς εἰς παράταξιν ἔστησε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἐπέστελλεν ὡς ἐπὶ ἐνυπολή παρατάσσονται μέχρι αὐτὸς σημῆνη, εὐ τε εἰδέναι ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐπιθύμουσαν σφίσσω, ἐκείνῳ δηλονότι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐς δείλην ὄψιν μεταλαγχάζειν εἰώθασιν, Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἀμφὶ μεσημβρίαν. Βελισάριος μὲν ταῦτα παρῆνε: οἱ δὲ ἔξω τῷ Πέτρῳ ἐν οὗ ὅσοι τός ἐντολὰς ποιησάμενοι ἀμφὶ τε ἡμέραν μέσην τῷ ἂβδῷ ἀχθόμενοι (ἔστι γὰρ τὸ χωρίον ἐπιείκῶς αὐχώδες) τὰ τέ ὅπλα κατέθεντο καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφροντιστήσατες σικύους ἐνταῦθα τῇ φυμένους κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιόντες κατήσθιον. ὅπερ κατιδὼν ὁ Ναβέδης δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐπῆγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα.

1 οὗτοι <λόγῳ> Herwerden, οὗτοι κόσμῳ Suidas and Scholiast.

414
with us here and we conquer them, I have great hopes, fellow officers, of capturing the city. For while our antagonists are fleeing a long way, we shall either mingle with them and rush inside the gates with them, as is probable, or we shall anticipate them and compel them to turn and escape to some other place, and thus render Nisibis without its defenders easy of capture for us."

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

20 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβολοῦ ἐξιόντες οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ καθεωρῶντο λαμπρῶς ἀτε ἐν πεδίῳ ὑπτίῳ ἱόντες) παρά τε Βελισσάριον ἐπεμπον, ἀμύνειν σφίσι παρακαλοῦντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ μὲν άπλὰ ἀνελόμενοι, 21 ἀκοσμία δὲ καὶ θροῦβῳ ἐχόμενοι ὑπητίαξον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Βελισσάριον, οὐπω παρὰ σφᾶς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἀφικομένου γνώντες διὰ τοῦ κοινοτοῦ τὴν Περσῶν ἔφοδον, ἐβοήθουν δρόμῳ. ἐπελθόντες τε Πέρσαι Ῥωμαίους οὐχ ὑποστάντας τὴν ἔφοδον πόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐς φυγῇν ἔτρεψαν, ἐπιστόμενοι δὲ πεντήκοντά τε διέθειραν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πέτρου 23 σημείου ἀρτάσαντες ἔσχον. ἀπαντάς τε ἄν ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ διώξει ἔκτειναν ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκῆν ὀρῶνται, εἴ μη Βελισσάριος τε καὶ ὁ ἐξὸν αὐτῷ 24 στρατὸς καταλαβὼν διεκάλυσε. πρῶτος γὰρ ἀπάντων ξὺν δόρασι μακροῖς τε καὶ συχνοῖς Γότθους ἐπίόντας Πέρσαι οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἐς 25 φυγῇν ὁρμηστο. ἐπιστόμενοὶ τε Ρωμαῖοι ξὺν Γότθοις πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἔκτειναν. δι’ ὅλην γὰρ τῆς διώξεως γενομένης οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ 26 τάχος ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβολοῦ ἐγένοντο. τότε μὲν οὐν Ῥωμαῖοι ξύμπαντες ἐς τὸ Βελισσάριον στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τῇ ἐπιγυμνωμένῃ ἰμέρᾳ ἐν πύργῳ τινὶ ἔστησαν ἀντὶ τροπαίου τὸ Πέτρου σημείον, ἀλλαντάς 1 τε αὐτοῦ ἀποκρημασάντες τοὺς πολεμίους ξὺν γέλωτι ἔπετωζαζον, ἐπεξείναι μέντοι οὐκέτι ἐτόλμον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ ἁσφαλεὶ διεφύλασσον.

1 ἀλλαντάς Suidas: ἀλαντά V, ἀλαντά G.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xviii. 20-26

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

XIX

1 Βελισάριος τε Νίσιβιν ὄρων ἐχυρὰν ὑπερφυῶς οὐδαν, ἐπίδια αὐτῆς οὐδεμίαν ἔχων ἀλώσεως πέρι, πρόσω ἴεναι ἥπειρετο ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τοῖς πολεμίοις λυμήνηται. ἀρας τοίνυν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦε. ἀνύσαντες τε ἡμέρας ὄδον φρουρῆ ἐντυχον ὁ Σισαυράνων καλοῦσι

3 Πέρσαι. ἐνταῦθα πλῆθος τε σικτήτων ἦν καὶ ἐπεῖς ὁκτακόσιοι Περσῶν ἄριστοι φυλακὴν εἶχον, οἷς ἀνὴρ δόκιμοι, Βλησχάμης ὄνομα, ἐφειστήκει.

4 Ρωμαῖοι δὲ ἄγχιστα τῇ φρουρίῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς πολυρκίαν καθίσαντο, προσβολὴν τε τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιησάμενοι ἀπεκρούσαν σθησαν, πολλοὺς τῇ μάχῃ ἀποβαλόντες. τὸ τε γὰρ τεῖχος ἐς ἄγαν ἐχυρὸν ἑτύχας ἔν τε καὶ οἱ βαρβαροὶ καρτερώτατα ἐνθέεντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἑμύνουτο. διὸ δὴ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀπαντας ἱγκα-

6 λέσας Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε ὁ Ἐμπειρία πο-

7 λέμων πολλῶν, ἄνδρες ἀρχοντες, δέδοκεν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπόροις προορᾶν τα ἐξεμπερσόμενα καὶ δυνατοὶ εἶναι πρὸ τῶν δεινῶν.

8 ἐξέσασθαι τὰ κρέσσατο. ἐπίστασθε τοῖνυν πηλίκοι εἰσὶ κακῶν στράτευμα ἐς γῆν πολεμίων, πολ-

9 λῶν μὲν ὄχυρωμάτων, πολλῶν δὲ μάχιμων ἐν τούτοις ἄνδρῶν ὅπως ἰπποῖοι ἀπολειμμένων,

8 πορεύεσθαι. ὅπερ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ παρ-

418
AND Belisarius, seeing that Nisibis was exceedingly strong, and having no hope regarding its capture, was eager to go forward, in order that he might do the enemy some damage by a sudden inroad. Accordingly he broke camp and moved forward with the whole army. And after accomplishing a day's journey, they came upon a fortress which the Persians call Sisauranor. There were in that place besides the numerous population eight hundred horsemen, the best of the Persians, who were keeping guard under command of a man of note, Bleschames by name. And the Romans made camp close by the fortress and began a siege, but, upon making an assault upon the fortifications, they were beaten back, losing many men in the fight. For the wall happened to be extremely strong, and the barbarians defended it against their assailants with the greatest vigour. Belisarius therefore called together all the officers and spoke as follows: "Experience in many wars, fellow officers, has made it possible for us in difficult situations to foresee what will come to pass, and has made us capable of avoiding disaster by choosing the better course. You understand, therefore, how great a mistake it is for an army to proceed into a hostile land, when many strongholds and many fighting men in them have been left in the rear. Now exactly this has happened to us in the present case. For if we continue our advance, some of the enemy from this place as well as from the city of Nisibis will follow us secretly and will, in all probability, handle us..."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

eikōs, kakouργήςουσιν ἑπιτηδεῖως αὐτοῖς πρὸς
9 ἐνέδραν ἥ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐπιβουλήν ἔχουσιν. ἦν
dé πη καὶ ἄλλος ἀπαντήσῃ στρατός εἰς τε μάχην
καθιστώνται, πρὸς ἐκατέρας μὲν ἦμιν ἀνάγκη
tetázεσθαι, πάθοιμεν δ' ἀν οὗτῳ πρὸς αὐτῶν τὰ
ἀνήκεστα· ἐδώ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς καὶ πταίσαντες ἐν τῇ
ἐξυμβολή, ἄν οὗτῳ τύχοι, ἐπάνωδον ἐς Ρωμαίων
10 τὴν γῆν οὐδεμιᾶ ἐκεῖνη τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξομεν. μὴ
τοῦν ἀλογίστῳ σπουδὴ χρώμενοι [ἐφ'] ἡμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἐσκυλευκότες φανώμεθα, μηδὲ τῷ φιλονεῖ-
κῷ τῷ Ρωμαῖον πράγματα βλάψωμεν. τὸλμα
μὲν γὰρ ἀμαθῆς ἐς ὁλεθρὸν φέρει, μέλλησις δὲ
σώφρων ἐς τὸ σωφρόν αἰε τοὺς αὐτὸν χρωμένους
11 ἰκανός τεφυκεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἐγκαθεξό-
μενοι ἐξελεῖν πειρώμεθα τὸ φρούριον τὸδε,
'Αρέθας δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας
12 χωρία στελλέσθω. Σαρακενοῖ γὰρ τειχομαχείν
μὲν εἰσιν ἀδύνατοι φύσει, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἰητεσθαι
13 πάντων μάλιστα δεξιοῦ. συνεισβάλοντι δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ στρατιώται τῶν μαχίμων τινές, ὅπως αὐτοῖς
τε, μηδενὸς μὲν ἔναντιώματος σφίζει φανέτος, τὰ
ἀνήκεστα τοὺς προσπεσίντας ἐργάσωνται, ἦν δὲ
τὸ ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμων, εὐπετῶς ἀναχωρούντες εἰς
14 ἡμᾶς σώξοντο. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξελόντες, ἢν θεὸς
θέλῃ, τὸ φρούριον, οὕτω δὴ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβαίνωμεν, οὐ δεδότες μὲν
tοὺς ὁπίσθεν κακούργησοντας, εὑ δὲ εἰδότες ὅτι
ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχει.
15 Ὁ τεῦτα εἰπὼν Βελσάριος εὐ τὸ λέγειν ἀπασιν
ἐδοξε καὶ τὸ βούλευμα εὐθὺς ἐπετελεῖ. Ἅρεθαν
τε ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐπὶ Ἀσσυρίας ἐκέλευεν

1 [ἔφ'] bracketed by Haury.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xix. 8–15

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

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

ιέναι καὶ αὐτοῖς στρατιώτας διακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους ἠ νεπεμπηκέναι, ὡς δὴ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἦσαν, δορυφόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιστῆσας δύο, Τραϊανόν τε καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Φαγανοῦ καλούμενον, ἀμφοὶ ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια.

16 καὶ αὐτοῖς μὲν Ἀρέθα πειθομένους ἀπαντὰ πράσειν ἐπέστελλεν, Ἀρέθαν δὲ ἀπαντᾷ ἐκέλευε τὰ ἐν ποσὶ λησάμενον ὁὐτω τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπανήκοντα ἀπαγγέλλειν σφίσιν ὅποιά ποτε δυνάμεως πέρι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶπη.

17 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀρέθαν Γίγρην ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο. οὐ δὴ χώραν τε ἀγαθὴν εὐρόντες καὶ μακροῦ χρόνου ἀδήστων, ταύτην τε ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν, ἕξ ἐπιδρομῆς πολλὰ λησάμενοι τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων χρήματα μεγάλα περιεβάλλοντο. τότε δὲ Βελισάριος τῶν τινῶν Περσῶν Ἑὐλλαβῶν, ἐνδεῖν τοῖς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τὰ ἐπιτῆδεα παντελῶς ἐμαθεῖν. οὐ γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἐν Δάρας τε καὶ Νισίβιδι πόλει, ἐν δημοσίῳ τάς ἐπετείους τροφὰς ἀποτίθεσθαι νενομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ πολεμόνσω στρατοῦ ἀπροσδοκητῶν σφίσιν ἐπιπεσόντως ἐσκομμάσανο τί τῶν ἀναγκαίων οὐκ ἔφθασαν. ἄφινω δὲ πολλῶν ἐς τὸ φρούριον καταφυγόντων, τῶν ἐπινηδεῖν τῇ ἀπορίᾳ, ἐς τὸ εἰκός, ἐπιείξοντο. δὴ δὲ Βελισάριος γυνὸς Γεώργιον ἐπέμψεν, ἄνδρα ξυνετώτατον τοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτῶ κοινωνοῦντα, ἀποπειρασμένον τῶν [ἐν] ¹ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων, εἰ πῶς ἡ ὁμολογία των δύνατο τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν. Γεώργιος δὲ παραίνεσιν τε ποιησάμενος καὶ πολλὰ ἐς

¹ [ἐν] bracketed by Herwerden.
his troops to advance into Assyria, and with them he sent twelve hundred soldiers, the most of whom were from among his own guard, putting two guardsmen in command of them, Trajan and John who was called the Glutton, both capable warriors. These men he directed to obey Arethas in everything they did, and he commanded Arethas to pillage all that lay before him and then return to the camp and report how matters stood with the Assyrians with regard to military strength. So Arethas and his men crossed the River Tigris and entered Assyria. There they found a goodly land and one which had been free from plunder for a long time, and undefended besides; and moving rapidly they pillaged many of the places there and secured a great amount of rich plunder. And at that time Belisarius captured some of the Persians and learned from them that those who were inside the fortress were altogether out of provisions. For they do not observe the custom which is followed in the cities of Daras and Nisibis, where they put away the annual food-supply in public store-houses, and now that a hostile army had fallen upon them unexpectedly they had not anticipated the event by carrying in any of the necessities of life. And since a great number of persons had taken refuge suddenly in the fortress, they were naturally hard pressed by the want of provisions. When Belisarius learned this, he sent George, a man of the greatest discretion with whom he shared his secrets, to test the men of the place, in the hope that he might be able to arrange some terms of surrender and thus take the place. And George succeeded, after addressing to them many
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὐτοὺς ἐπαγωγὰ εἰπὼν, ἔπεισε τὰ πιστὰ λα-
βόντας ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ σφᾶς τε αὗτοὺς καὶ
24 τὸ φρούριον ἐνδοῦναι Ὀρμαίοις. οὕτω Βελι-
σάριος τὸ Σισαυράνων ἔλαυν τοὺς μὲν οἰκήτορας
ἀπαντας, Χριστιανοὺς τε καὶ Ὀρμαίους τὸ ἀνέ-
καθεν ὄντας, ἀδιόνως ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας
ξὺν τῷ Βλησχάμη ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψε, καὶ
tὸν τοῦ φρούριον περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεὶλε.
25 βασιλεὺς τε ὁ πολλῷ ἥστερον τούτους τε τοὺς
Πέρσας καὶ τὸν Βλησχάμην ἐς Ἰταλίαν Γόθοις
πολεμήσοντας ἐπέμψε. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ
Σισαυράνων φρουρίῳ 1 ταύτη ἐξήρησεν,
26 Ἀρέθας δὲ, δείσας μὴ τὴν λείαν πρὸς Ὀρμαίον
ἀφαίρεθείη, οὐκέτι ἀναστρέφειν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον
27 ἦθελε. πέμψας οὖν τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων των ἐπὶ
kataσκοπῆ ἤθεν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐκέλευε λάθρα ὡς
tάχιστα ἐπανήκοντας σημέναι σφῶν ὅτι δὴ
πλοῦς τῆς πολεμίως στρατὸς ἀμφὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
28 τὴν διάβασιν εἰς. διὸ δὴ Ῥαίαιῳ τε καὶ Ἰωάννῃ
παρῆκεν ἐτέρα ὧν ὁ ἄρη ἐπανήκειν ἐς Ὀρμαίον
29 τὴν γῆν. παρὰ μὲν οὖν Βελσάριων οὐκέτι ἤλθον,
ἐχοντες γὰρ ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐν δεξιᾷ οὖν τῆς
δὴ ἐς Θεοδοσιουπολίν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἀβόρρᾳ
30 ποταμῷ ἤκοντο. Βελσάριος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρμαίων
στρατὸς οὐδὲν περὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου
πυθόμενον ἤσχαλλον, ἦς τε δεός καὶ ὑποψίαν
οὔτε φορητὴν των οὔτε μετρίαν ἐμπίπτοντας.
31 χρόνον ταῖς χρήσεις ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τὴν προσεκρί-
τιλέντος συνήχους ἐννέβη πολλοῖς τῶν στρα-
τιῶτῶν πυρετῷ δυσκόλῳ ἐνταῦθα ἀλώναι, αὐχ-
μηρὰ γὰρ Μεσοποταμία ἡ Περσῶν κατήκους

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

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

32 ὑπερφυώς ἔστιν. οὗτερ ἀθείεις οὗτες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ ἐκ Ὑπάκης ὁμομένοι, ἐν χωρίῳ ἐκτὸπως ιαὐχμώδει καὶ καλύβαις τωι πυγηραῖς ὥρα θέρους διαίταν ἤχοντες, ἐνὸσησαν οὐτως ὡστε ἠμβύνητες τὸ τριτημόριον τοῦ στρα- 
33 τοῦ ἕκειντο. ἀπας μὲν οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ἐνθένδε 

tε ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι καὶ ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς τὴν οἰκείαν 

γῆν ἐπανήκειν ἐν σπουδῇ ἐλθον, μάλιστα δὲ 

ἀπάντων οἱ τῶν ἐν Διβάνῳκαταλόγων ἄρχον- 

tες, Ῥεκιδαγγὸς τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος, ὁρῶντες ὅτι 

dὴ καὶ ὁ χρόνος τὸ Σαρακηνῶν ἀνάθημα παρὼ- 

34 χρηκεν ἤδη. Βελισαρίῳ γοῦν συγχα προσιόντες 

ἐδέστο σφας αὐτίκα ἀφείναι, μαρτυρομένοι ὅσ 

'Αλμοινδάρῳ τὰ τε ἐπὶ Διβάνου καὶ Συρίας 

χωρίᾳ ἐνδόντες κάθηναι αὐτοῦ οὔδενι λόγῳ. 

35 Διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος ἄπαντας ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς 

36 ἄρχοντας βουλὴν προθῆκεν, οὐ δὴ ἀναστὰ 

πρῶτος. Ἰωάννης ὁ Νικητὸν υἱὸς ἐλέξε τοιάδε 

"Ἀριστε Βελισάριε, στρατηγῷ μὲν οὕτε τὴν τύ- 

χὴν οὕτε τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκ τοῦ παύτος χρόνου γεγονη- 

37 σθαι τοιοῦτον οἷμα οἶος αὐτὸς εἴ. δόξα τε αὐτὴ 

οὐ Ῥωμαῖον κεκράτηκε μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ βαρβά- 

38 ρων ἄπαντων. ταύτην μέντοι βεβαιότατα διαφυ- 

λάξει τὴν εὐκλειαν, ἦν γε ζῶντας ἡμᾶς ἐς Ῥωμαίων 

τὴν ἡγ. διασώσασθαι δυνατὸς εἰς. ὡς 

νῦν γε ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος οὐκ ἐν καλῷ κεῖται. 

οὕτωσι γάρ μοι περὶ τοῦ του τοῦ στρατοῦ σκότει. 

39 Σαρακηνοὶ μὲν καὶ οἱ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μαχαῖτα- 

tοι Τίγρην ποταμοῦ διαβάντες, ἡμέραν οὐκ οἶδα 

ὁπόστην ἀνω ἐς τούτο τύχης ἀφίκοντο ὡστε 

1 Διβάνῳ P: βελισαρίῳ VG. 

2 ὁπόστην Haury: ὡστε τὴν MSS.

436
extremely dry and hot. And the Romans were not accustomed to this and especially those who came from Thrace; and since they were living their daily life in a place where the heat was excessive and in stuffy huts in the summer season, they became so ill that the third part of the army were lying half-dead. The whole army, therefore, was eager to depart from there and return as quickly as possible to their own land, and most of all the commanders of the troops in Lebanon, Rhecithancus and Theoctistus, who saw that the time which was the sacred season of the Saracens had in fact already passed. They came, indeed, frequently to Belisarius and entreated him to release them immediately, protesting that they had given over to Alamoundaras the country of Lebanon and Syria, and were sitting there for no good reason.

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

οὔδε ἂγγελον πέμψαι τινὰ παρὰ ἡμᾶς ἴσχυσαν. Ἡρεκίαν ἅγγειλε τε καὶ Θεόκτιστος ἀποπορεύσεται, ὡς ὅρᾶς δῆποινεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μᾶλὰ τὸν Ἀλαμομού-
δόρον στρατὸν ἐν Φοινικί μέσους εἶναι οἴομενοι, ἄγουτά τε καὶ φέροντα ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία.
40 τῶν δὲ λειπομένων οἱ νοσοῦντες εἰσὶ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε τοὺς θεραπεύσουσιες τε καὶ κο-
μοῦντας ἐστὶ Ρωμαῖοι τὴν γῆν ἐλάσσονος αὐ-
41 τῶν παρὰ πολὺ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἣν τὸν ἕρμανην πολέμοιον ἢ
αὐτοῦ μένουσιν ἡ ὁπίσω ἴσος ἡμῖν ἀπαντήσαι,
οὖν ἄν τις ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς ἐν Δάρῳ Ῥωμαῖοις
42 δύνατο τὸ ἐξυπηρετοῦν πάθος. τὸ γὰρ ἐπιπροσθέ-
τη οὐδὲ λόγον οἴμαι δυνατόν εἶναι. ἦσον γὰρ
ἐπὶ λειτουργὰς τις ὑπὸς, τά ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπάνων βου-
43 λευσθαί 1 τε καὶ πράσσειν ἐξυνώσει. τοῖς γὰρ
ἐστὶ κόινουν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡ τοιοῦτον καθεστηκόσι
μὴ τὴν σωτηρίαν διασκοπεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσ
44 τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιθυμηθήν πολλὴ ἀνοια.“ τοσαύ-
τα Ἰωάννης τοὺς εἰπὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐπηγε-
σαν, ἐστὶ θόρυβον καθιστάμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν
45 κατὰ τάχος ποιεῖσθαι ἕξιών. διὸ δὴ Βελισάριος
πρότερον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐνθέ-
46 μενος, ὑπῆχεν ὅπις τὸ στράτευμα. ἔπειδὴ τε
τάχιστα ἐν γῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένοτο, ἀπαντά μὲν
τὰ τῷ Ἀρέων εἰργασμένα ἑγὼν, δίκην μέντοι
λαβεῖν οὐδεμίαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἴσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ ἐσ
ὁμών οὐκέτι ἤλθεν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων ἐσβολὴ
ἐστὶ τούτο ἐπελεύστα.
47 Χοσρός δὲ Πέτραν ἐλόντι Βελισάριος ἐσβάλων
ἐστὶ γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἑγγέλλεθο καὶ ἡ ἀμφὲ πόλιν

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

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

Νίσιβιν εὐμβολή, φουρίου τε τοῦ Σισαυράνων ἡ ἁλωσις, καὶ ὅσα Τίγρην ποταμὸν διαβᾶν τὸ ξύν 48 τῷ Ἄρεθῳ στράτευμα ἐπρασσεν. αὐτίκα τε φυλακῆν ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καταστησάμενος, ξύν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ Ρωμαίων τοῖς ἁλοῦσιν ἐς τὰ 49 Περσῶν ἔθη ἀπῆλαυνε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ Χοσρόου ἐσβολῆ ξυνηκέχθη γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἐλθὼν διεχείμαζεν.

XX

1 Ἀμα δὲ ἢρι ἀρχομένῳ Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τρίτου στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέβαλλε, ποταμὸν ἕυφρατην ἐν δεξιὰ ἔχων. 2 Κάνδιδος δὲ, ὁ Σεργιουπόλεως ἱερεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὸν Μήδων στρατὸν ἀγχιστά που ἤκειν ἐπῶθετο, δεῖσσας περὶ τέ ὢ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἐπεὶ χρόνῳ τῷ ξυγκεκιμένῳ Χοσρόῃ τὰ όμολογημένα ὡς ἤκιστα ἐπετέλεσεν, ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδῳ γενόμενοι παρήτειτο Χοσρόην μὴ οἱ διὰ ταῦτα 3 χαλεπῶς ἔχειν. χρήματα μὲν γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε αὐτῷ γεγονότα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ βεβουλήσθαι. 1 Σουρηνοὺς ῥύεσθαι, βασιλέα δὲ Ἰούστιων ὑπὲρ τούτων πολλὰ ἰκετεύσας ἀνόνητος 4 αὐτοῦ γεγενήσθαι. Χοσρόης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχε, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πικρότατα αἰκίζομενος δι-

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

XX

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

1 Cf. chap. v. 31.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πλάσια [τῶ] χρήματα, ἦπερ ξυνέκειτο, πράττειν
5 ἤξιον. οὐ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Σεργιουπόλιν τινας ἴκετενεν
πέμψαι τὰ κειμήλια ξύμπαντα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱεροῦ
6 ἀγαπομένους. καὶ έπει Κατὰ ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης
ἐποίει, τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ὁ Κάνδιδος ξῦν
7 αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Σεργιουπόλιται
τοὺς παρὰ Χοσρόου σταλέντας τῇ πόλει δεξά-
μενοι τῶν κειμηλιῶν πολλὰ ἐδοσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν
8 σφίσαι ἀπολελείφθαι ἵσχυριζόμενοι. Χοσρόης
δὲ ταῦτά οἱ ἀποχρηὴν οὐδαμὴ ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἔτερα
9 τούτων πλείω λαβείν ἐδεικαν. πέμπτει τοῖς
τίνας τῷ μὲν λόγῳ διερευνησομένους ἐς τὸ ἀκρι-
βὲς τὰ τῆς πόλεως χρήματα, ἔγραφ δὲ τὴν πόλιν
10 καθέξοντας. καὶ ἔπει οὐκ ἐδει Σεργιουπόλιν
Πέρσας ἁλώναι, τῶν τις Σαρακηνῶν Χριστιανῶς
μὲν, ταττόμενος δὲ ύπὸ Ἀλαμουνδάρφ, Ἀμβροσ
όνομα, νῦκτωρ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τείχος ἢκων
καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀγγείλας, ἐκέλευε Πέρσας
11 τῇ πόλει μηδαμῆ ἄξεσθαι. οὔτω τε οἱ παρὰ
Χοσρόου σταλέντες ἀπρακτοὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήλθον,
καὶ δὲ τῷ θυμῷ ξένον τὴν πόλιν ἐξελείν διενοεῖτο.
12 στράτευμα οὖν ἐς ἐξαισχελύον στείλας ἐκέλευεν
ἐς τε πολιορκίαν καθίστασθαι καὶ προσβολὰς
13 τῷ περιβόλῳ ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐνταῦθα
γενόμενοι ἔργου εἰὼντο, Σεργιουπόλιται δὲ καρ-
τερῶς μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἡμύνοντο, ἐπείτα <δὲ> 1
ἀπειπώντες τε καὶ κατωρρωδηκότες τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐβουλεύοντο τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦνα.
14 στρατιώταις γὰρ οὐ πλέον ἡ διακοσίους ἔχοντες
ἔτυχον. ἀλλ' Ἀμβροσ, αὕτης παρὰ τόν περί-

<δὲ> Haury.

432
exact from him double the amount of money, just as had been agreed. And Candidus entreated him to send men to Sergiopolis to take all the treasures of the sanctuary there. And when Chosroes followed this suggestion, Candidus sent some of his followers with them. So the inhabitants of Sergiopolis, receiving into the city the men sent by Chosroes, gave them many of the treasures, declaring that nothing else was left them. But Chosroes said that these were by no means sufficient for him, and demanded that he should receive others still more than these. Accordingly he sent men, ostensibly to search out with all diligence the wealth of the city, but in reality to take possession of the city. But since it was fated that Sergiopolis should not be taken by the Persians, one of the Saracens, who, though a Christian, was serving under Alamoundaras, Ambrus by name, came by night along the wall of the city, and reporting to them the whole plan, bade them by no means receive the Persians into the city. Thus those who were sent by Chosroes returned to him unsuccessful, and he, boiling with anger, began to make plans to capture the city. He accordingly sent an army of six thousand, commanding them to begin a siege and to make assaults upon the fortifications. And this army came there and commenced active operations, and the citizens of Sergiopolis at first defended themselves vigorously, but later they gave up, and in terror at the danger, they were purposing to give over the city to the enemy. For, as it happened, they had not more than two hundred soldiers. But Ambrus, again coming along by the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

βολον ἐσ νύκτα ἥκων, δυοῖν ἡμέραιν τὴν πολυρχίαν διαλύσειν Πέρσας ἐφασκε, τοῦ Ὁδατος 15 αὐτοῦς παντάπασιν ἐπιλιπόντος. διὸ δὴ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐς λόγους τοῦ πολεμίους οὐδαμὴ ἥλθον, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δίψει ἐχόμενοι ἐξανέστησάν τε καὶ παρὰ Χοσρῶν ἀφίκοντο. Κανδιδὸν μὲν τοι 16 Χοσρῶς οὐκέτι ἀφήκη. χρήν γὰρ, οἶμαι, αὐτὸν τὰ ὁμομοσμένα ἡλογηκότα ἱερέα μηκέτι εἶναι. ταύτα μὲν οἰν τῇ ἑκόρησε. 17 Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Κομμαγνηνῶν χώραν ὁ Χοσρῶς ἀφίκετο, ἦν καλοῦσιν Εὐφρατησίαν, ἐς λείαν μὲν ἡ χωρίου του ἀλωσιν τρέπεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἥθελεν, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐν πολι μέχρι ἐς Σύρους τὰ μὲν ἐξελῶν, τὰ δὲ ἀργυρολογήσας πρότερον ἔτυχεν, ὡσπερ 18 ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις δεδήλωσεν. γνώμην δὲ εἴχεν εὐθὺς Παλαιστίνης ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως τὰ τὰ ἁλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις κειμήλια πάντα λησησάται. χώραν γὰρ ταύτῃ ἄγαθῇ τε διαφερόντως καὶ πολυχρύσων οἰκοτόρων 19 εἶναι ἀκοῇ εἴχε. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἀπαντες, ἀρχοῦτες τε καὶ στρατιῶται, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίως ὑπαντιάζειν ἢ τῇ παρόδῳ ἐμποδών ἱστασθαι τρόπῳ οὑδενὶ διενοῦντο, τὰ δὲ χυρώματα καταλαβόντες ός ἐκαστὸς ἕδύνατο, ἀποχρὴν φόντο ταύτα τε διαφυλάσσειν καὶ αὐτοὶ σωζέσθαι. 20 Γνώς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν ἑφοδον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βελισάριον αὐθίς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ ἔποιος τοῖς δημοσίους χούμενος, ἂς δὴ βερέδους καλεῖν νεομίκασιν, ἀτε οὐ στράτευμα ἐξύν αὐτοῦ ἔχων, τάχει πολλῷ ἐς Εὐφρατησὶαν ἀφίκετο, Ἰουστος δὲ, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνεψιος, ἐν

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

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

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

'Ιεραπόλει ἦν τε τῷ Βούζῃ καὶ ἐτέρως τισὶν 21 καταφυγὼν ἔτυχεν. οὐ δὲ Βελισάριος οὐ μακρὰν ἀποθεῖον ἢκειν ἀκοῦσαιτε γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν 22 ἔγραφον ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε "Καὶ νῦν ὁ Χοσρόης, ὦστερ οἰσθὰ ποι καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσε, στρατὸν μὲν πολλὸ πλείονα ἢ πρότερον ἄγων, ὡσπερ ποτὲ δὲ ἤναι 1 διανοούμενος ὁπῶν ἔνδηλος ὃν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὃτι αὐτὸν ἀχιστά τῇ ἀκούομεν εἶναι, χωρὶς μὲν οὐδὲν λυμηνάμενον, ὡδὶ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐπίπροσθέν 23 ἵνα τα. ἄλλῃ ἴκε παρ' ἡμᾶς ὅτι τάχιστα, εἰπὲρ ὅλος τε εἰ λαβεῖν τὸ τῶν πολεμών στρατόπεδον, ὡσπερ δὴ σῶς τε αὐτὸς βασιλεῖ ἐστὶ καὶ Ἰερά- 24 πολιν 2 ἦμιν ξυμφυλάξεις." τοσάττα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ οὐκ ἐπανέσας τὰ γε- γραμμένα ἢ Εὐρωποῦ τὸ χωρίον ἀφίκετο, ὃ 25 πρὸς Εὐφράτη ποταμῷ ἔστων. ἐνθένει τε περι- πέμπτων πανταχόσε τὸν στρατὸν ἤγειρε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεστήσατο, ἀρχοντάς τε τοὺς ἐν 'Ιεραπόλει ἡμεῖς βεβαιοῦσα τοῦδε, "Εἰ μὲν ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἀνθρώπων 3 τινᾶς, ἄλλη οὐ 'Ῥωμαίων κατηκόσις ὁ Χοσρόης χωρεῖ, εὐ τε καὶ ὧς ἀσφαλέστατα 26 ὑμῖν βεβούλευται ταῦτα· οἷς γὰρ πάρεστιν ἵσυκὴ μένονσιν ἀπηλλάξθαι κακῶν, πολλὴ ἄνοια τε κίνδυνον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον τινα ἤναι· εἴ δὲ νῦν ἐνθένει ἀπαλλαγεῖς ὁ βάρβαρος οὕτος ἐτέρᾳ τινὶ ἐπισκήπτῃ βασιλέως Ιουστινιανοῦ χώρα, καὶ ταύτῃ διαφερόντως μὲν ἄγαθῇ, φρουράν δὲ οὐδαμῇ στρατιωτῶν ἐχούσῃ, εὐ ἱστε ὃτι

1 ἤναι P : om. VG. 2 Ἰεράπολιν Dindorf : ιεράν πόλιν MSS. 3 ἀνθρώπων VG : ἀνθράπους P.

436
emperor, together with Bouzes and certain others, was in Hierapolis where he had fled for refuge. And when these men heard that Belisarius was coming and was not far away, they wrote a letter to him which ran as follows: "Once more Chosroes, as you yourself doubtless know, has taken the field against the Romans, bringing a much greater army than formerly; and where he is purposing to go is not yet evident, except indeed that we hear he is very near, and that he has injured no place, but is always moving ahead. But come to us as quickly as possible, if indeed you are able to escape detection by the army of the enemy, in order that you yourself may be safe for the emperor, and that you may join us in guarding Hierapolis." Such was the message of the letter. But Belisarius, not approving the advice given, came to the place called Europum, which is on the River Euphrates. From there he sent about in all directions and began to gather his army, and there he established his camp; and the officers in Hierapolis he answered with the following words: "If, now, Chosroes is proceeding against any other peoples, and not against subjects of the Romans, this plan of yours is well considered and insures the greatest possible degree of safety; for it is great folly for those who have the opportunity of remaining quiet and being rid of trouble to enter into any unnecessary danger; but if, immediately after departing from here, this barbarian is going to fall upon some other territory of the Emperor Justinian, and that an exceptionally good one, but without any guard of soldiers, be assured that to perish
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tὸ ξὺν τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀπολωλέναι τοῦ σεσώσθαι
27 ἀμαχητῇ τῷ παντὶ ἀμεινοῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἂν σωτηρία
tούτο γε, ἀλλὰ προδοσία δικαίως καλοῖτο. ἀλλ' ἦκετε ὁτι
tάχιστα ἐσ τῶν Εὐρωπῶν, οὐ δὴ συλ-
λέξας τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ὅσα ἄν ὁ θεὸς διδῷ
28 ἐλπίδα ἐξ οὐ πολεμίους ἐργάσασθαι." ταῦτα
ἐπεὶ ἀπευχέντα οἱ ἄρχοντες εἶδον, ἑθάρρησάν
τε καὶ Ἰουστῶν μὲν ξὺν ὅλῳς τισὶν αὐτοῦ
ἐλποῦν ἐφ' ὅ τιν Ἰεράπολιν ἡμῖν, φυλάξωσιν, ὅ δὲ
ἵοιπο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐσ Εὐρωπῶν ἤλθον.

XXI

1 Χοσρόης δὲ μαθὼν Βελισάριον παντὶ τῷ Ῥω-
μαίῳ στρατῷ ἐστρατοπεδεύθη εἰς Εὐρωπῆ, πρόσω
μὲν ἐλαύνειν οὐκέτι ἔγνω, τῶν δὲ βασι-
λικῶν γραμματέων ἔνα, Ἀβανδάνην ὄνομα, δό-
ζαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλὴν ἔχοντα, παρὰ Βελισάριον
ἐπεμψε, τὸν στρατηγὸν ὅποιός ποτε εἰς κατασκε-
ψώμενον, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ μεμψόμενον ὅτι δὴ βασίλειας
Ἰουστινιανὸς τους πρὸσβαίες ἀς Πέρσας ἡμῖν,
tέμψειεν, ἐφ' ὅ τα ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κατὰ τὰ
ξυγκείμενα προτανεύσωσιν. ὅπερ μαθὼν Βελι-
2 σάριος ἑτολεί τοιάδε. αὐτὸς μὲν ἐξαισχίλους
ἀπολεξάμενος ἀνδρας εὐμῆκεις τε καὶ τὰ σώματα
calouς μάλιστα, μακράν ποὺ ἀπὸθεν τοῦ στρα-
tοπέδου ὡς κυνηγητήσων ἑσάλη. Διογένης δὲ τὸν
dορυφόρον καὶ Ἀδόλιον τὸν 'Ακακίον, ἀνδρα

1 Ἰεράπολιν Dindorf: ἱερατικὴν VG, ἱερὰν τόλιν P.
2 φυλάξωσιν P: φυλάξωσιν VG.
3 τέμψειεν edd.: τέμψειν MSS.
valorously is better in every way than to be saved without a fight. For this would justly be called not salvation but treason. But come as quickly as possible to Europum, where, after collecting the whole army, I hope to deal with the enemy as God permits.” And when the officers saw this message, they took courage, and leaving there Justus with some few men in order to guard Hierapolis, all the others with the rest of the army came to Europum.

XXI

But Chosroes, upon learning that Belisarius with the whole Roman army had encamped at Europum, decided not to continue his advance, but sent one of the royal secretaries, Abandanes by name, a man who enjoyed a great reputation for discretion, to Belisarius, in order to find out by inspection what sort of a general he might be, but ostensibly to make a protest because the Emperor Justinian had not sent the ambassadors to the Persians at all in order that they might settle the arrangements for the peace as had been agreed. When Belisarius learned this, he did as follows. He himself picked out six hundred men of goodly stature and especially fine physique, and set out to hunt at a considerable distance from the camp. Then he commanded Diogenes, the guardsman, and Adolius, the son of
Αρμένιον γένος, βασιλεῖ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐν παλατίῳ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἡσυχίαν ὑπηρετοῦντα (σιλεντιαρίους Ῥω-μαιοῖς καλοῦσιν οἷς ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆς ἐπίκειται), τότε δὲ Ἀρμενίων τινῶν ἄρχοντα, τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντας ἐξιν ἱππεύσοι χελώνας περιέναι τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἡμῶν ἐκέλευε, δόκησιν ἀεὶ παρεχομένους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς, ἢν ἐθέλωσι τὸν Εὐφράτην διαβάντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ὅδῃ ἴναι, οὐ μήποτε ἐπιτρέψουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν.

3 Βελισάριος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀγχιστά πη ἐπέπνυτο εἶναι, καλύβην ἐκ παχείων τινῶν σινδόνων πηξάμενος, ἢν δὴ παπυλεῶνα καλεῖν νεομίκασιν, ἕκαθεντο ἐκεῖ, ὅσπερ ἐν χωρίῳ ἔρημῳ, παραδηλών ὅτι δὴ οὐδεμια παρασκευὴ ἑνταῦθα.

4 ἦκοι. τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας διέταξεν ὅδε. τῆς μὲν καλύβης ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Θράκες τε καὶ Ἰλλυριοὶ ἦσαν, Γότθοι δὲ μετ' αὐτούς, καὶ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Ερουλοὶ, μεθ' οὖς Βανδύλοι τε καὶ Μαυρούσιοι.

5 ἦσαν. τὸ τε πεδίον ἐπὶ πλείστων διήκον. οὐ γὰρ ἑστῶτες ἐπὶ χώρας ἀεὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔμενον, ἀλλὰ διεστηκότες τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ περιπάτους ποιούμενου παρέργωσε τε καὶ ὡς ἦκιστα κατε-σπουδασμένως ἐς τὸν Χωσρόον πρεσβευτὴν.

6 ἔβλεπον. εἰχὲ δὲ αὐτῶν οὔτες οὔτε χλαμύδα ἐπὶ ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινά, ἀλλὰ χιτώνας μὲν λυκοὺς καὶ ἀνάξιρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἰτα διεξάσ-7 μένοι ἐβάδιζον. εἰχὲ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ὑππού μάστηγα ἐκαστος, ὅπλον δὲ τῷ μὲν ξῖφος ἤν, τῷ δὲ

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

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

8 πέλεκυς, τῷ δὲ τόξα γυμνά. δόκησίν τε παρείχοντο ἀπαντεῖς ὅτι δὴ ἀφρονιστήσαντες τῶν
9 ἄλλων ἀπάντων κυνηγητῆσειν ἦπείγοντο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄβανδάνης Βελισαρίῳ ἔσεν ὅψων ἥκων δεινὰ
ποιεῖσθαι τὸν βασιλέα Χοσρόην ἔφη, ὅτι δὴ καθὰ ξυνέκειτο πρότερον οὐ πέμψει εἰς παρ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς
πρέσβεις ὁ Καίσαρ (οὔτω γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων
βασιλέα καλοῦσι Πέρσαι) καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ὁ Χοσρόης ἦνάγακαστο ἐς γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐν δηλοῖς
ἥκειν. Βελισάριῳς δὲ οὔτε κατορρωδήσας, ἀτε πη
ἀγχίστα ἐστρατοπεδευμένων βαρβάρων τοσοῦτον
tὸ πλῆθος, οὔτε τῷ λόγῳ ἐς ταραχὴν τινα καταστάς,
ἀλλὰ γελῶντι τε καὶ ἀνειμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀμείβεται “Οὐ ταύτη” λέγων “ἡ τῷ
Χοσρόῃ ταύτων εἰργασται νενόμισται τοῖς ἀνδρῶν
τοὺς τὰ πράγματα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, ἦν τι
ἀντιλέγοντο σφίσι τε καὶ τῶν πέλας τις, πρεσβεύοντες μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς πρότερον, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῶν
μετρίων μὴ τύχωσιν, οὔτω δὴ πολέμω ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
11 ἱεσιν. ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἐν μέσοις Ῥωμαίως, εἰτα
tοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης προτείνεται λόγους.” ὁ μὲν
τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἀπετέμψατο.
12 Ὁ δὲ παρὰ Χοσρόῃ γενόμενος παρῆκε οἱ ὅτι
14 τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. στρατηγῷ τε γὰρ
ἐνυχεῖν ἔφη ἀνδρειοτάτῳ τε καὶ ξυνετωτάτῳ
ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων καὶ στρατιώταις οἷοι ἄλλοις
αὐτὸς οὐ πώποτε εἶδεν, δὲν δὴ τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἑαυ-
μάσεις μάλιστα πάντων, εἰναὶ τε οὐκ ἔξ ἀντιπάλων
tοῦ κινδύνου αὐτῷ τε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τὴν ἀγωνίαν,
another an axe, another an uncovered bow. And all
gave the impression that they were eager to be off
on the hunt with never a thought of anything else.
So Abandanæ came into the presence of Belisarius
and said that the king Chosroes was indignant
because the agreement previously made had not
been kept, in that the envoys had not been sent to
him by Caesar (for thus the Persians call the emperor
of the Romans), and as a result of this Chosroes had
been compelled to come into the land of the Romans
in arms. But Belisarius was not terrified by the
thought that such a multitude of barbarians were
encamped close by, nor did he experience any
confusion because of the words of the man, but with
a laughing, care-free countenance he made answer,
saying: "This course which Chosroes has followed
on the present occasion is not in keeping with the
way men usually act. For other men, in case a dis-
pute should arise between themselves and any of
their neighbours, first carry on negotiations with
them, and whenever they do not receive reasonable
satisfaction, then finally go against them in war. But
he first comes into the midst of the Romans, and then
begins to offer suggestions concerning peace." With
such words as these he dismissed the ambassador.
And when Abandanæ came to Chosroes, he ad-
vised him to take his departure with all possible
speed. For he said he had met a general who in
manliness and sagacity surpassed all other men, and
soldiers such as he at least had never seen, whose
orderly conduct had roused in him the greatest
admiration. And he added that the contest was not
on an even footing as regards risk for him and for
Belisarius, for there was this difference, that if he
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

diaφήρειν δὲ, ὅτι νικήσας μὲν αὐτὸς τὸν Καίσαρος νικήσει δούλου, ἥσσοθείς δὲ, ἃν οὕτω τύχοι, μέγα
τι αἰσχὸς τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ πορίστεται καὶ τῷ Περ-
σῶν γένει, καὶ Ἡρωμάιοι μὲν νευκημένου ῥαδίως ἂν
ἐν τῇ ὁχυρώμασι καὶ γῇ τῇ αὐτῶν 1 διασώζοντο,
αὐτῶν δὲ, ἵνα γέ τι ἐναντίωμα ξυμβαίνῃ, οὐδὲ ἂν

15 ἀγγελός διαφύγοι ἐς τὴν Περσῶν χώραν. ταύτῃ
ὁ Χοσρόης ἀναπείσθεις τῇ υποθήκῃ ἀναστρέφειν
μὲν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθο ἐβούλετο, ἀμηχανία δὲ
πολλῇ εἰχετο. τὴν τε γὰρ διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ
πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων φυλάσσεσθαι φετο καὶ ὁδῷ
τῇ αὐτῇ, ἐρήμῳ ἀνθρώπων πανταπασιν οὐσῇ,
ὅπου ἀπελαύνεις οὐχ οἷος τε ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἀπαντά
σφας τὰ ἐπιτίθεται ἤδη ἐπισελείπτει 2 ἀπερ τὸ πρό-
τερον ξύν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Ὁρωμάιον

17 ἑσέβαλον. τέλος δὲ πολλὰ λογισαμένῳ ἐξιμ-
φορώτατον οἱ ἐθολεῖν εἶναι μάχῃ διακινδυνεύσαντι
ἐς γῆν τε τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤκειν καὶ διὰ χώρας
πᾶσιν εὐθηνοῦσης τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιή-
σασθαί. Βελεσάριος δὲ εὑ μὲν ἡπίστατο ὡς οὐδὲ
δὲν δέκα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν τὴν διάβασιν Χοσρόη
ἀνακαίτιζεν ποτὲ ἤκαναλ εἶεν· (ὁ τε γὰρ ποταμὸς
πολλαχῆ τῶν ταύτη χωρίων ναυσὶ διαβατός ὅν
ἐτι πλείστου τυγχάνει, καὶ κρείσσον ἣν ἄλλως
τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα ἢ πρὸς πολεμίων ὅλιγων
τιῶν τῆς διαβάσεως ἀποκεκλείσθαι·) τοῖς δὲ
ἀμφὶ Δυσγένην τε καὶ Ἡρωμῶν σὺν τοῖς χιλίοις
ἐπεστελλε τὰ πρῶτα περιενέα 3 τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτήν,
ὅπως δὴ ἐς ταραχὴν ἀφασία τινὶ τῶν βάρβαρον

1 αὐτῶν V: αὐτοῖς G, αὐτῶν preferred by Christ.
2 επισελείπτει Dindorf cod. a: ἀποσελείπτει MSS.
3 περιενέα Haury: προενέα MS., cf. II. xxi. 2.
conquered, he himself would conquer the slave of Caesar, but if he by any chance were defeated, he would bring great disgrace upon his kingdom and upon the race of the Persians; and again the Romans, if conquered, could easily save themselves in strongholds and in their own land, while if the Persians should meet with any reverse, not even a messenger would escape to the land of the Persians. Chosroes was convinced by this admonition and wished to turn back to his own country, but he found himself in a very perplexing situation. For he supposed that the crossing of the river was being guarded by the enemy, and he was unable to march back by the same road, which was entirely destitute of human habitation, since the supplies which they had at the first when they invaded the land of the Romans had already entirely failed them. At last after long consideration it seemed to him most advantageous to risk a battle and get to the opposite side, and to make the journey through a land abounding in all good things. Now Belisarius knew well that not even a hundred thousand men would ever be sufficient to check the crossing of Chosroes. For the river at many places along there can be crossed in boats very easily, and even apart from this the Persian army was too strong to be excluded from the crossing by an enemy numerically insignificant. But he had at first commanded the troops of Diogenes and Adolius, together with the thousand horsemen, to move about the bank at that point in order to confuse the barbarian by a feeling of helplessness. But after frightening this same bar-
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

19 καταστήσονται. ὁπερ δεδικάμενος, ὀστερ μοι ἔρρηθη, ἐδείσε μή τι αὐτῷ ἐμπόδισμα εἶχ ἀπαλ-
20 λάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων γῆς. λόγον τέ ὦ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ἐξελάσαι ἐνθέντε τῶν
Χοσρόου στρατῶν, οὔδεμι κινδυνεύσαντι μάχῃ πρὸς μυριάδας βαρβάρων πολλὰς ξυν στρατιω-
τας λίαν τε ὀλγοῖς ὅσυ καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπτη-
χόσι τῶν Μηδου στρατῶν. διδ δὴ ἐκέλευε Διο-
γένη τε καὶ Ἀδόλου ἡσυχῇ μένειν.

21 Ὁ γοῦν Χοσρόης γέφυραν σὺν πολλῷ τάχει
πηξάμενοι, ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
22 διέβη παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ. Πέρσαις ἡμὶ πόνῳ οὐδεὶ
διαβατοὶ εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἀπαντεῖς; ἔπει αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ
ιδοῦσιν ἀγκιστροειδὴ σιδήρα ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔστιν,
οἷς δὴ ξύλα μακρὰ ἐς ἄλληλα ἐνάρμοζοντες
γέφυραν αὐτον χειδιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ παραντικὰ ὅπῃ
23 ἀν σφίσι βουλομένους εἰς. ἔπει δὲ τάχυστα γέ-
γονεν ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπεῖρος, πέμψας παρὰ
Βελισάριον αὐτοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις κεκαρίσθαι τοῦ
Μηδου στρατοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐφασκε, προσ-
δέχεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῶν πρέσβεις, οὗς σφίσι
24 παρέσεσθαι οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἄξιον εἶναι. Βελι-
σάριος δὲ παντὶ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ
τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν διαβᾶς παρὰ Χοσρόην
25 εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν. οὕ, ἔπει παρ’ αὐτῶν ὴκοντο, πολλὰ
τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως ἐπαινέσαντες, πρέσβεις ἐς αὐ-
τὸν ἦξεν παρὰ βασιλέως αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὑπέ-
σχοντο, οἱ δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγκέμεναι πρὸ-
26 τερον ἔργο ἐπιτελῆ πρὸς αὐτῶν θήσονται. ἥξιον

1 καταστήσονται Hoeschel: καταστήσωνται MS.

446
barian, as I have said, Belisarius feared lest there should be some obstacle in the way of his departing from the land of the Romans. For it seemed to him a most significant achievement to have driven away from there the army of Chosroes, without risking any battle against so many myriads of barbarians with soldiers who were very few in number and who were in abject terror of the Median army. For this reason he commanded Diogenes and Adolius to remain quiet.

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

te diá Ῥωμαιῶν ἀτε φίλων αὐτῷ τῇ πορείᾳ χρήσθαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὑπεδέχετο ἐπιτελέσειν, εἰ τινὰ οἱ δοῦεν τῶν δοκίμων ἐν ὀμήρων λόγῳ ἐπὶ ταῦτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, ἐφ᾽ ό τὰ ξυγκείμενα πράξουσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις παρὰ Βελισάριου ἐπανήκοντες τοὺς Χοσρόου λόγους ἀπήγγελλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ὑδεσσαν ἀφικόμενος Ἰωάννην τὸν Βασιλείου παῖδα, γένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ πάντων τῶν Ἑδεσσηνῶν διαφανεστάτων, ὁμηρον τῷ Χοσ-ρόη οὔτι ἐκούσιον εὐθὺς ἐπεμψε. Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ Βελισάριου ἐν εὐφηµίας εἶχον, μᾶλλον τε σφίσιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτῳ εὐδοκιµήσα τῷ ἔργῳ ἐδόκει ἡ ὅτε Γελίµερα δορυάλωτον ἢ τὸν Οὐήττην καὶ Βυζάν- τιον ἤγεγεν. ᾖ γὰρ ὅς ἀληθῶς λόγου καὶ ἐπαινοῦν πολλοὺ ἄξιον, πεφοβηµένων μὲν καὶ τοῖς ὀχυρώµαισι κρυπτοµένων Ῥωμαιῶν ἀπάντων, Χοσροῦ δὲ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐν μέσῃ γεγονότος Ῥωμαιῶν ἄρχῇ, ἀνδρα στρατηγοῦ ἔφη ὄλοιος τοι δρόµῳ ὅζεῖ ἐκ Βυζαντίου μεταξὺ ήκοντα ἁπ᾽ ἐναντίας τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως στρατοπεδεύσα-σθαι, Χοσροῆ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου, ἢ τὴν τύχην ἢ τὴν ἀρτήν τοῦ ἄνδρος δείσαντα ἢ καὶ ταῖς ἐξαπατηθέντας σοφίσµασιν, ἐπίπροσθεν μηκέτι χωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ φυγεῦν, λόγῳ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐφίσθαι.

30 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Χοσροῆς ἀλογίσας τὰ ὁμολογηµένα Καλλινικοῦ πόλιν οὐδενὸς τὸ παράπαν ἀμυνοµένου εἶλε. ταύτης γὰρ τὸν περίβολον ὅρωντες Ῥωμαιοὶ σαθρῶν τε καὶ εὐάλωτον παντάπασιν

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

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

...οντα, μούραν αυτού αυτοί καθαροῦντες τινα, νέα τω
31 ανενεώντο οικοδομία. τότε γονώ μέρος τι αυτού καθελόντες, ούπω δε το λειπόμενον τούτο δει-
mάμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγχιστα πη ἐπύθοντο εἶναι, τῶν χρημάτων ὑπεξαγαγόντες τά τιμιώτατα, οἱ μὲν εὐδαιμονες αὐτὴς 1 τῶν ὀικητῶν ἐς ἑτέρα ἄττα ὁχυρώματα ἀπεχώρησαν, οἱ δὲ
32 λοιποὶ στρατιωτῶν χωρίς αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν. καὶ
gεωργῶν πάμπολυ τι χρήμα ἐνταύθα ἐμειλέχθαι συνέβη. οὐς δὴ ὁ Χοσρόης ἀνδραποδίσας ἀπεν 33 ἐς ἐδαφος καθείλεν. ὀλίγῳ τε ὑστερον τὸν ὁμη-
ρον Ἰωάννην δεξάμενος, ἀπεχώρησεν ἐς τὰ πάτρια
34 ἡθ. Ἀρμενικὸς το οἱ τῷ Χοσρόῃ προσκεχωρηκότες, τὰ πιστὰ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων λαβόντες, εἶν τῷ Βασ-
σάκῃ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἠλθον. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ
Χοσρόου ἑσβολή Ῥωμαίων γενέσθαι εὐνέβη, καὶ
ὁ Βελησάριος βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος
ήλθεν, ἐφ’ ὃ ἐς Ἰταλίαν άθις ἐς stalῆσθαι, πονη-
ρῶν ἡθ παντάπασι τῶν ἐκεῖνη πραγμάτων
Ῥωμαίων ὄντων.

XXII

1 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους λοιμός γεγονεν, ἢ σο οὗ δὴ ἄπαντα ὅλιγον ἐδέησε τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐξίτηλα εἶναι. ἀπασί μὲν οὖν τοῖς ζές οὐρανοῦ ἐπισκήπτουσιν ἱσως ἀν καὶ λέγοιτο τοῖς ὑπ’ ἀνδρῶν τολμητῶν αἰτίοις λόγος, οἱ πολλὰ φι-
λούσιν το ταύτα δεινοὶ αἰτίας τερατεύονται οὐ-
dαμῆ ἀνθρώπω φιλαθητάς ὄνσας, φυσιολογίας

1 αὐτῆς P: αὐτοῖς VG. 2 ἄθις VG: εὖθος P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxi. 30–xxii. 1

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

XXII

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

te ἀναπλάσσειν ὑπερορίους; ἐξεπιστάμενοι μὲν ὡς λέγουσιν οὐδὲν ύγιές, ἀποχρήν δὲ ἤγοµένοι σφίσιν, ἦν γε τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων τινὰς τὸν λόγον
2 ἐξαπατήσαντες πεῖσωσι. τούτῳ μέντοι τῷ κακῷ πρόφασιν τινὰ ἡ λόγος εἰπεῖν ἢ διανοία λογίσσασθαι μηχανή τις οὐδεµίᾳ ἐστὶ, πλὴν γε δὴ
3 ὅσα ἔσ τοὺς θεον ἀναφέρεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μέρους τῆς γῆς οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων τιαλ γέγονεν οὐδὲ τινα ὁραν τοῦ έτους ἐς χει, οἶδεν ἂν καὶ σοφίσµατα αἰτίας εὐρέσθαι δυνατὰ εἰη, ἄλλα περιεβάλλετο μὲν τὴν γῆν ξύµπασαν, βίους δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαντας ἔθαψε, καίτερ ἀλλήλων ἐς τούναντιον παρὰ πολὺ διαλλάσσοντας, οὔτε φύσεως τινος
4 οὔτε ἡλικίας φεισάμενον. εἰτε γὰρ χωρίων ἐνοικήσει εἰτε νόμῳ διάλες, ἢ φύσεως τρόπῳ, ἢ ἐπιτησάμασιν, ἢ ἄλλω ὅτιν ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρωποὶ διαφέρουσιν, ἐν ταυτῇ δὴ μόνη τῇ νόσῳ τὸ
5 διαλλάσσουν οὐδὲν ἠνήσεν. ἐπεσκεψε δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄρα θέρους, τοῖς δὲ χειμῶν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ἄλλους καιροὺς. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὃς πῇ ἔκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστῆς καὶ μετεωρολόγος, ἐγώ δὲ οἶδεν τῇ ἡρξατο τῇ νόσος ἤδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.
6 Ἡρξατο μὲν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἴκηται ἐν Πηλουσίῳ. γενοµένη δὲ δίξα πῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου ἐχώρησε, πῇ δὲ ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὁµόρους ἠλθεν, ἐνετείθεν τε κατέλαβε τῇ γῆν σύµπασαν, ὁδῷ τε ἀεὶ προῖσσα καὶ χρόνοις βαδίζουσα
7 τοῖς καθήκουσιν. ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γὰρ ἐδόκει χωρεῖν

452 -
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxii. 1-7

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

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

καὶ χρόνον τακτον ἐν χώρᾳ ἐκάστη διατριβήν ἔχειν, ἐς οὐδένας μὲν ἀνθρώπων παρέργως τῷ φθόρῳ ἡρωμένη, σκεδασμωμένη δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέχρι ἐς τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐσχατιάς, ὅσπερ δεδουκυία μὴ τις αὐτήν τῆς γῆς διαλάθοι μυχῶς.

8 οὔτε γὰρ νῦσὸν τινα ἢ σπήλαιον ἢ ἀκρώριαν ἐλίπετο ἀνθρώπους οἰκήτορας ἔχουσαν· ἤν δὲ ποὺ τινα καὶ παρῆλασε χώραν, ἡ μὴ ψάκιασα τῶν ταύτη ἀνθρώπων ἢ ἁμωσίγετος αὐτῶν ἁφαμένη, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τῷ υστέρῳ ἂν διεν αὕτη ἐπανούσα τῶν μὲν περιοίκων, οἷς δὴ πικρότατα ἐπέσκηψε πρότερον, οὐδαμῶς ἤγατο, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἐκείνης οὔ πρότερον ἀπέστη ἐξῶς τὸ μέτρον ὁρθῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπεδωκεν, ὅσπερ ² καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕρχημενοι.

9 χρόνῳ τῷ προτέρῳ διεφθάρθαι τετύχηκεν. ἀρχαμένη δὲ ἀεὶ ἐκ τῆς παραλίας ἡ νόσος ἤδε, ὅστῳ δὴ ἐς τὴν μεσόγειον ἄνεβαινε χώραν. δευτέρῳ δὲ ἐτεί ἐς Βυζάντιον μεσοῦντος τοῦ ἡροῦ ἀφίκετο,

10 ἔνθα καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐπιδημεῖν την καύτα ξυνέβη. ἐγνυτο δὲ ὅδε. φάσματα δαιμόνων πολλοίς ἐσ πάσαν ἀνθρώπου ἰδέαν ὥθην, όσοι τε αὐτῶν παραπιπτοιευ, παίεσθαι φοντο πρὸς τοῦ ἐντυχόντος ἀνάρος ὅπη παρατύχου τοῦ σώματος, ἀμα τε τὸ φάσμα τούτο ἐώρων καὶ τῇ νόσῳ

11 αὐτίκα ἡλίσκοντο. κατ' ἄρχας μὲν οὖν οἱ παραπτωτικότες ἀποτρέπεσθαι αὐτὰ ἐπερώτω, τῶν τε ὀνομάτων ἀποστοματίζωντες τὰ θειώτατα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιούμενοι, ὅς ἐκαστὸς πῃ ἐδύνατο, ἠνυνόν μεντο τὸ παράπαν οὐδέν, ἐπεὶ κἀν τοῖς ἑρώισ οἱ πλεῖστοι καταφεύγοντες διεφθεί- ¹ φθόρω P: φθόνω VG. ² ὅσπερ Haury: ὅσπερ MSS.

454
fixed arrangement, and to tarry for a specified time in each country, casting its blight slightly upon none, but spreading in either direction right out to the ends of the world, as if fearing lest some corner of the earth might escape it. For it left neither island nor cave nor mountain ridge which had human inhabitants; and if it had passed by any land, either not affecting the men there or touching them in indifferent fashion, still at a later time it came back; then those who dwelt round about this land, whom formerly it had afflicted most sorely, it did not touch at all, but it did not remove from the place in question until it had given up its just and proper tale of dead, so as to correspond exactly to the number destroyed at the earlier time among those who dwelt round about. And this disease always took its start from the coast, and from there went up to the interior. And in the second year it reached Byzantium in the middle of spring, where it happened that I was staying at that time. And it came as follows. Apparitions of supernatural beings in human guise of every description were seen by many persons, and those who encountered them thought that they were struck by the man they had met in this or that part of the body, as it happened, and immediately upon seeing this apparition they were seized also by the disease. Now at first those who met these creatures tried to turn them aside by uttering the holiest of names and exorcising them in other ways as well as each one could, but they accomplished absolutely nothing, for even in the sanctuaries where the most of them fled
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

12 ροῦτο. ὑστερον δὲ οὖδε τῶς φίλως καλοῦσιν ἐπακούειν ἥξιον, ἀλλὰ καθείρξαντες αὐτοῦς ἐν τῶι δωματίοις, ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν προσεποιοῦντο, καίπερ ἀρασσομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν θυρῶν, δειμαίνοντες δηλονότι μὴ δαμόνων τις ὁ καλῶν
13 εἰς. τις δὲ οὐκ οὕτως ὁ λοιμὸς ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' ὥσιν ουνείρου ἱδόντες ταυτό τούτο πρὸς τοῦ ἐπιστάντος πάσχειν ἐδόκουν, ἢ λόγου ἀκούειν προλέγοντος σφίσιν ὅτι δὴ ἐσ τῶν τεθυηξομένων
14 τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀνάγραπτοι εἰεν. τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις οὔτε ὑπαρ οὔτε ὁναρ ἀισθομένοις τοῦ ἐσομένου
15 εἰτα τῇ νόσῳ ξυνέβη ἀλὼναι. ἡλίσκοντο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτε. ἐπύρεσσον ἄφω, οἱ μὲν ἐξ ὑπνόου ἐγγεγερμένοι, οἱ δὲ περιπάτους ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ
16 ἀλλο δ' τι δὴ πράσσοντες. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα οὔτε τι διήλασσε τῆς προτέρας χροίας οὔτε θερμῶν ἦν, ἀτε πυρετοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φλόγωσις ἐπεγίνετο, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀβληθρός τις ἔξ ἀρχῆς τε καὶ ἄχρις ἐσπέρας 1 ο πυρετὸς ἦν ὡστε μήτε τοῖς νοσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μήτε ἱατρῷ
17 ἀπτομένῳ δόκησιν κυνωνοῦν παρέχεσθαι. οὗ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τις τελευτῶν τῶν περιπτωκότων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν. ἡμέρα δὲ τοῖς μὲν τῇ αὐτῇ, τοῖς δὲ τῇ ἐπιγεγομένῃ, ἐτέροις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ύστερον βουβῶν ἐπήρτο, οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον, ἐνθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος μόριον, δὴ τοῦ ἤτρου ἐνερθὲν

1 ἄχρις ἐσπέρας VP: ἄχρι εἰς πέρας G.

456
for refuge they were dying constantly. But later on they were unwilling even to give heed to their friends when they called to them, and they shut themselves up in their rooms and pretended that they did not hear, although their doors were being beaten down, fearing, obviously, that he who was calling was one of those demons. But in the case of some the pestilence did not come on in this way, but they saw a vision in a dream and seemed to suffer the very same thing at the hands of the creature who stood over them, or else to hear a voice foretelling to them that they were written down in the number of those who were to die. But with the majority it came about that they were seized by the disease without becoming aware of what was coming either through a waking vision or a dream. And they were taken in the following manner. They had a sudden fever, some when just roused from sleep, others while walking about, and others while otherwise engaged, without any regard to what they were doing. And the body showed no change from its previous colour, nor was it hot as might be expected when attacked by a fever, nor indeed did any inflammation set in, but the fever was of such a languid sort from its commencement and up till evening that neither to the sick themselves nor to a physician who touched them would it afford any suspicion of danger. It was natural, therefore, that not one of those who had contracted the disease expected to die from it. But on the same day in some cases, in others on the following day, and in the rest not many days later, a bubonic swelling developed; and this took place not only in the particular part of the body which is called "boubon,"¹

¹ I.e. "groin."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐστι, βουβὼν κέκληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μάλης ἑντός, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰ ὡτα καὶ ὅπου ποτὲ τῶν μηρῶν ἔτυχε.

18 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄχρι τοῦτε πᾶσιν ὁμοίως σχεδὸν τι τοῖς τῇ νόσῳ ἀλισκομένοις ξυνεβαινε τὰ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω έπειν πότερον ἐν τῷ διαλλάσσοντι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ τῶν ξυμπτόντων ἐγίνετο, ἢ ὅπῃ ποτὲ βουλομένῳ εἰς τῷ τῇ νόσου ἐπαγαγόντι. ἐπεγίνετο γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κῆμα βαθὺ, τοῖς δὲ παραφροσύνη ὄξεια, ἐκάτεροι τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν νόσον ἐπιτηδεύοντα ἐχοντα ἐπασχον οἷς μὲν γὰρ τὸ κῆμα ἐπέκειτο, πάντων ἐπιλεξομένοι τῶν εἰσόδων σφίσιν ἐσ ἀεὶ καθεύ- 20 δειν ἑδόκοιν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιμελεῦτο, μεταξὺ ἡσθιοῦ, τινές δὲ καὶ ἀπημελημένοι ἀπορία

21 τροφῆς εὔθυς ἐθνησκόν. οἱ μέντοι τῷ τῆς παραφροσύνης ἀλόντες κακῷ ἀγρυπνίᾳ τε καὶ φαντασίᾳ πολλῇ εἰχοντα, καὶ τινᾶς ὑποπτεύοντες ἐπιέχει σφίσιν ὡς δὴ ἀπολούντας, ἐς ταραχῆς τε καθίσταντο καὶ ἀναβοδῶντες ἔβασιν ὅνων 22 ἐς φυγὴν ὃρμηντο. οἱ τοῦ αὐτῶν θεραπεύοντες καμάτῳ ἀπαύστῳ ἐχόμενοι τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐς ἀεὶ 23 ἐπασχον. διὸ δὴ ἀπαίτες αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦσον ἡ τοῦς πολυμένους φικτίζοντο, οὐχ ὅτι τῷ λοιμῷ ἐπιέξοντο ἐκ τοῦ προσίεναι (οὔτε γὰρ ἱατρῷ οὔτε ἰδιώτῃ μεταλαχεῖν τοῦ κακοῦ τοῦτο τῶν νο- σοῦντων ἢ τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀπτομένῳ ξυνεβή, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν σφίσι προσήκοντας ἢ θάπτοντες ἢ θεραπεύοντες ταύτη

1 ἦστι VP: ἐν G. 2 μηρῶν MSS.: μερῶν Hoeschel.
that is, below the abdomen, but also inside the armpit, and in some cases also beside the ears, and at different points on the thighs.

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

dῆ τῆ ὑπουργία παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχοι, πολλοὶ
dὲ τῆς νόσου ἀπροφασίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιπέδοιοῦσις
eὐθὺς ἔθνησκον), ἀλλ' ὅτι ταλαιπωρία πολλῇ
24 εἴχοντο. ἐκ τε γὰρ τῶν στρωμάτων ἐκπίπτοντας
καὶ καλωδουμένους ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀντικαθίστων
ἀθίς, καὶ ρητείν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὀικημάτων
ἐφεμένους ὀθοῦντες τε καὶ ἀνθέλκοντες ἐβιά-
25 ξόντο. ὅπως τε ὡς παρατύχοι, ἐμπεσεῖν ἦθελον,
οὐ δὴ 1 οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ ποτοῦ ἐπιθυμία (ἐς γὰρ 3
θάλασσαν οἱ πολλοὶ ὄρμηντο), ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἦν
26 μάλιστα ἢ τῶν φρενῶν νόσος. πολὺς δὲ αὐτοῖς
καὶ περὶ τὰς βρώσεις ἐγένετο πόνος. οὐ γὰρ
ἐύπετος προσέεις ταύτας. πολλοὶ τε ἀπορία
tοῦ θεραπεύοντος διεφθάρησαν, ἢ λείψαν πιεζό-
27 μενοι, ἢ ἀφ' ηὐσίλω θαδιέντες τὸ σῶμα. ὅσοις
δὲ οὕτε κώμα οὕτε παραφροσύνη ἐνέπεσε, τούτοις
dὴ ὅ τε βουβῶν ἔσφακέλιζε καὶ αὐτὸ ταῖς
28 ὁδύναις οὐκέτι ἀντέχοντες ἔθνησκον. τεκμη-
ριώσεις δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί κατὰ
tαυτὰ ἐξυμβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἢκιστα
ήγα, ἐξυνείλα τῆς ὁδύνης οὖδαμῇ εἴχον, τοῦ
pίθους αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἅμφι τὰς φρένας παραρο-
μένον τὴν αὐθήσεως.
29 'Απορούμενοι γοῦν τῶν τινων ἱατρῶν τῆ τῶν
ἐξυμπιπτόντων ἄγνοια τὸ τε τῆς νόσου κεφάλαιον
ἐν τοῖς βουβώσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι οὕμενοι, διερε-
νάσθαι τῶν τετελευτηκότων τὰ σῶματα ἐγνωσαν.
καὶ διελόντες τῶν βουβώνων τινῶς, ἀνθρακος
δεινὸν τε χρήμα ἐμπεφυκός εὗρον.

1 οὐ δὴ Hoeschel: οὐ δέ VG, οὐ δὲ P, εἴδατι conjectured by
Christ, αὐτῆ by Haury.
2 ποτοῦ P: ποταμοῦ VG.
3 γὰρ Hoeschel: γοῦν MSS.

460
held out in the performance of this service beyond all expectation, while with many others the disease came on without warning and they died straightway); but they pitied them because of the great hardships which they were undergoing. For when the patients fell from their beds and lay rolling upon the floor, they kept putting them back in place, and when they were struggling to rush headlong out of their houses, they would force them back by shoving and pulling against them. And when water chanced to be near, they wished to fall into it, not so much because of a desire for drink (for the most of them rushed into the sea), but the cause was to be found chiefly in the diseased state of their minds. They had also great difficulty in the matter of eating, for they could not easily take food. And many perished through lack of any man to care for them, for they were either overcome by hunger, or threw themselves down from a height. And in those cases where neither coma nor delirium came on, the bubonic swelling became mortified and the sufferer, no longer able to endure the pain, died. And one would suppose that in all cases the same thing would have been true, but since they were not at all in their senses, some were quite unable to feel the pain; for owing to the troubled condition of their minds they lost all sense of feeling.

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

30. Ἐθνησκον δὲ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα, οἱ δὲ ἡμέραις πολλαῖς ὑστερον, τισὶ τε φλυκταίναις μελαίναις ὅσον φακοῦ μέγεθος ἔξηνθει τὸ σώμα, οἱ οὐδὲ μίαν ἐπεβίων ἡμέραν, ἀλλ’ εὐθυωρὸν ἀπαντεὶ ἐθνησκον. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τίς αὐτόματος αἰ-
ματος ἐπυγινόμενος ἔμετος εὐθὺς διεχρήσατο.

32 ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἀποφήμασθαι ἔχω, ὡς τῶν ἱατρῶν οἱ δοκιμότατοι πολλοὺς μὲν τεθυγίζοντο προ-
γόρευν, οἱ δὴ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς ὁλιγὸς ὑστερον παρὰ δόξαν ἐγίνοντο, πολλοὺς δὲ ὅτι σωθήσονται ἰσχυρίζοντο, οἱ δὴ διαφθαρήσασθαι ἐμελλον αὐ-
τίκα δὴ μάλα. οὕτως αἰτία τις ἦν οὐδεμίᾳ ἐν ταῦτῃ τῇ νόσῳ ἐς ἀνθρώπου λογισμὸν φέρουσα—
πάσι γὰρ τις ἀλόγιστος ἀπόβασις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφέρετο, καὶ τὰ λουτρὰ τούς μὲν ἄνησε, τοὺς
34 δὲ οὐδὲν τί ἦσσον κατέβλαψεν. ἀμελούμενοι τε πολλοὶ ἐθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ παρὰ λόγον ἐσώζοντο. καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς θεραπείας ἔφη ἐκάτερα τοῖς χρομένοις ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν οὐδεμία μηχανὴ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐξεύρητο, οὔτε προφυλαξαμένῳ μὴ τεποθοῦναι οὔτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπιπεσόντος περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ παθεῖν ἀπροφάσιστον ἦν καὶ τὸ περιεῖναι αὐτόματον.

35 Καὶ γυναῖξι δὲ δοσαί ἐκύουν προὔπτος ἐγίνετο τῇ νόσῳ ἀλυκομέναις ὁ θάνατος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμβλυσκουσαί ἐθνησκον, αἱ δὲ τίκτουσαί ἔξων
36 αὐτῶς εὐθὺς τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐφθείρουτο. τρεῖς μέντοι λεχοῦς λέγουσι τῶν παιδῶν σφίσιν ἀπο-

1 tis ἦν Maltretus: τίσιν MSS.

462
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxii. 30–36

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

And in the case of women who were pregnant death could be certainly foreseen if they were taken with the disease. For some died through miscarriage, but others perished immediately at the time of birth with the infants they bore. However, they say that three women in confinement
λομένων περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μᾶς ἥδη ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ ἀποθανοῦσης τετέχθαι τε καὶ περιέιναι τῷ παιδίῳ ξυμβῆναι.

37 Ὅσοις μὲν οὖν μεῖξον τε ὁ βουβῶν ἤρετο καὶ ἐς πῦν ἄφικτο, τούτοις δὴ περιείναι τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλασσομένους ξυνέβαινεν, ἐπεὶ δῆλον ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡ ἄκμη ἐς τούτο ἐλελωφήκε τοῦ ἀνθράκος, γνώρισμὰ τῇ τῆς ὑγείας τούτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείωστον ἐγίνετο· οὓς δὲ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας ἱδεῖας διέμεινε, τούτοις περιειστήκει τὰ κακὰ ἰδίων ἀρτι ἐμνήσθην. τοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν ἀποξηρανθῆναι ξυνέβη, ἐφ’ οὗ ὁ βουβῶν ἐπαρθεὶς ὡς ἡ ἡμιατα ἔμπυος γέγονεν. ἄλλοις τε οὐκ ἐπὶ ἁκεράφῳ τῇ γλώσσῃ περιγενέσθαι τετύχκεν, ἀλλ’ ἡ τραυλίζουσιν, ἡ μόλις τε καὶ ἀσημα φθεγγομένους βιώναι.

XXIII

1 Ἡ μὲν οὖν νόσος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐστὶ σοφος
2 διήλθε μῆνας, ἦκμασε δὲ ἐν τρισὶ μάλιστα. καὶ κατ’ ἄρχας μὲν ἔθνησκον τῶν εἰσθάντων ὀλύνων πλείους, εἶτα ἐτί μᾶλλον τὸ κακὸν ἄρτε, μετὰ δὲ ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ἐξικνεῖτο τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν μέτρον, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐς μυρίους
3 τε καὶ τούτων ἐτί πλείους ἠλθε. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς ταφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκατοστο ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν νεκρῶν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐς ἀλλοτρίας θήκας ἔρριπτουν ἢ λανθάνοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι ἐπειτα δὲ πάντα ἐν ἀπασί ξυνετα-4 ράχθη. δοῦλοι τε γὰρ ἔμειναν δεσποτῶν ἔρημοι, 464
survived though their children perished, and that one woman died at the very time of child-birth but that the child was born and survived.

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

XXIII

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

ἀνδρες τε τὰ πρότερα λιαν ευδαίμονες τῆς τῶν οἰκετῶν ὑπουργίας ἡ νοσούντων ἡ τετελευτηκότων εστέρηντο, πολλαί τε οἰκίαι παντάπασιν ἔρημοι 5 ἀνθρώπων ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ξυνέβη τισὶ τῶν γυνώμων τῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἡμέρας πολλάς ἀτάφως εἶναι.

"Εσ τε βασιλέα ἡ τοῦ πράγματος πρόνοια, 6 ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἤλθε. στρατιώτας οὖν ἐκ παλατίου καὶ χρήματα νείμας Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευε τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὃς δὴ ἀποκρίσει ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἑφειστήκει, ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς τῶν ἱκετῶν δήσεις ἀγγέλλων, σημαίνων τε αὐθίς ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. ῥεφερενδάριον τῇ Δατίνων φωνῇ τῆς τιμῆς ταύτην καλοῦσι Ἄρω-7 μαίοι. οἷς μὲν οὖν οὕτω 1 παντάπασιν ἐς ἐρη-μίαιν ἐμπεπτωκότα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐτύγχανεν, αὐτοὶ ἔκαστοι τὰς τῶν προσηκόντων ἐποιεύοντο 8 ταφάς. Θεόδωρος δὲ τά τε βασιλέως διδρύς χρήματα καὶ τὰ οἰκεία προσαναλίσκων τοὺς 9 ἀπημελημένους τῶν νεκρῶν ἔθαπτεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάς θῆκας ἀπάσας αἱ πρότερον ἡσαν ἐμπι-πλασθαί τῶν νεκρῶν ἐτυχεν, οἱ δὲ ὀρύσσοντες ἀπαντα ἐφεξῆς τὰ ἀμφί τὴν πόλιν χωρία, ἐνταῦθα τε τοὺς θυσίοςκυνας κατατιθέμενοι, ὡς ἐκαστός τῇ ἐδύνατο, ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ τὰς κατάρχας ταύτας ποιούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀποθηκευκών τὸ μέτρον οὐκέτι ἄντεχοντες, ἐς τοὺς πύργους τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνέβαινον δς 10 ἐν Συκαῖς ἐστὶν τὰς τε ὄροφὰς περιελόντες ἐνταῦθα ἔρριπτον τὰ σώματα οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,

1 οὕτω Maltretus: εἶπον V, om. G.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxiii. 4-10

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

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

1 Modern Galata.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

καὶ ξυνήσαντες, ὡς τῇ ἐκάστῳ παρέτυχεν, ἐμπλησάμενοι τε τῶν νεκρῶν ὡς εἴπειν ἀπαντας,

11 εἰτα ταῖς ὀρφαῖς αὕθες ἐκάλυπτον. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα δυσώδες ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἰδον ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐλύτει τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰς τε ἥν καὶ ἄνεμός τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐπίφορος ἐπιπνεύσειε.

12 Πάντα τε ὑπερώφη τότε τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς νόμματος. οὔτε γὰρ παραπεμπόμενοι ἢ νενόμισται οἱ νεκροὶ ἐκομίζοντο οὔτε καταψαλλόμενοι ἢ περ ἐιώθει, ἀλλ' ἰκανὸν ἦν, εἰ φέρων τις ἐπὶ τῶν ὀμοιων τῶν τετελευτηκότων τινὰ ἐσ ἡ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἐπιθαλάσσια ἔλθων ἔρριψεν, οὔ δὴ ταῖς ἀκάτοις ἐμβαλλόμενοι σωρηδόν ἐμελλόν ὡς ἦν

13 παρατύχων κομίζεσθαι. τότε καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὡςοι στασιῶται πρότερον ἤσαν, ἔχθους τοῦ ἦν ἀλλήλους ἀφέμενοι τῆς τε ὅσιας τῶν τετελευτηκότων κοινῆ ἐπεμέλειον καὶ φέροντες αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐ

14 προσήκοντας σφύσι νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡςοι πράγμασι τὰ πρότερα παριστάμενοι αἰσχροῖς τε καὶ πονηροῖς ἔχαιρον, οἴδε τὴν ἐσ τὴν δίαιταν ἀποσεισάμενοι παρανομία τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἕσκοιν, οὐ τὴν σωφροσύνην μεταμαθόντες οὐδὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐραστάτη τινὲς ἐκ τοῦ

15 αἰφνιδίου γεγευμένων ἔτει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἐμπέτηγε φύσει ἡ χρόνου μακροῦ διδασκαλία ῥάστα δὴ οὗτο μεταβάλλεσθαι ἀδύνατα ἐστιν, ὅτι μὴ θείου τινὸς ἄγαθοῦ ἐπιπνεύσαντος· ἀλλὰ

468
and they piled them up just as each one happened to fall, and filled practically all the towers with corpses, and then covered them again with their roofs. As a result of this an evil stench pervaded the city and distressed the inhabitants still more, and especially whenever the wind blew fresh from that quarter.

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

tότε ως εἰπεῖν ἀπαντεῖς καταπεπληγμένοι μὲν τοῖς ξυμπέπτουσι, τεθνήξεσθαι δὲ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα οἴόμενοι, ἀνάγκη, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, πάση τὴν 16 ἐπιείκειαιν ἐπὶ καροῦ μετεμάνθανον. ταῦτα τοῦ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τῆς νόσου ἀπαλλαγέντες ἐσώθησαν ἐν τε τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ γεγενήσθαι ἢ ὑπετοπασαν, ἀτε τοῦ κακοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπων τινὰς κεχωρηκότος, ἀγχίστροφον αὐθίς τῆς γνώμης τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω πεποιημένοι, μᾶλλον ἐπὶ πρότερον τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀτοπίαν ἐνδείκνυται, σφᾶς αὐτόσως μᾶλιστα τῇ τε πονηρία καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρανόμῳ νεικηκότας ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπισχυρισμένος ἂν τις οὐ τὰς θεοῦ εἰποί ως ἡ νόσος ἤδε εἰτε τύχῃ τινι εἰτε προοίσε ἐς τὸ ἀκρίβεις ἀπολεξαμένη τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἀφῆκεν. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἀποδεδεικται χρόνῳ.

17 Τότε δὲ ὠγοράζοντα τινα σῶκ εὐπελεῖς ἑδόκει εἶναι ἐν γε Βυζαντῖῳ ἰδεῖν, ἀλλ' οἶκοι καθήμενοι ἀπαντεῖς ὅσοις ξυνέβαλε τὸ σῶμα ἐρρώσθαι, ἢ τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἐθεράπευον, ἢ τοὺς τετελευ-

18 τηκότας ἔθρησκοι. ᾧ δὲ τις καὶ προϊόντι τινι ἐνυχεῖν ἠχυσεν, ὅτε τῶν τινα νεκρῶν ἐφερεν. ἐργασία τε ξύμπασα ἤργει, καὶ τὰς τέχνας οἱ τεχνῦται μεθήκαν ἀπάσας, ἠργα τε ἀλλὰ ὡς δὴ ἔκαστοι ἐν χερσὶν εἴχον. ἐν πόλει γαῖν ἀγαθοὶς ἀπασίν ἀτεχνῶς εὐθη-

19 νοῦσῃ λιμός τις ἀκρίβες ἐπεκώμαζεν. ἄρτοις ἀμέλει ἢ ἄλλο ὁτιῶν διαρκῶς ἐχεῖν χαλεπὸν τε ἑδόκει καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον εἶναι: ὡστε καὶ τῶν νοσοῦντων τισῶν ἄιρον ξυμβῆναι δοκεῖν ἀπορία τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστρο-
thoroughly terrified by the things which were happening, and supposing that they would die immediately, did, as was natural, learn respectability for a season by sheer necessity. Therefore as soon as they were rid of the disease and were saved, and already supposed that they were in security, since the curse had moved on to other peoples, then they turned sharply about and reverted once more to their baseness of heart, and now, more than before, they make a display of the inconsistency of their conduct, altogether surpassing themselves in villainy and in lawlessness of every sort. For one could insist emphatically without falsehood that this disease, whether by chance or by some providence, chose out with exactitude the worst men and let them go free. But these things were displayed to the world in later times.

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

20 φην. καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χλαμύδα οὐκ ἦν ἐνδυσκομένον τινα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸ παράπαν ἰδεῖν, ἀλλὰς τε ἦνικα βασιλεῖ νοσῆσαι ξυνεβή (καὶ αὐτῷ γὰρ ξυνέπεσε βουβώνα ἐπηρθαι), ἀλλ’ ἐν πόλει βασιλείαιν ἐχοῦσῃ ξυμπάσῃ τῆς Ρωμαίων ἀρχῆς ιμάτια ἐν ἰδιωτῶν λόγῳ ἀπαντεῖς ἀμπεχόμενοι ἡσυχή ἐμενον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ λοιμῷ ἐν τῇ ἀλλῃ Ρωμαίων γῇ καὶ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ταύτῃ πη ἐσχεν. ἐπέσκηψε δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Περσῶν γῇ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας.

XXIV

1 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐξ Ἀσσυρίων ἐς χωρὸν Ἀδαρβιγάνων ἥκων πρὸς βορρᾶν ἀνεμον, ἐνθὲν διενοεῖτο ἐς τὴν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν διὰ

2 Περσαρμενίων ἐσβάλλειν. τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶν, δὲ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μαλίστα. οὐ δὴ τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάσσοντες μάγοι τὰ τε ἀλλα ἐς τὸ ἀκριβές ἐξοσιούνται καὶ μαντείφῳ ἐς τῶν πραγμάτων τὰ μέγιστα χρῶνται. τούτῳ ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλων τε καὶ ἐσέ-

3 βοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ρωμαίοι. ἐνταῦθα σταλείς τις ἐκ Βυζαντίου παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπήγγελλε Κωνσταντιανὸν τε καὶ Σέργιον πρέσβεις ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβάσει αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα

4 ἀφίεσθαι. ἦστην δὲ τῷ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ῥήτορέ τε ἀμφῶ καὶ ξυνετῶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, Κωνσταν-
And, to put all in a word, it was not possible to see a single man in Byzantium clad in the chlamys, and especially when the emperor became ill (for he too had a swelling of the groin), but in a city which held dominion over the whole Roman empire every man was wearing clothes befitting private station and remaining quietly at home. Such was the course of the pestilence in the Roman empire at large as well as in Byzantium. And it fell also upon the land of the Persians and visited all the other barbarians besides.

XXIV

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

1 The official dress.  2 Vesta.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tianos men 'Illuriios genos, Seregi los de e' Edessh
5 poleos, h en Mesopotamias tyngkanai ouda. ois
dh h Xosrois prosochemenos istorhi emenev. en
dh tith poreia taunth Koustantinou vos transcriptos
kal xrono trubentos syknoi, ton loymon episkhe-
6 pai Perasaix xynepese. diw dh Nabhedh thn-
kaunta en Persephelnous thn strathtidha exous
arxh tov en Dousbios tov Xristianov iereia
basilevos epaggeilantos parat Balerianov ton
en 'Armenios strathtidh empneven, autiasomenv
th thv thv prsebeis braduthtia kal Rwmhov
hes thn eirhn thrmhsanta protha th pash.
7 kai de xin tov adelph ei 'Armenhov exous, tov
th Balerianv entuchon, autov th Rwmhov ati
Xristianov ischurizesio eunouikov exev kai oi
basilea Xosroin pithesai alles bohnh
pashav odste h Rwmhov ois prsebeis es th
Perroin hth xin autov 'elhason, ouk an ti autois
empodhsma eih thv thn eirhn dh1 bohlouontai
8 dialhsethai. o men ouv iereis tosoata elpene
o de tov ierewos adelphos Balerianov entuchon
lathra Xosrou en megalous einai kakaos efaake
th to ghar oi paiada tyranvthi epideymenon epah-
sthnai, kai autov omou xin pante tov Perroin
stratf thi nosv alvan. did dh kai Rwmhov
9 tainv es th xumvaston ethlenei lenai. taunta
epel Balerianov hkhuse, ton men episkopon evthh
apepmnato, tous prsebeis ouk eis makran
uposchomenos parat Xosroun afixeisai, autov
de tois logous es basilea 'Ioustwianov ouster
10 hnikoei anhneygev. ois dh h basileus autika

1 dh Maltretus: ouv MSS.

474
by birth, and Sergius was from the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia. And Chosroes remained quiet expecting these men. But in the course of the journey thither Constantianus became ill and much time was consumed; in the meantime it came about that the pestilence fell upon the Persians. For this reason Nbedes, who at that time held the office of general in Persarmenia, sent the priest of the Christians in Dubios by direction of the king to Valerianus, the general in Armenia, in order to reproach the envoys for their tardiness and to urge the Romans with all zeal toward peace. And he came with his brother to Armenia, and, meeting Valerianus, declared that he himself, as a Christian, was favourably disposed toward the Romans, and that the king Chosroes always followed his advice in every matter; so that if the ambassadors would come with him to the land of Persia, there would be nothing to prevent them from arranging the peace as they wished. Thus then spoke the priest; but the brother of the priest met Valerianus secretly and said that Chosroes was in great straits: for his son had risen against him in an attempt to set up a tyranny, and he himself together with the whole Persian army had been taken with the plague; and this was the reason why he wished just now to settle the agreement with the Romans. When Valerianus heard this, he straightway dismissed the bishop, promising that the envoys would come to Chosroes at no distant time, but he himself reported the words which he had heard to the Emperor Justinian. This led the emperor im-
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ηγμένοις αὐτῷ τε καὶ Μαρτίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρχοῦσιν ὅτι τάχιστα ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐπέστελλεν. εὗ1 ὡρα οἴδεν ως αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων οúdeis ἐμποδόθων στήσεται. ἔκλεψεν δὲ ξυλλαγέντας ὡς ταύτῳ ἀπαντας οὕτω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐπὶ Περσαρμενίους ποιήσασθαί. ταύτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεκέθηντα οἱ ἀρχωντες τὰ γράμματα εἶδον, ἀπαντησάντας ὁμοί τοῖς ἐπομένοις2 ξυνέρρεον ὡς τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰρμένιας χωρία.

12 Ἡδὴ δὲ ὁ Χασρὼν ὁλίγῳ πρότερον τὸ Ἀδάρβυγάνων δεῖ ποῦ τὸ ἐκ τῆς νόσου ἀπολυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀπιστῶν φῶτον, ἐνθά δὴ ὁποῦ ἐνδημῆκε τὸ τοῦ λοιμοῦ πάθος. Βαλεριανοῦ μὲν οὖν Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἀγχοστα ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ξυντοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ καταλογοῖς, καὶ οἱ Ναρσῆς ξυνετάττετο Ἀρμενίους τῇ καὶ Ἐρώλους τινὰς ξυν ἄυτῷ ἱχῳν. Μαρτίνὸς δὲ τὸς ἐξο στρατηγὸς ξυν τῇ Ἡλδίγερι καὶ Θεοκτιστῷ ἐς Κιθαρίζων τῷ φρουρίου ἁφικόμενος ἐνταῦθα τῇ πεζόμενος τῷ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῦ ἐμενε. διέχει δὲ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἠμερῶν τῷ φρουρίου τούτῳ ἴνα καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ εἰς μακράν ξὺν τῇ Ἀδολφῷ καὶ ἄλλοις τισῶν

13 ᾿Αρχων ἤθελεν. ἤγειτο δὲ τῶν ταύτης καταλογῶν Ἰσαάκης ὁ Ναρσοῦ ἀδελφὸς. Φιλιμοῦθ δὲ καὶ Ὁήρος ξὺν Ἐρώλους τοῖς σφίσων ἐπομένοις ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Χρζιανής χωρία ἠλθοῦν, τοῦ Μαρτίνου

14 στρατοπέδου οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεῖν. Ἰουστὸς τοῦ Ῥασίλεως ἀνέψιος καὶ Περάνοις καὶ Ἰωάννῃς ὁ Νικητὸν παῖς ξὺν τῇ Δομνεντίλῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ

1 εὗ Haury: οὐ MSS.
2 ἐπομένοις Dindorf: ἐσομένοι MSS.

476
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxiv. 10-15

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

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

Φαγὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Φισῶν καλουμένον φρουρίῳ, ὅπερ ἀγχιστά πη τῶν
16 Μαρτυροτόλεως ὀρίων ἐστίν. οὔτω μὲν οὖν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες ξυν
τοῖς ἐπομένοις, ξυνηχεὶ ἃ ὁ στρατὸς ἄπας ἐσ τρισ-
17 μυρίων. οὗτοι ἀπαντεῖ οὔτε ἐς ταύτα ἴσωπελέγη-
σαν, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἄλλῃς ἢς λόγους ἥθεν.
πέμπτους δὲ παρ’ ἄλλησοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν
σφίσι πολεμοῦντο τινὰs ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐσβολῆς ἐπνυ-
18 θάνυοντο. ἀφίω δὲ Πέτρος, οὐδεὶς κοινολογησά-
μενος, ξὺν τοῖς ἅμφ’ αὐτὸν ἀνεπισκέπτος ἐς τὴν
πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλλαν. ὅπερ ἡμέρα τῇ ἐπιγνομένῃ
γνώσεις Φιλημοῦθε τε καὶ Βῆρος, οἱ τῶν Ἐρούλων
19 ἡγούμενοι, εὐθὺς ἐπιστὶ ν. ἐπεὶ τε ταύτα οἱ τε
ἀμφὶ Μαρτῖνον καὶ Βαλεριανὸν ἔμαθον, τῇ ἐσβολῇ
20 κατὰ τάχος ἔχρωντο. ἀπαντεῖ δὲ ἄλλῃς ὀλίγῳ
ὕστερον ἀνεμέγχυντο ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ, πλὴν Ἰου-
ςτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ, οὐ δὴ μακράν τε ἀπο-
θεν, ὅσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι τοῦ ἄλλου
στρατοῦ, καὶ χρόνῳ ὑστερον τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβολήν
γνώσεις, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσέβαλλον ὡς τάχιστα ἐς
21 τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸς πολέμιαν, ἀναμίγνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς
ξυνάρχουσιν ὑδαμῆ ἔσχον. οἱ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλῳ ἔμ-
παντεῖ ἐπορεύσαντο εὐθὺς Δούβιος, οὔτε ηλιξόμενοι
οὔτε τί ἄλλο ἀχαρι πράσσοντες ἐς τὴν Περσῶν
χώραν.

XXV

1 Ἐστι δὲ τὸ Δούβιος χώρα τις τά τε ἄλλα ἄγαθη
καὶ ἀέρων τε καὶ ὑδάτων ἐνεξίαν τινὰ διαρκῶς ἔχου-
sa, Θεοδοσιονύπολεως δὲ ὅδῷ ἡμερῶν ὅκτω διέχειν. 478
HISTORY OF THE WARS II. xxiv. 15–xxv. 1

called the Glutton, made camp near the place called Phison, which is close by the boundaries of Martyropolis. Thus then were encamped the Roman commanders with their troops; and the whole army amounted to thirty thousand men. Now all these troops were neither gathered into one place, nor indeed was there any general meeting for conference. But the generals sent to each other some of their followers and began to make enquiries concerning the invasion. Suddenly, however, Peter, without communicating with anyone, and without any careful consideration, invaded the hostile land with his troops. And when on the following day this was found out by Philemouth and Beros, the leaders of the Eruli, they straightway followed. And when this in turn came to the knowledge of Martinus and Valerianus and their men, they quickly joined in the invasion. And all of them a little later united with each other in the enemy's territory, with the exception of Justus and his men, who, as I have said, had encamped far away from the rest of the army, and learned later of their invasion; then, indeed, they also invaded the territory of the enemy as quickly as possible at the point where they were, but failed altogether to unite with the other commanders. As for the others, they proceeded in a body straight for Doubios, neither plundering nor damaging in any other way the land of the Persians.

XXV

Now Doubios is a land excellent in every respect, and especially blessed with a healthy climate and abundance of good water; and from Theodosiopolis
2 καὶ πεδία μὲν ἐνταύθα ἱππήλατά ἦστι, κἂν ὁ δὲ πολλαὶ πολυανθρωπότατοι φημηταὶ ἀγχοτάτω ἄλληλαις καὶ πολλοὶ ἔμποροι καὶ ἔργασιαν ἐν
3 ταύταις οἰκοῦσιν. ἐκ τε γὰρ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἰβήρων πάντων τε ὅσοι εἰπέν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐδνῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων τινῶν τὰ φορτία ἐσκομμέζομεν ἐνταύθα ἄλληλοις ἐμφάλλουσιν.
4 τὸν τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἱερέα Καθολικὸν καλοῦσι τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ, ὅτι δὴ ἐφέστηκεν εἰς ὁν
5 ἀπασὶ τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις. Δούβιος δὲ ἀποθεὶν ὅσον εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν σταδίων ἐν δεξιᾷ ἱόντι ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς ὅρος ἐστὶ δύσβατόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κρημνώδες, καὶ κόμη τις ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ
6 στενοτάτη κειμένη, Ἀγγλῶν ὄνομα. οὐ δὴ ὁ Ναβέδης, ἐπειδή τάχιστα τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐφοδον ἔγνω, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἀποχώρησας
7 χωρίοις τε ἱσχύι θαρσήσας καθείρξεν αὐτῶν. καὶ ἡ μὲν κόμη ἐς τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἐσχατα κεῖται, φρούριον δὲ ἐξυρὸν τῇ κόμη ταύτῃ ὀμώνυμον ἐν
8 τῷ κρημνώδει ἐστίν. ὁ γοῦν Ναβέδης λίθους μὲν καὶ ἀμάξας τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κόμην ἀποφράξας εἰσόδους δυσπρόσοδον ἐτὶ μᾶλλον εἰργάσατο ταῦ-
9 την. ἐπίπροσθε δὲ τάφρον τινὰ ὄρυξας ἐνταύθα τὸ στρατεύμα ἐστησε, προσλέξας οἰκίσκοις τινὰς πολαίους ἐνέδρας πεζῶν. ἐς τετρακισ-
χιλίους δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπαν ἴψει τὸ Περσῶν στρα-
τεύμα.
10 Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσετο τῇ δε. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς χώρον ἡμέρας ὁδὸν Ἀγγλῶν διέ-
χοντα, τῶν τινα πολεμίων ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ ἱόντα

480
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxv. 2–10

it is removed a journey of eight days. In that region there are plains suitable for riding, and many very populous villages are situated in very close proximity to one another, and numerous merchants conduct their business in them. For from India and the neighbouring regions of Iberia and from practically all the nations of Persia and some of those under Roman sway they bring in merchandise and carry on their dealings with each other there. And the priest of the Christians is called "Catholicos" in the Greek tongue, because he presides alone over the whole region. Now at a distance of about one hundred and twenty stades from Doubios on the right as one travels from the land of the Romans, there is a mountain difficult of ascent and moreover precipitous, and a village crowded into very narrow space by the rough country about, Anglon by name. Thither Nkedes withdrew with his whole army as soon as he learned of the inroad of the enemy, and, confident in his strength of position, he shut himself in. Now the village lies at the extremity of the mountain, and there is a strong fortress bearing the same name as this village on the steep mountain side. So Nkedes with stones and carts blocked up the entrances into the village and thus made it still more difficult of access. And in front of it he dug a sort of trench and stationed the army there, having filled some old cabins with ambuscades of infantrymen. Altogether the Persian army amounted to four thousand men.

While these things were being done in this way, the Romans reached a place one day's journey distant from Anglon, and capturing one of the enemy who was going out as a spy they enquired...
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λαβόντες ἐπιναθάνοντο ὅπῃ ποτὲ ταυτὸς ὁ Ναβέδης εἶη. καὶ ὁ ἀνακεχωρηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξ 'Αγγ. 11 γλῶν παντὶ τῷ Μήδων στρατῷ ἐφασκεν. ὁ δὲ ὁ Ναρσής ἄκούσας δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ τούς ξυνάρ- 12 χουσί τὴν μέλλησιν ὄνειδίζων ἐλείδορεῖτο. ταῦτο δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλοι ἐποιεῦν, ἐς ἄλληλον 1 ὑβρίζου- 13 τες, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μάχης τε καὶ κινδύνου ἀφρο- τιστήσαντες λησθεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία ἐν σπουδῇ 14 ἐποιοῦντο. ἄραντες τοῖνυν ἀστρατήγητοι τε καὶ 2 ἀτακτοὶ κόσμῳ οὔδενι ἐπίπροσθεν ἦσαν, οὔτε τε ἔχοντες σύμβολον ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἢπερ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀγώσιν εἴθισται, οὔτε ἡ διακεκριμένου 15 ἐν τάξει. τοὺς γὰρ σκευοφόρους οἱ στρατιωταὶ ἀναμιγνύμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀρπαγὴν ἑτοι- 16 μοτάτην ἱόντες χρημάτων μεγάλων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἁγγ. γλῶν ἄχοι ἐγένοντο, πέμπουσι κατασκόπους, οἵ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπανιόντες ἀπήγγελλον τὴν τῶν τολε- 16 μίων παράταξιν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῷ ἀπροσδοκή- τῳ καταπλαγέντες ἀναστρέφειν μὲν ξύιν στρατῷ τοσοῦτος τὸ πλῆθος αἰσχρὸν τε καὶ ἀναδροῦν ὅλως ὄντο τίνι πέπελε καὶ τάξαντες δὲ ὅσι ἡ τῶν παρόν- των εἰς τὰ τρία τέλη τὸ στράτευμα εὐθὺ τῶν 17 πολεμίων ἔχοντον. Πέτρος μὲν οὖν κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν εἶχε, Βαλεριανὸς δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέσον οἱ ἀμφί Μαρτίνου ἐτάσσοντο. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀγχιστά τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσύχαζον, τὴν τάξιν 18 σὺν ἀκοσμία φυλάσσοντες. αὐτοῖν δὲ ἦν ἡ τε δυσχωρία κρημνώδης ὑπερφυὸς οὕσα καὶ τὸ ἔξ. 1 ἄλληλον P: ἄλλοις VG. 2 ἀτακτοὶ GP: ἀκόσμου V.

482
where in the world Nacedes was then. And he asserted that the man had retired from Anglon with the whole Median army. And when Narses heard this, he was indignant, and he heaped reproaches and abuse upon his fellow-commanders for their hesitation. And others, too, began to do the very same thing, casting insults upon one another; and from then on, giving up all thought of battle and danger, they were eager to plunder the country thereabout. The troops broke camp, accordingly, and without the guidance of generals and without observing any definite formation, they moved forward in complete confusion; for neither had they any countersign among themselves, as is customary in such perilous situations, nor were they arranged in their proper divisions. For the soldiers marched forward, mixed in with the baggage train, as if going to the ready plunder of great wealth. But when they came near to Anglon, they sent out spies who returned to them announcing the array of the enemy. And the generals were thunder-struck by the unexpectedness of it, but they considered it altogether disgraceful and unmanly to turn back with an army of such great size, and so they disposed the army in its three divisions, as well as the circumstances permitted, and advanced straight toward the enemy. Now Peter held the right wing and Valerianus the left, while Martinus and his men arrayed themselves in the centre. And when they came close to their opponents, they halted, preserving their formation, but not without disorder. The cause for this was to be found in the difficulty of the ground, which was very badly broken up, and in the fact that they
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὑπογύνοι διαταχθέντας ἐσ τὴν μάχην καθίστασθαι.
19 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐς ὀλύγον
ξυναγαγόντες ἥσυχὴ ἐμενον, περισσοποῦμενοι
τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν δύναμιν, προειρημένου αὐτοῖς
πρὸς Ναβέδου χειρῶν μὲν ὡς ἥκιστα ἄρχειν, ἢ
δὲ πη ἐπισκήψασιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν
σφίζον ἀμύνασθαι.
20 Πρῶτος δὲ Ναρσῆς ξύν τε τοῖς Ἐρούλοις καὶ
Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίωις
ήλθεν, ὡθημοῦ τε γενομένου ἐτρέψατο τοὺς κατ᾽
21 αὐτὸν Πέρσας. φεύγοντες τε οἱ βάρβαροι ἐς τὸ
φρούριον ἀνέβαινον δρόμῳ, ἔνθα δὴ ἀλλήλους
22 ἔργα ἀνήκεστα ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ εἰργάζοντο. καὶ
τὸτε Ναρσῆς τε αὐτὸς τοῖς ἠμῷ ἀυτὸν ἐγκελευ-
σάμενος πολλῷ ἑτὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς πολεμίωις ἐνέκειτο,
23 καὶ Ῥωμαίων οἱ λοιποὶ ἔργον εἰχόντο. ἔξελθόντες
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς στενωποὺς
οἰκίσκοι τις προλοχίζοντες, ὡσπερ ἐρρήθη, τῶν τε
Ἕρούλων τινὰς κτείνοντοι, ἀπροσδόκητοι ἐπιπε-
σάμενοι, καὶ Ναρσῆν κατὰ κόρρης αὐτὸν παίουσι.
24 καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰσαάκῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς καρίαν τυπέντα
ὑπεξήγαγε τῶν μαχομένων. δὴ δὴ ὀλύγῳ ὑπεραν
ἐπελεύθησεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ ποῖῳ τούτῳ
25 γενόμενος. ταραχῆς δὲ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἐνθένδε πολ-
λῆς ἐς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν ἐμπεσοῦσας, ἄπαν ὁ
Ναβέδου ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τῷ Περσῶν
26 στράτευμα. οἱ δὲ βάλλοντες ἐν τοῖς στενώποις
ἐς πολεμίων πάμπολυ πλῆθος πολλοῦς τε ἄλλους
εὑπτεῶς ἐκτείνου καὶ διαφερόντως Ἐρούλους, οἱ
ξύν τῷ Ναρσῆ ἡ πρῶτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιπεσόν-
were entering battle in a formation arranged on the spur of the moment. And up to this time the barbarians, who had gathered themselves into a small space, were remaining quiet, considering the strength of their antagonists, since the order had been given them by Nabedes not under any circumstances to begin the fighting, but if the enemy should assail them, to defend themselves with all their might.

And first Narses with the Eruli and those of the Romans who were under him, engaged with the enemy, and after a hard hand-to-hand struggle, he routed the Persians who were before him. And the barbarians in flight ascended on the run to the fortress, and in so doing they inflicted terrible injury upon one another in the narrow way. And then Narses urged his men forward and pressed still harder upon the enemy, and the rest of the Romans joined in the action. But all of a sudden the men who were in ambush, as has been said, came out from the cabins along the narrow alleys, and killed some of the Eruli, falling unexpectedly upon them, and they struck Narses himself a blow on the temple. And his brother Isaac carried him out from among the fighting men, mortally wounded. And he died shortly afterwards, having proved himself a brave man in this engagement. Then, as was to be expected, great confusion fell upon the Roman army, and Nabedes let out the whole Persian force upon his opponents. And the Persians, shooting into great masses of the enemy in the narrow alleys, killed a large number without difficulty, and particularly of the Eruli who had at the first fallen upon the enemy with Narses and were fighting for

1 Cf. section 9 above.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tes ἀφύλακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐμάχοντο. 27 οὖτε γὰρ κράνος οὔτε θώρακα οὔτε ἄλλο τι φυλακτήριον Ἐρουλοί ἔχουσιν, ὅτι μὴ ἀσπίδα καὶ τριβώνιον ἀδρόν, δὴ δὴ διεξασμένοι ἐσ τοῦ ἀγῶνα 28 καθίστανται. 1 δοῦλοι μέντοι Ἐρουλοί καὶ ἀσπίδος χωρίς ἐσ μάχην 2 χωροῦσιν, ἑπεδάν δὲ ἄνδρες ἐν πολέμῳ ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται, οὖτω δὴ ἀσπίδας αὐτοῖς ἐφίσυν οἱ δεσπόται προβάλλεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαῖς. τὰ μὲν τῶν Ἐρούλων ταύτη τῇ ἕχει. 29 Ὡρμαίοι δὲ οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες τοὺς πολέμιους ἀνά κράτος ἄπαντες ἐφευροῦν, οὔτε ἄλλης μεμημένοι οὔτε τινὰ αἰδὸν ἥ ἄλλο τί ἐν ψυ ἁγαθῶν ἔχοντες. 30 Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὑποπτεύοντες οὐκ ἐσ φυγὴν ἀναλεχμοῦντον οὔτω τετράφθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνέδρας τοῖς ἐσ αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι, ἄχρι ἐσ τὰς δυσχωρίας διώκοντες εἶτα ἀνέστρεφον, οὐ τολμῶντες ἐν τῇ 31 ὀμαλῇ ὕλῃ πρὸς πολλοὺς διαμάχεσθαι. Ὡρμαίοι μέντοι, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες, διωξὶν ἐπὶ σφάσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς πολέμιους οἴμονες ἐφευροῦν ἐτί μᾶλλον, οὐδένα ἀνέντες καρόν, θέουσι μὲν τοῖς ὴπποις ἐγκελευόμενοι μάστιγι καὶ κραυγῇ, τοὺς δὲ θώρακας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὀπλα ῥεπτοῦντες σπούδῃ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἐσ. 32 ἔδαφος. οὖ γὰρ ἀντιτάξασθαι καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐθάρσουν Πέρσαις, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνοις τοῖς τῶν ὴππων ποι λάς τῆς σωτηρίας ἑλπίδας εἰχον καὶ, τὸ ἕν παν εἰπτεῖν, τοιάτῳ γέγονεν ἡ φυγή ὡστε τῶν ὴππων σχεδὸν τὰ αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς διεβίω, ἀλλ' ἤνικα τοῦ δρόμου ἐπαύσαντο, πεσόντες εὐθὺς 33 διεφθάρησαν. καὶ πάθος τούτῳ μέγα Ὡρμαίοις

1 καθίστανται G: καθίσταντο VP.
2 μάχην VP: τον ἀγώνα G.

486
the most part without protection. For the Eruli have neither helmet nor corselet nor any other protective armour, except a shield and a thick jacket, which they gird about them before they enter a struggle. And indeed the Erulian slaves go into battle without even a shield, and when they prove themselves brave men in war, then their masters permit them to protect themselves in battle with shields. Such is the custom of the Eruli.

And the Romans did not withstand the enemy and all of them fled as fast as they could, never once thinking of resistance and heedless of shame or of any other worthy motive. But the Persians, suspecting that they had not turned thus to a shameless flight, but that they were making use of some ambuscades against them, pursued them as far as the rough ground extended and then turned back, not daring to fight a decisive battle on level ground, a few against many. The Romans, however, and especially all the generals, supposing that the enemy were continuing the pursuit without pause, kept fleeing still faster, wasting not a moment; and they were urging on their horses as they ran with whip and voice, and throwing their corselets and other accoutrements in haste and confusion to the ground. For they had not the courage to array themselves against the Persians if they overtook them, but they placed all hope of safety in their horses' feet, and, in short, the flight became such that scarcely any one of their horses survived, but when they stopped running, they straightway fell down and expired. And this proved a disaster for the Romans
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οἶνον ὦποτε πρότερον γέγονεν. πολλοὶ τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔθανον καὶ πλείους ἔτι ὕπο τοὺς πολεμίους 34 ἐγένοντο. ὕπαλα τε αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὑπο- ζύγια ἔλαβον τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος, ὅστε πλουσιώ- τερα δοκεῖν ἐκ τούτου γενέσθαι τοῦ ἔργου τὰ 35 Περσῶν πράγματα. Ἀδόλιος δὲ διὰ φρονίμου ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὑπαγωγῇ παρὰ ἐν Περσαρμενίοις κειμένοι λίθῳ τε τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τοῦ τῶν ταύτῃ φιλημένων πληγεῖς αὐτοῦ διεφθάρη, οὗ τε ἄμφι τῶν Ἰουστόν καὶ Περάνου ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Ταραύνων χωρία καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα λησάμενοι εὐθὺς ἐπανήλθον.

XXVI

1 Τῷ δὲ ἐπηυμομένῳ ἦτεν Χοσρόης ὁ Καβάδου τὸ τέταρτον ἦς γὰρ τὴν Ἐρμαίων ἐσέβαλλεν, ἐπὶ τὴν 2 Μεσοποταμίαν τὸ στράτευμα ἄγων. αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ ἐσβολὴ τῷ Χοσρόῃ τούτῳ οὐ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανὸν τῶν Ἐρμαίων βασιλέα πεποίηται, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ότι μὴ ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν 3 ὀνετέρ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται μόνον. ἐπειδή ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐφόδῳ Ἑδέσσης ἀποτυχοῦν ἀνεχώρησε, πολλὴ τις ἐγεγόνει αὐτῷ τε καὶ μάγοις, ἀτε πρὸς τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἰσομείνοις, κατήφεια. 4 ἦν δὲ παρηγορῶν ὁ Χοσρόης ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Ἑδέσσηνοι μὲν ἀνδραποδιεῖν ἠπείλησεν ἀπαντᾷ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθη, τὴν δὲ πόλιν μηλόβοτον 5 καταστήσεσθαι. παντὶ γοῦν τῷ στρατῷ ἄγχοι

488
so great as to exceed anything that had ever befallen them previously. For great numbers of them perished and still more fell into the hands of the enemy. And their weapons and draught animals which were taken by the enemy amounted to such an imposing number that Persia seemed as a result of this affair to have become richer. And Adolius, while passing through a fortified place during this retreat—it was situated in Persarmenia—was struck on the head by a stone thrown by one of the inhabitants of the town, and died there. As for the forces of Justus and Peranius, they invaded the country about Taraunon, and after gathering some little plunder, immediately returned.

XXVI

And in the following year, Chosroes, the son of Cabades, for the fourth time invaded the land of the Romans, leading his army towards Mesopotamia. Now this invasion was made by this Chosroes not against Justinian, the Emperor of the Romans, nor indeed against any other man, but only against the God whom the Christians reverence. For when in the first invasion he retired, after failing to capture Edessa,¹ both he and the Magi, since they had been worsted by the God of the Christians, fell into a great dejection. Wherefore Chosroes, seeking to allay it, uttered a threat in the palace that he would make slaves of all the inhabitants of Edessa and bring them to the land of Persia, and would turn the city into a pasture for sheep. Accordingly when he had approached the

¹ Cf. Book II. xii. 31-34.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

'Εδέσσης γενόμενος, Οὐννων τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως περίβολον ἐπεμψεν δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱπποδρόμου καθύπερθεν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲν κακουργήσουτας, πρόβατα δὲ ἀρπασομένους ἀπερ οἱ ποιμένες πολλὰ ἐνταῦθα τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχισμα στήσαντες ἔτυχον, χωρίον τε ἰσχύι θαρσοῦντες, ὅτι δὴ ἄναντες ὑπερφυῶς ἦν, καὶ οὕποτε τολμήσειν τοὺς πολέμους οἰόμενοι οὕτω
6 τῇ ἀγχιστᾶ τοῦ τείχους ἴέναι. οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι τῶν προβάτων ἡπτομότα ἦδη, οἱ δὲ ποιμένες
7 καρτερώτατα [ἀμυνόμενοι] διεκώλυσαν. Περσῶν τε τῶν Οὐννων ἐπιβεβηθηκότων 1 πολλῶν, ἀγέλην μὲν ἐνθένδε ἀφελέσθαι τινὰ οἱ βάρβαροι ἵσχυσαν, Ὁρμαίων δὲ στρατιωτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπεξελθόντων τοῖς πολέμοις, ἡ μὲν μάχῃ ἐκ χειρὸς γέγονεν, ἡ δὲ ἀγέλη αὐτόματος ἐς τοὺς
8 ποιμένας ἐπανήκεν αὐθικ. τῶν τέ τοῖς Οὐννων πρὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν μαχόμενος μᾶλιστα πάντων ἦνώχλει
9 Ὁρμαίων. καὶ τις αὐτὸν ἀγροίκος ἐς γόνυ τὸ
10 δεξιὸν σφενδόνη ἐπιτυχών βάλλει, ὁ δὲ πρυμνή
11 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἐς τὸ ἐδαφὸς εὐθὺς ἐπεσεν, δὴ Ὁρμαίων ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπέρρωσεν. ἦ τε μάχη
12 τὸ τοῦ Χοσρόης εἰτε τινὰ ὄψιν ὑνείρου εἴδεν ἢ

1 ἐπιβεβηθηκότων ΒΡ.: ἐπιβεβηθηκότων Μ.

490
city of Edessa with his whole army, he sent some of the Huns who were following him against that portion of the fortifications of the city which is above the hippodrome, with the purpose of doing no further injury than seizing the flocks which the shepherds had stationed there along the wall in great numbers: for they were confident in the strength of the place, since it was exceedingly steep, and supposed that the enemy would never dare to come so very close to the wall. So the barbarians were already laying hold of the sheep, and the shepherds were trying most valiantly to prevent them. And when a great number of Persians had come to the assistance of the Huns, the barbarians succeeded in detaching something of a flock from there, but Roman soldiers and some of the populace made a sally upon the enemy and the battle became a hand-to-hand struggle; meanwhile the flock of its own accord returned again to the shepherds. Now one of the Huns who was fighting before the others was making more trouble for the Romans than all the rest. And some rustic made a good shot and hit him on the right knee with a sling, and he immediately fell headlong from his horse to the ground, which thing heartened the Romans still more. And the battle which had begun early in the morning ended at midday, and both sides withdrew from the engagement thinking that they had the advantage. So the Romans went inside the fortifications, while the barbarians pitched their tents and made camp in a body about seven stades from the city.

Then Chosroes either saw some vision or else the thought occurred to him that if, after making two
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

dunatos eis "Εδεσσαν εξελεῖν, πολλήν οἱ αἰσχύνην
tinà periβαλέσθαι εξομβήσεται. ónd dé polloi
χρημάτων ἀποδόσθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν Ἑδεσ-
sēnouīs ēγνω. tē gōnēn ἐπιγυνομένη ἡμέρα Παύλος
ἐρμηνεύσ ρα τὸ τεῖχος ἥκων ἔφασκε Ῥωμαίοις
χρήμαι παρὰ Χοσρόην σταλήσαι τῶν δοκίμων
tinás. oí de kata tāchos tēssarar apoleξάμενοι
15 tōn ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφανῶν ἔπεμψαν. óls dé
ēs to Mēdōn ἄφικομένοις στρατόπεδον ἐντυχών
gnōmē basileōs o Zabergάνηs ἀπειλάισ τε πολ-
laís dediξάμενος ἀνεπυθάνετο αὐτῶν ὀπότερα
σφίσιν αἱρετότερα τυγχάνει ὃντα, πότερον τὰ ἐς
17 tην εἰρήνην, ἢ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἄγοντα. τῶν δὲ
tην εἰρήνην ἔλεσθαι ἄν πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων ὁμο-
λογούντων, "Οὐκοῦν, ἡφή o Zabergάνηs, "ἀνεῖ-
σθαι ύμᾶς ταύτην ἀνάγκη χρημάτων πολλῶν."
18 oí te prèσβεις ἔφασαν τοσαῦτα δώσειν ὅσα
parēsgonta πρότερον, ἤνικα tην άντιόχειαν
19 ἐξελῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἠλθε. καὶ o Zabergάνηs
αὐτοὺς ἠν γέλωτι ἀπεπεμψατο, ἐφ’ ὧν ἐνδελεχέ-
stata βουλευσάμενοι ἀμφί τῇ σωτηρίᾳ οὕτω δὴ
20 αὐτὶς παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἐλθῶσιν. ὅλιγος τε ύστερον
metapeμψάμενοι αὐτοὺς o Χοσρόης, ἐπειδὴ παρ’
αὐτὸν ἰκοντο, κατελεξε μὲν ὅσα τε πρότερον καὶ
αὕτω τρόπον ἐξηνδραπόδισε Ῥωμαίοι χωρία,
ḫteîlhe se dé tα δεινότερα 'Εδεσσηνοῖς πρὸς Περ-
σῶν ἔσεσθαι, eî μὴ πάντα σφίσι τα χρήματα
doîn Ósa tοu περιβόλου ἐντός ἔχουσιν οὕτω γὰρ
μόνως ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῶν στρατοῦ
21 ἔφασκε. τάντα oί prèσβεις ἀκούσαντες ὁμο-
attempts, he should not be able to capture Edessa, he would thereby cover himself with much disgrace. Accordingly he decided to sell his withdrawal to the citizens of Edessa for a great sum of money. On the following day, therefore, Paulus the interpreter came along by the wall and said that some of the Roman notables should be sent to Chosroes. And they with all speed chose out four of their illustrious men and sent them. When these men reached the Median camp, they were met according to the king's order by Zaberganes, who first terrified them with many threats and then enquired of them which course was the more desirable for them, whether that leading to peace, or that leading to war. And when the envoys agreed that they would choose peace rather than the dangers of war, Zaberganes replied: "Therefore it is necessary for you to purchase this for a great sum of money." And the envoys said that they would give as much as they had provided before, when he came against them after capturing Antioch. And Zaberganes dismissed them with laughter, telling them to deliberate most carefully concerning their safety and then to come again to the Persians. And a little later Chosroes summoned them, and when they came before him, he recounted how many Roman towns he had previously enslaved and in what manner he had accomplished it; then he threatened that the inhabitants of Edessa would receive more direful treatment at the hands of the Persians, unless they should give them all the wealth which they had inside the fortifications; for only on this condition, he said, would the army depart. When the envoys heard this, they agreed
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

λόγουν μὲν παρὰ Χοσρόου τὴν εἰρήμην ὄνησεσθαι, ἢν γε σφίσι μὴ τὰ ἀδύνατα ἐπαγγέλειν. τοῦ δὲ κινδύνου τὸ πέρας οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἔφασαν πρὸ τῆς ἀγωνίας ἐνδήλου εἰναι. πόλεμον γὰρ τοῖς αὐτῶν διαφέρονσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀμολογομένοις οὐ μὴ ποτε εἰναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ἔξω ὄργη ὁ Χοσρόης τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔκελευεν ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.

23 Ἡμέρα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς προσεδρείας ὄνδοι λόφον ἐπαναστήσατο χειροποίητον τῷ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλῳ βουλόμενος, ἐπεὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐκτεμὼν αὐτῶν φύλλοις πολλὰ ἐκ χωρίων ἐγγύς την ἄντων πρὸ τοῦ τέχους ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἔνυσθηκεν, οὐ δὴ βέλος ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξικεῖσθαι ἀδύνατα ἤν, χοῦν τε πολὺν τινὰ ἀτεχνῶς ὑπερθεν τῶν δένδρων ἀνεμοσίμενος μέγα τι χρήμα λίθων ἐπέβαλλεν, οὐκ ἐχόντων εἰς οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείως, ἀλλ’ εἰκῇ τιμηθέντων, ἐκεῖνον μόνον ἐπιμελούμενος, ὅπως δὴ

24 ὁ λόφος ὅτι τάχιστα ἐς ύψος μέγα ἐπαίροιτο. καὶ ξύλα μακρὰ τοῦ τε χοῦ καὶ τῶν λίθων μεταξὺ ἐς ἀεὶ ἐμβαλλόμενος ἐνυδέημον ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ ἔργου,

25 ὅπως μὴ ὑψηλὸν γενόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶν. Πέτρος δὲ ὁ Ρωμαίος στρατηγὸς (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἔσχα Μαρτίνῳ καὶ Περανίῳ ἐτύγχανεν ὅν) τοὺς ταύτα ἐργαζόμενους ἀναστέλλειν ἔθελων Οὐνωὶν τῶν οἱ

26 ἐπομένων τινὰς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶς ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀνείλον, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν τις δορυφόρων, Ἀργήκη

27 ὄνομα: τοῖς γὰρ ἔπτα καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐκείνε. τῶν μὲντοι βαρβάρων φυλακὴν ἀκριβὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ποιούμενον, οὐκέτι ἐπεξεῖναι τινὲς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς

28 ἔσχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες ἐντὸς βέλους οἱ τεχνίται

1 ἔσχον VP: ἔγνων G.
that they would purchase peace from Chosroes, if only he would not prescribe impossible conditions for them: but the outcome of a conflict, they said, was plainly seen by no one at all before the struggle. For there was never a war whose outcome might be taken for granted by those who waged it. Thereupon Chosroes in anger commanded the envoys to be gone with all speed.

On the eighth day of the siege he formed the design of erecting an artificial hill against the circuit wall of the city; accordingly he cut down trees in great numbers from the adjacent districts and, without removing the leaves, laid them together in a square before the wall, at a point which no missile from the city could reach; then he heaped an immense amount of earth right upon the trees and above that threw on a great quantity of stones, not such as are suitable for building, but cut at random, and only calculated to raise the hill as quickly as possible to a great height. And he kept laying on long timbers in the midst of the earth and the stones, and made them serve to bind the structure together, in order that as it became high it should not be weak. But Peter, the Roman general (for he happened to be there with Martinus and Peranius), wishing to check the men who were engaged in this work, sent some of the Huns who were under his command against them. And they, by making a sudden attack, killed a great number; and one of the guardsmen, Argek by name, surpassed all others, for he alone killed twenty-seven. From that time on, however, the barbarians kept a careful guard, and there was no further opportunity for anyone to go out against them. But when the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tou ἐργοῦ τοῦτον ἐγένοντο, καρτερώτατα ηδή ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου Ῥωμαίοι τάς τε σφενδόνας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐνήργουν. δεῦροι ὁ βάρβαροι ἐπευόουν τάδε. προκαλύμματα ἐκ τραγείων τριχῶν, ὀδὴ καλοῦσι Κιλίκια, πάχους τε καὶ μήκους διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, ἀρτῆσαν- 
tες ἐκ ξύλων μακρῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ἀεὶ τὴν ἀγεστὰν ἐργαζομένων ἐτίθεντο (οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ποιούμενον τῇ
30 Λατίνων φωνῇ ἐκάλουν Ῥωμαίοι). ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐ-
te πυρφόροι οίστοι οὔτε τὰ ἀλλὰ βέλη ἐξικνεῖσθαι εἰχοῦν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν προκαλυμμάτων ἀπο-
31 κρουόμενα ξύμπαντα ἐμενε. καὶ τότε Ῥωμαίοι ἐς 

32 αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. δεῦροι, ἐπεὶ παρὰ Χοσρόην ἔμερον 

33 αὐτὸς ἄλλοις ἐγένετο, ἐλεέζειν δὲ, "Βασιλέως τὴν 

34 λαοῦ νεομίκασιν. οὐκοῦν, ὃ κράτιστο βασιλεύει, 

35 τοὐχεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸ εἶναι δοκεῖν οὐ 

1 παρέσται Hoeschel: παραστάναι V, παρεστάναι GP.

496
artisans engaged in this work, as they moved forward, came within range of missiles, then the Romans offered a most vigorous resistance from the city wall, using both their slings and their bows against them. Wherefore the barbarians devised the following plan. They provided screens of goat’s hair cloth, of the kind which are called Cilician, making them of adequate thickness and height, and attached them to long pieces of wood which they always set before those who were working on the “agesta”¹ (for thus the Romans used to call in the Latin tongue the thing which they were making). Behind this neither ignited arrows nor any other weapon could reach the workmen, but all of them were thrown back by the screens and stopped there. And then the Romans, falling into a great fear, sent the envoys to Chosroes in great trepidation, and with them Stephanus, a physician of marked learning among those of his time at any rate, who also had once cured Cabades, the son of Perozes, when ill, and had been made master of great wealth by him. He, therefore, coming into the presence of Chosroes with the others, spoke as follows: “It has been agreed by all from of old that kindness is the mark of a good king. Therefore, most mighty King, while busying thyself with murders and battles and the enslavement of cities it will perhaps be possible for thee to win the other names, but thou wilt never by any means have the reputation of being “good.” And yet least of all cities should Edessa suffer any adversity at thy hand. For there was I born, who, without any foreknowledge of what was coming to pass, fostered thee from childhood and counselled

¹ Latin agger, “mound.”
πατρὶ τῷ σῷ ξύμβουλος γεγονός, ἐφ᾽ ὦ σε τῆς ἀρχῆς διάδοχον καταστήσεται, σοι μὲν τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας αἰτιώτατος γέγονα, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. οἱ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπί πλεῖ-37 στοι τῶν ξυμβησυμένων προστίθωμαι. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τις σε τῆς τοιαύτης εὐεργεσίας εἰσέρχεται μνήμη, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἐργάσας περαιτέρω κακῶν, ταύτην δι-38 δοὺς μοι τὴν ἀμοιβὴν, εἴ ἦσα σοι, ὁ βασιλέως, τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ὁμοτάτῳ εἶναι ξυμβῆσεται.” Στέφανος
39 μὲν τοσαύτα εἶπε. Χοσρόης δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλ-38 λαγήσεσθαι ὡμολόγησεν ἐνθένδε, εἰ μὴ Πέτρον τε καὶ Περάνων αὐτῷ παραδοίην Ῥωμαίου, ὅτι δὴ οἱ, δούλοι γε οὔτε Πατρίνοι, τετολμήσασιν ἀντιτά-
40 ξασθαι. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν μὴ δρᾶν Ῥωμαίους ἐν ἡδονῇ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ δυὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπάναγκες ἐλέσθαι τὸ ἐστον, ἢ πεντακόσια κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ σφίσι διδόναι, ἢ δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν οἱ ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς, οἱ τὰ χρήματα διερευνήσαμενοι ἀπαντά τῶν μὲν χρυσῶν τε καὶ ἀργυρῶν, δόσον δὴ ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, κοιμώμενες ἐς αὐτὸν ἤξουσι, τάλλα δὲ τοὺς κυρίους ἐάσονται ἐχεῖν. ταύτα μὲν ὁ Χοσρόης ὑπέρριψεν, ἢ Εδεσσαν ἐξελεῖν πόνῳ οὐδὲν ἐπίδα ἐχων. οἱ δὲ πρεσβεῖς (ἀπαντὰ γὰρ σφίσιν ἀδύνατα ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι δοσα ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλε) διαποροῦμενοι τε καὶ λαν ἀσχάλλωτες
41 ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐβαδίζουν. ἐστεὶ τε ἐντὸς τοῦ περι-
βόλου γενόμενοι τὰ παρὰ Χοσρόου ἀπήγγελλον, θορύβου τε καὶ θρήνων ἡ πόλις ἐμπλεσως ἐγένετο. Χοσρόης δὲ οὐν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπὶ τε ύψος ήρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδη πολλῇ ἐπὶ προσθεν ήει.
42 Ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ λόφου κατασκευὴ ἐπὶ τε ύψος ήρετο μέγα καὶ σπουδη πολλῇ ἐπὶ προσθεν ήει.

1 γε οὔτε ΒΓΡ: γεγονότες ἦ.
thy father to appoint thee his successor in the kingdom, so that to thee I have proved the chief cause of the kingship of Persia, but to my fatherland of her present woes. For men, as a general thing, bring down upon their own heads the most of the misfortunes which are going to befall them. But if any remembrance of such benefaction comes to thy mind, do us no further injury, and grant me this requital, by which, O King, thou wilt escape the reputation of being most cruel." Such were the words of Stephanus. But Chosroes declared that he would not depart from there until the Romans should deliver to him Peter and Peranius, seeing that, being his hereditary slaves, they had dared to array themselves against him. And if it was not their pleasure to do this, the Romans must choose one of two alternatives, either to give the Persians five hundred centenaria of gold, or to receive into the city some of his associates who would search out all the money, both gold and silver, as much as was there, and bring it to him, allowing everything else to remain in the possession of the present owners. Such then were the words which Chosroes hurled forth, being in hopes of capturing Edessa with no trouble. And the ambassadors (since all the conditions which he had announced to them seemed impossible), in despair and great vexation, proceeded to the city. And when they had come inside the city-wall, they reported the message from Chosroes, and the whole city was filled with tumult and lamentation.

Now the artificial hill was rising to a great height and was being pushed forward with much haste.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

'Ρωμαίοι δὲ οὖκ ἔχοντες ὅ τι καὶ δράσουσι,1 πάλιν 43 τοὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἀπέστελλον. οὐπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τῶν πολεμῶν στρατοπέδῳ ἐγένοντο, περὶ τοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν δεσπόμενοι ἐφασκον ἥκειν, λόγον μὲν οὐδ' ὀπωσδιοῦν πρὸς Περσῶν ἔτυχον, ὑβρεὶ δὲ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ ἐνθενδε ἐξελαυνόμενοι 44 ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἔχορουν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα ἮΡω- μαίοι τὸ κατὰ τὸν λόφου τεῖχος ἐτέρα ἐνεχεῖρουν οἰκοδομία τινὶ ύπερβαλέσθαι· ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτης τὸ Περσῶν ἔργον πολλῷ καθυπέρτερον ἐγίνετο ἡδη, τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας ἀπέστησαν, Μαρτίνου δὲ πείθουσι τὰ ἀμφί τῇ ξυμβάσει τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτι βούλοιτο διοικήσασθαι. καὶ δὲ ἀγχιστα τοῦ τῶν πολεμῶν στρατοπέδου γενόμενος τῶν τισιν ἐν 45 Πέρσαις ἀρχόντων ἐς λόγους ἠλθεν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Μαρτίνου ἐξαπατώντες εἰρηναία μὲν σφῶν τῶν βασιλέα βούλεσθαι ἐφασαν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς ἢκιστα οἷν τε εἶναι τῶν ἮΡωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα πείθειν τῆς πρὸς Χοσρόην φιλονεκρίας ἀφέμενον τὴν 46 εἰρήνην ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν θήσεσθαι ἐπεὶ καὶ Βελσάριον, ὑπερ τῇ τε δυνάμει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι πολὺ Μαρτίνου προὔχειν οὐδ' ἀν αὐτὸς ἀντείποι, πεῖσαι μὲν ἔναγχος τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅντα δὴ που ἐν μέσοις ἮΡωμαίων, ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλάσσασθαι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἡθη, ὑποσχόμενον πρέσβεις τε παρ' αὐτῶν οὖκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐκ Βυζαντίων ἀφίξεσθαι καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐν τῷ βεβαιῶ κρατύνα- σθαι, πρᾶξαι δὲ τῶν ὁμολογημένων οὐδέν, ἀδύνατον γεγονότα τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως βιάσασθαι γνώμην.

1 δράσουσι VGP: δράσωσιν Η.
And the Romans, being at a loss what to do, again sent off the envoys to Chosroes. And when they had arrived in the enemy’s camp, and said that they had come to make entreaty concerning the same things, they did not even gain a hearing of any kind from the Persians, but they were insulted and driven out from there with a great tumult, and so returned to the city. At first, then, the Romans tried to over-top the wall opposite the hill by means of another structure. But since the Persian work was already rising far above even this, they stopped their building and persuaded Martinus to make the arrangements for a settlement in whatever way he wished. He then came up close to the enemy’s camp and began to converse with some of the Persian commanders. But they, completely deceiving Martinus, said that their king was desirous of peace, but that he was utterly unable to persuade the Roman Emperor to have done with his strife with Chosroes and to establish peace with him at last. And they mentioned as evidence of this the fact that Belisarius, who in power and dignity was far superior to Martinus, as even he himself would not deny, had recently persuaded the king of the Persians, when he was in the midst of Roman territory, to withdraw from there into Persia, promising that envoys from Byzantium would come to him at no distant time and establish peace securely, but that he had done none of the things agreed upon, since he had found himself unable to overcome the determination of the Emperor Justinian.
XXVII

1 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ρωμαιοῖ έποίουν τοιάδε. διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔνερθεν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ χώραμας ἐργασάμενοι ἐκέλευον τούς ὄρυσοντας μὴ μεθίεθαι τοῦ ἐργοῦ τούτου, ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν λόφων γένονται μέσον. ταύτη γὰρ καύσαι τὸ

2 χῶμα τούτῳ διενοθύτο. προιούσης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος κατὰ τὸν λόφον μάλιστα μέσον πάταγος τῆς ἐς τῶν Περσῶν τοῦ ὑπερθεν ἐστώτας ἤλθεν, αἰσθόμενοι τε τοῦ ποιομένου καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ μέσου ὄρυσον, ὡς λάβοιεν τοὺς ἐκείνη κακουργοῦντας Ἰω-

4 μαίους. δὴ γνώντες Ρωμαιοὶ τούτου μὲν ἄπεσχοντο, χοῦν ἐπὶ τὸν κενωθέντα χώρον ἕπιβαλόντες, ἐκ δὲ ἀκρου χώματος κάτωθεν, ὁ πρὸς τῷ τέιχει ἐτύγχανεν ὁ, ξύλα τε καὶ λίθους καὶ χοῦν ἑκφορήσαντες καθάπερ οἰκίσκον σχήμα εἰργάσαντο, πρέμνα τε δένδρων τῶν ῥάστα καιομένων ξηρὰ ἑνταῦθα ἐσέβαλλον, ἐλαῖφ τε καταβεβρεγμένα τῷ ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένῳ καὶ 

5 θείῳ τε καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ πολλῇ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐν παρασκευῇ εἴχον, οἱ δὲ Περσῶν ἄρχοντες πολλάκις ἐντυχόντες Μαρτίνῳ τοιῶντα μὲν οἶᾳ πέρ μοι εἰρήσθησαν, δόκησιν παρεχόμενοι ὡς τοὺς ἰμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐνδεξόντας λόγους. ἵπτυ, δὲ ὁ λόφος αὐτοὺς ἐτετέλεστο ἦδη, καὶ πλησιάζων μὲν τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὕψει δὲ

1 χώρον VP: τόπον G.
XXVII

In the meantime the Romans were busying themselves as follows: They made a tunnel from the city underneath the enemy's embankment, commanding the diggers not to leave this work until they should get under the middle of the hill. By this means they were planning to burn the embankment. But as the tunnel advanced to about the middle of the hill, a sound of blows, as it were, came to the ears of those Persians who were standing above. And perceiving what was being done, they too began from above and dug on both sides of the middle, so that they might catch the Romans who were doing the damage there. But the Romans found it out and abandoned this attempt, throwing earth into the place which had been hollowed out, and then began to work on the lower part of the embankment at the end which was next to the wall, and by taking out timbers and stones and earth they made an open space just like a chamber; then they threw in there dry trunks of trees of the kind which burn most easily, and saturated them with oil of cedar and added quantities of sulphur and bitumen. So, then, they were keeping these things in readiness; and meanwhile the Persian commanders in frequent meetings with Martinus were carrying on conversations with him in the same strain as the one I have mentioned, making it appear that they would receive proposals in regard to peace. But when at last their hill had been completed, and had been raised to a great elevation, approaching the circuit-wall of the city and

503
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

αὐτὸν πολλῷ ὑπεραιρὼν ἐπὶ μέγα ἐπήρτο, Μαρτίωνοι μὲν ἀπεπέμψαντο διαρρήξην ἀπεπὶ-
πόντες τὴν ξύμβασιν, ἔργου δὲ ἔχεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμελλον.

7 Διὸ δὴ Ἡρωμαῖοι τῶν δένδρων τὰ πρέμνα εὐθὺς ἔκαυσαν ἀπέρ ἐς τοῦτο ἡτοίμαστο. τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἐμὸραν μὲν τοῦ χόρματος τῶν καύσαντος, οὐπώ δὲ διὰ παντὸς ἐξουκνεῖσθαι ἰσχύσαντος, τὰ ξύλα δεδαπανήσθαι πάντα ἐτυχεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν διώρυχα ξύλα ἔτερα, οὐδένα ἀνέιντες

8 καιρὸν. ἦδη δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαν ἐνεργοῦντος τὸ χῶμα, καπνὸς τις ὑπερθεν πανταχῇ τοῦ λόφου ἐφαίνετο νύκτωρ, Ἡρωμαῖοι τε οὐπώ ἔθελοντες αἰσθήσιν τοῦ ποιομένου Πέρσας παρέχειν

9 ἐπενώσαν τάδε. ἀνθράκων τε καὶ πυρὸς ἀγγεία μικρὰ ἐμπλησάμενοι, ταῦτα τε καὶ πυρφοροὺς οἰστοὺς τοῦ χόρματος πανταχόστε συχνὰ ἐπεμπον· ὅ δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι, ὁσοὶ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα εἶχον, ἔξω πάση σπουδὴ περιμόντες ἐσβέννοιν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

10 φύεσθαι τῶν καπνὸν φῶντο. τροίοντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ πλήθει μὲν πολλῷ ἐβοήθουν οἱ βαρβαροὶ, βάλλοντες δὲ αὐτοὺς. ἀπὸ τοῦ περι-

11 βόλου Ἡρωμαῖοι πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν. οὐ δὴ καὶ Χοσρόης ἀμφὶ ἡλίον ἀνατολᾶς ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ εἶπεν, ἐς τὸν λόφον ἀναβὰς πρῶτος ἔλαβε τοῦ κακοῦ αἰσθήσιν.

12 ἐνερθεὶς γὰρ ἀπεφήνατο τοῦ καπνοῦ τὸ αἰτίον εἶναι, οὐκ ἂν ἤν ἐσηκονίζοιν οἱ πολέμιοι, βοηθεῖν

13 τε κατὰ τάχος ἔκελευτο τὸ στρατεύμα ὅλον. καὶ Ἡρωμαῖοι θαρσούντες ἐς αὐτοὺς ὑβρίζοι, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν τινες χοῦν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑδρ ἐπι-
rising far above it in height, then they sent Martinus away, definitely refusing to arrange the treaty, and they intended from then on to devote themselves to active warfare.

Accordingly the Romans straightway set fire to the tree-trunks which had been prepared for this purpose. But when the fire had burned only a certain portion of the embankment, and had not yet been able to penetrate through the whole mass, the wood was already entirely exhausted. But they kept throwing fresh wood into the pit, not slackening their efforts for a moment. And when the fire was already active throughout the whole embankment, some smoke appeared at night rising from every part of the hill, and the Romans, who were not yet willing to let the Persians know what was being done, resorted to the following device: They filled small pots with coals and fire and threw these and also ignited arrows in great numbers to all parts of the embankment. And the Persians who were keeping guard there, began to go about in great haste and extinguish these, and they supposed that the smoke arose from them. But since the trouble increased, the barbarians rushed up to help in great numbers, and the Romans, shooting them from the wall, killed many. And Chosroes too came there about sunrise, followed by the greater part of the army, and, upon mounting the hill, he first perceived what the trouble was. For he disclosed the fact that the cause of the smoke was underneath, not in the missiles which the enemy were hurling, and he ordered the whole army to come to the rescue with all speed. And the Romans, taking courage, began to insult them, while the barbarians were at work,
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

βάλλοντες ἢ ὁ καπνὸς διεφαίνετο, περιέσεσθαι τοῦ δεινοῦ ἠλπιζόν, ἀνύειν 1 μέντοι οὐδὲν οὔδαμην εἶχον. ἦ τε γὰρ ὁ χοῦς ἐπιβληθεῖη, ταύτη μὲν ὁ καπνὸς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀνεστέλλετο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀνεδίδοτο, αὐτὸν τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἔξοδον ὅπη δύνατο ἀναγκάζοντος· τὸ τε ὑδρῷ ἐν μάλιστα ἐπισκήψεις, πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον τὴν τε ἀσφαλτῷ καὶ τὸ θείον ἐνεργεῖν ἵσχυεν ἐπὶ τε τὴν ἐν ποσὶν ὤλην ἀκμάζειν ἐποίει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσω ἀεὶ ἐνήγευ, ἐπεὶ τοῦ χώματος ἐντὸς οὐδαμῆς τοσοῦτον ἐξικνεῖσθαι τοῦ ὑδατος εἴχεν ὃσον τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι κατασβέσαι 2

15 τὴν φλόγα οὖν τε εἶναι. ὁ δὲ καπνὸς ἀμφὶ δείλην ὄψιν τοσοῦτον ἐγίνετο ὅστε καὶ τῶν Καρρηνῶν καὶ ἄλλους τισὶ πολλῷ ἐπέκεινα φικημένοις ἐνδήλος εἶναι. Περσῶν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν ὑπέρθεν ἀναβεβηκότων τοῦ χώματος, μάχης τε καὶ ὀνεισμοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἐνυστάντως, ἐνίκων Ῥω- 17 μαίου. τότε καὶ ἡ φλὸξ λαμπρῶς ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὲρ τὸ χῶμα εφαίνετο. Πέρσαι δὲ τοῦ μὲν ἔργον τοῦτον ἀπέσχοντο.

18 "Εκτη δὲ ἄπτο ταύτης ἡμέρας, ὄρθων βαθέως, μοίρα τινὶ τοῦ περιβόλου λάθρα ἐπέσκηψαν κλώμακας ἔχοντες, οὐ δὴ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνύμα- 19 σταί. τῶν δὲ φυλακὴν ἐνταῦθα ἔχοντων Ῥωμαίων πράον τινα καθευδόντων ὕπνου, ἀτε τῆς νυκτὸς πρὸς πέρας ἱούσης, ἤσυχῆς τὰς κλώμακας 20 τῷ τείχει ἐρείπαντες ἀνέβαινον ἥδη. τῶν δὲ

1 ἀνύειν Maltretus: ἀνύει MSS.
2 κατασβέσαι Haury: καταστάσαι V, καταστάσαι Dindorf.

506
some throwing on earth, and others water, where the smoke appeared, hoping thus to get the better of the trouble; however, they were absolutely unable to accomplish anything. For where the earth was thrown on, the smoke, as was natural, was checked at that place, but not long afterwards it rose from another place, since the fire compelled it to force its way out wherever it could. And where the water fell most plentifully it only succeeded in making the bitumen and the sulphur much more active, and caused them to exert their full force upon the wood near by; and it constantly drove the fire forward, since the water could not penetrate inside the embankment in a quantity at all sufficient to extinguish the flame by its abundance. And in the late afternoon the smoke became so great in volume that it was visible to the inhabitants of Carrhae and to some others who dwelt far beyond them. And since a great number of Persians and of Romans had gone up on top of the embankment, a fight took place and a hand-to-hand struggle to drive each other off, and the Romans were victorious. Then even the flames rose and appeared clearly above the embankment, and the Persians abandoned this undertaking.

On the sixth day after this, at early dawn, they made an assault secretly upon a certain part of the circuit-wall with ladders, at the point which is called the Fort. And since the Romans who were keeping guard there were sleeping a quiet, peaceful sleep, as the night was drawing to its close, they silently set the ladders against the wall and were already ascending. But one of the rustics alone among the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tis ágroukwn mónos éghrygorós en 'Rwmaíous ápasiai étyuchen, deí de éyn boû te kai thorúbiv polłò
21 ápantas ἥγερε. kai máçheis karterás geunoménhs ἠσσῶνται Πέρσαι, ès te to stratópedon ἀνεχώρη-
san, autou lipónites tás klámakas, åster per kat
22 èxousian 'Rwmaíoi ánveíkoun. Xosrónhs dé åmfilì
hèmeran méshn polllh tina toú stratou möira
ëpi tìn megálh kolouménhn púllh òs teich-
23 maçhónntas èpemhén. òis dé 'Rwmaíoi upantía-
santes ou stratòtwtai mónoun, allà kai ágroukoi
kai tou diómou tinès kai máçhe nikhóntas parà
24 polív touús basbárous ètrépsánto. èstì te Peršón
diakouménwn Paúlou èrphnèn parà Xosróou hèkos
ès méson 'Rwmaíous ápphγghelhe Rekivárion èpì
tî eirhínè ék Vusántíou hèkein, ouòw te åmphóteroi
25 dielmósan. ʰìdh dé tisì proteron hèmeraí ò
'Rekivárion ès to tòn basbárou stratópedon
26 áfíkto. allà touto ès 'Rwmaíous òis hèkistra
èxhnedikan Pérsai, karadokouúntes ðhlonóti tìn
ès to teichos èptiboulh, òpous, hèn nen autò èxelèiv
ðúswntai, mìdàmì ès tás stonðas paranoimèn
ðóswn, ðhôsthèntes dé, òper éghneta, tà ès tìn
èxilbasw, 'Rwmaíon prokaloumènov pròs autàs,
27 ðhòntaì. èpeltiè 'Rekivárion èghnetai èisw púllôn,
Pérsai men èxòs tòn tìn eirhính dòukhsomw-
nous parà. Xosrónhn autíka dé màlìa ìenai, 'Ro-
maioi dé stalhéssthai prèèbes hèmèrais triòvn
ústeron èfhasan tawn gar σφίσεi kakkòs toû
sowmatos Martínoy tòn stratòghon hèkein.
28 Eínai te upotopázòw ouç ùghá tòn lògon
Xosróhs tà ès tìn parátazèn èxhrtúeto. kal
508
Romans happened to be awake, and he with a shout and a great noise began to rouse them all. And a hard struggle ensued in which the Persians were worsted, and they retired to their camp, leaving the ladders where they were; these the Romans drew up at their leisure. But Chosroes about midday sent a large part of the army against the so-called Great Gate in order to storm the wall. And the Romans went out and confronted them, not only soldiers, but even rustics and some of the populace, and they conquered the barbarians in battle decisively and turned them to flight. And while the Persians were still being pursued, Paulus, the interpreter, came from Chosroes, and going into the midst of the Romans, he reported that Rhecinarius had come from Byzantium to arrange the peace; and thus the two armies separated. Now it was already some days since Rhecinarius had arrived at the camp of the barbarians. But the Persians had by no means disclosed this fact to the Romans, plainly awaiting the outcome of the attempts upon the wall which they had planned, in order that, if they should be able to capture it, they might seem in no way to be violating the treaty, while if defeated, as actually happened, they might draw up the treaty at the invitation of the Romans. And when Rhecinarius had gone inside the gates, the Persians demanded that those who were to arrange the peace should come to Chosroes without any delay, but the Romans said that envoys would be sent three days later; for that just at the moment their general, Martinus, was unwell.

And Chosroes, suspecting that the reason was not a sound one, prepared for battle. And at that time
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tôte mēn plínthōn pámopolú tî xhrîma épì tò khōma épēbale, dūoīn 1 de ústeron ἡμέραιν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὡς τειχομακχήσων ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως 29 περιβόλου ἤλθεν. ἔν τε πύλῃ ἐκάστῃ τῶν τινῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ μέρος τί τοῦ στρατεύματος κατα- στησάμενος ἀπαν τε τῷ τείχῳ ταύτῃ περιβάλλων 30 κλίμακάς τε αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανάς προσῆγεν. ὁπι- σθεν δὲ τοὺς Σαρακηνοὺς ἀπαντας ξύν τῶν Περ- σῶν τισίν ἐταξεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ὧ τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀλησκομένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτοὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας σαγγεύσαντες 31 λάβωσι. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ τὸ στράτευμα ὁ Χοσρόης οὕτω διέταξε. τῆς δὲ μάχης πρώι ἀρξαμένης κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν τὰ Περσῶν καθυπέρ- 32 τερα ἢν. πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λίαν ὀλγούς ἐμάχοντο, ἐπεὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείστοι ἀνήκοι τε τῶν ποιομένων καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ποιμάπασαν ἤσαν. 33 προϊόντος δὲ τῆς ξυμβολῆς θορύβων τε καὶ ταρακῆς ἐμπλεὼς ἡ πόλις ἐγίνετο, καὶ ξυμπαντες ἢῇ αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ παιδαρίους ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος 34 ἀνέβαινον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ ξύν τοῖς στρατιώ- ταις καρτερῶτατα τοὺς πολεμίους ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀγροικῶν πολλοὶ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔργα 35 βαυμαστὰ ἐπεδείκυντο. παῖδες δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ξύν τοῖς γεγηρακόσι λίθους τε τοῖς μαχομένοις 36 ξυνέλεγον καὶ τάλλα ὑπούργουν. τινὲς δὲ καὶ λέβητας ἐλαίον πολλοὺς ἐμπλησάμενοι πυρί τε αὐτοῦ πανταχῇ τοῦ τείχους ἐς διαρκή θερμήναις χρόνων καὶ ξέον ὑπεράγαν τὸ ἐλαιὸν περιρ- 1 δυοῖν Maltretus: δυεῖν MSS.
he only threw a great mass of bricks upon the embankment; but two days later he came against the fortifications of the city with the whole army to storm the wall. And at every gate he stationed some of the commanders and a part of the army, encircling the whole wall in this way, and he brought up ladders and war-engines against it. And in the rear he placed all the Saracens with some of the Persians, not in order to assault the wall, but in order that, when the city was captured, they might gather in the fugitives and catch them as in a drag-net. Such, then, was the purpose of Chosroes in arranging the army in this way. And the fighting began early in the morning, and at first the Persians had the advantage. For they were in great numbers and fighting against a very small force, since the most of the Romans had not heard what was going on and were utterly unprepared. But as the conflict advanced the city became full of confusion and tumult, and the whole population, even women and little children, were going up on to the wall. Now those who were of military age together with the soldiers were repelling the enemy most vigorously, and many of the rustics made a remarkable show of valorous deeds against the barbarians. Meanwhile the women and children, and the aged also, were gathering stones for the fighters and assisting them in other ways. Some also filled numerous basins with olive-oil, and after heating them over fire a sufficient time everywhere alone the wall, they sprinkled the oil, while boiling fiercely, upon the enemy who were assailing
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ραντηρίους τισίν ἐπιχεύοντες ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς τῷ περιβόλῳ προσιόντας ἔλύσουν.

37 ἤδη μὲν οὖν ἀπεισόντες οἱ Πέρσαι τὰ ὄπλα ἐρίπτουσιν, τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν πόλον ἀντέχειν οὐκέτι ἐφάσκον ὦδοὶ τε εἶναι.

38 θυμῶ δὲ πολλῷ ὁ Χοσρόης ἐχόμενος καὶ ξίνω ἀπειλῇ ἐγκελευόμενος ἀπασίν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἐνήγει. οἱ δὲ κρανηγῇ καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ τοὺς τε πύργους καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μηχανὰς τῷ τείχῳ προσήγουν καὶ τὰς κλίμακας ἐπετίθεντο, ὡς τὴν πόλιν

40 αὐτοβοεὶ ἐξαιρήσοντες. τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων συχνὰ τε βαλλόντων καὶ παντὶ σθενεὶ ἀμυνομένων, τρέπονται μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀναχωροῦντα δὲ τὸν Χοσρόην ἔτωθαζον Ῥωμαίοι, ἐσ τειχομα-

41 χίαν παρακαλοῦντες. μόνος δὲ Ἀζαρέθης ἀμφί πύλας τὰς Σοῦνας καλομέναν ἐξὶν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐμάχετο, οὐ δὴ Τριπυργίαν καλοῦσι τὸν χάρων.

42 Τῶν δὲ ταὐτή Ῥωμαίων οὐκ ὄντων σφίσιν ἀξιω-

43 μάχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς προσβολὰς ἀπεισόντων, ἢδη τὸ ἐκτὸς τείχος, ὁ δὴ καλοῦσι προτείχισμα, πολλαχῇ διελόντες οἱ βάρβαροι ἱσχυρότατα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μεγάλου περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους ἐνέκειντο, ἐως αὐτοῖς Περάνιος ξὺν τῷ στρατιώταις πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἐδεσσηνὸς τισίν ἐπεξήλθε μάχῃ τε

1 ἔτι μᾶλλον τοὺς πολέμους Ηαργι: ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους μᾶλλον MSS.

512
the wall, using a sort of whisk for the purpose, and in this way harassed them still more. The Persians, therefore, soon gave up and began to throw down their arms, and coming before the king, said that they were no longer able to hold out in the struggle. But Chosroes, in a passion of anger, drove them all on with threats and urged them forward against the enemy. And the soldiers with much shouting and tumult brought up the towers and the other engines of war to the wall and set the ladders against it, in order to capture the city with one grand rush. But since the Romans were hurling great numbers of missiles and exerting all their strength to drive them off, the barbarians were turned back by force; and as Chosroes withdrew, the Romans taunted him, inviting him to come and storm the wall. Only Azarethes at the so-called Soinian Gate was still fighting with his men, at the place which they call Tripurgia.\(^1\) And since the Romans at this point were not a match for them, but were giving way before their assaults, already the outer wall, which they call an outwork, had been torn down by the barbarians in many places, and they were pressing most vigorously upon those who were defending themselves from the great circuit-wall; but at last Peranius with a large number of soldiers and some of the citizens went out against them and defeated them in battle and drove them off. And the assault which had begun early in the morning ended in the late afternoon, and both sides remained quiet that night, the Persians fearing for their defences and for themselves, and the Romans gathering stones and taking them to the parapets and putting everything else in

\(^1\) "Three Towers."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ός τῇ ὑπεραία μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπὶ τὸ
44 τείχος προσβάλοντος. ἡμέρα μὲν οὖν τῇ ἔπυγμη
νομένη τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν περίβολον
ήλθε, τῇ δὲ μέτ' ἐκείνην μοίρα μὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ
Χοσρόου ἐγκελεστώμενον ταῖς Βαρδαίῳ καλοῦμένας
πύλαις ἐπέσκηφεν, ὑπαντιασάντων δὲ
Ῥωμαίων αὐτοῖς ἡσσῆθησάν τε παρὰ πολὺ τῇ
μάχῃ καὶ δι' ὅλιγον ἐσ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρη-
45 σαν. καὶ τότε Παῦλος ὁ Πέρσῳ ἐμμυνεμεν παρὰ
τὸ τείχος ἰχών Μαρτίνου ἐκάλει, ἐφ' χεῖ τὰ ἐς τὴν
46 ξύμβασιν διουκήσῃται. οὕτω τε Μαρτίνου τοῖς
Πέρσων ἀρχουσιν ἐς λόγους ἐλθόντος ἐξυνέβησαν,
καὶ πέντε κεντηνάρια πρὸς τῶν Ἐδεσσηνῶν ὁ
Χοσρόης λαβὼν ἐν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁμολο-
γίαν ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μηδὲν Ῥωμαίοις περαιτέρω λυμή-
nασθαι, τά τε χαρακώματα πάντα ἐμπρήσας ἐπ'
οἴκου ἀνεχώρησε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ.

XXVIII

1 'Τότε τὸν χρόνον τούτων Ῥωμαίων τετελευτή-
κασι στρατηγοὶ δύο, Ἰουστός τε ὁ βασιλέως ἀνε-
ψιος καὶ Περάνιος ὁ Ἰβηρ, Ἰουστός μὲν νόσῳ
διαφθαρεῖς, Περανίφ δὲ συνέβη ἐν κυνηγεσίᾳ τοῦ
2 ἱπποῦ ἐκπεπτωκότι ³ διαρραγῆναι. διὸ δὴ ἀντ' αὐ-
τῶν βασιλέως ἑτέρους καταστησάμενος ἐπεμψε
Μάρκελλον τε, τῶν ἄδελφιδοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρτι
γενειάσκοντα, καὶ Κωνσταντιανὸν, δὲ δὴ ὅλιγῳ

¹ ἐπὶ V : ὅν ἐπὶ G. ² προσβαλὼν G. ³ ἐκπεπτωκότι Maltretus: ἐκπεπτωκότι MSS.

514
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxvii. 43–xxviii. 2

complete readiness, so as to fight against the enemy on the morrow when they should attack the wall. Now on the succeeding day not one of the barbarians came against the fortifications; but on the day after that a portion of the army, urged on by Chosroes, made an assault upon the so-called Gate of Barlaus; but the Romans sallied forth and confronted them, and the Persians were decidedly beaten in the engagement, and after a short time retired to the camp. And then Paulus, the interpreter of the Persians, came along by the wall and called for Martinus, in order that he might make the arrangements for the truce. Thus Martinus came to conference with the commanders of the Persians, and they concluded an agreement, by which Chosroes received five centenaria from the inhabitants of Edessa, and left them, in writing, the promise not to inflict any further injury upon the Romans; then, after setting fire to all his defences, he returned homeward with his whole army.

XXVIII

At about this time two generals of the Romans died, Justus, the nephew of the emperor, and Peranius, the Iberian, of whom the former succumbed to disease; while Peranius fell from his horse in hunting and suffered a fatal rupture. The emperor therefore appointed others in their places, dispatching Marcellus, his own nephew who was just arriving at the age of manhood, and Constantianus, who a little
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πρότερον ἀμα Σεργίῳ παρὰ Χοσρόην πρεσβεύων
3 ἐστάλη. ἔπειτα δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρέσβεις παρὰ Χοσρόην ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιμβάσει Κωνσταν-
4 τιανόν τε καὶ Σέργιον ἐπημήνεν, οί δὲ αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν Ἀσσυρίας, οὐ δὲ πολίσματα δύο Σελεύκεια τε καὶ Κτησιφών ἐστι, Μακεδόνων αὐτὰ δειμαμένων οἱ μετὰ τὸν Φιλίππου Ἄλε-
ζανδρον Περσῶν τε ἥρξαν καὶ τῶν ταύτη ἐθνῶν.
5 ἁμφοὶ δὲ ταῦτα Τίγρης ποταμὸς διορίζει· οὐ γὰρ
6 ἄλλην χώραν μεταξὶ ἕχουσιν. ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόν-
τες Χοσρόης οἱ πρέσβεις ἡξίουν μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Λαδικῆς χώρας Ῥωμαίων ἀποδοῦνα, βεβαιότατα δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ ἁμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ κρατίνασθαι.
7 Χοσρόης δὲ ὅβαδιον αὐτοὺς ἐφασκεῖν εἰναι ἀλλήλους ἐξουσιάζειν, ἦν μὴ τινὰ ἐκεχειράν θέμενον
πρότερον οὔτω τε ἀδεέστερον αἰὲ ἢ ἀλλήλους
φωτόντες τά τε διάφορα διαλύσοντι καὶ τὰ τῆς
8 εἰρήνης ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ τὸ λουτόν θέσονται. χρῆ-
ναι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλε ἐκεχειρίας χρήματα τε οἱ
τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα δοῦνα καὶ τίνα Ἰτρι-
βούνων ὅνωμα ἰατρον πέμψαι, ἐφ' ὃ οἱ ἐξυπνιατρι-
9 ψει τακτὸν τινὰ χρόνον. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὁ ἰατρὸς
οὐτοὺς νόσου τε αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάξας χαλεπῆς πρό-
τερον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φίλος τε καὶ ποθευότος ἐς τὰ
10 μάλιστα ὅν. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
ἔκουσε, τὸν τε Ἰτριβοῦν καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐθὺς
11 ἐπέμψε κυνόντα εἰς κεντυνάρια εἰκόσιν. οὐτοῈ τε
αὶ σπονδαὶ γεγονοῦσι Ῥωμαῖος τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἐς
ἐνιαυτοῖς πέντε, δικατοῦν τε καὶ ἐνατον ἔτος
Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν
ἐχοντος.
12 Ὄλιγο δὲ υστερον Ἀρέθας τε καὶ Ἀλαμούν-

516
earlier had been sent as an envoy with Sergius to Chosroes. Then the Emperor Justinian sent Constantianus and Sergius a second time to Chosroes to arrange the truce. And they overtook him in Assyria, at the place where there are two towns, Seleucia and Ctesiphon, built by the Macedonians who after Alexander, the son of Philip, ruled over the Persians and the other nations there. These two towns are separated by the Tigris River only, for they have nothing else between them. There the envoys met Chosroes, and they demanded that he should give back to the Romans the country of Lazica, and establish peace with them on a thoroughly secure basis. But Chosroes said that it was not easy for them to come to terms with each other, unless they should first declare an armistice, and then should continue to go back and forth to each other without so much fear and settle their differences and make a peace which should be on a secure basis for the future. And it was necessary, he said, that in return for this continued armistice the Roman Emperor should give him money and should also send a certain physician, Tribunus by name, in order to spend some specified time with him. For it happened that this physician at a former time had rid him of a severe disease, and as a result of this he was especially beloved and greatly missed by him. When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he immediately sent both Tribunus and the money, amounting to twenty centenaria. In this way the treaty was made between the Romans and the Persians for five years, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And a little later Arethas and Alamoundaras, the
Δάρως, οι τῶν Σαρακηνῶν ἀρχοντες, πόλεμον πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ μόνας διέφερον, οὔτε Ρωμαίων
οὔτε Περσῶν ἀμφότεροι σφίσι. καὶ Ἀλαμοῦνδάρος μὲν ἔστα τῶν Ἀρέθα παίδων 1 ἵππους νέμοντα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐλών τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐθὺς ἔδυσε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθη οὐ καταπροσέσθαι τὰ Ρωμαίων
πράγματα Πέρσαις Ἀρέθαν. μετὰ δὲ ξυνίασι μὲν ἐς μάχην ἐκάτεροι παυτὶ τῷ στρατῷ, νικῶσι δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ ἔστα τῷ Ἀρέθα, τρεψάμενοι τε τοὺς πολεμίους πολλούς ἐκτείναν. καὶ παρ’ ὅλων Ἀρέθας ἦλθε δύο τῶν Ἀλαμοῦνδάρου παίδων ζώντας ἐλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι γε ἐλεῖ. τὰ μὲν οὖν Σαρακηνῶν ταύτῃ τῷ ἐίχεν.

15 Χοσρόης δὲ, ὁ Περσῶν βασιλέας, ἐνδηλος γέγονε τὴν ἐκεχερίαν νῦ δολερῷ πρὸς Ρωμαίους πεποιημένοις, ἐφ’ ὧ δὴ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀναπεπτωκότας λαβὼν ἀνήκεστόν τι ἐργάσεται.

16 τρίτῳ γὰρ τῆς ἐκεχερίας ἐνιαυτῷ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε: ἦστιν εὖ Πέρσαις ἀδελφοί δύο, Φάβριζος τε καὶ Ἰσδιγούσας, ἄρχας μὲν περιβεβλημένω ἐνταῦθα μεγίστας καὶ ἀλλως λογισμῷ ποιητῶν Περσῶν ἀπίστων καὶ δόξαι ἐπὶ τῇ δεινότητι καὶ

17 κακοτροπία πολλῆς ἐχόντε. Βουλευσάμενος οὖν πόλιν Δάρας καταλαβέειν εἰς ἐπιδρομῆς καὶ Λαξίκης ἐξοικίσαι 2 Κόλχους ἄπαντας, Πέρσας δὲ ἀντ’ αὐτῶν οἰκήτωρος καταστήσαται, τῷ ἄνδρε τούτῳ ἐς ἄμφω τὰ ἔργα ὑπηρετήσουσας εἴλετο.

18 ἔρμαιον γὰρ καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον ἐφαίνετο εἶναι γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα σφετερισμένην ἐν τῷ

---

1 παίδων Maltretus: παίδα MSS.
2 ἐξοικίσαι Justice: ἐξοικίσας H.
rulers of the Saracens, waged a war against each other by themselves, unaided either by the Romans or the Persians. And Alamoundaras captured one of the sons of Arethas in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and straightway sacrificed him to Aphrodite; and from this it was known that Arethas was not betraying the Romans to the Persians. Later they both came together in battle with their whole armies, and the forces of Arethas were overwhelmingly victorious, and turning their enemy to flight, they killed many of them. And Arethas came within a little of capturing alive two of the sons of Alamoundaras; however, he did not actually succeed. Such, then, was the course of events among the Saracens.

But it became clear that Chosroes, the Persian king, had made the truce with the Romans with treacherous intent, in order that he might find them remiss on account of the peace and inflict upon them some grave injury. For in the third year of the truce he devised the following schemes. There were in Persia two brothers, Phabrizus and Isdigiousnas, both holding most important offices there and at the same time reckoned to be the basest of all the Persians, and having a great reputation for their cleverness and evil ways. Accordingly, since Chosroes had formed the purpose of capturing the city of Daras by a sudden stroke, and to move all the Colchians out of Lazica and establish in their place Persian settlers, he selected these two men to assist him in both undertakings. For it seemed to him that it would be a lucky stroke and a really important achievement to win for himself the land of
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

βεβαιώ τῆς κτήσεως έχειν, ξύμφορον λογισμένο τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ κατὰ πολλὰ ἔσεθαί 19 τούτο γε. τὴν τε γὰρ Ἰβηρίαν ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα έχειν, οὐκ ἂν ἐτι ἔχοντων Ἰβηρῶν ἐφ' οὐσίως ἀνθρώπων ἀποστάντες σωθῆσονται. 20 ἐπειδή γὰρ οἱ τούτων δὲ λογιμώτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοῦ Γουργένη τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον, ἄσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲς λόγοις ἔρρηθα, οὕτε βασιλέα σφίσι καταστήσεθαι τὸ ἐνθένδε ξυνεχώρουν Πέρσαι οὔτε αὐτογνωμονοῦντες Περσῶν κατήκουν Ἰβηρες ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὑποψία τε καὶ 21 ἀπιστία ἐς ἀλλήλους πολλῷ εἰχόντο. ἐνεηλθοί τε Ἰβηρες ἦσαν δυσανασχέτοντες τε ἰσχυρότατα καὶ νεωτεριόντες οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν, ἂν τινὸς 22 ποτε καρυοῦ λαβέσθαι δυνατὸν εἶν. καὶ πρὸς Οὔνων τῶν Λαζικῆ προσολκήν ἀδύνατον μὲν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν ἔς ἀεὶ ἔσεθαι, ῥόνον δὲ καὶ ἀπονότερον αὐτοῦς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐπιπέμψειν, ἣνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλεμένῳ εἴης οὐ γὰρ ἀλλο οὐδὲν τοῖς ἐν Καυκάσῳ οἴκουσι βαρβάροις ἡ 23 ἐπιτείχισμα Λαζικῆν εἶναι. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων κατὰ τούτο ξυνοίσειν πρὸς 1 Λαζικῆς ἐπικράτησιν ἥλπιζῃ Πέρσαις, ὅτι δὴ ἐς αὐτὴς ὁρμώμενοι δυνήσονται οὐδὲν πόνῳ καταθέντες καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυσὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐζείνου καλομένου πόνου χωρία Καππαδόκας μὲν καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἔχομένους Γαλάτας καὶ Βιθυνίας παραστήσεσθαι, ἐς ἐπιδρομῆς δὲ Βυζαντίους αἰρήσει, οὐδὲνος σφίσιν 24 ἀντιστατοῦντος. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἑνεκα προσποιεῖσθαι Χοσρόης Λαζικῆν ἦδελεν, ἐπὶ Δαξούς δὲ τὸ

1 πρὸς MSS. : Christ would delete.
Colchis and to have it in secure possession, reasoning that this would be advantageous to the Persian empire in many ways. In the first place they would have Iberia in security forever afterwards, since the Iberians would not have anyone with whom, if they revolted, they might find safety; for since the most notable men of these barbarians together with their king, Gourgenes, had looked towards revolt, as I have stated in the preceding pages,¹ the Persians from that time on did not permit them to set up a king over themselves, nor were the Iberians single-minded subjects of the Persians, but there was much suspicion and distrust between them. And it was evident that the Iberians were most thoroughly dissatisfied and that they would attempt a revolution shortly if they could only seize upon some favourable opportunity. Furthermore, the Persian empire would be forever free from plunder by the Huns who lived next to Lazica, and he would send them against the Roman domains more easily and readily, whenever he should so desire. For he considered that, as regards the barbarians dwelling in the Caucasus, Lazica was nothing else than a bulwark against them. But most of all he hoped that the subjugation of Lazica would afford this advantage to the Persians, that starting from there they might overrun with no trouble both by land and by sea the countries along the Euxine Sea, as it is called, and thus win over the Cappadocians and the Galatians and Bithynians who adjoin them, and capture Byzantium by a sudden assault with no one opposing them. For these reasons, then, Chosroes was anxious to gain possession of Lazica, but in the Lazi

¹ Cf. Book I. xii. 5 ff.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

25 θαρσείν ὃς ἥκιστα εἴχεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαίοι ἐκ τῆς Δαξικῆς ἀνεχώρησαν, Δαξῶν τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Περσῶν ἀρχὴ ἐπιεικῶς ἤχθετο. μονότροποι γὰρ, εἴπερ ἄλλοι τινὲς, οἱ Πέρσαι εἶσι καὶ τὰ ἐσ.

26 τὴν διαίτην ὑπεράγαν σκληροί. καὶ αὐτοῖς οἱ τε νόμοι δυσπρόσοδοι εἰσὶ πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ ἐπίτάγματα οὐδαμὴ ἀνεκτά. πρὸς μέντοι Δαξίους καὶ διαφερόντως τὸ διαλλάσσειν τῆς τε γνώμης ἂεὶ καὶ τῆς διαίτης παρὰ πολὺ δια-φαίνεται, ἐπεὶ Δαξίοι μὲν Χριστιανοὶ εἰσὶ πάντων μάλιστα, Πέρσαις δὲ ἀπ’ ἐναντίας αὐτῶν τα ἐσ τὸ 27 θείον ἀπαντά ἐχει. χρώσες δὲ τούτων ἄλλες μὲν τῆς Δαξικῆς οὐδαμή γίνονται, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἄτος 28 οὔτε οἶνος όπερ τι ἄλλο ἄγαθὸν φύεται. ἐκ δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν παραλών ἀπαντά ταῖς ναυσιν ἐπεισέρχεται σφίσι, καὶ ταύτα οὐ χρυσίων τοῖς συμβάλλουσι προϊμένοις, ἀλλὰ δέρρεις τε καὶ ἀνδρόποδα καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἐνταῦθα κατὰ πολὺ 29 περιείναι ξυμβαίνει. τούτων τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκώς, ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἰσχαλλον. διὸ ὁ Χοσρόης αἰσθόμενος προτερήσαι κείτω τῷ ἄσφαλεῖ, πρὶν τι ἐς αὐτὸν νεστερίσειαν, εἰν σπουδῇ εἰσε ἐγ. 30 καὶ οἱ βουλευομένῳ ξυμφορώτατον ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι Γούβαζη τὴν Δαξίων βασιλέα ἔκποδῶν ὅτι τάχιστα ποιησαμένῳ Δαξίως ἐνθένδε πανδημεί άναστήσειν, οὔτω τε Πέρσαις καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ἔθνη ἐξουσικεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ.

31 Ταῦτα ὁ Χοσρόης βεβουλευμένου Ἰσδηγούναν ὡς ἔπι προσβεία δήθεν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον στέλλει, καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἄριστινδην ἀπολεξάμενος

1 νεστερίσειαν Dindorf: νεστερίσειν MSS.

522
he had not the least confidence. For since the time when the Romans had withdrawn from Lazica, the common people of the country naturally found the Persian rule burdensome. For the Persians are beyond all other men singular in their ways, and they are excessively rigid as regards the routine of daily life. And their laws are difficult of access for all men, and their requirements quite unbearable. But in comparison with the Lazi the difference of their thinking and living shows itself in an altogether exceptional degree, since the Lazi are Christians of the most thorough-going kind, while all the Persian views regarding religion are the exact opposite of theirs. And apart from this, salt is produced nowhere in Lazica, nor indeed does grain grow there nor the vine nor any other good thing. But from the Romans along the coast everything is brought in to them by ship, and even so they do not pay gold to the traders, but hides and slaves and whatever else happens to be found there in great abundance; and when they were excluded from this trade, they were, as was to be expected, in a state of constant vexation. When, therefore, Chosroes perceived this, he was eager to anticipate with certainty any move on their part to revolt against him. And upon considering the matter, it seemed to him to be the most advantageous course to put Goubazes, the king of the Lazi, out of the way as quickly as possible, and to move the Lazi in a body out of the country, and then to colonize this land with Persians and certain other nations.

When Chosroes had matured these plans, he sent Isdigousnas to Byzantium, ostensibly to act as an envoy, and he picked out five hundred of the most
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πεντακοσίους ἐξυνέπεμψεν, ἔπιστείλας σφύσι γενέσθαι μὲν ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐν οἰκίαις δὲ καταλύσαι πολλαῖς, ταῦτας τε νῦκτωρ ἀπάσας ἐμπρήσας, καὶ ὦ Ῥωμαίων ἀμφὶ τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο ἰσχυλημένον, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπάντων ἀνοιγνύναι μὲν τὰς πόλες εὐθύς, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ ἄλλο

32 Περσῶν στράτευμα δέξασθαι. προείρητο γὰρ τῷ Νισίβιδος πόλεως ἀρχοντὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἀγχιστὰ τῇ ἐγκρυφαίζοντι ἐν παρασκευῇ ἔχειν. οὔτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς φέτο Χορσρῆς οὐδὲνι ποῦ Ῥωμαίοις τε ἀπαντᾶς διαχρήσασθαι 1 καὶ τὴν πόλιν Δάρας ἐν βεβαιᾷ καταλαβόντας

33 σχῆσειν. ἀλλὰ τις εῦκοις τὰ πρασόμενα, Ῥωμαίος μὲν ἀνὴρ, αὐτόμολος δὲ ὅληφ τρότερον ἐς Πέρσας ἦκαν, τὸν πάντα λόγου Γεωργίῳ φράξει, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τε διατριβὴν ἔχοντι, οὐ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθὲν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην, ἀτε Περσῶν ἀναπείσαντος τοῦς ἐν τῷ Σισαυράνῳ πολυρκούμενος φουρίφι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐνδοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις.

34 Γεωργίος οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Περσῶν ὀρίοις ἀπαντήσας τῷ πρεσβευτῇ τούτῳ ἐφασκεν οὐ κατὰ πρεσβείαν τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι, καὶ ὁ ποτὲ Πέρσας τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ἐν πόλει

35 Ῥωμαίοις αὐλίσασθαι. χρὴν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς ἐν χωρίῳ Ἀμμόδιος ἀπολυπεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ ἔξω ὅλυνος τεισίν ἐς πόλιν Δάρας

36 ἐσιτήτα εἶναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰσδυχοῦσας ἁγανάκτει τε καὶ δυσφορομένως ἐφόρκει, ἀτε περιβρισμένοις οὐ δέον, καὶ περ ἐπὶ πρεσβείς παρὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων

37 βασιλέα στελλόμενος. Γεωργίος δὲ οἱ οὗ προσέχουσιν τοῦ νοῦν ἠγριωμένῳ διεσώσατο τὴν πόλιν

1 διαχρήσασθαι VG.
valorous of the Persians and sent them with him, directing them to get inside the city of Daras, and to take their lodgings in many different houses, and at night to set these all on fire, and, while all the Romans were occupied with this fire, as was natural, to open the gates immediately, and receive the rest of the Persian army into the city. For word had been sent previously to the commander of the city of Nisibis to conceal a large force of soldiers near by and hold them in readiness. For in this way Chosroes thought that they would destroy all the Romans with no trouble, and seizing the city of Daras, would hold it securely. But someone who knew well what was being arranged, a Roman who had come to the Persians as a deserter a little earlier, told everything to George, who was staying there at the time; now this was the same man whom I mentioned in the preceding pages\(^1\) as having persuaded the Persians who were besieged in the fortress of Sisauranon to surrender themselves to the Romans. George therefore met this ambassador at the boundary line between Roman and Persian soil and said that this thing he was doing was not after the fashion of an embassy, and that never had so numerous a body of Persians stopped for the night in a city of the Romans. For he ought, he said, to have left behind all the rest in the town of Ammodios, and must himself enter the city of Daras with some few men. Now Isdigousnas was indignant and appeared to take it ill, because he had been insulted wrongfully, in spite of the fact that he was dispatched on an embassy to the Roman emperor. But George, paying no heed to him in his fury, saved the city

\(^{1}\) Book II. xix. 23.
Ρωμαίων. Ξύν γὰρ ἀνδράσιν εἰκοσὶ μόνοις τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἰσδιγούσαν ἐδέξατο. 38 Ταύτης οὖν τῆς πλείας ἀποτυχὼν ὁ βάρβαρος υἱός ὡς πρεσβεύων ζυς Βυζάντιον ἦλθε, τὴν τε γυναϊκα Καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπαγόμενος δύο (τοῦτο γὰρ ἢν αὐτῷ τὸ παραπέτασμα τοῦ ξυνελημυνότος ὠμίλου), τῷ τε βασιλεῖ ἢς ὁψιν ἦκων ἄμφι μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων τινὶ ὦ μέγα οὐ μικρὸν ἔσχυσεν εἰπεῖν, καὶ περ οὐχ ἤσσον ἢ μήνας δέκα κατα- τρίπας ἐν Ἱπποπάλη τῇ γῇ. τὰ μέντοι δῶρα παρὰ Χωσρόου, ἦπερ εἰθυσταί, καὶ γράμματα βασιλείς ἐδώκει, δι' ὧν ὁ Χωσρόης Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλείς σημηνία ἡξίου εἰ οἱ τῷ σῶμα ἴμμειάς πέρι ὡς ἁρστὰ ἔχου. τοῦτον μέντοι τῶν Ἰσδι- γούσαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλείς μάλαστα πρέσβεων ἀπάντων ὡν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ξύν τε πολλῆς φιλοσοφοῦντο εἰδὶ καὶ διὰ τιμῆς ἱκανῶς ἔγαγεν. 41 ὡστε καὶ ἡμῖνα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐστιφη, Βραδούκιοι, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ ἔρμηνεύεις εὑπτετο, ξύν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε, πραγμα πάτοπτε οὐ γεγονός πρότερον ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου. ἔρμηνεά γὰρ οὐδε τῶν τινὶ καταδεστέρων ἄρχόντων, μή τί γε δὴ βασιλείς ὁμοτράπεζος γεγονότα οὐδεις ποτε εἶδεν. ἄλλα καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ὡς κατὰ πρεσβευτὴν τῶν ἀνδρα τούτων ἐδέξατο τε καὶ ἄπε- τέμψατο, καύστερ ἐπ' οὐδεις ἔργον τὴν πρεσβείαν, ὅσπερ μοι ἐφητι, πεποιχωμένων. ὧν γὰρ τας τε δαπάνας διαρθησάιτο καὶ τὰ δῶρα ὡς ἐνθένδε κεκομισμένος Ἰσδιγούσαν ἀπιών ὀχετο, πλέον αὐτὰ κατατείνουσα ἢ ἠς χρυσοῦ κεφθύναρι κατα εὐρήσει. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἢς Δάλας πόλιν ἐπιβουλῆς τῷ Χωσρόη ἣς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.
for the Romans. For he received Isdigousnas into the city with only twenty men.

So having failed in this attempt, the barbarian came to Byzantium as if on an embassy, bringing with him his wife and two daughters (for this was his pretext for the crowd which had been gathered about him); but when he came before the emperor, he was unable to say anything great or small about any serious matter, although he wasted no less than ten months in Roman territory. However, he gave the emperor the gifts from Chosroes, as is customary, and a letter, in which Chosroes requested the Emperor Justinian to send word whether he was enjoying the best possible health. Nevertheless the Emperor Justinian received this Isdigousnas with more friendliness and treated him with greater honour than any of the other ambassadors of whom we know. So true was this that, whenever he entertained him, he caused Braducius, who followed him as interpreter, to recline with him on the couch, a thing which had never before happened in all time. For no one ever saw an interpreter become a table-companion of even one of the more humble officials, not to speak of a king. But he both received and dismissed this man in a style more splendid than that which befits an ambassador, although he had undertaken the embassy for no serious business, as I have said. For if anyone should count up the money expended and the gifts which Isdigousnas carried with him when he went away, he will find them amounting to more than ten centenaria of gold. So the plot against the city of Daras ended in this way for Chosroes.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

XXIX

1 Ἐστε τὰ Δαξικὴν πρῶτα μὲν ξύλα παμπληθῆ ἐστὶν ποίησιν ἐπιτηδεῖας ἔχοντα ἑπεμψεν, οὗν δὲ φράσας ἐφ’ ὅτῳ ἄν τὰ πέμψειν, ἄλλα τῷ λόγῳ μηχανᾶς ἐν Πέτρας τῷ περιβόλῳ καταστήσας σόμενος τάῦτα ἔστελλεν. Ἐπείτα δὲ Περσῶν μαχιμοὺς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος, Φάβριζον τε, ὅπερ ἄρτι ἐπεμνήσθην, αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας ἑνταῦθα ἐτέλεσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐπήγγειλε Πούβαζην ὡς λαθραιότατα διαχρῆσασθαι τὸ γὰρ ἐνθενδεί αὐτῷ μελήσεως. τὰ μὲν οὖν ξύλα ταῦτα ἐπεί ἐστὶ Δαξικὴν ἐκομίθη, κεραυνόβλητα ἐξαπανάσχος γενόμενα τετεφρῶσθαι ἐξυνέβη. Φάβριζος δὲ ξύλον τοῖς τριακοσίους ἐς Δαξικὴν ἀφικόμενος ἐπράσσετο ὅπως ἀμφὶ Γουβάζη τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Χοσρόου ἐπηγγελθεῖ 4 μὲνα ὑποτελοῖ. ἔτύγχανε δὲ τῶν τις ἐν Κόλχος λογίμων, Φαρσάνσης ὁρμα, τῷ Γουβάζη νπροσκεκρούκως ἐς μέγα τέ ὁ ἄπτε αὐτοῦ ἐμπτεττωκὼς ἐχθείος καί ὡς ἡκίστα χαρᾷ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅψιν 5 ἥκειν. ὅπερ ἐπεί δὲ Φάβριζος ἐγράφων, τὸν Φαρσάνσην μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκοινολογεῖτο τε καὶ τὸν ἀπαντα λόγον ἐξενεγκὼς ἀνεπελθόντες τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὅπη 6 οἱ ἐπισχειρήτεα ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν εἰς. ἔδοξε τοῖς σφίσσει ἐπὶ κοινῆς βουλευσαμένοις Φάβριζον μὲν ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, μεταπέμψασθαι δὲ Γουβάζην ἐνταῦθα, ὅπως οἱ ἀγγέλλοι ὅστα δὴ βασιλεῖ ἀμφὶ τῷ ἐξουσίσομεν Δαξιὸς δοκοῦντα εἰς. ἀλλ’ ὁ Φαρσάνσης κρύφα τῷ Γουβάζη ἐσήμημε

1 metapempsiamevos VG: metakaloseamevos P.
XXIX

His first move against Lazica was as follows. He sent into the country a great amount of lumber suitable for the construction of ships, explaining to no one what his purpose was in so doing, but ostensibly he was sending it in order to set up engines of war on the fortifications of Petra. Next he chose out three hundred able warriors of the Persians, and sent them there under command of Phabrizus, whom I have lately mentioned, ordering him to make away with Goubazes as secretly as possible; as for the rest, he himself would take care. Now when this lumber had been conveyed to Lazica, it happened that it was struck suddenly by lightning and reduced to ashes. And Phabrizus, upon arriving in Lazica with the three hundred, began to contrive so that he might carry out the orders received by him from Chosroes regarding Goubazes. Now it happened that one of the men of note among the Colchians, Pharsanses by name, had quarrelled with Goubazes and in consequence had become exceedingly hostile to him, and now he did not dare at all to go into the presence of the king. When this was learned by Phabrizus, he summoned Pharsanses and in a conference with him disclosed the whole project, and enquired of the man in what way he ought to go about the execution of the deed. And it seemed best to them after deliberating together that Phabrizus should go into the city of Petra, and should summon Goubazes there, in order to announce to him what the king had decided concerning the interests of the Lazi. But Pharsanses secretly
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tὰ πρασσόμενα. διὸ δὴ Γουβάζης παρὰ μὲν Φάβριζου οὕδαμη ἦλθεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐστὶν ἀπόστασιν εἰδε. Φάβριζος δὲ Πέρσας μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ ἐν Πέτρα φυλακητήριον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάση δυνάμει ἐπέστελλε καὶ τὰ ἐς πολυορκεῖν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα ἔξαρτύσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξύν τοῖς τρικοσίοις ἐπὶ οἶκον ἀπρακτος ἀνεχόρησε.
9 Γουβάζης δὲ ἀνενεγκὼς ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα τὰ παρόντα σφίζει τῶν μὲν τὰ πρότερα πεπραγμένων Δαξοῖς ἐδείτο συγγυνώμονα εἶναι, ἀμύναι δὲ σφίζει δυνάμει τῇ πάσῃ ἀπαλλαξέουσι τῆς Μήδων ἄρχής. οὐ γὰρ κατὰ μόνας δυνήσεσθαι Κόλχους ἀποκρούσασθαι τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν.
10 Ταύτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, περιχάρης γενόμενος ἄνδρας ἐπτακισχίλους καὶ Δαγισθαίον ἄρχοντα καὶ Χάνους χίλιους ἐστὶν· περίκοριαν Δαξοῖς ἐπέμψεν. οὐ δὴ ἐν γῇ τῇ Κολχίδι γενόμενοι ἄμα Δαξοῖς τε καὶ τῷ Γουβάζῃ ἐνστατοπεδευσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τὸν Πέτρας περίβολον ἐστὶν πολυορκίαιν καθίσταντο. Περσῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνταύθα ὄντων καρτερώτατα ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων, χρόνον τῇ προσεδρείᾳ πολὺν τετρίφθαι ξυνέβη, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ ἐδώδειμα ἐναποθέμενοι σφίζειν οἱ Πέρσαις ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις ἑτέρων ἐπηχοῦν. τούτοις δὲ ὁ Χορόπης ξυνταραχθεῖς στρατιῶν πολλήν ἐπέπεων τε καὶ πεζῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐστελλεν, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα Μερμερόν ἐπέστησεν. διὸ οὐκ ἦν Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπίκοινα βουλευσάμενος ἐποίει τάρει. 14 Βόας ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξεισὶν ἄγχιστα τὴν τῶν

530
revealed to Goubazes what was being prepared. He, accordingly, did not come to Phabrizus at all, but began openly to plan a revolt. Then Phabrizus commanded the other Persians to attend as carefully as they could to the guarding of Petra, and to make everything as secure as possible against a siege, and he himself with the three hundred returned home- ward without having accomplished his purpose. And Goubazes reported to the Emperor Justinian the condition in which they were, and begged him to grant forgiveness for what the Lazi had done in the past, and to come to their defence with all his strength, since they desired to be rid of theMedian rule. For if left by themselves the Colchians would not be able to repel the power of the Persians.

When the Emperor Justinian heard this, he was overjoyed, and sent seven thousand men under the leadership of Dagisthaeus and a thousand Tzani to the assistance of the Lazi. And when this force reached the land of Colchis, they encamped together with Goubazes and the Lazi about the fortifications of Petra and commenced a siege. But since the Persians who were there made a most stalwart defence from the wall, it came about that much time was spent in the siege; for the Persians had put away an ample store of victuals in the town. And Chosroes, being greatly disturbed by these things, dispatched a great army of horse and foot against the besiegers, putting Mermeroes in command of them. And when Goubazes learned of this, he considered the matter together with Dagisthaeus and acted in the manner which I shall presently set forth.

The river Boas rises close to the territory of the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Τζανικής ὀρίων ἐν 'Ἀρμενίων οὐ δὴ ἁμφὶ τὸ 
Φαράγγιον ὕσχηται. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐν δεξιᾷ 
ἐπὶ πλείστον χωρεῖ, βραχύς τε ἓς καὶ πόνῳ 
ουδενὶ γινόμενος ἔσβατός ἀπασιν ἄχρι ἐς χῶρον 
οὐ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἰβηρίων τὰ ὀριά ἐστι, καταν- 
15 τικρυ δὲ τελευτά ὅρος ὁ Καύκασος. ἐνταῦθα 
ἐθνη ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ 'Ἀλανοὶ τε καὶ 'Ἄβασγοι 
ὦσχηται Χριστιανοὶ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις φίλοι ἐκ 
παλαιοῦ ώστε, Ζήχωι τε καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ὀυννώι, 
16 οὐ Σάβεροι ἐπικαλοῦνται. ἐπειδάν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς 
οὗτος ἀφίκηται ἵνα δὴ τοῦ τε Καυκάσου καὶ 
Ἰβηρίας τὰ ὦρια ἐστίν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγινομένων οὐ 
καὶ ἄλλων ὦδάτων μείζων τε παρὰ πολὺ γίνεται 
καὶ Φάσις ἀντί Βόα το ἐνθένδε καλούμενος φέρε- 
tαι, ναυσίπορος γεγενημένος ἄχρι ἐς τὸν Εὐζειων 
καλούμενον πόντου, οὐ δὴ οὐ καὶ τὸς ἐκβολας ξυμ- 
βαίνει εἰναι, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα Δαξιή ἔστιν. 
17 ἀλλ' ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν ἕμπιπτα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἡ χώρα 
πρὸς τῶν τίθη ἀνθρώπων οἰκεῖται μέχρι τῶν 
18 Ἰβηρίας ὀρίων. κομματε τε γὰρ αἱ Δαξιῶν πᾶσαι 
tοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντὸς ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶ καὶ πολίσματα 
ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφίσι ταύτη πεποίηται, ἐν τοῖς Ἀρ-
χαϊόπολισι, ἑχυρωτάτη ὄψα, Ἑραστύπολις τε 
ἐνταῦθα καὶ τοῦ Πετρούντος φρούριον ἐστὶ Σκάνδα 
tε καὶ Σαραπανῖς πρὸς τοῖς Ἰβηρίας ὀρίων. 
πόλεις μέντοι ἀξιολογόταται ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶ Ῥο-
19 δόπολις καὶ Μοχήρησις. τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ ἐν 
ἀριστερὰ Δαξιῆς μὲν τὰ ὀριά ἐστι μέχρι ἐς ἡμέρας 
ὁδὸν εὐζωνο ἄνδρι, ἔρημον δὲ ξυμβαίνει ἄνθρω-
pων τῆν χώραν εἶναι. ταὐτὴν προσοικοῦσι
Tzani among the Armenians who dwell around Pharangium. And at first its course inclines to the right for a great distance, and its stream is small and can be forded by anyone with no trouble as far as the place where the territory of the Iberians lies on the right, and the end of the Caucasus lies directly opposite. In that place many nations have their homes, and among them the Alani and Abasgi, who are Christians and friends of the Romans from of old; also the Zechi, and after them the Huns who bear the name Sabeiri. But when this river reaches the point which marks the termination of the Caucasus and of Iberia as well, there other waters also are added to it and it becomes much larger and from there flows on bearing the name of Phasis instead of Boas; and it becomes a navigable stream as far as the so-called Euxine Sea into which it empties; and on either side of it lies Lazica. Now on the right of the stream particularly the whole country for a great distance is populated by the people of Lazica as far as the boundary of Iberia. For all the villages of the Lazi are here beyond the river, and towns have been built there from of old, among which are Archaeopolis, a very strong place, and Sebastopolis, and the fortress of Pitus, and Scanda and Sarapanis over against the boundary of Iberia. Moreover there are two cities of the greatest importance in that region, Rhodopolis and Mocheresis. But on the left of the river, while the country belongs to Lazica as far as one day's journey for an unencumbered traveller, the land is without human habitation. Adjoining this land is the home of the Romans who

1 Procopius seems to have confused two separate and distinct rivers.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν χώραν ο timeval eπικαλοῦνται. 20 ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Λαξικῆς ῥόιοις, ἕνθα δὴ ἀνθρωποὶ οὐδεμὴ ὄχιμον, Πέτραν Ἰουστινιάνὸς ó] βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐμὲ χρόνοις ἔδειματο. 21 οὔτε Ἰωάννης, ὁ Τζίβος ἐπικαλούμενος, τὸ μονοπόλιον καταστησάμενος, ὀσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρήθη, αὐτίς τῆς ἀποστάσεως 22 Λαξιῶν γέγονεν. ἐκ δὲ Πέτρας πόλεως οὔτι ἐνθὺς πρὸς ἀνεμον νότον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ὅροι ἐκδέχονται, χωρία τε πολυάθρωπα ἐνταῦθα ἐστὶ, τὸ τε Ριξιαῖον καλούμενον καὶ Ἀθήναι ἄλα τε ἀττα 23 μέχρι Τραπεζοντίων. ἦνίκα μὲν οὖν ἐπηγάγοντο Χοσρόην Λαξί, θανον ποταμὸν διαβάντες τὸν τε Φάσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες ἐσε Πέτραν ἤλθον, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ προνοήσαντες ὡς μὴ χρόνῳ τε καὶ πόλει πολλῷ διαπορθμέουσαν ἀναγκάζονται ποταμὸν Φάσιν, οὐ βουλόμενοι δὲ τὰ σφέτερα οἰκία Πέρ- 24 σαίς ἐνδεικνυόμεθα. καίτοις δὲ δύσοδος πανταχόθι Λαξικὴ ἔστιν ἐντὸς τε καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Φάσι- 25 δος. σκόπελοι γάρ ὕπερφυείς ἐφ᾽ ἐκάτερα τῆς χώρας δύνατε στενωποῦς ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνταῦθα ποιοῦνται. κλεισούρας ἐλληνίζοντες τὰς τοιαύτας 26 ὡς οὔτος Ῥωμαίοι καλούσι. ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ τὸτε Λαξικὴ ἀφύλακτος ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, βάστα δὴ ἐν Πέτρᾳ ἱστι τοῖς ἡγεμόνι Δαξίοις ἐγένοντο Πέρςαι. 27 Νῦν δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης μαθῶν τὴν Περσῶν ἐφόδου τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστειλεν πέμψας μὲν τινας οὐ φυλάξουσι τὸν στενωπὸν ἱσχυρότατα ὡς ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ ἔστι, τὴν μὲντοι προσεδρέλαν

1 ὄριοις P: χώριοι VG. 2 καίτοι Dindorf: καὶ τι P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, II. xxix. 19-27

are called Pontic. Now it was in the territory of Lazica, in the part which was altogether uninhabited, that the Emperor Justinian founded the city of Petra in my own time. This was the place where John, surnamed Tzibus, established the monopoly, as I have told in the previous narrative,¹ and gave cause to the Lazi to revolt. And as one leaves the city of Petra going southward, the Roman territory commences immediately, and there are populous towns there, and one which bears the name of Rhizaeum, also Athens and certain others as far as Trapezus. Now when the Lazi brought in Chosroes, they crossed the River Boas and came to Petra keeping the Phasis on the right, because, as they said, they would thus provide against being compelled to spend much time and trouble in ferrying the men across the River Phasis, but in reality they did not wish to display their own homes to the Persians. And yet Lazica is everywhere difficult to traverse both to the right and to the left of the River Phasis. For there are on both sides of the river exceedingly high and jagged mountains, and as a result the passes are narrow and very long. (The Romans call the roads through such passes “clisurae” when they put their own word into a Greek form.²) But since at that time Lazica happened to be unguarded, the Persians had reached Petra very easily with the Lazi who were their guides.

But on this occasion Goubazes, upon learning of the advance of the Persians, directed Dagisthaeus to send some men to guard with all their strength the pass which is below the River Phasis, and he

¹ Cf. Book II. xv. 11.
² Latin clausura, “a narrow shut-in road.”
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ός ἦκιστα λύειν, ἐὼς τὴν τε Πέτραν καὶ Πέρσας
28 τοὺς ἑνταύθα ἐξελείν δύνανται. αὐτὸς δὲ παντὶ
tῷ Κόλχων στρατῷ ἐς τὰ Δαξικῆς ἔσχατα ἦλθεν,
ὡς τὸν ἑνταύθα στενωπὸν διαφυλάξουν δυνάμει τῇ
29 πάσῃ. ἔτυγχαν δὲ πολλῷ πρῶτον Ἀλανοὺς τε
cαὶ Σαβείρους ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγόμενος, οὐπερ
ἀκολούθησαν κεντηναρίων τριῶν οὐχ ὅσον ἀδητὸν
Δαξώις ξυμφυλάξειν τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰβηρίαν
οὕτω καταστήσεσθαι ἄνδρῶν ἔρημον ὡς μηδὲ
Πέρσας ἐνθέντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἑναὶ δυνατὰ ἔσεσθαι.
tαῦτά τε σφίσε τὰ χρήματα βασιλέα Γουβάζης
30 ὑπέσχετο δώσειν. αὐτός μὲν ὃν ἄνενεγκῶν ἐς
βασιλεὰ Ἰουστινιανὸν τὰ ἐνυγκείμενα τοῖς τε
βαρβάροις τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἱκέτευε πέμπειν
καὶ Δαξώις ἄγαν κεκακωμένοις παραψυχήν
31 προέσχασιν τινά. ἔφασκε δὲ καὶ οἱ αὐτῷ τὸ
δημόσιον τὰς συντάξεις ὁφείλειν ἐναυτῶν δέκα,
ἐπει τοῖς συλευτιαρίοις ἐν παλατίῳ τασσόμενοι
οὐδὲν κεκομισμένοις ἐνθέντες εἰς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἐς γῆν
32 τὴν Κολχίδα Χοσρόης ἦλθε.¹ βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουσ-
τινιανὸς ἐπιτελέσειν μὲν διενοεῖτο τὴν αἴτησιν,
ἐπιγενομένης δὲ ὁ ἀσχολίας τινὸς ὅπερ ἐπέμψε τῷ
καθήκοντι χρόνῳ τὰ χρήματα. Γουβάζης μὲν
ὀνομ ὃντα ἐποίει.
33 Δαγισθαῖος δὲ (ζῆν γὰρ τις νεανίας πόλεμον τε
dienegekein Μηδικὸν οὕδαμη ἀξιόχρεως) τοῖς
34 παρούσιν ὃν ἐπιτηδεῖος ἔχρητο. δέον οὖν
ἀμέλει τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν
στεῖλαι, τάχα δ’ ἄν ποι καὶ αὐτὸν τῷ ἔργῳ
tοῦτῳ παραγενέσθαι, ἐς ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας, ὥσπερ
ti πάρεργον διαχειρίζοντα, ἐπεμψε μόνους: αὐτός

¹ ἦλθε VGP: ἐσῆλθε W.

536
bade him not on any account to abandon the siege until they should be able to capture Petra and the Persians in it. He himself meanwhile with the whole Colchian army came to the frontier of Lazica, in order to devote all his strength to guarding the pass there. Now it happened that long before he had persuaded the Alani and Sabeiri to form an alliance with him, and they had agreed for three centenaria not merely to assist the Lazi in guarding the land from plunder, but also to render Iberia so destitute of men that not even the Persians would be able to come in from there in the future. And Goubazes had promised that the emperor would give them this money. So he reported the agreement to the Emperor Justinian and besought him to send this money for the barbarians and afford the Lazi some consolation in their great distress. He also stated that the treasury owed him his salary for ten years, for though he was assigned a post among the privy counsellors in the palace, he had received no payment from it since the time when Chosroes came into the land of Colchis. And the Emperor Justinian intended to fulfil this request, but some business came up to occupy his attention and he did not send the money at the proper time. So Goubazes was thus engaged.

But Dagisthaeus, being a rather young man and by no means competent to carry on a war against Persia, did not handle the situation properly. For while he ought to have sent certainly the greater part of the army to the pass, and perhaps should have assisted in person in this enterprise, he sent only one hundred men, just as if he were managing a matter of secondary importance. He himself,
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

de Πέτραν πολυρκῶν παυτὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐδὲν ἦνυσε, καίπερ τῶν πολεμίων ὄλγων ὄντων. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ οὗ ἦσσον ἡ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι ἦσαν, πρὸς Ῥωμαίων δὲ καὶ Δαξών ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῷ τειχομαχοῦντων βαλλόμενοι τε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπιδεικύμενοι μάλιστα πάντων ὃν ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν, θυνόκουσι τε πολλοὶ καὶ σφίσιν ἐσ ὀλγούς κομιδὴ ἀποκεκρίθαι 36 ξυνέπεσε. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν ἐς ἀπόγνωσιν τε καὶ ἀπορίαις ἐμπεπτωκότες ἡσυχὴ ἔμενον, Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ ἀμφι τὸ τείχος διώρυγα ἐν χώρῳ ὀλγῳ πεποῖηται, ὦ τε ταύτῃ περίβολος εὐθὺς ἔπεσεν. 37 ἔδελεξε δὲ τούτῳ ἰδὶ τῷ χάρῳ ἔντος οἴκημα εἶναι οὐδὲν τοῦ περιβόλου διεστηκός, ὦ δὴ 38 εὐκυνεῖτο ἐς τὸ πεπτωκός ἐφέξῃς ὅλον καὶ αὐτὶ τοῦ τείχους πολυρκουμένου γενόμενον ἐν τῷ 39 ἀσφαλεὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσον αὐτῶς καθήσης. ὦτερ Ῥωμαῖοι ξυπαράξαι οὐδαμῇ ἔσχεν. εὖ γὰρ εἰδότες ὅσ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο ἐκεῖοι ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ῥάστα αἰρήσουσιν, εὐέλπιδες πολλῷ 40 ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐγένοντο. διὸ δὴ ὁ Δαγνισθαῖος βασιλεῖ μὲν τὰ ξυνενεχθέντα ἑδήλον, ἀθλα δὲ οἱ τῆς νίκης ὑπὸ παρασκευῆ εἶναι προτεινότε, σημόνας ὅτι ἐν τού τοῦ ἀυτῶν τοῦ ἀυτῶν χρῆν βασιλέα δωρήσασθαι. Πέτραν γὰρ 41 αἰρήσειν οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Τξάνους καρτερώτατα τειχομαχοῦντας παρὰ δόξαν ύστεραν, καίπερ ὄλγοι 42 ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐς ἄγαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ τειχομαχοῦντες οὐδὲν ἦνυν, ἐπὶ τὸ διορύσσειν αὐθίς ἑτράπτοντο. ἐς τὸν τούτῳ ἔργον τούτῳ ἀφί-
moreover, though besieging Petra with the whole army, accomplished nothing, although the enemy were few. For while they had been at the beginning not less than fifteen hundred, they had been shot at by Romans and Lazi in their fighting at the wall for a long time, and had made a display of valour such as no others known to us have made, so that many were falling constantly and they were reduced to an exceedingly small number. So while the Persians, plunged in despair and at a loss what to do, were remaining quiet, the Romans made a trench along the wall for a short space, and the circuit-wall at this point fell immediately. But it happened that inside this space there was a building which did not stand back at all from the circuit-wall, and this reached to the whole length of the fallen portion; thus, taking the place of the wall for the besieged, it rendered them secure none the less. But this was not sufficient greatly to disturb the Romans. For knowing well that by doing the same thing elsewhere they would capture the city with the greatest ease, they became still more hopeful than before. For this reason Dagisthaeus sent word to the emperor of what had come to pass, and proposed that prizes of victory should be in readiness for him, indicating what rewards the emperor should bestow upon himself and his brother; for he would capture Petra after no great time. So the Romans and the Tzani made a most vigorous assault upon the wall, but the Persians unexpectedly withstood them, although only a very few were left. And since the Romans were accomplishing nothing by assaulting the wall, they again turned to digging. And they went so far in this work that the foundations of the
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

κοντό ὡς μηκέτι ἐπ' ἐδάφους τὰ τοῦ περιβόλου θεμέλια εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κενοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἑπὶ πλεῖστον ἐστάναι, πεσοῦμενα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, αὐτίκα 43 δὴ μάλα. καὶ εἰ μὲν Δαγισθαῖος εὐθὺς ἦθελε πῦρ τοὺς θεμελίως ἐνάψαι, οὐμαι εὐθὺωρῶν σφίσι τὴν πόλιν ἀλώναι· νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέως καραδοκῶν ἐλπίδας μέλλων τε αἰεὶ καὶ τρίβον τὸν χρόνον ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀρμαῖῶν στρατοπέδῳ ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.

XXX

1 Μεμεροῦσας δὲ, ἔπει τοὺς Ἰβηρίας ὄρους παντὶ τῷ Μηδώνι στρατῷ ἠμενήστε, πρόσω ἑξώρει, ποταμῶν Φάσιν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων. διὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Δαβίδι χαρίων ἕναι οὐδαμὴ ἦθελε, τοῦ μὴ
2 τι οἱ ταύτῃ ἐμπόδισμα ἥπαντιάσαι. Πέτραν γὰρ πόλιν καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἐνταῦθα διασώσασαι ἐν σπουδῇ εἰχε, καίτοι καὶ μοιρὰ τὶς
3 τοῦ περιβόλου καταπεπτώκει ἑξαπναίος. ἡώρητο γὰρ, ὅσπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἄνδρες τε τοῦ Ἀρμαίων στρατοῦ ἐς πεντάκοντα ἐθελοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πολεῖ γενόμενοι βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν ἄνεβον
4 καλλικοῦν. ἣγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν νεανίας τῆς Ἀρμένιος γένος, Ἰωάννης ὄνομα, Θωμᾶ υἱὸς, ὄνπερ
5 Γούζην ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν. οὕτως ὁ Θωμᾶς πολλὰ τῶν ἄμφι τῆν Δαβίδι ὁχυρωμάτων ἐδέιματο, βασιλέως οἱ ἐπαργείοτος, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης στρατιωτῶν ἦρξεν, ἐμφρῶν τε βασιλεῖ
6 ἔδοξεν εἴναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης, Περσῶν σφίσιν
1 γένος P: γενόμενος VG.
circuit-wall were no longer on solid ground, but stood for the most part over empty space, and, in the nature of things, would fall almost immediately. And if Dagisthaeus had been willing immediately to apply fire to the foundations, I think that the city would have been captured by them straightway; but, as it was, he was awaiting encouragement from the emperor, and so, always hesitating and wasting time, he remained inactive. Such, then, was the course of events in the Roman camp.

XXX

But Mermeroes, after passing the Iberian frontier with the whole Median army, was moving forward with the River Phasis on his right. For he was quite unwilling to go through the country of Lazica, lest any obstacle should confront him there. For he was eager to save the city of Petra and the Persians in it, even though a portion of the circuit-wall had fallen down suddenly. For it had been hanging in the air, as I have said; and volunteers from the Roman army to the number of fifty got inside the city, and raised the shout proclaiming the Emperor Justinian triumphant. These men were led by a young man of Armenian birth, John by name, the son of Thomas whom they used to call by the surname Gouzes. This Thomas had built many of the strongholds about Lazica at the direction of the emperor, and he commanded the soldiers there, seeming to the emperor an intelligent person. Now John, when the Persians joined battle with his men,
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἐς χείρας ἠλθόντων, πληγεῖς αὐτίκα ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησεν, ἐπεὶ οὔδεὶς οἱ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔτερος ἀμύνων ἦλθεν Πέρσης δὲ ἀνήρ, Μιρράνης ὄνομα, ὅσπερ τοῦ ἐν Πέτρα φυλακτηρίον ἦρχεν, ἀμφὶ τῇ πόλει δείσας, Πέρσαις μὲν πᾶσιν ἐπέστελλε τῆς φυλακῆς ἐς τὸ ἀκρίβεις μάλιστα ἔχεσθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Δαγισθαίον σταλεὶς ἀδιάφας τε καὶ ἀπατηλοὺς προὐτείνετο λόγους, οὔδενι πόνῳ ὁμολογών οὐ πολλῷ υἱοτερον ἐνδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. ταύτῃ τε παρακρούσαθαι ἠσχυσεν, ὡς μή ἐς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ ἐστιντὰ εἶναι.

8 Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μερμερόν ἔπειδη ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν στενωπὸν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσα τὸ Ῥωμαίων φυλακτηρίων ὑπηντίαξον ἐς ἐκατόν ὄντες, καρτερῶς τε ἡμύνοντο, καὶ τοὺς τῇς εἰςδόου ἀποπειρομένους ἀνέστελλον. Πέρσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ὑπεχώρουν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κτεινομένους ἢ ἐτεροὶ ἐκδεχόμενοι πρόσω ἐχώρουν, παντὶ σθένει τὴν εἰςδόδον βιαιζόμενοι. θυόσκουσι μὲν Πέρσαι πλέον ἡ χίλιοι, κτείνοντες δὲ Ῥωμαίοι ἀπεῖπον, τοὺς τῇς ὀμίλου σφᾶς βιαιζόμενον ὑπεχώρησαν τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἐκείνη ὅρων τἀς ἡπερδολας ἀναδραμόντες ἠσώθησαν. ταῦτα Δαγισθαίος μαθὼν αὐτίκα τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσεν, οὔδεν τῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστείλας, ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν τε ποταμὸν ἠλαυνε· καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι ξύμπαντες εἴποντο, τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπόντες. Πέρσαι δὲ τὰ ποιούμενα κατιδόντες τὰς τὴν πύλας ἀνέφηνον καὶ

1 τόνως GP: λόγω V. 2 εἶναι Maltretus: εἶναι MS. 3 στρατῷ VP: στρατοπέδῳ G.

542
was wounded and straightway withdrew to the camp with his followers, since no one else of the Roman army came to support him. Meanwhile the Persian Mirranes who commanded the garrison in Petra, fearing for the city, directed all the Persians to keep guard with the greatest diligence, and he himself went to Dagisthaeus, and addressed him with fawning speeches and deceptive words, agreeing readily to surrender the city not long afterwards. In this way he succeeded in deceiving him so that the Roman army did not immediately enter the city.

Now when the army of Mermeroes came to the pass, the Roman garrison, numbering one hundred men, confronted them there and offered a stalwart resistance, and they held in check their opponents who were attempting the entrance. But the Persians by no means withdrew, but those who fell were constantly replaced by others, and they kept advancing, trying with all their strength to force their way in. Among the Persians more than a thousand perished, but at last the Rōmans were worn out with killing, and, being forced back by the throng, they withdrew, and running up to the heights of the mountain there were saved. Dagisthaeus, upon learning this, straightway abandoned the siege without giving any commands to the army, and proceeded to the River Phasis; and all the Romans followed him, leaving their possessions behind in the camp. And when the Persians observed what was being done, they opened
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ηπεξελθόντες ὑμῖν τὰς καλύβας τῶν πολεμίων
13 ἤλθον, ὡς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξαιρήσοντες. Τξάνοι δὲ (οὐ γὰρ Δαγισθαῖφ ἐπιστόμενοι ἐτυχον) ἐβοήθησαν ἑνταῦθα δρόμῳ, τρεψάμενοι τε πόνῳ
14 οὐδενὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς ἐκτειναν. Πέρσαι μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ἐγένοντο,1 Τξάνοι δὲ λησάμενοι τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον εὐθὺ τοῦ Ριζαίου ἐχώρησαν. ἐνθεν δὲ ἐς Ἄθηνας ἐλθόντες διὰ Τραπεζούντων ἐπ’ οἰκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν.

15 Μερμερός δὲ καὶ ὁ Μήδων στρατὸς ἑνταῦθα ἤλθον ἠμέρα μετὰ τὴν Δαγισθαίου ὑπαγωγὴν ἐνάτην οὐ δὴ ἀπολελειμμένους ἐκ τοῦ Περσῶν φυλακτηρίων τραματιάς μὲν καὶ ἀπομάχους γεγενημένους πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους εὐρυόν, ἀκραιφεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν μόνους, οἱ
16 γὰρ ἄλλοι ἄπαντες ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ὡσπερ τὰ σωματα οἱ περίοντες τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς οὐδαμὴ ἔρρεισαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ὀσμῆς δυσώδει ἀποπνιγόμενοι παρὰ δόξαν ἄντείχουν, ὡς μὴ τῶν ἐς τὸ πολιορκεῖν προθυμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀτὸ τῶν
17 πλείστων ἀπολωλότων σφίσι, παρέχονται. ὡς τε Μερμερός ἐπιτωθάξων δακρύων τε καὶ δρῆνοι
18 οί Ρωμαίων τὴν πολιτείαν ἐφασκεν εἶναι, οἷς γε δὴ ἐς τοῦτο ἀσθενείας περιστήκη εἰς τὰ πράγματα, τα καὶ ἐκατόν ἀτείχίστους καὶ τοῦ μὲν περιβόλου ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι δυσ καταπεπτώκει ἐν σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο: ἐπεὶ δὲ οὖτε τίτανον ἐν τῷ παραυτών οὖτε τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐπιτηδείων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐχεν, ἐπενοεί

1 ἐγένοντο P: έκτειναν VG.
their gates and came forth, and approached the tents of the enemy in order to capture the camp. But the Tzani, who had not followed after Dagisthaeus, as it happened, rushed out to defend the camp, and they routed the enemy without difficulty and killed many. So the Persians fled inside their fortifications, and the Tzani, after plundering the Roman camp proceeded straight for Rhizaeum. And from there they came to Athens and betook themselves to their homes through the territory of the Trapezuntines.

And Mermeroes and the Median army came there on the ninth day after the withdrawal of Dagisthaeus; and in the city they found left of the Persian garrison three hundred and fifty men wounded and unfit for fighting, and only one hundred and fifty men unhurt; for all the rest had perished. Now the survivors had in no case thrown the bodies of the fallen outside the fortifications, but though stifled by the evil stench, they held out in a manner beyond belief, in order that they might not afford the enemy any encouragement for the prosecution of the siege, by letting them know that most of their number had perished. And Mermeroes remarked by way of a taunt that the Roman state was worthy of tears and lamentation, because they had come to such a state of weakness that they had been unable by any device to capture one hundred and fifty Persians without a wall. And he was eager to build up the portions of the circuit wall which had fallen down; but since at the moment he had neither lime nor any of the other necessary materials for the building ready at hand, he devised the following plan.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

19 τάδε. θυλάκους λινοὺς, οίς δὴ Πέρσαι τὰ ἐπι-
tήδεια σφίσιν ἐσεκομίσαντο ἐς γῆν τὴν Κολχίδα,
ψάμμου ἐμπλησάμενος ἐς τῶν λίθων τὴν χώραν
ἐτίθετο, οὐ δὴ ἐνταῦθα βαλλόμενοι ἀντὶ τοῦ
tοίχου τέγνυντο. καὶ τρισχίλιους μὲν τῶν μαχίμων
ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ εἴασεν, οἵστερ τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐκ
ἐς χρόνου κατέθετο μῆκος, ἐπιστείλας τοῦ περι-
βόλου τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι: αὐτὸς δὲ
παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαινεν.

21 Ἑσπεῖ τέ οἱ ὅμω τῇ αὐτῇ ἐνθένδε ἱόντι οὐδεὶς τῶν
ἀναγκαίων ἐγήνετο πόρος, ἀπαντά έν Πέτρα
λυπόντι ἄπερ ἐπιφερόμενος ἡ Ἰσηρίας ὁ στρατὸς
ἐτυχέν, ἀλλὰ τινὰ πορείαν ἰέναι διὰ τῶν ταύτη
ὄρων διενείπο, ἦν δὴ ἀνθρώπους οἰκεῖν ἐμαθεν.

22 ὅπως ληξόμενοι ἀποζήν δύνωνται. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
πορείᾳ τῶν τις ἐν Δαζῷς λογίμων, Φουβέλις
όνομά, Πέρσας αὐλιζόμενος ἐνήδρευσεν, Δαγγ-
σθαίον ἀμα Ῥωμαίων δισχίλιοι ἐπαγόμενοι, οὐ
dή τῶν Περσῶν ἢ ἐπιδρομῆς ὑπονοι νέμοντας
τινὰς ἔκτειναν, ὑπονοι τῇ λησάμενοι δι’ οἷς ὅλην
τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. οὕτω μὲν ὁ Μερ-
μερός τῷ Μήδῳ στρατῷ ἐνθένδε ἦε.

23 ο δὲ Γουβάζης, μαθὼν ὅσα δὴ Ῥωμαίως ἐν τῇ
Πέτρᾳ καὶ τῷ στενωτῷ ξυνηνέκχθη γενέσθαι,
οὐδὲ δὲ έδέσην, οὐδὲ τῇ ἐν τῷ κατ’ αὐτὸν στενῳ φυλακῇ έιασεν, ἐνταῦθα σφίσι τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς

24 ἐπίδοσι οἰόμενος εἶναι. ἐξηπίστατο γὰρ ὡς, ἢν καὶ
Ῥωμαίως ἐκτὸς Φάσιδος ποταμοῦ βιασάμενοι
Πέρσαι τῶν στενωτῶν διαβήναι καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ

1 τοίχου GP: τείχους V.
Filling with sand the linen bags in which the Persians had carried their provisions into the land of Colchis, he laid them in the place of the stones, and the bags thus arranged took the place of the wall. And choosing out three thousand of his able fighting men, he left them there, depositing with them victuals for no great length of time, and commanding them to attend to the building of the fortifications; then he himself with all the rest of the army turned back and marched away.

But since, if he went from there by the same road, no means of provisioning his army was available, since he had left everything in Petra which had been brought in by the army from Iberia, he planned to go by another route through the mountains, where he learned that the country was inhabited, in order that by foraging there he might be able to live off the land. In the course of this journey one of the notables among the Lazi, Phoubelis by name, laid an ambush for the Persians while camping for the night, bringing with him Dagistheus with two thousand of the Romans; and these men, making a sudden attack, killed some of the Persians who were grazing their horses, and after securing the horses as plunder they shortly withdrew. Thus, then, Mermeroes with the Median army departed from there.

But Goubazes, upon learning what had befallen the Romans both at Petra and at the pass, did not even so become frightened, nor did he give up the guarding of the pass where he was, considering that their hope centred in that place. For he understood that, even if the Persians had been able by forcing back the Romans on the left of the River Phasis to cross over the pass and get into Petra, they could
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

γενέσθαι δεδύνηται, οὖν ἂν ἐνθένδε Λαζὼν τῇ χώρᾳ προστρέψαντο βλάβος, Φᾶσιν διαβηθαι οὐδεμιὰ μηχανὴ ἔχοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ νηῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος ἰκανώτατα ἔχει, εὔρους δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διῆκε. τῆς μὲντοι ῥύμης αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον περίστιν ὡστε δὴ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπὶ μακρότατον κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῇ ταυτῇ ἐπιμηγυμένοις. ὤδωρ ἄμελε πότιμον τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ναυτιλομένοις ὑδρεύεσθαι πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ 27 πελάγει. καὶ φυλακτήρια μὲντοι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐντός πεποίηται πανταχόθι Λαζώ, τοῦ μηδὲ ναςὶ διαπορθμεμένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπόβασιν ἐσ τὴν γῆν εἶναι.

28 Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Σαββέιρων μὲν τῷ ἔθνει τὰ ἐνυγκείμενα χρήματα ἐπεμψε, Γουββάζην 29 δὲ καὶ Λαζών δρίσμασιν ἄλλοις δεδώρηται. ἐτύγχαλε δὲ πολλὴ πρότερον καὶ ἄλλο στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον ἐς Λαζικὴν πέμψας; οὗ ὁπως ἄφικομενοι ἐνταῦθα ἐτυχοῦν. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Ἡρῴδανγος ἐκ Θράκης, ἀνὴρ ἐνυπότο τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια. ταυτα μὲν οὐν ταυτὴ πι πε εἶχε.

30 Γενομένου δὲ ὁ Μερμερῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσιν, οὐσιν μὲν καὶ ιητήται, Πέτραν ἐνθένδε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐμπιπλάναι ἐς σπουδὴ εἶχεν. ἐπαρκέσειν γὰρ τῷ ἐνταῦθα φυλακτηρίῳ ἀς τρισχιλίους ὄντι τὰ ἐδώδιμα οὐδαμὴ φεῖτο ἀπερ εἰσκομισάμενοι ἕσσιν 31 αὐτοῖς ἐτυχοῦν. ἄλλα ἔπει τὰ ἐν ποι ὁφήσι γεινόμενα μόλις ἀπέχρῃ ἐς τὴν δαπάνην τῇ στρατιᾷ ταυτῇ, οὐχ ἢ σον ἡ τρισμυρλοις 1 οὐσί, 2 καὶ ἀμ 1 τρισμυρλοις G: τρίσμυρλων VP. 2 οὐσί VG: οὐσὶ P.

548
thereby inflict no injury upon the land of the Lazi, since they were utterly unable to cross the Phasis, in particular because no ships were at their disposal. For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a very great distance, without mingling at all with the sea-water. Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of the sea. Moreover, the Lazi have erected fortresses all along the right bank of the river, in order that, even when the enemy are ferried across in boats, they may not be able to disembark on the land.

The Emperor Justinian at this time sent to the nation of the Sabeiri the money which had been agreed upon, and he rewarded Goubazes and the Lazi with additional sums of money. And it happened that long before this time he had sent another considerable army also to Lazica, which had not yet arrived there. The commander of this army was Rhecithancus, from Thrace, a man of discretion and a capable warrior. Such then was the course of these events.

Now when Mermeroes got into the mountains, as I have said, he was anxious to fill Petra with provisions from there. For he did not by any means think that the victuals which they had brought in with them would suffice for the garrison there, amounting to three thousand men. But since the supplies they found along the way barely sufficed for the provisioning of that army, which numbered no less than thirty thousand, and since on this account
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

αὐτοῦ οὖν ὁ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον πέμπειν ἐς τὴν Πέτραν οἷοι τε ἦσαν, λογισάμενος εὐρίσκει σφίσιν ἀμείων ἐναι τὸ μὲν πλέον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ γῆς τῆς Κολχίδος, ὁλίγον δὲ τινας ἐνταῦθα μεῖναι, οἰ δὴ ἔμελλον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἰς ἄν ἐνυόχοιεν πολλὰ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἐν Πέτρα φυλακτήριον ἐσκομίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλους αὐτοῦ διαρκῶς

χρῆσθαι ἀνδρας οὖν ἐς πεντακισχιλίους ἀπολεξάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔισεν, οἷς δὴ ἀρχοντας ἄλλους

tε τρεῖς καὶ Φάβριζον κατεστήσατο. πλείους γὰρ ἐνταῦθα λείπεσθαι οὐ οἱ ἐδοξεῖν ἐπάνωγκες εἶναι, πολεμίων οὐδαμή ὄντων. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν Περσαρμειναίαν ἐλθὼν ἦσύχασεν ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Δούβιοις χωρίοις.

34. Οἱ δὲ πεντακισχιλίαι, ἔπει δειγγυτέρω τῶν Δαξίκης ἐσχάτων ἤλθον, παρὰ ποταμῶν Φάσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἄπαντες, ἔθεν τε κατ' ὀλίγος περιόμονες ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία. οὐ δὲ ὁ Γουβάζης αἰσθόμενος τῷ Δαγισθαίῳ ἐπέστειλε βοηθεῖν ἐνταῦθα σπουδὴ δράσειν γὰρ σφίσι τούς πολεμίους κακῶν τι μέγα δυνατά

35. ἔσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, παντὶ τε τῷ Ῥωμαιῶν στρατῷ ἐπίπροσθεν ἦς, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων ποταμὸν Φάσιν, ἕως ἐς χώρον ἀφίκετο ἵνα δὴ οἱ Δαξίοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσωτο ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τοῦ

36. ποταμοῦ ὕδη. ἐσύγχανε δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Φάσις διαβάτος ὁμοίας καὶ Πέρσαι ἀπεφίλη τῶν ἐκείνης χωρίων ὡς ἦσαντα ὑπετόπαξον, Δαξίοι μέντοι ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐνταῦθα διέβησαν ἐξαπιναῖοι καὶ ἀνεμχυννοῦ τῷ Ῥωμαιῶν στρατῷ. Πέρσαι δὲ ἄνδρας χιλίων τῶν ἐν σφίσι δοκίμων ἀπολεξάμενοι ἔπεμψαν, ὡς

550
they were able to send nothing at all of consequence to Petra, upon consideration he found it better for them that the greater part of the army should depart from the land of Colchis, and that some few should remain there, who were to convey to the garrison in Petra the most of the provisions which they might find, while using the rest to maintain themselves comfortably. He therefore selected five thousand men and left them there, appointing as commanders over them Phabrizus and three others. For it seemed to him unnecessary to leave more men there, since there was no enemy at all. And he himself with the rest of the army came into Persarmenia and remained quietly in the country around Doubios.

Now the five thousand, upon coming nearer to the frontier of Lazica, encamped in a body beside the Phasis River, and from there they went about in small bands and plundered the neighbouring country. Now when Goubaæzes perceived this, he sent word to Dagisthaeus to hasten there to his assistance: for it would be possible for them to do the enemy some great harm. And he did as directed, moving forward with the whole Roman army with the River Phasis on the left, until he came to the place where the Lazi where encamped on the opposite bank of the river. Now it happened that the Phasis could be forded at this point, a fact which neither the Romans nor the Persians suspected in the least because of their lack of familiarity with these regions; but the Lazi knew it well, and they made the crossing suddenly and joined the Roman army. And the Persians chose out a thousand men of repute among them and sent them forth, that no one might advance
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

μὴ τις ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσωσιν ἵοι.
38 ὁπερ δύο ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ προτερήσαντες καὶ
παρὰ δόξαν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμπεπτωκότες τὸν
39 πάντα λόγου ἐσήγγειλαν. διὸ δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι τε
καὶ Δαξιοὶ τοῖς χίλιοις ἐξαπιναῖοι ἐπέστησαν,
οὔδεις τε αὐτῶν διαφυγεῖν ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, τινὰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἱσογή-
σαντες οἱ τε ἀμφὶ Γουβάζῃ καὶ Δαγνοθάιον τὸ
tε μέτρον τοῦ Μηδῶν στρατοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὅδος
μήκος μαθεῖν ἰσχυσαν, καὶ ὅτι ποτὲ αὐτῶς τὰ
40 παρόντα ἔχοι. ἀραντες οὖν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ
αὐτοὺς ἤσαν, διαμιθμούμενοι ὅπως πόρρω
ποὺ τῶν νυκτῶν ἐπιτέσσεοι σφίζοντες ἐπεραικοῦχο-
41 λιοῦ δὲ καὶ μύρου ἤσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι
πολέμων οὐδὲν ἐν ὑπὸ ἔχοντες μακρόν τινὰ ὑπὸ
ἐκάθενδον τὸν τε γὰρ ποταμὸν ἀπορρευτὸν ἄρτο
ἐναι καὶ τοὺς χίλιοις, οὐδενὸς σφίζων ὑπαντία-
42 σαντος, ἐπὶ μακρότατον τῇ ὅδῷ ἴναι. Ῥωμαῖοι
δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Δαξιοὶ ὁρθροὶ βαθέος ἀπροσδόκητοι
ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐκ ὑπὸν αἱρομένους
ἐνὶ, τοὺς δὲ ἄρτη ἐξ ὑπὸν ἐγγερμένους καὶ
43 γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων κεμένους. διὸ δὴ
αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ ἁλκή ἰδεῖν ἐξυπνάξῃ, ἀλλ' οἱ
μὲν πλείστοι καταλαμβανόμενοι θυμακόντων,
tinᾶς δὲ καὶ ἐξόργησαν οἱ πολέμωι, ἐν τοῖς
καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐνα τετυχόκεν ἴναι, ὅλοι
44 δὲ τινὲς ἐν σκότῳ διαφεύγοντες ἔσωθησαν. τὸ
τε στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Δαξιοὶ αἰροῦσι καὶ
τὰ σημεῖα πάντα, ὅπλα τε πολλὰ καὶ χρήματα
μεγάλα ἐλπίσαντο, καὶ ὑπον τε καὶ ἠμόνων
45 μέγα τι χρήμα. ἐπὶ μακρότατον δὲ τὴν δύο
ποιησόμενοι καὶ Ἰβηρίας πόρρω ἀφίκοντο. ἔνθα
552
against the camp to harm it. And two of this force, who had gone out ahead of their fellows to reconnoitre, fell unexpectedly into the hands of the enemy and informed them of the whole situation. The Romans, therefore, and the Lazi fell suddenly upon the thousand men, and not one of them succeeded in escaping, but the most of them were slain, while some also were captured; and through these the men of Goubazes and Dagisthaeus succeeded in learning the numbers of the Median army and the length of the journey to them and the condition in which they then were. They therefore broke camp and marched against them with their whole army, calculating so that they would fall upon them well on in the night; their own force amounted to fourteen thousand men. Now the Persians, having no thought of an enemy in their minds, were enjoying a long sleep; for they supposed that the river was impassable, and that the thousand men, with no one to oppose them, were making a long march somewhere. But the Romans and Lazi at early dawn unexpectedly fell upon them, and they found some still buried in slumber and others just roused from sleep and lying defenceless upon their beds. Not one of them, therefore, thought of resistance, and the majority were caught and killed, while some also were captured by the enemy, among whom happened to be one of the commanders; only a few escaped in the darkness and were saved. And the Romans and Lazi captured the camp and all the standards, and they also secured many weapons and a great deal of money as plunder, besides great numbers of horses and mules. And pursuing them for a very great distance they came well into Iberia. There they happened upon
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

dη καὶ ἄλλως τις Περσῶν ἐνυχόντες πολλοὺς
46 ἐκτεινα. ὅπως μὲν ἐκ Δασκίως Πέρσαι ἀπῆλλα-
ξαν, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ καὶ Δασκιοὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια
καὶ ἄλευρα παμπληθῆ ἐνταῦθα εὑρόντες ἀπαντα
ἐκαυσαν ἀπερ ἕξ Ἰβηρίας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐπηγά-
47 γοντο ἐφ’ ὃ ἐς Πέτραν ἐσκομίσονται. 1 

Δασκιοὶ τε πολλοὺς ἐλίποντο ἐν τῷ στεναστῷ, ὡς ἤρετεν
Πέρσαις ἐς Πέτραν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομίζονται
δυνατὰ εἰς, ἐξου τῇ ἄλλῃ λείᾳ καὶ τοῖς αἰχμα-
48 λώτοις ἀνέστρεφον, καὶ τέταρτον ἐτος ἐτελεύτα
Ῥωμαίοις τῆς ἐς Πέρσας ἐκεχειρίας, τρίτον καὶ
εἰκοστὸν ἐτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτο-
κράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.

49 Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Καππαδόκης ἐνιαυτῷ πρώτον
βασιλεῖ ἐς Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε. τηνι-
κάδε γὰρ Θεοδώρα τῇ βασιλέιδι ἐπεγένετο ἡ

50 τέλειος ἡμέρα τοῦ βίου. τῶν μὲντοι πρόσθεν
ἀξιωμάτων ἀνασώσασθαι οὖν ὅτι οὖν ἔσχεν, ἄλλ’
ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκουσίου τιμῆς ἱερεὺς ἐμείναι καίτοι
φάντασμα τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγενόμενον πολλάκις ὡς

51 εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφίξεται. φιλεῖ γὰρ τὸ δαμόνιον,
ὅπερ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμοίζεσθαι πέφυκεν,
ἀπὸ μειζόνων τε καὶ υψηλότερον ἑλπίδων κρεμάν
οὶ δὴ ὅπο ἐπὶ στερρᾶς φύσεως τὴν διάνοιαν

52 ἐστάναι ἐξωβαίνει. καὶ τούτῳ γρόνῳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ

53 ἀλλασ τὸ πολλᾶς τεταρτολόγοι φαντάσεις ἐς ἀεὶ
προὔλεγον καὶ ὡς χρῆν αὐτόν τοῦ Ἀγαθόντου

54 ἀμπίσχεσθαι σχῆμα. ἤν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερεὺς ἐν 

554
certain others of the Persians also and slew a great number. Thus the Persians departed from Lazica; and the Romans and Lazi found there all the supplies, including great quantities of flour, which the barbarians had brought in from Iberia, in order to transport them to Petra, and they burned them all. And they left a large number of Lazi in the pass, so that it might no longer be possible for the Persians to carry in supplies to Petra, and they returned with all the plunder and the captives. And the fourth year of the truce between the Romans and Persians came to an end, being the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian.

And John the Cappadocian one year before this came to Byzantium at the summons of the emperor. For at that time the Empress Theodora had reached the term of her life. However, he was quite unable to recover any of his former dignities, but he continued to hold the priestly honour against his will; and yet the vision had often come to the man that he would arrive at royalty. For the divine power is accustomed to tempt those whose minds are not solidly grounded by nature, by holding before their vision, on great and lofty hopes, that which is counted splendid among men. At any rate the marvel-mongers were always predicting to this John many such imaginary things, and especially that he was bound to be clothed in the garment of Augustus. Now there was a certain priest in Byzantium, Augustus by name, who guarded the treasures of the temple of Sophia. So when John had been shorn
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ηξίωτο βία, οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ἐσθῆς ἱερεί πρέ-
poussa, τούτω δὴ τοῦ Ἀυγούστου, ἐγγὺς πη
ὀντος, τὸν τε φανόλην καὶ τὸν χιτῶνα ἐνδιδύ-
sκεσθαι πρὸς τῶν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐφεστῶτων ἴναγ-
καστο, ἐς τοῦτο τε αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη, οἷμαι, ἡ
πρόρρησις.
and declared worthy of the priestly dignity by force, inasmuch as he had no garment becoming a priest, he had been compelled by those who were in charge of this business to put on the cloak and the tunic of this Augustus who was near by, and in this, I suppose, his prophecy reached its fulfilment.
INDEX

Abandanes, secretary of Chosroes, sent to Belisarius, II. xxi. 1 ff.; his report, II. xxi. 13, 14
Abasgi, their location, II. xxix. 15; friends of the Romans, ib.
Abocorumus, ruler of the Saracens of Arabia, presents the Palm Groves to Justinian, I. xix. 10 ff.
Aborrhas River, protects one side of Circeium, II. v. 2; near Theodosiopolis, II. xix. 29
Abramus, becomes king of the Romeritae, I. xx. 3; his servile origin, I. xx. 4; defeats two Aethiopian armies, I. xx. 5-7; pays tribute to the Aethiopians, I. xx. 8; his idle promises to Justinian to invade Persia, I. xx. 13
Abydus, city opposite Seostus on the Hellespont, II. iv. 9
Acaecus, father of Adullus, II. xxi. 2; denounces Ammassapes to the emperor, II. iii. 4; slays him treacherously, II. iii. 5; his shameless career as governor of Armenia, II. iii. 6, 7; slain by the Armenians, II. iii. 7
Aderbighon, Chosroes halts there with his army, II. xxiv. 1; the fire-sanctuary located there, II. xxiv. 2; abandoned by Chosroes, II. xxiv. 12
Adergoudounbades, made "chana-ranges" by Chosroes, I. vi. 15, 18; saves Cabades from the hand of Chosroes, I. xxii. 7 ff.; betrayed by his son, I. xxiii. 13; his death, I. xxiii. 21
Adullus, son of Acaecus, an Armenian, urges severe treatment of Armenians, II. iii. 10; commander of Roman cavalry, II. xxi. 2, 18, 20; commands a detachment in an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 13; killed by a stone, II. xxv. 35
Adonachus, commander in Chalcis, II. xii. 2
Adrastadaran Salanes, an office in Persia of high authority (lit. "Leader of the Warriors"), I. vi. 18, xi. 25; held only by Seoes, I. xi. 38
Adulis, in Aethiopia, the city and harbour, distance from Auxomis, I. xix. 22; home of a certain Roman trader, I. x. 4
Egypt, its topography, I. xix. 3; John the Cappadocian an exile there, I. xxv. 43; the pestilence there, II. xxii. 6
Aeimachus, a butcher of Antioch, his encounter with a Persian horseman, II. xi. 8 ff.
Asia, on the "Red Sea," I. xix. 3, 19, 24
Aethiopians, location of their country, I. xix. 17; the ships used there, I. xix. 23; iron not produced there nor imported from elsewhere, I. xix. 24, 25; sought as allies by Justinian, I. xix. 1, xx. 9 ff., II. iii. 40; unable to buy silk from the Indians, I. xx. 12
Agamemnon, father of Iphigenia, I. xvii. 11
Agesta, i.e., "agger," employed by the Persians in besieging Edessa, II. xxvi. 29
Aigan, Massagete chief, in the Roman army at the battle of Dara, I. xiii. 20, xiv. 39, 44
Alamoundaras, son of Sacce, king of the Saracens, marches

PROCOP. I.
INDEX

with the Persian army, i. xvii. 1; his character and services to the Persians, i. xvii. 40 ff.; advises Cabades to invade Roman territory south of the Euphrates River, i. xvii. 30 ff.; retires with Azarethes before Belisarius, i. xvii. 9 ff.; brings charge against Arethas of violating boundary lines, ii. i. 3; war with Arethas, ii. xxviii. 12-14; sacrifices to Aphrodite the son of Arethas, ii. xxviii. 13; sought as an ally by Justinian, ii. i. 13, iii. 47; accused by Justinian of violating the treaty, ii. iv. 21; a menace to Syria and Phoenicia, ii. xvi. 17; also to Lebanon, ii. xix. 34

Alani, their location, ii. xxix. 15; friends of the Romans, 6; neighbours of the Suntiae, i. xv. 1; persuaded by Gouazes to ally themselves with him, ii. xxix. 29

Albani, a people near the Taurus, i. x. 1

Alexander, son of Philip, fortified the Caspian Gates, i. x. 9; Justinian compared with him, ii. ii. 15

Alexander, ambassador to the Persians, i. xxii. 1

Alexandria, visited by the pestilence, ii. xxii. 6; citizens of, accused by John the Cappadocian, ii. xxv. 44

Amasaspeus, nephew of Symeon, made ruler of certain Armenian villages, ii. iii. 3; denounced to the emperor, ii. iii. 4; treacherously slain, ii. iii. 6

Amazacades, a Hun, offers to sell to Anastasius the control of the Caspian Gates, i. x. 10; his death, i. x. 12

Ambrus, a Saracen Christian, saves Sergiopolis from capture by Chosroes, ii. xx. 10, 14

Amida, a city on the border between Armenia and Mesopotamia, i. xvii. 24; distance from Martyropolis, i. xxi. 6; distance from the Nymphius River, i. viii. 22; from Siphrios, i. viii. 10; from Endielon, i. vii. 5; from Thilasamon, i. ix. 14; besieged by Cabades, i. vii. 3, 12 ff.; bravely defended, i. vii. 4, 12 ff.; captured by Cabades, i. vii. 29; besieged by the Romans, i. ix. 1-4; recovered by the Romans by purchase, i. ix. 20, 23; captives of, generously treated by Chosroes, i. vii. 34; citizens relieved of taxes, i. vii. 35

Ammodias, a place near Daras, i. xiii. 15, 38; ii. xxviii. 35

Anastasius, Roman emperor, uncle of Hypatius, i. vii. 2, xi. 24; of Probus, i. xii. 6; and of Pompeius, i. xxiv. 19; refuses to purchase from Ambazacases the control of the Caspian Gates, i. x. 10, 11, xvi. 4; insurrection raised against him by Vitalianus, i. viii. 3, xiii. 10; refuses request of Cabades for a loan, i. vii. 1, 2; shews favours to citizens of Amida, i. vii. 55; sends succour to Amida, i. vii. 1; fortifies Daras, i. x. 13; placates Cabades, i. x. 17; fortifies Theodosiopolis, i. x. 18, 19; his death, i. xi. 1

Anastasius of Daras, overthrows tyranny there, i. xxvii. 8, ii. iv. 15; bears a letter from Justinian to Chosroes, ii. iv. 18; detained by Chosroes, ii. v. 26; dismissed by Chosroes, ii. v. 27; present with Chosroes at the sack of Sura, ii. ix. 10

Anatolius, General of the East, averts danger to the empire by courtesy to the Persian King, i. xii. 12-15

Andrew, of Byzantium, his exploits in single combat, i. xiii. 30 ff.

Anglon, village in Persarmenia, ii. xxv. 5; Roman armies routed there, ii. xxv. 23 ff.

Anlubades, sent by Chosroes to capture Petra, ii. xvii. 4; impeled by Chosroes, ii. xvii. 11

Antinous, city of, in Aegypt, John the Cappadocian imprisoned there, i. xxv. 43

Antioch, its importance, i. xvii.
INDEX

36. II. viii. 23, ix. 3, x. 5; situation, ii. vi. 10, vii. 21; ease with which it might be captured, i. xvii. 38; character of the inhabitants, i. xviii. 37, ii. viii. 6; distance from Beroea, ii. vii. 2; from Seleucia, ii. xi. 1; visited by an earthquake, ii. xiv. 6; the citizens propose to buy off Chosroes, ii. vii. 16; besieged by Chosroes, ii. viii. 1 ff.; the wall stormed by Chosroes, ii. viii. 8 ff.; captured by Chosroes, ii. viii. 20 ff.; plundered by Chosroes, ii. ix. 14 ff.; burnt, ii. ix. 17, 18; young men of, check the victorious Persians in a street fight, ii. viii. 29, 32, ix. 6; citizens of, massacred by the Persians, ii. vii. 34; church of, robbed of great treasures by Chosroes, ii. ix. 15, 16; spared in the burning of the city, ii. ix. 18, x. 6; citizens of, receive portent of coming misfortunes, ii. x. 1 ff.; xiv. 5; two women of, their sad fate at the capture of the city, ii. viii. 35; captives of, offered for sale by Chosroes, ii. xiii. 2 ff.; settled by Chosroes in a newly built city under special laws, ii. xiv. 1 ff.

Antioch of Chosroes, special laws concerning it, ii. xiv. 3, 4

Antonina, wife of Bellsarius, brings about the downfall of John the Cappadocian, i. xxv. 13 ff.; departs to the East, i. xxv. 23

Apamea, city of Syria, ii. xi. 2, 4; wood of the Cross preserved there, ii. xi. 14; it gives forth a miraculous light in the church, ii. xi. 17, 18; visited by Chosroes, ii. xi. 14 ff.; entered by Chosroes and robbed of all its treasure, ii. xi. 24 ff.; a citizen of, accuses a Persian of having violated his daughter, ii. xi. 36

Aphrodite, son of Arethas sacrificed to, ii. xxviii. 13

Apion, an Egyptian, manager of finances in the Roman army, i. viii. 5

Arabia, its location, i. xix. 20

Arabian Gulf, called “Red Sea” by Procopius, i. xix. 2; its description, i. xix. 2 ff.

Aradius, in company with Narses defeats Sittas and Bellsarius, i. xii. 21, 22; deserts to the Romans, i. xii. 22, xv. 31; sent to Italy, i. xii. 22

Arcadius, Roman emperor, when about to die makes provision for the safety of his heir, i. ii. 1 ff.

Archaeopolis, a strong city of Lazica, ii. xxix. 18

Areyobindus, son-in-law of Olybrius, Roman general, i. vii. 1; flees with his army before Cabades, i. vii. 10, 11; summoned to Byzantium, i. ix. 1

Ares, House of, portion of the imperial residence in Byzantium, i. xxiv. 9

Arethas, son of Gabalas, made king of the Saracens of Arabia by Justinian and pitted against Alamondaras, i. xvii. 47, 48; with the Roman army, i. xviii. 7; at the battle on the Euphrates, i. xviii. 26, 35; quarrels with Alamondaras, ii. i. 3–7; joins Bellsarius in Mesopotamia, ii. xvi. 5; sent by Bellsarius to plunder Assyria, ii. xix. 11, 15 ff.; returns another way, ii. xix. 26 ff.; wages war against Alamondaras, ii. xxviii. 12–14; son of, sacrificed to Aphrodite, ii. xxviii. 13

Argik, a guardian, his effective fighting against the Persians at Edessa, ii. xxv. 26, 27

Armenia, considered by some to extend as far as Amida, i. xvii. 24; Armenians wage war with Persia, i. v. 10 ff.; History of the Armenians, i. v. 9, 40

Arsaces, king of Armenia, progenitor of the Arsacidae, ii. iii. 32; his abdication, ii. iii. 35

Arsaces, king of Armenia, wages a truceless war with Persia, i. v. 10 ff.; slandered to Pacarius, i. v. 16; victim of stratagem of Magi, betrays himself to Pacarius, i. v. 19 ff.; confined in the Prison of Oblivion, i.
INDEX

v. 29 ff.; kills himself, I. v. 39

Arsaces, last king of Armenia, gives his kingdom to Theodosius, II. iii. 35

Arsaces, commander in Sura, killed while valiantly defending the city, II. v. 11

Arsacidæ, descendants of the Armenian king, Arsaces, II. iii. 32; their privileges, II. iii. 35

Areinus River, tributary to the Euphrates, I. xvii. 21

Artabanus, son of John, of the Arsacidæ, slays Sittas, II. iii. 25

Artace, suburb of Cyzicus, I. xxv. 31

Artemis among the Taurians, sanctuary of, in Celesene, I. xvii. 11; a sanctuary of, founded by Orestes in Pontus, I. xvii. 15; another in Cappadocia, I. xvii. 18

Arzamun, in Mesopotamia, distance from Constantina, I. viii. 10

Arzanæne, district of Armenia beyond the River Nymphius, I. viii. 21, II. xv. 7; invaded by Celer, I. viii. 21

Ascan, a Magasete chief, at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 21, xlv. 44; his exploits at the battle on the Euphrates and his death, I. xviii. 38

Asia, entered from the Hellespont by the Huns, II. iv. 9

Aspebedes, uncle of Chosroes, I. xi. 5, xxiii. 6; negotiates a treaty with Celer, I. ix. 24; shares command of invading army, I. xxi. 4; put to death by Chosroes, I. xxiii. 6

Aspetian, their alliance with Sittas frustrated by a misunderstanding, II. iii. 12–18

Assyrila, plundered by Arethas, II. xix. 15 ff.

Athens, a city near Lazica, II. xxix. 22, xxx. 14

Attachas, place in Armenia, distance from Martyropolis, I. xxi. 9

Augarus, toparch of Edessa, II. xii. 8; friend of Augustus, II. xii. 8, 9; his visit to Rome, II. xii. 9 ff.; with difficulty persuades Augustus to allow him to return, II. xii. 11 ff.; receives from Augustus the promise of a hippodrome for Edessa, II. xii. 18; his enigmatic reply to the enquiries of the citizens, II. xii. 19; stricken with gout, seeks relief from physicians, II. xii. 20, 21; invites Christ to come to Edessa, II. xii. 24; cured upon receiving the reply of Christ, II. xii. 28; son of an unrighteous ruler, delivers over Edessa to Persia, II. xii. 28

Augustus, Roman emperor, his affection for Augarus, II. xii. 8–19

Augustus, priest in Byzantium, II. xxx. 53, 54

Auxomia, capital city of the Homeritæ, I. xix. 17; distance from Adulis, I. xix. 22; from Elephantina and the Roman boundary, I. xix. 27

Auzomitæ, name applied to some of the Aethiopians, I. xix. 17

Azarethes, Persian general, invades Roman territory, I. xvii. 1, xviii. 1; retires before Bellsarius, I. xviii. 9 ff.; exorts the Persian army, I. xviii. 27 ff.; arrays them for battle, I. xviii. 30; dishonoured by Cabades, I. xviii. 51 ff.; at the siege of Edessa, II. xxvii. 41

Baradotus, priest of Constantina, his godliness, II. xiii. 13; persuades Cabades to spare Constantina, II. xiii. 14, 15

Barballisum, fortress on the Euphrates, distance from Obbane, II. xii. 4

Barbarian Plain, The, near Sergiopolis, II. v. 29

Barzamanas, Persian general, at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 16, xiv. 32, 45; standard bearer of, attacked and killed by Sunicas, I. xiv. 47–50

Barlaus, Gate of, in the wall of Edessa, II. xxvii. 44

Basilides, appointed quaestor in place of Tribunianus, I. xxiv. 18

Basilius, father of John of Edessa, II. xxi. 27
INDEX

Bessaces, son-in-law of John, accompanies him on a mission to Bouzias, II. iii. 29; escapes with his companions from an ambush, II. iii. 30; leads an embassy to the Persian king, II. iii. 31; comes with Armenians to Byzantium, II. xxi. 34

Bassilicus, trusted friend of the Armenian king Arsaces, I. v. 17; slain by Pacurianus, I. v. 28

Batne, fortress one day's journey distant from Edessa, II. xii. 31

Belisarius, married to Antonina, I. xxv. 11; in company with Sittas invades Persarmenia, I. xii. 20, 21; defeated by Narses and Abaris, I. xii. 22; appointed commander of troops in Daras with Procopius his adviser, I. xii. 24; at the command of Justinian undertakes to build a fortress in Mindoulos, I. xiii. 2, 3; prevented by the Persians, I. xiii. 4 ff.; made General of the East, I. xiii. 9; in company with Hermogenes prepares to meet the Persians at Daras, I. xii. 12 ff.; at the battle of Daras, I. xii. 18 ff.; sends letters to Mirranes, I. xiv. 1 ff., 7; address to his soldiers, I. xiv. 20 ff.; arrays the army on the second day of the battle of Daras, I. xiv. 28; wins a brilliant victory, I. xiv. 47 ff.; recalls the Romans from the pursuit of the Persians, I. xiv. 53; hurries to meet the invading army of Azareth, I. xviii. 4; follows the retiring Persian army, I. xviii. 9 ff.; ridiculed by his army, I. xviii. 12; attempts to dissuade the Romans from battle, I. xviii. 16 ff.; insulted by his army, I. xviii. 24; arrays them for battle, I. xviii. 25, 26; fights valiantly after most of the Roman army had been routed, I. xviii. 41 ff.; returns to Byzantium in order to go against the Vandals, I. xxii. 2; his share in quelling the Nika insurrection I. xxiv. 40 ff.; made General of the East and sent to Libya, I. xxvi. 1; victorious in Italy, II. i. 1; brings Vittigis to Byzantium, II. iv. 13; shares the command of the East with Bouzes, II. vi. 1; summoned from Italy to Byzantium, II. xiv. 8; sent against Chosroes, II. xiv. 8, 13; gathers an army in Mesopotamia, II. xvi. 1 ff.; invades Persia, II. xviii. 1 ff.; defeats Nabedes at Nisibis, II. xviii. 24, 25; sends Arethas into Assyria, II. xix. 15; attacks Sisauramon, II. xix. 4 ff.; captures it, II. xix. 24; holds consultation with commanders, II. xix. 35 ff.; returns to Roman territory, II. xix. 45; recalled to Byzantium, II. xix. 49; journeys swiftly to the East to confront Chosroes, II. xx. 20; gathers an army at Europum, II. xx. 24 ff.; receives Abandanes, the envoy of Chosroes, I. xxi. 2 ff.; forces Chosroes to retire, II. xxi. 21; gives John of Edessa as a hostage, II. xxi. 27; his great fame, II. xxi. 28, 29; summoned to Byzantium, II. xxi. 34

Beroea, a town of Syria between Hierapolis and Antioch, II. vii. 2; distance from Chalcis, II. xii. 1; Chosroes demands money from the inhabitants, II. vii. 5; the citizens retire to the acropolis, II. vii. 7; the lower city entered by Chosroes and a large part of it fired, II. vii. 10, 11; acropolis valiantly defended against Chosroes, II. vii. 12; miserable plight of the besieged, II. vii. 13; citizens capitulate to Chosroes, II. vii. 35

Beros, an Eulian leader, encamps near Martinus, II. xxiv. 14; with Philomouth follows Peter into Persia, II. xxiv. 18

Bessa, a Goth, officer in the Roman army, I. viii. 3; commander in Martyropolis, I. xxi. 5

Bithynians, on the Euxine Sea, II. xxvii. 23

Black Gulf, II. iv. 8

Black Sea, See "Euxine."

Blases, brother of Peroz, chosen king in place of Cabades, deposed, I. v. 2; imprisoned
INDEX

and blinded by Cabades, i. vi. 17
Blemmyes, a people of upper Aegypt, i. xix. 28; receive annual payment from the Roman emperor, i. xix. 32, 33; Diocletian purposes to hold them in check by means of the Nobatae, i. xix. 30; their religion, i. xix. 35, 36
Bleschames, commander of the Persian soldiers in Sassaroman, ii. xix. 3; sent to Byzantium by Bellsarius with Persian captives, ii. xix. 24; sent to Italy by Justinian, ii. xix. 25
Blue Faction, their struggles with the Green Faction, i. xxiv. 2-6; favoured by Justinian, ii. xi. 32; in the Nika insurrection, i. xxiv. 7 ff.; also called the "Venetian" Blue Columnade, in Byzantium, i. xxiv. 49
Boas River, considered by Procopius the upper portion of the Phasis, ii. xix. 14-16
Boes, a Persian general, i. xii. 10
Bolum, fortress in Persarmenia, near which were the gold mines of the Persian king, i. xv. 18; betrayed to the Romans by Isaac, i. xv. 32, 33; its return demanded by Chosroes, i. xxii. 3; given up by the Romans, i. xxii. 18
Boraedas, nephew of Justinian, assists in making Hypatius prisoner, i. xxiv. 53
Bosphorus, a city on the Euxine, i. xii. 7; citizens of, put themselves under the sway of Justinian, i. xii. 8; Justinian accused of seizing it, ii. iii. 40
Bouzes, brother of Coutzes, commander in Lebanon, i. xiii. 5; sent to support Bellsarius at Mindaouos, 6.; commander in Martyropolis, i. xxi. 5; at the battle of Daras, i. xiii. 19, 25 ff.; sent against the Armenians, ii. iii. 28; his offers of friendship distrusted by them, ii. iii. 28, 29; slays John treacherously, ii. iii. 31; shares the command of the East with Bellsarius, ii. vi. 1; makes suggestions as to the defence of Hierapolis, ii. vi. 2 ff.; abandons the city, ii. vi. 7, 8; prevents the citizens of Edessa from ransoming the captives of Antioch, ii. xiii. 6; favours invasion of Persia by Bellsarius, ii. xvi. 16; takes refuge with Justus in Hierapolis, ii. xx. 20; they invite Bellsarius to join them, ii. xx. 21 ff.; but later come to him at Europum, ii. xx. 28
Braducius, interpreter of Isidigusnus, ii. xxviii. 41
Bronze Gate, in the emperor's palace in Byzantium, i. xxiv. 47
Bulicars, harbour of the Homeriotes, i. xix. 21
Byzantium, Nika insurrection, i. xxiv. 1 ff.; suburbs ravaged by Huns, ii. iv. 4; visited by the pestilence, ii. xxii. 9 ff.; Chosroes contemplates its capture by way of the Euxine, ii. xxviii. 23

Cabades, youngest son of Perozes, i. iv. 2; chosen king of Persia, i. iv. 34; introduces innovations into the Persian government displeasing the people, i. v. 1; cast into the Prison of Oblivion, i. v. 7; escapes from it, i. vi. 7, 8, 10; enters Persia with an army of Ephthalites, i. vi. 10-17; appoints Adergoudnabades "chanaranges" i. vi. 15, 18; deposes Biazes, i. vi. 17; institutes a new office, i. vi. 18, 19; appeals to Anastasius for a loan, i. vii. 1; invades Roman territory, i. vii. 3; grants request of Jacobus, the hermit, i. vii. 9-11; besieges Amida, i. vii. 12-29; captures Amida, i. vii. 29; puts Clones in command of the city, i. vii. 33; his treatment of the captives of Amida, i. vii. 34; routs the Roman armies near Amida, i. viii. 8-19; shows kindness to Baradotus by sparing Constantine, ii. xiii. 13; desirous of capturing Edessa and Constantine, ii. xiii. 8; abandons his purpose of capturing Edessa,
INDEX

Callinicus, city of Mesopotamia, ii. xi. 26; on the Euphrates, i. xviii. 13; Roman army conveyed thither by boats after the battle on the Euphrates, i. xviii. 50; taken by Chosroes, ii. xxi. 30 ff.

Candius, priest of Sergiopolis, makes agreement with Chosroes, ii. v. 31; punished by Chosroes for failing to keep his agreement, ii. xx. 2 ff., 15, 16

Caesarea, the home of Procopius, i. i. 1

Caisus, a Homerite, of captain's rank, a fugitive because of murder committed by him, i. xx. 9, 10

Cassandria, known in ancient times as Potidaea, captured by the Huns, ii. iv. 5

Catholicos, title of the priest of Doublos, ii. xxiv. 4

Caucasus Mountains, i. xv. 26; inhabited by Huns, ii. xv. 3, 29, xxvii. 22; by Alanl, etc., ii. xxix. 15; barbarians in, held in check by Lazica, ii. xxviii. 22

Celcus, Roman general, i. viii. 2; invades Arzamene, i. viii. 21, ii. xv. 7; with Patricius and Hypatius besieges Amida, i. ix. 1; negotiates a treaty with Aspebedes, i. ix. 24

Celesene, district in Armenia, i.
INDEX

Libya, i. xxvi. 2; demands his share of the spoil, i. xxvi. 3; desires to break the treaty with the Romans, ii. i. 1; charges Justinian with having broken the treaty, ii. i. 12-14, x. 13, 16; hears with favour the ambassadors of Vittigis, ii. ii. 12; receives an embassy from the Armenians, ii. ii. 32 ff.; decides to open hostilities against the Romans, ii. iii. 55; admonished by Justinian by letter, ii. iv. 17 ff.; detains Anastasius, ii. iv. 26; dismisses him, ii. v. 27; first invasion of Roman territory, ii. v. 1; marches towards Syria, ii. v. 4; refrains from attacking Zenobia, ii. v. 7; arriving at Sura, besieges the city, ii. v. 8 ff.; captures it by a stratagem, ii. v. 25 ff.; marries Euphemia, ii. v. 28; releases captives for ransom, ii. v. 29; hears the plea of Megas, ii. vi. 18 ff.; exacts money from the Hierapolitans, ii. vi. 22-24; promises to depart from the East for ten centenaries of gold, ii. vi. 25; demands money from the Beroeans, ii. vii. 5; enters Beroea and fires a large portion of it, ii. vii. 10, 11; besieges the acropolis, ii. vii. 11 ff.; reproached by Megas, ii. vii. 19; his reply, ii. vii. 20 ff.; allows the Beroeans to capitulate, ii. vii. 35; moves against Antioch, ii. viii. 1; demands money from the citizens of Antioch, ii. viii. 4; hears the ambassadors, ii. viii. 5; insulted by the citizens, ii. viii. 6; storms the city wall, ii. viii. 8 ff.; captures Antioch, ii. viii. 20; reproached by Zubagnanes, ii. viii. 30 ff.; addresses the ambassadors, ii. ix. 1 ff.; his hesitation in allowing the Persians to enter Antioch, ii. ix. 22-24, ix. 7; his character ii. ix. 8-12; orders the plunder of Antioch, ii. ix. 14; burns the city, ii. ix. 17, 18; addressed by the ambassadors, ii. x. 10 ff.; demands money from them, ii. x. 19 ff.; agrees upon terms for

Cherson, a city at the limits of Roman territory on the Euxine, i. xii. 7

Chersonesus, its wall assailed by the Huns, ii. iv. 8

Chorziante, place in Armenia, Eruli encamp there, ii. xxiv. 14

Chosroes, third son of Cabades, i. xi. 5; Cabades proposes to Justinian that he adopt Chosroes, i. xi. 6 ff.; Ch. awaits outcome of negotiations regarding his adoption by Justinian, i. xi. 27; retires in anger to Persia, i. xi. 30; declared by Cabades in his testament successor to the throne of Persia, i. xxii. 17 ff.; his election to the kingship, i. xxii. 22; meets Roman ambassadors on the Tigris, i. xxii. 1 ff.; failure of their negotiations, i. xxii. 12 ff.; grants the prayer of Rufinus, i. xxii. 15; concludes the "endless peace." i. xxii. 16, 17; his unpopularity among the Persians, i. xxiii. 1-3; plot to dethrone him, i. xxiii. 3 ff.; slays Zanes and other male relatives, i. xxiii. 6; orders the chanaranges to slay Cabades, son of Zanes, i. xxiii. 7; hears from Varrames how Cabades had been spared, i. xxiii. 13; his punishment of Adergoudabades, i. xxiii. 14 ff.; destroys Mebodes, i. xxiii. 25 ff.; vexed at Roman successes in

vii. 11, 21; sanctuary of Artemis there, i. xvii. 11

Ceratæum, a district of Antioch, p. x. 7

Chalcis, city in Syria, distance from Gabboulion, i. xviii. 8; from Berea, p. xii. 1; saved from Chosroes by money payment, p. xii. 1, 2

Chanaranges (lit. 'Commander of the Frontier Troops'), Persian term for "general," i. v. 4, vi. 12, xxiii. 7

Chanaranges, Persian general, shares command of invading army, i. xxii. 4; besieges Martyropolis, i. xxii. 14, 15; retires, i. xxii. 27

Cherson, a city at the limits of Roman territory on the Euxine, i. xii. 7

Chersonesus, its wall assailed by the Huns, ii. iv. 8

Chorziante, place in Armenia, Eruli encamp there, ii. xxiv. 14

Chosroes, third son of Cabades, i. xi. 5; Cabades proposes to Justinian that he adopt Chosroes, i. xi. 6 ff.; Ch. awaits outcome of negotiations regarding his adoption by Justinian, i. xi. 27; retires in anger to Persia, i. xi. 30; declared by Cabades in his testament successor to the throne of Persia, i. xxii. 17 ff.; his election to the kingship, i. xxii. 22; meets Roman ambassadors on the Tigris, i. xxii. 1 ff.; failure of their negotiations, i. xxii. 12 ff.; grants the prayer of Rufinus, i. xxii. 15; concludes the "endless peace." i. xxii. 16, 17; his unpopularity among the Persians, i. xxiii. 1-3; plot to dethrone him, i. xxiii. 3 ff.; slays Zanes and other male relatives, i. xxiii. 6; orders the chanaranges to slay Cabades, son of Zanes, i. xxiii. 7; hears from Varrames how Cabades had been spared, i. xxiii. 13; his punishment of Adergoudabades, i. xxiii. 14 ff.; destroys Mebodes, i. xxiii. 25 ff.; vexed at Roman successes in

566
INDEX

peace, II. xi. 24; visits Seleucia, II. xi. 1; visits Daphne, II. xi. 5 ff.; burns the sanctuary of Michael at Daphne, II. xi. 12, 13; proceeds to Apamea, II. xi. 14; enters the city and seized its treasures, II. xi. 24 ff.; becomes a spectator in the hippodrome, II. xi. 31 ff.; impales a Persian adulterer, II. xi. 37, 38; exacts money from the citizens of Chalcis, II. xii. 1, 2; crosses the Euphrates by a bridge, II. xii. 3 ff.; eager to capture Edessa because of the belief of the Christians that it could not be captured, II. xii. 6 ff., 29, 31; demands and receives money from the citizens, II. xii. 33, 34; upon receipt of a letter from Justinian prepares for departure, II. xiii. 1, 2; protests at the offer of money by the citizens of Carrhae, II. xiii. 7; accepts money from the citizens of Constantina, II. xiii. 8; claims Constantina as his possession by inheritance, 45., II. xiii. 15; besieges Daras, II. xi. 23, xiii. 16; abandons the siege of Daras upon receipt of money, II. xiii. 28; charged by Justinian with breaking the treaty, II. xiii. 29; provides a home for the captives of Antioch, II. xiv. 1 ff.; called in by the Lazi, II. xv. 1, 12 ff.; prepares to invade Lazica, II. xv. 31-33; Bellarius sent against him, II. xiv. 3; invades Lazica, II. xvii. 1 ff.; commands an attack to be made on Petra, II. xvii. 4; impales Anlabedes, II. xvii. 11; besieges Petra, II. xvii. 13 ff.; captures Petra, II. xvii. 27; retires from Lazica, II. xiii. 48; third invasion of Roman territory, II. xx. 1 ff.; besieges Sergiopolis in vain, II. xx. 11 ff.; punishes Candidus, the priest of Sergiopolis, II. xx. 2 ff., 15, 16; takes much treasure from Sergiopolis, II. xx. 7; sends envoy to Bellarius, II. xxii. 1, 23; retires before Bellarius, II. xxii. 15 ff.; crosses the Euphrates by a bridge, II. xxii. 21; takes Callinicus, II. xi. 28, xxii. 30-32; receives the hostage John, II. xxi. 27; awaits the Roman envoys at Adarbiganon, II. xxiv. 1 ff.; his army visited by the pestilence, II. xxiv. 8, 12; retires from Adarbiganon into Assyria, II. xxiv. 12; fourth invasion of Roman territory, II. xxvi. 1 ff.; makes an attempt upon Edessa, II. xxvi. 5 ff.; comes to terms with the citizens of Edessa, II. xxvii. 46; arranges a five-year truce with Constantius and Sergius, II. xxviii. 7 ff.; lays plans to capture Daras and secure his possession of Lazica, II. xxviii. 15 ff.; attempts to capture Daras by a ruse, II. xxviii. 31 ff.; plans to build a fleet in the Euxine, II. xxix. 1; sends Phabrizes into Lazica to destroy Goubazes, II. xxix. 2 ff.; sends an army to relieve Petra, II. xxix. 13.

Christ, suffered in Jerusalem, II. xl. 14. See "Jesus."

Christians, converted two temples into churches, I. xvii. 18; boast that Edessa cannot be captured, II. xii. 7; reverence especially the feast of Easter, I. xviii. 15; the Lazi and Iberians devout Christians, I. xii. 3, II. xxvii. 26; among the Homeritae, abused by Jews, I. xx. 1.

Cilicia, the refuge of Epaphrodisius, II. vii. 17; and Germanus, II. vii. 18.

Cilician, the objective of Chosroes' invasion, II. v. 4, vi. 21.

Cilician screens, used at the siege of Edessa, II. xxvi. 29.

Circularium, Roman stronghold on the Euphrates, II. v. 2; its excellent defences, P. v. 3.

Citharizon, fortress in Armenia, four days from Theodosiopolis, II. xxiv. 13.

Colchis, the old name for Lazica (q.v.), I. xii. 28, etc.

Comana, called "Golden Comana," a city of Cappadocia founded by Orestes, I. xvii. 19.

Comana, city in Pontus, founded
INDEX

by Orestes, not the one "Among the Taurians," I. xvii. 12
Comet, The, its appearance in the heavens, II. iv. 1, 2; various explanations of the meaning of the phenomenon, II. iv. 3
Commagene, old name for Euphratesia, I. xvii. 2, 23, II. xx. 17; invaded by the Persians, I. xvii. 2
Constantianus, an Illyrian, II. xxiv. 4; envoy to Chosroes with Sergius, II. xxiv. 3; appointed general, II. xviii. 2; sent as envoy to Chosroes with Sergius a second time, II. xviii. 3 ff.
Constantina, city in Mesopotamia, I. xxii. 3; distance from Arsameon, I. viii. 10; Cabades deserts of capturing the city, II. xiii. 8; spared by Cabades owing to the entreaties of Bardotius, II. xiii. 13 ff.; claimed by Chosroes as an inherited possession, II. xiii. 8, 15; citizens of, their offer of money accepted by Chosroes, II. xiii. 8
Constantine, Forum of, in Byzantium, I. xxiv. 9, 24
Coutzes, Roman general, brother of Bouzes, sent to support Bellsarius at Mindouros, I. xiii. 5; captured by the Persians, I. xiii. 8
Ctesiphon, town on the Tigris, II. xxvii. 4-5; distance from the Antioch of Chosroes, II. xiv. 1
Cyril, Roman commander at the battle of Daras, I. xii. 21
Cyrus, king of the Persians, II. ii. 15
Cyzicus, John the Cappadocian exiled thither, I. xxv. 31

Dagarris, a Roman spy, captured by Huns, I. xv. 6; returned to the Romans, I. xii. 18; his later services to the Romans, I. xii. 19
Dagisthaeus, commands an army to succour the Laz, II. xxix. 10; with Goubazes besieges Petra, II. xxix. 11 ff.; sends an insufficient force to guard the pass into Lazica, II. xxix. 33-34; his incompetent conduct of the siege of Petra, II. xxix. 34 ff.; deceived by Mirmenes, II. xxx. 7; abandons Petra, II. xxx. 11; with Phoebellis attacks Mermecia, II. xxx. 22; with Goubazes attacks and almost annihilates the Persians, II. xxx. 39 ff.
Daphne, suburb of Antioch, II viii. 25; visited by Chosroes, II. xi. 5 ff.; the portent of the uprooted cypresses, II. xiv. 5
Daras, a city in Mesopotamia, fortified by Anastasius, I. x. 13; distance from Nisibis and the Persian boundary, I. x. 14; from Ammodius, I. xii. 15; its formidable defences, II. xiii. 17; a menace to the Persians, I. xvi. 6; battle of, I. xiii. 12 ff.; the Persians demand that its walls be demolished, I. xvi. 7; its abandonment by the Roman army a condition of the "endless peace," I. xii. 16; the tyranny of John, I. xxvi. 5-12; besieged by Chosroes, II. xi. 28, xiii. 18 ff.; citizens of, make a settlement with Chosroes, II. xiii. 28; Chosroes plans to capture it by a ruse, II. xxviii. 17; failure of the attempt, II. xxviii. 31 ff.

Death, Gate of, in Byzantium, I. xxiv. 52

Diocletian, Roman emperor, readjusts the Roman boundary in Egypt, I. xix. 29 ff.; builds the fortress of Philae, I. xix. 34, 35

Diogenes, a guardsman, commander of cavalry, II. xxi. 2, 18, 20

Dometriolus commands a detachment of an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 15

Dorotheus, a Roman commander at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 21

Dorotheus, general of Armenia, attacks invading Persian army, I. xv. 3 ff.; makes a sally from Satala upon the Persian army, I. xv. 11 ff.

Doublos, district in Persarmenia,
INDEX

II. xxv. 1, 2; its trade with India, II. xxv. 3; distance from Theodosiopolis, II. xxv. 1; Mer-merose stops there with his army, II. xxx. 33; priest of, called Catholicoς, II. xxv. 4; sent to urge the Romans to make peace, II. xxiv. 6, 7

Easter, its especial observance by the Christians, I. xviii. 15

Edessa, the centre of so-called Osroene, I. xvii. 24; in Mesopotamia, II. xxiv. 4; Augustus promises to build a hippodrome in the city, II. xii. 18; the story of its toparch Augaruz, II. xii. 8 ff.; citizens of, convinced that the city could not be captured by barbarians, II. xii. 7, 26, 30; the letter of Christ to Augaruz inscribed on the city wall, II. xii. 26; given over to the Persians by the son of Augaruz, II. xii. 28; citizens of, destroy the Persian guards and give back the city to the Romans, II. xii. 29; citizens pay Choerœces two centenaries, II. xii. 34; their zeal to ransom the captives of Antioch frustrated by Bouzes, II. xiii. 3 ff.; Cabades desirous of capturing the city, II. xii. 6, 7, 31, xiii. 8; abandons his purpose upon reaching it, II. xiiii. 9 ff.; attacked by Choerœces, II. xxvi. 5 ff.; the home of Sergius, II. xxiv. 4

Eirenaeus, Roman general, sent to Lazica, I. xii. 14

Elephantina, city in Egypt, on the Roman boundary, I. xix. 27; near Philae, I. xix. 34, 35

Endielon, place near Amida, I. vii. 5

Ephraemius, chief priest of Antioch, accused of treason by Julian, II. vii. 16; retires to Gilicia, II. vii. 17

Ephthalites Huns, called White Huns, their manners and customs, I. iii. 1, 2; wage war with Perozæ, I. iii. 1 ff.; entrap the Persian army, I. iii. 8 ff.; in a second war with Perozæ completely destroy his army, I. iv. 1 ff.; force the Persians to pay tribute, I. iv. 35; receive Cabades after his escape from the Prison of Oblivion, I. vi. 10; Cabades owes their king money, I. vii. 1, 2; punished for impiety towards Jacobus, the hermit, I. vii. 8; eight hundred Eph. killed by the Persians, I. viii. 13

Erul, accustomed to fight without protective armour except a shield, II. xxv. 27, 28; in the Roman army, II. xxi. 4; in the Roman army at the battle of Daras, I. xii. 19, xiv. 33, 39; under Mundus, I. xxiv. 41; in the army of Valerianus, II. xxiv. 12; with the army of Martinus, II. xxiv. 14; follow Peter into Persia, II. xxiv. 18; in the battle of Angion, II. xxv. 20 ff.

Esmipæheus, established as king of the Homeritæ, I. xx. 1; deposed by insurgents, I. xx. 3; makes idle promise to Justinian, I. xx. 9 ff.

Euphemia, daughter of John the Cappadocian, I. xxv. 13

Euphemia, captive of Sura, married by Choæroes, II. v. 28

Euphratesia, ancient name of Commagene, I. xvii. 2, 23, II. xx. 17, 20; chosen by Azarethæ as the starting point for an invasion of Roman territory, I. xvii. 2

Euphrates River, its source in Armenia, I. xvii. 4; disappears in a strange marsh, I. xvii. 6 ff.; its course from Celesene as far as the junction with the Tigris, I. xvii. 21, 22; receives the waters of the Aborrhæs, II. v. 2; protects one side of Circeæum, ib.; important battle on its banks, I. xviii. 30 ff.

Europe, invaded by the Huns, II. iv. 4 ff.

Europum, on the Euphrates, headquarters of Belisarius while recruiting his army, II. xx. 24, 27, 28

Eusebius, Roman ambassador to
INDEX

the Persian king Perozeh, I. III. 8; warns Perozeh of the stratagem of the Ephthalites, I. III. 13 Eusebius, bishop of Cyzicus, murdered by the citizens, I. xxv. 37, 38
Euxine Sea, receives the waters of the Phasis, II. xix. 16; Chosroes desires an outlet to it, II. xxvii. 23
Evaris, builder of a temple of Michael at Tretum, near Antioch, II. xi. 7
Florentinus, a Thracian, distinguishes himself at the battle of Satala, I. xv. 15, 16
Gabalas, a Saracen, father of Arethas, I. xvii. 47
Galatians, on the Euxine, II. 28, 23
Gabboulon, distance from Chalcis, I. xviii. 8
Gaza, limit of Arabia in olden times, I. xix. 20
Gellimer, brought captive to Byzantium by Belisarius, II. xxi. 28
George, confidant of Belisarius, persuades the inhabitants of Sisauron to capitulate, II. xiii. 22, 23; saves the city of Daras, II. xxviii. 33 f.
Gemanus, nephew of Justinian, II. vi. 9; commander at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 21; sent to meet the invasion of Chosroes, II. vi. 9; establishes himself in Antioch and inspects the fortifications, II. vi. 10; retires into Cilicia, II. vii. 18
Gliones, a Persian, in command of the garrison in Amida, I. vii. 33; destroyed by a stratagem, I. ix. 5–17; son of, I. ix. 4, 18
Godidiskius, a Goth, an officer in the Roman army, I. viii. 3
Gorgo, city of the Ephthalites, against the Persian frontier, I. lii. 2, iv. 10
Goths, march with Belisarius against Chosroes, II. xiv. 10, xviii. 24, xxi. 4
Goubazes, king of Lazica, privy councillor of Justinian in absentia, II. xxix. 31; gives himself and his people over to Chosroes, II. xvii. 2 ff.; plotted against by Phabrizus, II. xxix. 2 ff.; begs Justinian to succour the Lazi, II. xxix. 9; with Dagistheaus besieges Petra, II. xxix. 11 ff.; defends one pass against the Persians, II. xxix. 28 ff.; asks Justinian to send money to the Alani and the Sabeiri, II. xxix. 30; Chosroes plans to put him out of the way, II. xxviii. 30, xxix. 2 ff.; rewarded with money by Justinian, II. xxx. 28; with Dagistheaus attacks and almost annihilates the Persians, II. xxx. 39 ff.
Gourgenes, king of Iberia, revolts from the Persians, I. xii. 4 ff., II. xv. 6, xxviii. 20; retires before the Persian army into Lazica, I. xii. 11, 12
Gousanastades, "chanaranges," counsels the execution of Cabades, I. v. 4; put to death by Cabades, I. vi. 18
Greece, plundered by the Huns, II. iv. 11
Greeks, The, I. xix. 35
Green Faction, their struggles with the Blue Faction, I. xxiv. 2–6; in the Nika insurrection, I. xxiv. 7 ff.; favoured by Chosroes at Apamea, II. xi. 32
Hebrews, of Iotabe, formerly autonomous, become subject to the Romans, I. xix. 4
Helen, palace named from, in Byzantium, II. xxiv. 30
Hellenic faith, The, I. xx. 1, xxv. 10
Hellestheaus, king of the Aethiopians, his expeditions against the Homeritae, I. xx. 1 ff.; his vain promises to Justinian, I. xx. 9 ff.
Hermogenes, Roman general, sent to assist Belisarius, I. xiii. 10; in company with Belisarius prepares to meet the Persians at Daras, I. xiii. 12 ff.; at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 19 ff.; forbids Andreas to engage in
INDEX

single combat, i. xiii. 35; interchange of letters with Perozes, i. xiv. 1 ff.; address to the troops, i. xiv. 20 ff.; arrays the army on the second day of the battle of Daras, i. xiv. 28; at the battle of Daras, i. xiv. 44; recalls Romans from pursuit of the Persians, i. xiv. 53; returns to Byzantium, i. xvi. 10; sent as ambassador by the emperor, i. xviii. 16; negotiates unsuccessfully with Chosroes, i. xxii. 1; accompanies the army of Sittas as ambassador, i. xxi. 10, 23; ambassador to Chosroes with Rufinus, i. xxii. 16.

Hestia, i.e. Vesta, identified with the Persian fire-divinity, II. xxiv. 2.

Hierapolis, city on the Euphrates, i. xiii. 11, xvii. 22; distance from Barsaces and Antioch, ii. vii. 2; Bouzes and the Roman army stationed there, ii. vi. 2; suggested plan for its defence, ii. vi. 3 ff.; deserted by Bouzes, ii. vi. 7, 8; saved from Chosroes by payment of money, ii. vi. 22–24; Justus and Bouzes take refuge there, ii. xx. 20.

Homer, bowmen, compared with bowmen of Procopius’ time, i. i. 9–11.

Homoeritae, people of Arabia, sought as allies by Justinian, i. xix. 1, xx. 9 ff.; location of their country, i. xix. 16; domestic conflicts and intervention of Hellespont, i. xx. 1 ff.

Honorius, Emperor of the West, uncle of Theodosius II, unable to assist him, ii. ii. 4.

Huns, a nomadic people, of ugly countenance, i. iii. 4; their homes, i. x. 6, xii. 7, ii. xv. 3, xxviii. 22; their war with Cabades, i. viii. 19, ix. 24, x. 15, ii. xvi. 3; Justinian attempts to win their support, ii. i. 14, iii. 47, x. 16; capture a Roman spy, i. xv. 6; attack of, feared by the Persians at Martyropolis, i. xxii. 27; invade Roman territory, i. xxii. 28; often defeated by Da-
garis, i. xxii. 19; receiving annual payments from the Romans, ii. x. 23; held back by the Lazi, ii. xv. 3; in the army of Chosroes, ii. xxvi. 5; assist the Romans in the defence of Edessa, ii. xxvi. 25, 26; invade Europe, ii. iv. 4 ff.; cross the Hellespont into Asia, ii. iv. 9; plunder Illyricum and Thessaly and Greece as far as the Isthmus, ii. iv. 10–12.

Hypatius, nephew of Anastasius, i. viii. 2; his army routed by Cabades, i. viii. 10–18; his escape, i. viii. 19; sent as envoy to the Persians, i. xi. 24; slandered by Rufinus, i. xi. 38; his punishment, i. xi. 39; sent from the palace by Justinian, i. xxiv. 19–21; declared emperor by the populace, and conducted to the hippodrome, i. xxiv. 22 f.; his wife Mary, i. xxiv. 23; takes the emperor’s seat in the hippodrome, i. xxiv. 42; brought before Justinian as a prisoner, i. xxiv. 53; meets his death bravely, i. xxiv. 55, 56.

Iberia, Iberians, a Christian people, side with the Romans, i. xii. 2 ff., ii. xv. 6; come to Byzantium, i. xii. 14; given choice of remaining in Byzantium or returning to their homes, i. xxii. 16; dissatisfied with Persian rule, ii. xxviii. 20, 21.

Ildiger, in the army of Martinus, ii. xxiv. 13.

Illyricum, invaded by the Huns, ii. iv. 5, 10.

Immortals, a detachment of the Persian army, i. xiv. 31; at the battle of Daras, i. xiv. 44 ff.

India, washed by the “Red Sea,” i. xix. 3; boats in, tale to account for their construction without iron, i. xix. 23, 24; iron not produced there nor imported from elsewhere, i. xix. 24–26; silk export, i. xx. 9, 12; its trade with Doublos, ii. xxv. 3.

Ionian Gulf, ii. iv. 4.
INDEX

Iotabe, an island in the "Red Sea," I. xix. 3
Iphigenia, the story of her flight from the sanctuary of Artemis, I. xvii. 11 ff.; temple dedicated to her by Orestes, I. xvii. 18
Iris River, in Pontus, I. xvii. 14
Isaac, brother of Nares, betrays Bolum to the Romans and comes as a deserter to Byzantium, I. xxv. 32, 33; commander in Armenia, II. xxiv. 14; carries his brother Nares out of the battle of Anglon, II. xxv. 24
Isaurians, in the Roman army, I. xviii. 5; commanded by Longinus and Stephanacius, I. xviii. 7; at the battle on the Euphrates, I. xviii. 38; their inexperience in war, I. xviii. 39
Isidigerdes, Persian king, guardian of Theodosius, I. ii. 7 ff.
Isidogonas, high Persian official, II. xxviii. 16; employed by Chosroes for the furtherance of his plans, II. xxviii. 17; attempts to capture Daras for Chosroes by a ruse, II. xxviii. 51 ff.; continues to Byzantium as an envoy, II. xxviii. 38 ff.
Isis, worshipped by the Blemyes and Nobatae, I. xix. 35
Italy, subdued by Belisarius, II. I. 1
Jacobus, a holy man among the Syrians, I. vii. 5 ff.
Jason, the tale of his adventure with Medea in Colchis, II. xvii. 2
Jerusalem, the scene of Christ's suffering, II. xi. 14; its treasures desired by Chosroes, II. xx. 18
Jesus, his life and work in Palestine, II. xii. 22, 23; invited by Augarus to come to Edessa, II. xii. 24; his reply, in which he promises health to Augarus, II. xii. 25. See also “Christ.”
Jews, oppress the Christians among the Hormitae, I. xx. 1. See also “Hebrews.”
John, father of Artabanus, of the Arsacidae, II. iii. 25; treacherously slain by Bouzes, II. iii. 29-31
John, son of Baullius, a notable of Edessa, given as a hostage to Chosroes, I. xxi. 27, 33
John, an Armenian, son of Thomas Gouzus, in the Roman army, II. xxx. 4
John the Cappadocian, praetorian prefect, I. xxiv. 11; his character and ability, I. xxiv. 12-15, xxv. 8-10; highly esteemed by Justinian, I. xxv. 5, 25, 33; dismissed from office, I. xxv. 17; restored to office, I. xxv. 1; hated by Theodora, I. xxv. 4-7; hostility to Belisarius, I. xxv. 12; entrapped by Antonina, I. xxv. 13 ff.; forced to become a priest and exiled to Cyzicus, I. xxv. 31; looks forward confidently to becoming emperor, I. xxv. 8, 19, 44, II. xxx. 50; his easy lot in Cyzicus, I. xxv. 34, 35; accused of the murder of Eusebius, I. xxv. 39; his treatment at the trial, I. xxv. 40; his punishment, I. xxv. 42, 43; imprisoned in the city of Antinous in Aegypt, I. xxv. 43; returns to Byzantium, II. xxx. 49, 50; the grotesque fulfilment of his dreams, II. xxx. 54; his daughter Euphemia, I. xxv. 13
John, son of Lucas, Roman officer, captured by Alamoundaras, I. xvii. 43, 44
John, commander of troops in Mesopotamia, arrests the interpreter of Vittigis' envoys, II. xiv. 12; attacked by the Persians before Naibla, II. xviii. 16
John, son of Nicetas, Roman commander at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 21; urges Belisarius to retire from Mesopotamia, II. xix. 36 ff.; commands a detachment of an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 15
John, son of Rufinus, sent as ambassador to Chosroes, II. vii. 15, ix. 1, x. 10, 18 ff.
John Tzibus, governor of Lazica,
INDEX

his origin and character, II. xv. 9; persuades Justinian to build Petra, II. xv. 10; monopolises the retail trade, II. xv. 11, xxix. 21; valiantly defends Petra, II. xvii. 5 ff.; killed by a missile, II. xvii. 16

John, serving in the Roman infantry, his tyranny at Darae, I. xxvi. 8–12; his death, I. xxvi. 12

John the Glutton, a guardsman, sent with Arethas into Assyria, II. xix. 15 ff.; commands a detachment in an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 15

Julian, sanctuary of, in Antioch, II. x. 8

Julian, brother of Summa, envoy to the Aethiopians and Homericetae, I. xx. 9, II. i. 10; private secretary of Justinian, sent as ambassador to Chosroes, II. vii. 15; forbids giving money to Chosroes and denounces Ephraemi,us, II. vii. 16

Justinian, nephew of Justinus, I. xi. 10; his great love for his wife Theodora, I. xxv. 4; favours adoption of Chosroes by his uncle Justinus, I. xi. 10; as general, I. xi. 16, xii. 21; becomes emperor upon the death of Justinus, I. xiii. 1; orders the building of a fort in Minoucoas, I. xiii. 2; appoints Belisarius General of the East, I. xiii. 9; makes Arethas commander of many tribes, I. xvii. 47; pits Arethas against Alamundar, I. xvii. 47, 48; orders demolition of Phulæ, I. xix. 36; endeavours to secure the alliance of the Aethiopians and Homericetae, I. xix. 1, xx. 9 ff.; receives the Palm Groves as a present from Abochorabus, I. xix. 10 ff.; recalls Belisarius and sends Sittas to the East, I. xxi. 2, 3; receives information from a Persian spy, I. xxi. 13; concludes the "endless peace," I. xxi. 16; receives in Byzantium the Cabades who claimed to be the son of Zames, I. xxiii. 24; his conduct during the Nika insurrection, I. xxiv. 10 ff.; his affection for John the Cappadocian, I. xxv. 5, 25, 35; denounced by the Armenian embassy before Chosroes, II. iii. 37 ff.; refuses to sanction treaty, II. xiii. 29; summons Belisarius from Italy and sends him against Chosroes, II. xiv. 8; orders Belisarius to invade Persia, II. xvi. 5; sends him again against Chosroes, II. xx. 20; summons Belisarius from the East in order to send him to Italy, II. xxii. 34; takes measures for the relief of the victims of the pestilence, II. xxii. 5 ff.; attacked by the pestilence, II. xxiii. 20; orders Valerianus and Martinus with others to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 10; appoints Marcellus and Constantianus generals, II. xxviii. 2; sanctions the five-year peace, II. xxviii. 11; receives Isidigousnas with especial honour, II. xxviii. 38 ff.; sends succour to the Lazi, II. xxix. 10; neglects to send money requested by Goubazes, II. xxix. 30–32; finally sends the money for the Sabeiri, and gifts of money to Goubazes, II. xxx. 28; sends John Tzibus to Lazica, II. xv. 9; founds Petra in Lazica, II. xv. 10, xxix. 20; makes a present of money to Chosroes, II. xxvi. 4; considers the question of Strata, II. i. 7 ff.; accuses of tampering with Alain Blassar, II. i. 13–17, iii. 47, x. 16; advises Chosroes not to wage war, II. iv. 17 ff.; sends Germanus to Syria, II. vi. 9; sends ambassadors to Chosroes, II. vii. 15; favours the Green Faction, II. xi. 32; writes to Chosroes, II. xiii. 1; the years of his reign noted, I. xvi. 10, xxii. 17, II. iii. 56, v. 1, xxviii. 11, xxx. 48

Justinian, uncle of Justinian, I. xi. 10; an officer in the Roman army, I. viii. 3; becomes emperor, I. xi. 1; declines to adopt Chosroes, I. xi. 6 ff.; reduces
INDEX

Hypatius from authority, I. xi. 39; captures Peter of Arzanene during Celer's invasion, II. xv. 7; supports the Iberians in their revolt from the Persians, I. xii. 5 ff.; makes Justinian partner in the royal power, I. xii. 21; appoints Procopius adviser to Belisarius, I. xii. 24; his death, I. xiii. 1

Justin, nephew of Justinian, assists in making Hypatius prisoner, I. xxiv. 58; takes refuge with Bouzes in Hierapolis, II. xx. 20; they invite Belisarius to join them, II. xx. 21 ff.; but later come to him in Europum, II. xx. 28; commands a detachment of an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 15; invades Persia apart from the other commanders, II. xxiv. 20; invades the country about Tarsaunon with Persians, II. xxv. 35; his death, II. xxviii. 1

Lazica, Lazi, later names for Colchis and Colchi (q.v.), I. xi. 28; its cities, II. xxix. 16; an unproductive country, I. xii. 17, II. xxviii. 27; imported salt and other necessities of life, II. xv. 5, xxviii. 27; many fortresses there, II. xxx. 27; difficult to traverse, II. xxix. 24, 25; bulwark against the barbarians of the Caucasus, II. xxviii. 22; its importance to Persia, II. xxviii. 18 ff.; the scene of the story of Jason and Medea, II. xvii. 2; the Lazi in ancient times allies of the Persians, II. xv. 15; become allies of the Romans, II. xv. 16; the people Christian, II. xxviii. 26; Lazica claimed by the Persians, I. xli. 28; forts of, abandoned by the Romans and occupied by the Persians, I. xii. 19; Chosroes refuses to return them to the Romans, I. xxii. 3; finally given up by the Persians, I. xii. 18; invaded by Chosroes, I. xxii. 12, II. xv. 1, xvii. 1 ff.; limited subjection of the Lazi to the Romans, II. xv. 2-4; placed under a Roman magistrate, II. iii. 39; became discontented by reason of Roman misrule, II. xv. 6 ff.; appeal to Chosroes, II. xv. 1, 12 ff.; demanded from Chosroes by the Roman envoys, II. xxviii. 6; Chosroes plans to populate it with Persians, II. xxviii. 17; Lazli hostile to Persian rule, II. xxviii. 25

Lebanon, I. xiii. 5, II. vii. 2, xvi. 17, xix. 33

Libellarius of Thrace, Roman general, invades Mesopotamia, I. xii. 23; reduced from office, I. xii. 24

Libyans, II. iii. 42

Ligurians, envoys of Vittigis to Chosroes, II. ii. 1

Longinus, commander of Issarians, I. xvii. 7

Lucas, father of John, I. xvii. 44

Lycaon, in the army of Belisarius, I. xvii. 40 —

Macedonians, founders of Seleucia and Cteophon, II. xxviii. 4

Madden, tribe of Saracens in Arabia, subject to the Himeritae, I. xix. 14, I. xx. 9

Magi, advise Peroz to deceive the Ephthalitae, I. iii. 18 ff.; entrap Arsaces, I. v. 19 ff.; advice to Cabades at the siege of Amida, I. vii. 19; announce to Chosroes that he will capture Sura, I. v. 9; answer Cabades' enquiry with regard to Edessa, II. xiii. 9, 10; guardians of the fire-sanctuary, II. xxiv. 2

Mamas, priest of Daras, assists in overthrowing the tyranny of John, I. xxvi. 8

Marcellus, nephew of Justinian, appointed general, II. xxviii. 2

Marcellus, Roman commander at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 21: commander of palace guards, sent by Theodora to assassinate John the Cappadocian, I. xxv. 24 ff.; wounded in the encounter, I. xxv. 29

Martinus, given as a hostage to the Persians, I. xxi. 27; sent
INDEX

to the East, II. xiv. 9; defends Daras against Chosroes, II. xiii. 16 ff.; ordered to invade Persia with Valerianus, II. xxiv. 10; General of the East, encamps at Citharizon, II. xxiv. 13; follows Peter in invading Persia, II. xxiv. 19; commands the centre at the battle of Anglon, II. xxv. 17; with Peter and Peranianus defends Edessa against Chosroes, II. xxvi. 25 ff.; deceived by the Persian commanders, II. xxvi. 44 ff., xxvii. 5, 6; arranges a settlement with Chosroes, II. xxvi. 45, 46

Martyropolis, near the River Nymphius, I. viii. 22; distance from Amida, I. xxi. 6; besieged by the Persians, I. xxi. 5 ff.; fears of Sittas and Hermogenes concerning its safety, I. xxxi. 23; siege abandoned by the Persians, I. xxxi. 27; near Philson, II. xxiv. 15

Mary, wife of Hypatius, tries to prevent her husband from going to the hippodrome, I. xxiv. 23, 24

Massagetae, reported to be preparing to join the Persians, I. xxi. 13. *See also “Huns”*

Mebodes, a Persian official, sent as envoy to the Romans, I. xi. 25; slanders Seoses, I. xi. 31; persuades Cabades to leave a written declaration concerning Chosroes, I. xxi. 17-19; opposes the claim of Caoses, I. xxi. 20; secures the election of Chosroes as king, I. xxxi. 22; his tragic death, I. xxviii. 26 ff.

Medes, the tale of her adventure with Jason in Colchis, II. xvii. 2

Medes, the name used by Procopius as an equivalent for “Persians” (q.v.)

Medic garments, called in Procopius’ time “seric,” I. xx. 9

Megas, bishop of Beroea, sent to Chosroes, II. vi. 17; begs him to spare the Roman cities, II. vi. 18 ff.; goes to Antioch, II. vii. 1; fails to persuade the citizens of Antioch to pay money to Chosroes, II. vii. 14; his conference with Chosroes at Beroea, II. vii. 19 ff.

Meltene, chief city of Armenia Minor, I. xvii. 22

Mermocrates, Persian general, invades Roman Armenia, I. xv. 1 ff.; driven back by Dorotheus and Sittas, I. xv. 8; invades Roman territory a second time, I. xv. 9; defeated at Satala, I. xv. 12 ff.; shares command of an invading army, I. xxi. 4; leads an army to the relief of Petra, II. xxix. 13, xxx. 1 ff.; forces the pass into Iberia, II. xxx. 8-10; reaches Petra, II. xxx. 15; taunts the Romans, II. xxx. 17; leaving a garrison in Petra, starts back, II. xxx. 20; attacked by Phoubelis and Gourbares, II. xxx. 22; departs from Lazica with the greater part of his army, II. xxx. 32, 33

Mesopotamia, bounded by the Tigris and the Euphrates, I. xvii. 23; its hot climate, II. xix. 31; Persians accustomed to invade Roman territory from here, I. xvii. 25; avoided by invading Persian army, I. xvii. 2; invaded by the Persians, I. xxi. 4 ff.

Michael, sanctuary of, in Daphne, burned by Chosroes, II. xi. 6, 12, 13; temple of, at Tretum, II. xi. 7, 13

Mindoous, place near the Persian border, Justinian attempts to fortify it, I. xiii. 2, xvi. 7

Miran, a Persian term (iï½“Mithra-son,” denoting properly, not an office, but a patrician family); see Perozes 2; also, commander in Petra, deceives Dagisthæus, II. xxx. 7

Mocheches, important city of Lazica, II. xxix. 18

Molatze, commander of troops in Lebanon, brings succour to Antioch, II. viii. 2; flees precipitately with the soldiers, II. viii. 17-19

Monks, distinguished for piety, I. vii. 22, 24

Moors, II. vi. 8, iii. 46

575
INDEX

Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, II. x. 2

Mundus, general in Illyricum, assists in quelling the Nika insurrection, I. xxiv. 40 ff.

Nabedes, commander of the Persian soldiers in Nisibis, II. xvii. 9; attacks the Roman troops before the city, II. xvii. 19 ff.; general in Persarmenia, takes measures to urge the Romans toward making peace, II. xxiv. 6; takes up his position in Anglion, II. xxv. 6; defeats the Roman armies, II. xxv. 20 ff.

Narses, a Persarmenian, the emperor’s steward, receives Narses and Artabazus when they desert to the Romans, I. xv. 31; a surnuch, I. xxv. 24; sent by Theodora to assist in the assassination of John the Cappadocian; overhoers his conversation with Antonina, I. xxv. 28

Narses, a Persarmenian, in company with Artabazus defeats Sittas and Belisarius, I. xii. 21, 22; deserts to the Romans, I. xv. 31; dismantles the sanctuaries in Phile at Justinian’s order, I. xix. 37; encamps with Valerianus near Theodosiopolis, II. xxiv. 12; leads the attack at Anglion, II. xxv. 20; dies bravely, II. xxv. 24; brother of Isaac, II. xxiv. 14

Nicetas, father of the general John, I. xii. 21, II. xix. 38, xxiv. 15

Nika insurrection, in Byzantium, I. xxiv. 1 ff.; significance of the name, I. xxiv. 10

Nile River, the Nobatae dwell along its banks, I. xix. 28, 29; the island of Philae in it, I. xix. 34

Nisibis, distance from the Tigris, I. xi. 27; from Daras, I. x. 14; from Sisauranon, II. xix. 2; bulwark of the Persian empire, II. xviii. 7; its capture by the Persians, I. xvii. 25; its territory invaded by Libelarius, I. xii. 23; by Belisarius, II. xvii. 1 ff.; negotiations with Chosroes there, I. xxii. 10

Nobatae, a people of upper Aegypt, I. xix. 28; settled along the Nile by Diocletian, I. xix. 29 ff.; receive annual payment from the Roman emperor, I. xix. 32, 33; their religion, I. xix. 35

Nymphius River, near Martyropolis, I. viii. 22, xxi. 6; forms boundary between the Roman and Persian territory, I. xxi. 6; boundary of Arzane, I. viii. 21, II. xv. 7

Oasis, city in upper Aegypt, former home of the Nobatae, I. xix. 30

Obbane, on the Euphrates, distance from Barbalissum, II. xii. 4

Octava, place in Armenia, distance from Satala, I. xv. 9

Odonathus, ruler of the Saracens, husband of Zenobia, II. v. 6; his services to the Romans, II. v. 6

Oenochoalakon, place in Armenia, II. iii. 15

Olybrius, emperor of the West, father-in-law of Areobindus, I. viii. 1

Orestes, the story of his flight from Tauris, I. xvii. 11 ff.

Origenes, a senator, counsels moderation, I. xxiv. 26 ff.

Oroælius, highest part of the city of Antioch, II. vi. 10

Orontes River, flows along by Antioch, II. vi. 10, viii. 3, 35

Osiris, worshipped by the Blemymes and Nobatae, I. xix. 35

Osoene, name applied to country about Edessa, I. xvii. 24; its strongly fortified cities, I. xvii. 34

Osores, ancient king of Edessa, I. xvii. 24

Pacius, king of Persia at the time of the truceless war with the Armenians, I. v. 10; entraps Arsaces, I. v. 16 ff.; confines Arsaces in the Prison of Oblivion, I. v. 29; slaughters Basciellus, I. v. 28; grants favour to a friend of Arsaces, I. v. 30 ff.

Palestine, bounded by the "Red
INDEX

Sea,” i. xix. 2; Saracens dwelling in it, i. xix. 10; the objective of Chosroes’ third invasion, ii. xx. 18; visited by the pestilence, ii. xxii. 6

Palm Groves, held by Saracens of Arabia, i. xix. 8, 9, ii. iii. 41; presented to Justinian, i. xix. 10 ff.

Palmyra, city of Phenicia, ii. i. 6

Parthians, their connection with the first Arsaces, ii. iii. 32

Patricius, an officer in the Roman army, i. vii. 3

Patricius, the Phrygian, Roman general, i. viii. 2; his army routed by Cabades, i. vii. 10-18; his escape, i. viii. 19; entraps Glones with two hundred Persians, i. ix. 5-18

Paulus, interpreter of Chosroes, ii. vi. 22; a Roman reared in Antioch, ii. vi. 25; presents the Persian demands at Hierapolis, ii. vi. 22; at Beroea, ii. vii. 5; at Antioch, ii. viii. 4; where he exhorts the citizens to abstain from their folly, ii. viii. 7; at Chalced, ii. xii. 1; at Edessa, ii. xii. 33; a second time at Edessa, ii. xxvi. 14, xxvii. 24, 45

Pearl, story of the, i. iv. 17-31

Pelopeus, escapes plunder by the Huns, ii. iv. 11

Pelusium, in Egypt, the starting point of the pestilence, ii. xxii. 6

Peranius, son of Gourgenes, king of Iberia, i. xii. 11; commands a detachment of an army to invade Persia, ii. xxiv. 15; invades the country about Tarannon with Justus, ii. xxv. 35; with Peter and Martinus defends Edessa against Chosroes, ii. xxvi. 25 ff., xxvii. 42; Chosroes demands that he and Peter be surrendered to him, ii. xxvi. 88; his death, ii. xxvii. 1

Perozes, Persian king, wages war against the Ephthalites, i. iii. 1, 8; entrapped by the Ephthalites, i. iii. 10 ff.; escapes with his army, i. iii. 22; his second expedition, i. iv. 1 ff.; destroyed with his army by the Ephthalites, i. iv. 14 ff.; his famous pearl, i. iv. 14

Perozes, Persian general, i. xiii. 16; interchange of letters with Belisarius and Hermogenes, i. xiv. 1 ff.; address to his troops, i. xiv. 13 ff.; defeated by Belisarius, i. xiv. 28 ff.; punished by Cabades, i. xvii. 26 ff.

Perozes, sons of, murder Symeon, ii. iii. 3

Persarnenian, its trade with India, ii. xxv. 3; devastated by Sittas and Belisarius, i. xii. 20

Persarnenian, in the Persian army, i. xv. 1

Persians, worship the rising sun, i. iii. 20; their fire-worship, i. xxv. 2; do not bury the dead, i. xi. 35, xii. 4; their set character, ii. xxvii. 25; their trade in Indian silk, i. xx. 9; the arrogance of their officials, i. xi. 33; their custom of counting an army before and after a campaign, i. xvii. 52 ff.; their infantry inefficient, i. xiv. 25; their bowmen quick, but inferior to those of the Romans, i. xvii. 32; their skill in bridging rivers, ii. xxii. 22; maintain spies at public expense, i. xxii. 11; suffer a severe defeat at the hands of the Ephthalites, i. iv. 13, 14; pay tribute to the Ephthalites for two years, i. iv. 35; make peace with Theodosius, i. ii. 15; unable to prevent the fortification of Daras, i. x. 15; capture Amida, i. vii. 29; receive money from the Romans and give back Amida, i. ix. 4; wage war with the Huns during the seventeens’ peace with the Romans, i. ix. 24; seize certain forts in Lasica, i. xii. 19; prevent the fortification of Mindouls, i. xii. 7, 8; defeated in battle at Daras, i. xiv. 47 ff.; defeated in Persarnenian, i. xv. 8; and in Armenia, i. xv. 16; refrain from entering Roman territory by Mesopotamia, i. xvii. 25; victorious in the battle on the Euphrates,
INDEX

1. xviii. 37; invade Mesopotamia, I. xxi. 4; besiege Martyropolis in vain, I. xxi. 5 ff.; make peace with the Romans, I. xxi. 17, 18; capture Sura, II. v. 25; and Beroces, II. vii. 12 ff.; capture and destroy Antioch, II. viii. 20 ff.; capture Petra, II. xvii. 27; besiege Edessa in vain, II. xxvi. 5 ff., xxvii. 46; save Petra from capture by the Romans, II. xxi. 41 ff.; suffer a severe defeat in Lazica, II. xxx. 39 ff.

Pestilence, The, devastates the whole world, II. xxi. 1 ff.; in Byzantium, II. xxii. 9 ff.; in Persia, II. xxiv. 8, 12

Peter, captured as a boy in Arzamene by Justinian, II. xv. 7; Roman general, sent to Lazica, I. xii. 9; summoned to Byzantium, I. xii. 14; bodyguard of Justinian, commander of infantry, I. xvii. 6; at the battle on the Euphrates, I. xviii. 42; favours invasion of Persia by Belisarius, II. xvi. 16; attacked by the Persians before Nisibis, II. xvii. 16 ff.; commands a detachment in an army to invade Persia, II. xxiv. 13; precipitately enters Persia, II. xxiv. 18; commands the right wing at the battle of Anglon, II. xxv. 17; with Martinus and Peranius defends Edessa against Chosroes, II. xxvi. 25 ff.; Chosroes demands that he and Peranius be surrendered to him, II. xxvi. 38; his base character and misrule in Lazica, II. xv. 6-8

Petra, built by Justinian in Lazica, II. xv. 10, xvii. 3, xxix. 20; its impregnable defences, II. xvii. 18 ff.; attacked by the Persians, II. xvii. 4 ff.; besieged by Chosroes, II. xvii. 18 ff.; captured by Chosroes, II. xvii. 26; fortified with a garrison, II. xix. 48; besieged by the Romans and Laz, II. xxi. 11 ff.; the siege abandoned, II. xxx. 11; valour of the Persian defenders, II. xxi. 55; monopoly established there by

John Tsibus, II. xv. 11, xxix. 21

Petrae, ancient capital of the Arabs, I. xix. 20

Phabrius, high Persian official, II. xxviii. 16; employed by Chosroes for the furtherance of his plans, II. xxviii. 17; attempts to destroy Goubasas, II. xxix. 2 ff.; left as commander in Lazica by Mermeroes, II. xxx. 32; his forces almost annihilated by the Laz, II. xxx. 42 ff.

Pharrantium, fortress in Persarmenia, occupied by the Romans, I. xv. 18; gold-mines of the Persians there, I. xv. 27, 29; given over to the Romans, I. xv. 29, II. iii. 1; its return demanded by Chosroes, I. xxi. 5; given up by the Romans, I. xxi. 18; near the source of the Boas River, II. xxix. 14

Pharas, an Eulian chief, at the battle of Daras, I. xiii. 19, 25 ff., xiv. 32, 33, 39

Pharsemanes, of Colchis, an officer in the Roman army, I. vii. 3

Pharsemanes, a man of note in Lazica, II. xxiv. 4; his friendship sought by Phabrius, II. xxix. 5; saves Goubasas, II. xxix. 7

Phasis River, its source in the Taurus, I. xxv. 21; its course through Lazica, II. xxix. 16; its size and strong current, II. xxx. 25, 26; strongly defended by the Laz, II. xxx. 27; forced by the Laz, II. xxx. 37

Philes, fortress established by Diocletian on an island in the Nile near Elephanta, I. xix. 34-36; its temples dismantled by Justinian, I. xix. 36, 37

Philemouth, an Eulian chief, encamps near Martinus, I. xxiv. 14; with Beroces follows Peter into Persia, II. xxiv. 18

Phison, place in Armenia near Martyropolis, II. xxiv. 15

Phoca, made pretorian prefect in place of John the Cappadocian, I. xxiv. 18
INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoenicia, π. xvi. 17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phoubella, a notable among the Last, with Dagisthaeus attacks Mermeroes, π. xxx. 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitus, a fortress in Lazica, π. xxix. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pityaxes, Persian general at the battle of Daras, i. xiii. 16, xiv. 32, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piscillianae, palace in Byzantium, π. xxiv. 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pompeius, nephew of Anastasius, sent from the palace by Justinian, π. xxiv. 19–21; brought before Justinian as a prisoner, π. xxiv. 53; his death, π. xxiv. 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontic Romans, their location, π. xxix. 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pontus, visited by Orestes, i. xvii. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potidæa, known in later times as Cæsarea, captured by the Huns, π. iv. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priapus, worshipped by the Blemyes and Nobatae, i. xix. 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prison of Oblivion, in Persia, reason for the name, π. v. 8; law regarding it suspended once in the case of Arsaces, I. v. 9–29; Cædadas confined therein, I. v. 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probus, nephew of Anastasius, sent by Justinus to Bosporus to collect an army of Huns, I. xii. 6, 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proclus, quaestor, dissuades Justinus from adopting Chosroes, I. xi. 11 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procopius of Cæsarea, author of the History of the Wars, I. i. 1; eye-witness of the events described, I. i. 3; chosen adviser to Belisarius, I. i. 3, xii. 24; in Byzantium at the time of the pestilence, π. xxii. 9; had seen Cappadocia and Armenia, I. xvii. 17; his frankness in writing, I. i. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pylades, the story of the flight with Orestes from Tauris, I. xvii. 11 ff.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Sea, its location, extent, harbours, etc. (confused by Procopius with the Arabian Gulf), I. xix. 2 ff., π. iii. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes, envoy to Chosroes, π. xxvii. 24, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhechestanias, of Thrace, commander of troops in Lebanon, objects to invading Persia with Belisarius, π. xvi. 17 ff.; eager to return to Lebanon, π. xix. 33, 34; commands an army sent to Lazica, π. xxx. 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhissaenum, a city near Lazica, π. xxix. 22, xxx. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodopolis, important city of Lazica, π. xxix. 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romans, used by Procopius to designate the subjects of the empire of Byzantium, and mentioned constantly throughout; lack of discipline in Roman armies, I. xiv. 14; their bowmen more efficient than those of the Persians, I. xviii. 34; maintain spies at public expense, I. xxii. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufinianae, suburb of Byzantium, π. xxv. 21, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rufinus, son of Silvanus, sent as an envoy to the Persians, I. xi. 24; slanders Hypatius, I. xi. 38; sent as ambassador to Hierapolis, I. xiii. 11; treats with Cædadas at Daras, I. xvi. 1 ff.; reports to the emperor I. xvi. 10; meets Chosroes on the Tigris, I. xxii. 1; sent to Byzantium, I. xxvi. 7; false report of his death, I. xvi. 9; persuades Chosroes to give back the money brought by the ambassadors and postpone the war, I. xxii. 14, 18; slandered to the emperor, I. xxii. 15; sent again as ambassador to Chosroes, I. xvi. 15; brother of Timostatus, I. xvii. 44; father of John, the ambassador, π. vii. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabæi Huns, their location, π. xxix. 15; in the Persian army, I. xv. 1; persuaded by Goubazes to form an alliance with him, π. xxix. 29; receive promised money from Justinian, π. xxx. 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saccice, mother of Alamoundaras, I. xvii. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Samosata, city on the Euphrates, I. xvii. 22; on the boundary of Euphratesia, I. xvii. 23.

Saracens, experts at plundering, but not at storming cities, II. xix. 12; in Persia, all ruled by Alamoundaras, I. xvii. 45; some in alliance with the Romans, I. xviii. 46; their king Odonathus, P. v. 5; of Arabia, ruled by Arethas, I. xvii. 47; receiving annual payments from the Romans, P. x. 23; settled in the Palm Groves, I. xix. 7, 8; and in Palestine, I. xix. 10; cannibals in Arabia, I. xix. 15; never mentioned in treaties, P. i. 5; observe a religious holiday at the vernal equinox, P. xvi. 18; dispute possession of Strata, P. i. 6; in the army of Chosroes, P. xxvii. 30; in the army of Azarethes, I. xvii. 1, xviii. 30; with the army of Bellsarius, I. xviii. 7, 26, 35, 36, P. xvii. 1; wage war among themselves, II. xxviii. 12–14.

Sarapanis, a city of Lazica, II. xxix. 18.

Sarus River, in Cappadocia, I. xvii. 17.

Satara, city in Armenia, its location, I. xv. 9, 10; battle of, I. xv. 12 ff.

Scanda, a city in Lazica, II. xxix. 18.

Sebastopolis, a fortress of Lazica, II. xxix. 18.

Seleucia, city on the Tigris, founded by the Macedonians, II. xxviii. 4.

Seleucia, distance from Antioch, P. x. 1; visited by Chosroes, ib.

Senecius, body-guard of Sittas, given as a hostage to the Persians, I. xxi. 27.

Seoses, rescues Cabades from the Prison of Oblivion, I. vi. 4, 10; receives the office of “adrestadar salanes,” I. vi. 18, 19; sent as envoy to the Romans, I. xli. 23; slandered by Mepodes and brought to trial, I. xli. 31 ff.; condemned to death, I. xli. 37.

Sergiopolis, city in Mesopotamia, P. v. 28; citizens of, give much treasure to Chosroes, P. xx. 7; saved from capture by Ambrus, P. xx. 10; besieged in vain by Chosroes, P. xx. 11 ff.

Sergius, an illustrious saint, P. v. 29.

Sergius, of Edessa, II. xxiv. 4; envoy to Chosroes with Constantianus, P. xxiv. 3; a second time envoy to Chosroes with Const., P. xxviii. 3 ff.

Setius, city opposite Abydos on the Hellespont, P. iv. 9.

Silentarius, a title given to certain officials in the palace at Byzantium, “privy councillors,” P. xxii. 1, P. xxix. 31.

Silvanus, father of Rufinus, I. xi. 24, xvii. 6.

Simmas, Massagete chief, in the Roman army, I. xiii. 21, xiv. 44.

Siphrios, a fortress, distance from Amida, I. viii. 10.

Sisauron, fortress in Mesopotamia, P. xix. 2; attacked by Bellsarius, P. xix. 4; capitulates to Bellsarius, P. xix. 23, 24.

Sittas, Roman general, in company with Bellsarius invades Persarmenia, I. xii. 20, 21; defeated by Nares and Aratus, I. xii. 2; attacks the Persian army invading Armenia, I. xv. 9 ff.; occupies the hills about Satara, I. xv. 10; attacks the Persian army unexpectedly, I. xv. 12; defeats the Tzani in battle and then wins them over by kindness, I. xv. 24, 25; proceeds to the East, I. xxi. 3; awaits the Persian army at Attakhas, I. xxi. 9; opens negotiations with the Persians before Martyropolis, I. xxi. 23 ff.; sent against the Armenians, P. iii. 8 ff.; his death, P. iii. 25; his valor and achievements, P. iii. 26.

Snarl, Gate of the, in the palace in Byzantium, I. xxvii. 43.

Solmian Gate, in the wall of Edessa, I. xxvii. 41.

Solomon, an Armenian, according to one report slew Sittas, P. iii. 27.

Sophanene, district in Armenia, I. xxi. 6.

Sophia, sanctuary of, destroyed by.
INDEX

fire in the Nika insurrection, i. xxiv. 9; its treasures guarded by the priest Augustus, ii. xxx. 53
Stephanacius, commander of Isaurians, i. xviii. 7
Stephanus, a physician of note, begs Chosroes to spare Edessa, ii. xxvi. 31 ff.
Strata, its possession disputed by the Saracens, ii. i. 8; meaning of the name, ii. i. 7; unproductive, ii. i. 11
Strategius, guardian of the royal treasures, sent as an envoy by Justinian, ii. i. 9; his advice concerning Strata, ii. i. 11
Summus, father of Julian, commander in Palestine, sent as an envoy by Justinian, ii. i. 9, 10; his advice concerning Strata, ii. i. 11
Sunicas, Massagete chief, in the Roman army, i. xiii. 20, xiv. 39, 40, 44; charges the standard bearer of Baresmanas, i. xiv. 47; kills Baresmanas, i. xiv. 50
Sunitae, march in the Persian army, i. xv. 1
Sura, a city on the Euphrates, i. xviii. 14, ii. v. 8; distance from Sergiopolis, ii. v. 29; besieged by Chosroes, ii. v. 10 ff.; bishop of, begs Chosroes to spare the city, ii. v. 13 ff.; captured by a stratagem and destroyed, ii. v. 22 ff.; a woman of, made captive by a barbarian in sight of Chosroes, ii. ix. 9, 10
Sycæ, a suburb of Byzantium, modern “Galata,” ii. xxiii. 9
Symeon, Sanctuary of, at Amida, burned, i. ix. 18
Symeon, manager of the Persian gold-mine at Pharangum, i. xv. 27; goes over to the Romans, i. xv. 28, 29; presented with certain Armenian villages, ii. iii. 1; murdered by the sons of Perozès, ii. iii. 2; uncle of Amazaspes, ii. iii. 3
Syria, open to invasion by the Persians, i. xvii. 34 ff., ii. xvi. 17, xix. 34; attacked by Chosroes, ii. v. 4, vi. 21
Syriac tongue, ii. ii. 3
Taraunon, a district in Persarmenia, invaded by Justus and Peranius, ii. xxv. 35
Tatianus, of Mopsuestia, quarter master of the camp in Antioch, witnesses the portent of the standards, ii. x. 2
Taurians, The, in Cæsarea, i. xvii. 11 ff., 21
Taurus Mountains, The, their size and extent, i. x. 1, 2, xv. 20, xvii. 17
Theoctistus, commander of troops in Lebanon, brings succour to Antioch, ii. viii. 2; flees precipitately with the soldiers, ii. viii. 17–19; objects to invading Persia with Bellarius, ii. xvi. 17 ff.; eager to return to Lebanon, ii. xix. 33, 34; commands a detachment in an army to invade Persia, ii. xxiv. 18
Theodoric, leader of the Goths, ii. viii. 3
Theodora, wife of Justinian, greatly beloved by him, i. xxv. 4; her hatred of John the Cappadocian, ib.; counsels firmness in dealing with the Nika insurrection, i. xxiv. 33 ff.; encourages Antonina in her plan to entrap John the Cappadocian, i. xxv. 22; succeeds in punishing him, i. xxv. 30; her death, ii. xxx. 49
Theodorus, a citizen of Daras, skilled in mechanics, i. xili. 26
Theodorus, an officer in the palace in Byzantium, superintends the work of providing burial for the victims of the pestilence, ii. xxiii. 6 ff.
Theodosiopolis, its location, i. x. 18, xv. 2, ii. xxiv. 12; near the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris, i. xvii. 4; fortified by Anastasius, i. x. 19; near Bolum, i. xv. 32; distance from Doublos, ii. xxv. 1; from Citharizon, ii. xxiv. 13
Theodosiopolis, city near the Aborrevs River, ii. xix. 29
Theodosius II., son of Arcadius, as a child is made the ward of the Persian king Isigerdes, i. ii. 1 ff.; sends Anatolius as
INDEX

envoy to the Persians, I. ii. 12; makes peace with the Persians, I. ii. 15; Arsaces’ abdication of the kingship of Armenia in his favour, II. iii. 35

Thermopylae, attacked by the Huns, II. iv. 10

Thessaly, plundered by the Huns, II. iv. 10

Thilasammon, village near Amida, I. ix. 14

Thomas, chief priest of Apamea, displays the wood of the cross, II. xi. 16 ff.; goes before Chosroes, II. xi. 20 ff.; saves the wood of the cross, II. xi. 29, 30

Thomas, ambassador to the Persians, meets Chosroes on the Tigris, I. xxi. 1

Thomas Gouzes, commander in Lazica, II. xxx. 5

Thrace, Thracians in the army of Belisarius, II. xix. 32, xxl. 4; home of Coutzes and Bouzes, I. xiii. 5

Timostratus, brother of Rufinus, Roman officer, captured by Alamoundasas, I. xvii. 48, 44

Tigris River, its source in Armenia, I. xviii. 4; its course into Assyria, I. xvii. 5, 6; distance from Nisibis, I. xi. 27; its junction with the Euphrates, I. xvii. 22; flows between Seleucia and Ctesiphon, II. xxvii. 5

Trajan, a guardsman, sent with Arethas into Assyria, II. xix. 15 ff.; they return by another route, II. xix. 28 ff.

Trapezus, city on the Euxine, II. xxix. 22, xxx. 14

Tretum, a place near Antioch, where was a temple of Michael, II. xi. 7

Tribonianus, a Pamphylian, quaestor, I. xxiv. 11; his dexterity in manipulating laws, I. xxiv. 16; dismissed from office, I. xxiv. 17; restored to office, I. xxv. 1, 2; his death, I. xxv. 2

Tribunus, a physician, beloved by Chosroes, II. xxviii. 8 ff.

Tripod, before the palace of the Persian king, where all must sit who fell under the king’s displeasure, I. xxiii. 23

Tripurgia, a place at Edessa, II. xxvii. 41

Tzani, called Sani in early times, I. xv. 21; the source of the Boas River among them, II. xxix. 14; conquered by the Romans, I. xv. 19 ff.; became Christian, I. xv. 25; reduced to subjection, II. iii. 39; with the Roman army at Petra, II. xxix. 10, 41; defend the Roman camp, II. xxx. 18; return to their homes, II. xxx. 14

Valerianus, appointed general of Armenia, II. xiv. 8; receives Persian envoys, II. xxiv. 6–8; reports to Justinian, II. xxiv. 9; ordered to invade Persia with Martinus, II. xxiv. 10; encamps near Theodosiopolis, II. xxv. 12; follows Peter in invading Persia, II. xxiv. 19; commands the left wing at the battle of Anglon, II. xxv. 17

Vandals, II. ii. 8, iii. 46

Varranans, Persian king, invades Roman territory, I. ii. 11 ff.; concludes peace with the Romans, I. ii. 15

Varizes, title of a Persian general (lit. “victorious,” properly a family name), I. xli. 10

Varranans, son of Adargas,消除的, 失去了秘密的分享, Chosroes, I. xxi. 10; reveals to Chosroes the true story, I. xxii. 13; made chamaranges, I. xxii. 22

Veneti, name of one of the factions, I. xxiv. 2–6; supported by Justinian, II. xi. 32; also called the Blue Faction, ib.

Venetian Colonnade. The, in Byzantium, I. xxiv. 49

Veredi, the government post horses, II. xx. 20

Vesta, see Hestia

Vitalianus, son of Patricianus, an officer in the Roman army, I. viii. 3; becomes tyrant, ib.; his hostility to Anastasius, I. xiii. 10; his adviser Himerogenes, ib.
INDEX

Vittigis, king of the Goths, sends ambassadors to Chosroes, II. ii. 1; they address Chosroes, II. ii. 4 ff.; brought to Byzantium by Belisarius, II. iv. 13, xxii. 28: remains in Byzantium, II. xiv. 10; envoys of, one dies, the other remains in Persia, II. xiv. 11; their interpreter captured, II. xiv. 12

Zaberganes, misrepresents Mabodes to Chosroes, I. xxiii. 25, 26; reproaches Chosroes, II. viii. 30 ff.; at the bidding of Chosroes receives the envoys of Edessa, II. xxvi. 18–19

Zames, son of Cabades, disqualified from succeeding his father, I. xi. 4; II. ix. 12; plot to put him in power in place of Chosroes, I. xxiii. 4, 5; slain by Chosroes, I. xxiii. 6

Zechi, their location, II. xxix. 15

Zeno, Roman emperor at the time of the Persian king Arsaces, I. iii. 8

Zenobia, city on the Euphrates, II. v. 4; founded by Zenobia, II. v. 5; Chosroes refrains from attacking it, II. v. 7

Zenobia, wife of Odonatus, founder of the city of Zenobia, II. v. 5

Zeuxippus, Baths of, destroyed by fire in the Nika insurrection, I. xxiv. 9
RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,
brunswick street, stamford street, s.e.
and bungay, suffolk.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED*

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, translated by R. C. Seaton, of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.

APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY, translated by Horace White, of New York. 4 volumes.

CATULLUS, translated by F. W. Cornish, Vice-Provost of Eton College; TIBULLUS, translated by J. P. Postgate, of Liverpool University; PERVIGILIAM VENERIS, translated by J. W. Mackail, formerly Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. 1 volume.

CICERO'S LETTERS TO ATTICUS, translated by E. O. Winstedt, of Magdalen College, Oxford. 3 volumes. Volumes I and II.

CICERO DE OFFICIIS, translated by Walter Miller. 1 volume.

DIO CASSIUS, ROMAN HISTORY, translated by E. Cary, of Princeton University. 9 volumes. Volumes I and II.

EURIPIDES, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 4 volumes.

HORACE, ODES, translated by C. E. Bennett, of Cornell University. 1 volume.

JULIAN, translated by Wilmer Cave Wright, of Bryn Mawr College. 3 volumes. Volumes I and II.

LUCIAN, translated by A. M. Harmon, of Princeton University. 8 volumes. Volume I.


*All volumes can be supplied separately.

PLATO, EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS, translated by H. N. Fowler. 1 volume.

PROPERTIUS, translated by H. E. Butler, of the University of London. 1 volume.

QUINTUS Smyrnaeus, translated by A. S. Way, of the University of London. 1 volume.


SOPHOCLES, translated by F. Storr, of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 volumes.

SUETONIUS, translated by J. C. Rolfe. 2 volumes. Volume I.

TACITUS, DIALOGUS, translated by Wm. Peterson; AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA, translated by Maurice Hutton. 1 volume.

TERENCE, translated by John Sergeaunt, of Westminster School. 2 volumes.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS, translated by Kirsopp Lake, of the University of Leiden. 2 volumes.


THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS), translated by J. M. Edmonds, of Jesus College, Cambridge. 1 volume.

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN, 21 BEDFORD STREET
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO., 64 FIFTH AVENUE