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II
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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES
II

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS III AND IV

LONDON: WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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HISTORY OF THE WARS:
BOOK III

THE VANDALIC WAR
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ
ΤΙΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΔΟΓΩΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

I

'Ό μὲν οὖν Μηδικὸς πόλεμος Ἰουστινιανῆ βα-
σιλεῖ έις τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα ἐς τε Βανδί-
λους καὶ Μαυροσίους αὐτῷ εἰργασται φράσων
ἐρχομαι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον οὖν ὁ Βανδίλων
2 στρατὸς τη Ἱρωμαίων ἐπέσκηψε χώρα. ἐπειδὴ
Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ἱρωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
ἡφάσιστο, ἀνήρ δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονός
καὶ ἄγαθος τὰ πολέμια, διεδεξάθην αὐτοῦ τὴν
βασιλείαν ἀμφο τῷ παιδε, Ἁρκάδιος μὲν ὁ πρεσ-
βύτερος τὴν ἐφάνεν μοῖραν, τὴν ἐσπερίαν δὲ Ὅνω-
3 ριος ὁ νεώτερος. διήρητο δὲ ὧδε τὸ Ἱρωμαίων
κράτος ἀνωθὲν ἀπὸ τε Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν
αὐτοῦ παῖδων, δς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον
μεταθέμενος μεῖξο τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπί-
φανεστέραν καταστησάμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφήκε
προσαγορεύσεισθαι.

4 Περίλαμβάνει μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν ὁκεανὸς ἢ
ξύμπασαν ἢ τὴν πολλῆν· οὐ γάρ πω σαφῆς τι
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἵσμεν· σχίζει δὲ αὐτὴν δίχα ἐς ἥπει-
2
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THE VANDALIC WAR

I

Such, then, was the final outcome of the Persian War for the Emperor Justinian; and I shall now proceed to set forth all that he did against the Vandals and the Moors. But first shall be told whence came the host of the Vandals when they descended upon the land of the Romans. After Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, had departed from the world, having proved himself one of the most just of men and an able warrior, his kingdom was taken over by his two sons, Arcadius, the elder, receiving the Eastern portion, and Honorius, the younger, the Western. But the Roman power had been thus divided as far back as the time of Constantine and his sons; for he transferred his government to Byzantium, and making the city larger and much more renowned, allowed it to be named after him.

Now the earth is surrounded by a circle of ocean, either entirely or for the most part (for our knowledge is not as yet at all clear in this matter); and it
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ροὺς δύο ἐκροή τις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον εἰσβάλλουσα μοῦραν καὶ ταύτῃ δὴ ποιούμενη τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μὲν ἄρξαμένη, ἐς 5 αὐτήν δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκουσα ἡμᾶς. ταύταις ταῖς ἦπειροι ἁτέρα μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέντι τὴν θάλασσαν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν λίμνην Ἠσία κέκληται, ἀπὸ τε Γαδείρων καὶ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν

6 Ἡρακλεοὺς στηλῶν. Σέπτου καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκεῖνη φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἐπτὰ φαινομένων ἑνταῦθα. τὸ γὰρ σέπτου ἐπτὰ τῇ Δατίνων

7 φωνῇ δύναται. ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῆς ξύμπασα Εὐρώπη ἐκλήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ πορθμός τέταρτος καὶ ὑγιοῦκοντα σταδίους μᾶλιστα ἦπειρον ἐκατέραν διείργησθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐντεύθεν πελάγης μεγάλοις ἀλλήλαις διέχετον μέχρις Ἑλλησπόντου.

8 ταύτῃ γὰρ εὐνίασιν αὕτης ἅμφα σηστὸν τε καὶ Ἄβυδον, καὶ πάλιν ἐν τε Βυζάντιῳ καὶ Καλχηδόνι μέχρι τῶν πάλαι Κυναέων λεγομένων πετρῶν, οὗ καὶ νῦν Ἰεροῦ ὄνομαζεται. ἐν τούτως γὰρ δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις μέτρῳ δέκα σταδίων τε καὶ τούτον ἐλάσσον διείργησθαι ἀλλήλαια.

9 Ὁ Απὸ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλεοὺς στηλῶν μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν διὰ τῆς ἡμῶν ἑοντι καὶ οὐ περιερχομένω κόλπων τε τῶν Ἰονίων καὶ τῶν Εὔξεινων καλούμενων Πόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τε Καλχηδόνως ἐς Βυζάντιων ἐκ τε Δρυσύντος ἐς ἦπειρον

1 ἄρξαμένη—διήκουσα: Christ prefers the accusative.
2 ἐπτὰ Ρ.: ἐβδομὸν Ψ.
3 Καλχηδόνως Maltretus: χαρακτήρων MSS., Καρχηδόνως Hoeschel in marg. 4 Δρυσύντος MSS.: ἔδροντος edd.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. i. 4-9

is split into two continents by a sort of outflow from the ocean, a flow which enters at the western part and forms this Sea which we know, beginning at Gadira and extending all the way to the Maeotic Lake. Of these two continents the one to the right, as one sails into the Sea, as far as the Lake, has received the name of Asia, beginning at Gadira and at the southern of the two Pillars of Heracles. Septem is the name given by the natives to the fort at that point, since seven hills appear there; for "septem" has the force of "seven" in the Latin tongue. And the whole continent opposite this was named Europe. And the strait at that point separates the two continents by about eighty-four stades, but from there on they are kept apart by wide expanses of sea as far as the Hellespont. For at this point they again approach each other at Sestus and Abydus, and once more at Byzantium and Chalcedon as far as the rocks called in ancient times the "Dark Blue Rocks," where even now is the place called Hieron. For at these places the continents are separated from one another by a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.

Now the distance from one of the Pillars of Heracles to the other, if one goes along the shore and does not pass around the Ionian Gulf and the sea called the Euxine but crosses from Chalcedon to Byzantium and from Dryous to the opposite main-

1 Cadiz. 2 Sea of Azov. 3 Abila. 4 Or Septem Fratres. 5 Most ancient geographers divided the inhabited world into three continents, but some made two divisions. It was a debated question with these latter whether Africa belonged to Asia or to Europe; cf. Sallust, Jugurtha, 17. 
6 Kadi Keui.
7 More correctly Hydrous, Lat. Hydruntum (Otranto).
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tην ἀντιπέρας καταίροντι, πέντε καὶ ὤγδοῦκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν εὔζωνῳ ἀνδρὶ.

10 τὰ γὰρ ἄμφι τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντου, διὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου χωρεῖ εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἀπαντὰ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, βαρβάρων τῶν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἱστροῦ, διὸ καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσι, Ῥωμαίως βατὸν ἥκεστα ποιομένων τὴν ἐκείνη ἀκτὴν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐκ Βυζαντίου μὲν ἐσ τὰς τὸῦ Ἱστροῦ ἐκβολὰς ἡμερῶν ἐστὶν ὁδὸς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἀσπερ τῇ

11 Ἐὐρώπῃ λογιζομένους ἐντιθέναι προσήκει. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραν, εἰδὴ δὲ ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνος ἐς ποταμὸν Πᾶσιν, διὸ ρεῖν ἐκ Κόλχου κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πόντου, ἀνύεται τεσσάροντα

12 ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν. ὥστε ξύμπασα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατὰ γε τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὁδὸν ἐς ἐπὶ τὰ καὶ τεσσάροντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ξύνεισι μέτρων, ἢν τις, ὅπερ εἶρηται, τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἐς ὀκτακοσίων μάλιστα δυήκοντα στάδιοισ εἰκὸς

13 Δρυοῦντος1 διαπορθμένης. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου πάροδος2 ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν διήκει οὐχ ἡγοῦν ἡ τεσσάρων. τοσάυτη μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατὰ γε τὸν παλαιὸν ἐγένετο χρόνον.

14 Ἐσπέραλλε δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ τῆς ἐσπερίας ἐχοντι κράτος Διεύθυς τὰ πλεῖστα δύνανται ἐς ἐνενήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐκ Γαδερώων ἐς τὰ ὀρία τῆς ἐν Διεύθυ Τριπόλεως ἐστὶν· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ἐὐρώπῃ πέντε καὶ ἐβδομηκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἐλαχὲ τοσάυτη γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν Ἡρα-

1 Δρυοῦντος MSS.: Ἱδροῦντος Maltretus, Dindorf. In P scholion δροῦντος ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν ἐν ἐνενήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἱππολήνου ἡπτοκοντά (Otranto), ἡπτεῖρας δὲ τὸ νῦν αὐλών (Avlona).

2 πάροδος Maltretus: περιοδὸς MSS., Haury suggests περα-

ωσίς.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. i. 9-15

land,¹ is a journey of two hundred and eighty-five days for an unencumbered traveller. For as to the land about the Euxine Sea, which extends from Byzantium to the Lake, it would be impossible to tell everything with precision, since the barbarians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, make the shore of that sea quite impossible for the Romans to traverse—except, indeed, that from Byzantium to the mouth of the Ister is a journey of twenty-two days, which should be added to the measure of Europe by one making the computation. And on the Asiatic side, that is from Chalcedon to the Phasis River, which, flowing from the country of the Colchians, descends into the Pontus, the journey is accomplished in forty days. So that the whole Roman domain, according to the distance along the sea at least, attains the measure of a three hundred and forty-seven days' journey, if, as has been said, one ferries over the Ionian Gulf, which extends about eight hundred stades from Dryous. For the passage across the gulf² amounts to a journey of not less than four days. Such, then, was the size of the Roman empire in the ancient times.

And there fell to him who held the power in the West the most of Libya, extending ninety days' journey—for such is the distance from Gadira to the boundaries of Tripolis in Libya; and in Europe he received as his portion territory extending seventy-five days' journey—for such is the distance from the

¹ At Aulon (Avlona).
² Adding these four days to the other items (285, 22, 40), the total is 351 days.
κλεους στηλών ἐς κόλπου τῶν Ἰόνιων τυγχάνει οὖσα. προσθείη δὲ ἀν τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου
16 περίοδον. βασιλείας δὲ ὁ τῆς ἐω ἡμερῶν εἰκοσι
καὶ ἐκατὸν ὡδὸν ἐκληρώσατο ἐκ τῶν Κυρήνης
ὁρίων τῆς ἐν Διβύη μέχρι Ἐπιδάμνου, ἡ πρὸς αὐτῷ
κεῖται τῷ Ἰωνίῳ κόλπῳ, Δυρράχιον ταῦτας καλοῦ-
μένη, καὶ ὅση ἀμφὶ τῶν Ἑβερίαν Πόντου, ὡς
17 ἐμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ Ἡρωαίων ἐστὶ. μᾶς δὲ
ἡμέρας ὡδὸς ἐς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει στα-
δίους, ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε οἶναι. οὕτω
μὲν ἡπειρον ἐκατέραν οἱ Ἡρωαίων αὐτοκράτορες
διείλοντο σφιά. τῶν δὲ δὴ νῆσων Βρετανία
18 μὲν, ἡ ἐκτὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων νῆσων
πασῶν μεγίστη παρὰ πολὺ οὖσα, μετὰ τῆς ἐσπε-
ρίας, ὡς γε τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάττετο μοίρας· ἐντὸς δὲ
αὐτῶν Ἐβουσα, ὥσπερ ἐν Πραποντίδε τῇ μετὰ
19 τὴν ὥκεανοι ἐσβολήν ἐν θαλάσσῃ κειμένη, ἐς
ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὡδὸν μᾶλλον διήκουσα, καὶ δύο
ἀμφὶ αὐτὴν ἑτεραι; Μαἰορίκα τε καὶ Μινωρίκα
ἐπιχωρίως καλοῦμεναι. τῶν δὲ κατὰ θάλασσα
νῆσου ἐκάστη θατέρῳ τῶν βασιλείων ἐπέβαλεν,
ὡς αὐτῇ ἐντὸς πού τῶν ἐκείνον ὀρίων ξυνεβαινε
κεῖσθαι.

II

'Ονωρίου δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς ἔχοντος
19 βασιλεῖαν ἑώρασαν τὴν ἑκείνου κατέλαβον
χώραν· οὕτως δὲ καὶ ὅτι τρόπῳ, λελέξεται.
1 Γοτθικὰ ἐθνὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρῶτον τε

1 ὡδὸς P corr.; ὡδῷ V and P.
2 τὴν P: τοῦ V.
3 ἑτεραι P: ἑταῖραι V.
northern\(^1\) of the Pillars of Heracles to the Ionian Gulf.\(^2\) And one might add also the distance around the gulf. And the emperor of the East received territory extending one hundred and twenty days' journey, from the boundaries of Cyrene in Libya as far as Epidamnus, which lies on the Ionian Gulf and is called at the present time Dyrrachium, as well as that portion of the country about the Euxine Sea which, as previously stated, is subject to the Romans. Now one day's journey extends two hundred and ten stades,\(^3\) or as far as from Athens to Megara. Thus, then, the Roman emperors divided either continent between them. And among the islands Britain, which is outside the Pillars of Heracles and by far the largest of all islands, was counted, as is natural, with the West; and inside the Pillars, Ebusa,\(^4\) which lies in the Mediterranean in what we may call the Propontis, just inside the opening where the ocean enters, about seven days' journey from the opening, and two others near it, Majorica and Minorica, as they are called by the natives, were also assigned to the Western empire. And each of the islands in the Sea itself fell to the share of that one of the two emperors within whose boundaries it happened to lie.

**II**

Now while Honorius was holding the imperial power in the West, barbarians took possession of his land; and I shall tell who they were and in what manner they did so. There were many Gothic nations in

\(^1\) Calpe (Gibraltar).

\(^2\) *i.e.*, instead of stopping at Otranto, one might also reckon in the coast-line around the Adriatic to Dyrrachium.

\(^3\) About twenty-four English miles.

\(^4\) Iviza.
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hydrate esti, tade de de pantwn megistata te kaia axiologontata Godoi te eisi kai Vanidiloi kai Oiunsgosthoi kai Hipaides. Palai miletoi Sauronmati kai Melanghalinoi oonomazono eisi de o kai Getika etha taunt ekaalon. Outoi apantes onomasi men allhlan diafeiron, osper eihrnai, allh de twv pantwn oindei dial-

4 lasousoi. Leukoi te gar apantes ta somata eisi kai tas komas xanthei, evmheies te kai anagosti tas ofeis, kai vnomois men tois autois chrinontai, omioi de ta es tov theon autois hisketai. Tis gar Areoi doxhs eisin apantes, fown te autois esti mia, Gotikhe legeomeni kai moi dokouv 1 eix evos men einaia apantes to palaiou ethnous, onomasi de usteron twv ekastois hrganomenov diaekkri-


7 Twn de de allhon Oiunsognothoi men enhende anastante ta men prwta es xumachian Arkadiou Basileos afikonto, chrono de usteron (ou gar oide 3 barbabaro evdiasasthai he es Romanous pistis), hgnomevou autois 'Alarichou, es epitheulon ekaterou Basileos etrapontou, ek Thakhs te arxamenou xumasphe Eurypis ws polemia exrop-

8 santo. Basileus de 'Onwrios proteron men en 'Romy kathsto, ouden o ti kai polemion en vho

1 dokouv MSS. : dokousin or dokouvtes Dindorf.
2 Syngidoun Haury : syngidou V, syngidiva P.
3 oide P : oude V, P in marg.
earlier times, just as also at the present, but the greatest and most important of all are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepaedes. In ancient times, however, they were named Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni;¹ and there were some too who called these nations Getic. All these, while they are distinguished from one another by their names, as has been said, do not differ in anything else at all. For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith, and have one language called Gothic; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group. This people used to dwell above the Ister River from of old. Later on the Gepaedes got possession of the country about Singidunum² and Sirmium,³ on both sides of the Ister River, where they have remained settled even down to my time.

But the Visigoths, separating from the others, removed from there and at first entered into an alliance with the Emperor Arcadius, but at a later time (for faith with the Romans cannot dwell in barbarians), under the leadership of Alaric, they became hostile to both emperors, and, beginning with Thrace, treated all Europe as an enemy's land. Now the Emperor Honorius had before this time been sitting in Rome, with never a thought of war

¹ "Black-cloaks." ² Belgrade. ³ Mitrovitz.
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ἐχὼν, ἀλλὰ ἀγαπῶν, οἷμαι, ἢν τις αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς
9 βασιλείοις ὑσυχάζειν ἔψη. ἔπει δὲ οὐκ ἀποθεν
οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀλλὰ που ἐν Ταυραντίοις εἶναι
στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἤγγελλοντο, καταλιπὼν τὰ
βασιλεία ὑσυχαίτερα, κόσμῳ ἐς Ῥάβενναν φεύγει, πόλιν
ἔχαραν ἐς αὐτὸν που λήγοντα κειμένην τὸν Ἰωνίου
κόλπον. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ φασίν αὐτὸν τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους ἐπαγαγέσθαι, στάσεως αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν
ὑπηκόων γεγενημένης, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγουτε,

11 ὅσα γε τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογίζεσθαι ἢδος. οἱ
dὲ βάρβαροι, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν σφίσιν ἀπήντα πολέμιον,
γίνονται ὁμότατοι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάνταν. πόλεις
τε γὰρ, ὅσα εἶλον, οὕτω κατειργάσαντο ὡστε
οὐδὲν εἰς ἐμὲ αὐτὰς ἀπολέεσθαι γνώρισα,
ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἰουνίου κόλπον, πλὴν γε
δὴ ὅτι πύργον ἕνα ἢ πύλην μίαν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο

12 αὐταῖς περιείνα ἵνα βιβασθή τοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπους
ἀπαντᾶς ἐκτείνον, ὅσοι ἐγένοντο ἐν ποσίν, ὁμοίως
μὲν προσβύτας, ὁμοίως δὲ νέους, οὕτε γυναικών
οὕτε παιδῶν φειδόμενοι. οἶδαν εἰς ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν

13 ὅλων ἀνθρώπον τὴν Ἰταλίαν ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. χρή-
ματα δὲ ἀπαντᾶ ἐλήσαντο ἐκ πάσης Εὐρώτης,
καὶ, τὸ γε κεφάλαιον, ἐν Ὁρμῆ τῶν τε δημοσίων
τῶν τε ἰδίων οὐδὲ ὁτιοῦν ἀπολιπότοντες ἐπὶ Γαλλίας
ἐξόρθησαν. τρόπῳ δὲ ἐν Ὁρμῆ Ἀλάριχος
εἶλεν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

14 Ἐπειδὴ χρόνος τε οἱ πολὺς ἐν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ
εἶναι τοῦ τετράστικο τοῦτο χριστιανῆ ἀλλή

15 ἱσχυσε τὸ χρόνον ἐλέειν, ἐπενέχει τάδε. τῶν ἐν
στρατῷ νεανίῶν οὐπο γενεασκόντων, ἀλλὰ ἀρτι
ἡβηκότων, τριακοσίων ἀπολεξάμενοι, οὕσπερ εὐ

1 ἐν MS.: ἐν τῷ Hoeschel.
in his mind, but glad, I think, if men allowed him
to remain quiet in his palace. But when word was
brought that the barbarians with a great army were
not far off, but somewhere among the Taulantii,\(^1\)
he abandoned the palace and fled in disorderly
fashion to Ravenna, a strong city lying just about at
the end of the Ionian Gulf, while some say that he
brought in the barbarians himself, because an uprising
had been started against him among his subjects; but
this does not seem to me trustworthy, as far, at least,
as one can judge of the character of the man. And
the barbarians, finding that they had no hostile force
to encounter them, became the most cruel of all
men. For they destroyed all the cities which they
captured, especially those south of the Ionian Gulf,
so completely that nothing has been left to my time
to know them by, unless, indeed, it might be one
tower or one gate or some such thing which chanced
to remain. And they killed all the people, as many
as came in their way, both old and young alike,
sparing neither women nor children. Wherefore
even up to the present time Italy is sparsely
populated. They also gathered as plunder all the
money out of all Europe, and, most important of all,
they left in Rome nothing whatever of public or
private wealth when they moved on to Gaul. But I
shall now tell how Alaric captured Rome.

After much time had been spent by him in the
siege, and he had not been able either by force or
by any other device to capture the place, he formed
the following plan. Among the youths in the army
whose beards had not yet grown, but who had just
come of age, he chose out three hundred whom he

\(^1\) In Illyricum.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

te γεγονότα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀρετὴς μετα-
ποιεῖσθαι ἡπίστατο, ἐφασκε μὲν αὐτοῖς κρύφα
ὡς σφῖσι τῶν ἐν Ἱὼμη πατρικίων τινάς, ἀτε
δούλων οὕτω δὴθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δωρῆσθαι μέλλοι.
16 παρήγγελε δὲ ὡστε, ἔπειδαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων
οἰκίαις τάχιστα γέωνται, πραότητα πολλήν καὶ
σωφροσύνην ἐνδεικνύμενοι ἀπαντά προθύμως
ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀπερ ἄν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν κεκτημένων
17 ἐπικείμενα ἦτε πολλῷ ὑστερον καὶ ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μάλιστα μέσην, ἀπαν-
tων ἥδη τῶν αὐτοὺς ληφομένων ύπνου, ὡς τὸ
εἰκός, μετὰ τὰ σιτία αἰρουμένων, ἐν πύλῃ ἀπαντας
τῇ Σαλαρία καλομέμειγε γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τε
φύλακας οὐδὲν προσαθιμεῖνες ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
κτεῖναι τὰς τε πύλας ἀνοιγνύναι ὡς τάχιστα.
18 ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλας Ἄλαριχος τοῖς νεανίασ,
πρέσβεις αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἐπέμψε,
dhcp ὅτι ἀγασθεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐς τὸν σφὸν
βασιλέα ευνοιάς, οὕκετι δὲ τὸ λυπτὸν ἐνοχλῆσει,
tῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως ἔνεκα, ἡς ἐς ἄγαν
μεταποιεῖσθαι εἰςιν ἐνδηλοῦ, ὅπως τε αὐτοῦ
μυθεία παρ’ ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθῖς
σῶζοντι, οἰκέταις τισὶ δορεῖσθαι βουλιστὸν αὐτῶν
19 ἐκαστὸν. ταῦτα σημήνας καὶ τοὺς νεανίας οὐκ ἐς
μακρὰν στείλας, συσκευαζοῦσας ἔς τὴν ἄφοδον 1
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκέλευς, τοῦτον τε αἰσθήσιν
20 Ῥωμαίοις παρεῖχεν. οἷς δὴ τοὺς τε λόγους
ἀσμένως ἤκουσαν καὶ τὰ δώρα δεξάμενοι ἐν πολλῆ
εὐπαθεῖα ἐγένοντο, ἐκαστάτω τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου
21 ἐπιβουλῆς ὄντες. οἷς τε γάρ νέοι τῷ εὐπει-
θέστεροι τοῖς κεκτημένοις εἶναι τὸ ὑπόπτον

1 ἄφοδον Maltretus: ἄφοδον MS.
knew to be of good birth and possessed of valour beyond their years, and told them secretly that he was about to make a present of them to certain of the patricians in Rome, pretending that they were slaves. And he instructed them that, as soon as they got inside the houses of those men, they should display much gentleness and moderation and serve them eagerly in whatever tasks should be laid upon them by their owners; and he further directed them that not long afterwards, on an appointed day at about midday, when all those who were to be their masters would most likely be already asleep after their meal, they should all come to the gate called Salarian and with a sudden rush kill the guards, who would have no previous knowledge of the plot, and open the gates as quickly as possible. After giving these orders to the youths, Alaric straightway sent ambassadors to the members of the senate, stating that he admired them for their loyalty toward their emperor, and that he would trouble them no longer, because of their valour and faithfulness, with which it was plain that they were endowed to a remarkable degree, and in order that tokens of himself might be preserved among men both noble and brave, he wished to present each one of them with some domestics. After making this declaration and sending the youths not long afterwards, he commanded the barbarians to make preparations for the departure, and he let this be known to the Romans. And they heard his words gladly, and receiving the gifts began to be exceedingly happy, since they were completely ignorant of the plot of the barbarian. For the youths, by being unusually obedient to their owners, averted suspicion, and in

15
ΠΟΡΟΚΡΙΟΥΝΤΩ, ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΥ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΉΔΗ ΕΞΑΝΘΗΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΛΥΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΕΦΑΙΝΟΝΤΟ, ΟΙ ΔΕ ΌΣΟΝ ΟΥΠΩ ΤΑΥΤΟ ΤΟΤΟ ΠΟΙ΃ΕΙΝ
22 ΕΠΙΔΟΒΟΙ ΉΣΑΝ. ἘΠΕΙ ΔΕ Ἡ ΚΥΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΗΝ, ΑΛΑΡΙΧΟΥ ΜΕΝ ΑΠΑΝ ΕΞΟΠΛΙΣΑΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΥΜΑ ὩΣ ΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΦΟΔΟΝ 1 ΕΝ ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ ΕΙΧΕΝ ΑΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΠΥΛΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΑΛΛΙΑΣ· ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ ΓΑΡ ΕΝΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕ∆ΕΥΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ
23 ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΡΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΤ’ ΆΡΧΑΣ ΕΤΥΧΕ. ΞΥΜΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΟΙ ΝΕΑΝΙΑΙ ΚΑΙΡΩ ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΥΓΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΗ ΤΗΝ ΠΥΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΦΥΛΑΚΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΦΝΙΔΙΟΥ ΕΠΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ,2 ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΠΥΛΑΣ ΑΝΑΚΛΙΝΑΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΤ’ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΑΛΑΡΙΧΟΥ
24 ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΔΕΞΑΤΟ. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΟΙΚΙΑΣ ΕΝΕΡΓΗΣΑΝ ΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΥΛΗΣ ΑΓΧΙΣΤΑ ΉΣΑΝ, ΕΝ ΑΙΣ ΉΝ ΚΑΙ Ἡ ΣΑΛΩΝΙΤΙΟΝ, ΤΟΥ ΡΩΜΑΪΟΥ ΤΟ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΝ ΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΟΣ, ΗΣ ΔΗ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΗΜΙΚΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΕΜΕ ΕΎΣΤΗΚΕ· ΤΗΝ ΤΕ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΟΛΗΝ ΛΗΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΣ
25 ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΑΦΑΘΕΙΡΑΝΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΟ ΕΧΩΡΟΥΝ. ΤΟΤΕ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΝ ’ΡΑΒΕΝΗ ’ΟΝΩΡΙΩ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΩΝ ΔΗΛΟΝΤΙ ὍΡΝΙΘΟΚΟΜΟΝ ἈΓΓΕΙΛΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΔΗ ’ΡΩΜΗ ἈΠΟΛΩΛΕ. ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ἈΝΑΒΟΘΑΝΑΤΑ ΦΑΝΑΙ “ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΕΝΑΓΧΟΣ ΕΘΗΔΟΚΕΝ ΕΚ ΧΕΙΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΩΝ.” ΕΙΝΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ἈΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΑ ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΗ, ’ΡΩΜΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑ· ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΝ ΕΧΩΝΕΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΕΙΤΕΙΝ ’ΡΩΜΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΡΟΣ ’ΑΛΑΡΙΧΟΥ ἈΠΟΛΩΛΕΝΑΙ, ΑΝΕΝΕΓΚΟΝΤΑ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ὙΠΟΛΑΒΕΙΝ "’ΑΛΛ’ ΕΓΩΓΕ, ΟΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΕ, ’ΡΩΜΗΝ ΜΟΙ ἈΠΟΛΩΛΕΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ὌΡΝΗΝ ΨΗΘΗΝ." ΤΟΣΑΙΤΗ ἈΜΑΘΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΤΟΤΟΥ ΕΧΟΣΘΑΙ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ.

1 ΕΦΟΔΟΝ MS.: ἈΦΟΔΟΝ Braun.
2 ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ Hoeschel: ἈΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ P, ἈΠΑΝΤ’ ΕΚΤΕΙΝΑΝ P corr.
the camp some were already seen moving from their positions and raising the siege, while it seemed that the others were just on the point of doing the very same thing. But when the appointed day had come, Alaric armed his whole force for the attack and was holding them in readiness close by the Salarian Gate; for it happened that he had encamped there at the beginning of the siege. And all the youths at the time of the day agreed upon came to this gate, and, assailing the guards suddenly, put them to death; then they opened the gates and received Alaric and the army into the city at their leisure. And they set fire to the houses which were next to the gate, among which was also the house of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stood half-burned up to my time; and after plundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romans, they moved on. At that time they say that the Emperor Honorius in Ravenna received the message from one of the eunuchs, evidently a keeper of the poultry, that Rome had perished. And he cried out and said, "And yet it has just eaten from my hands!" For he had a very large cock, Rome by name; and the eunuch comprehending his words said that it was the city of Rome which had perished at the hands of Alaric, and the emperor with a sigh of relief answered quickly: "But I, my good fellow, thought that my fowl Rome had perished." So great, they say, was the folly with which this emperor was possessed.
27 Ἐνδεὶς δὲ οὖχ οὕτω Ῥώμην Ἀλαρίχον ἀλώναι φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πρόβην γυναῖκα, πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ ἐπιφανεστάτην μάλιστα οὕσαν, οἰκτέραι μὲν λιμῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ διαφθειρομένους Ῥωμαίους, οὗ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἡδί ἐγεύοντο· ὅρόσαν δὲ ὡς πᾶσα αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς ἄγαθῇ ἐπιλεξοῦτε, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχομένου πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς οἰκτέαις ἐγκελεύσασθαι νῦκτωρ ἀνουργύναι τὰς πύλας.

28 Ἐσπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλαρίχος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐξανίστασθαι ἐμελλεν, Ἀτταλον τῶν τινα εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνέπε, περιθέμενος 1 αὐτῷ τὸ τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ἐς βασιλικόν ἀξίωμα ἦκεὶ. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὅς παραλύσως μὲν τῆς βασιλείας Ὀνώριον, παραδώσων δὲ ἄπαν Ἀττάλῳ τὸ ἐστέριον κράτος.

29 τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Ἀτταλὸς τε καὶ Ἀλαρίχος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν στρατὸ πολλῷ ἔσεσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀττάλος οὕτως οὕτε αὐτός τι νοεῖν ἰκανος οὔτε τῷ εὐ εἰσόντι πειεῖσθαι. Ἀλαρίχου γοῦν ἦκιστα ἐπανοῦντος ἐς Διβύθην στρατίας χωρὶς ἀρχοντᾶς ἐπεμψε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔπρασσετο τῆδε.

30 Βρεττανία δὲ ἡ νῆσος Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη, οὐ τε ἐκεῖνη στρατιῶται βασιλέα σφίας Κωνσταντίνων εἴλοντο, οὐκ ἀφανῇ ἄνδρα. δὲ δὴ αὐτίκα στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στρατιὰν λόγου αξίαν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν τε καὶ Γαλλίαν ὡς δουλωσόμενος στρατὸ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλεν. Ὀνώριος δὲ πλοῖα μὲν 2 ἐν παρασκεύῃ εἴχε, προσεδέχετο δὲ τὰς ἐκ

1 περιθέμενος Ρ: παραθέμενος Β.
2 δὲ πλοῖα μὲν Ρ: μὲν πλοῖα Β.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. ii. 27-32

But some say that Rome was not captured in this way by Alaric, but that Proba, a woman of very unusual eminence in wealth and in fame among the Roman senatorial class, felt pity for the Romans who were being destroyed by hunger and the other suffering they endured; for they were already even tasting each other’s flesh; and seeing that every good hope had left them, since both the river and the harbour were held by the enemy, she commanded her domestics, they say, to open the gates by night.

Now when Alaric was about to depart from Rome, he declared Attalus, one of their nobles, emperor of the Romans, investing him with the diadem and the purple and whatever else pertains to the imperial dignity. And he did this with the intention of removing Honorius from his throne and of giving over the whole power in the West to Attalus. With such a purpose, then, both Attalus and Alaric were going with a great army against Ravenna. But this Attalus was neither able to think wisely himself, nor to be persuaded by one who had wisdom to offer. So while Alaric did not by any means approve the plan, Attalus sent commanders to Libya without an army. Thus, then, were these things going on.

And the island of Britain revolted from the Romans, and the soldiers there chose as their king Constantius, a man of no mean station. And he straightway gathered a fleet of ships and a formidable army and invaded both Spain and Gaul with a great force, thinking to enslave these countries. But Honorius was holding ships in readiness and waiting to see what
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΟΙ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΑΙ

Διστη τόχας, ὡς, ἢ μὲν ἀποκρουσθεῖν οἱ παρὰ Ἀττάλου σταλέως, πλέοι τε αὐτῶς ἐπὶ Διστη καὶ μοίραν τώρα τής βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχοι, ἢ δὲ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκείνη πράγματα ίοι, ἐς Ἡθόδοσίου τε ἱκοῦτο καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ εἴη.

33 Ἀρκαδίου γὰρ ἢδη πολλῷ πρότερον τελευτήσαυτος, Ἡθόδοσίου ἔκεινος νῦς, ἕτε παῖς ὁν
34 κομιδῇ, εἶχε τῆς ἓω ἁρχῆν, ταῦτα Ὀνωρίῳ καραδοκοῦντι καὶ ἐν τρικυμίαις φερομένῳ τῆς τύχης εὐτυχήματα θαυμάσια ἡλίκη ξυνηρέχη
35 γενέσθαι. φίλει γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς οὔτε ἁγιώνοις οὔτε τι οἴκοθεν μηχανάσθαι οίοις τε οὖν, ἢν μὴ πονηρῷ εἶεν, ἀπορουμένους τὰ ἐσχατα ἐπικουρεῖν τε καὶ ἐμμαβάνεσθαι: ὅποιον δὴ τι
36 καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τετυχήκεν. ἐκ τε γὰρ Διστῆς ὡς διαφθαρεῖν οἱ Ἀττάλου ἁρχούτες ἀφιων ἡγεμέλετο, καὶ νηῶν πλῆθος ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατιώτας ἐχουσάι ὅτι πλείστους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶ ἀφικομένους οὐ προσδεχομένῳ παρῆσαν, διάφορος τε Ἀττάλῳ γεγονὼς Ἀλάριχος τὸ τε τοῦ βασιλεῖος αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖται σχῆμα καὶ ἐν ἰδιώτου ἢδη τελοῦντα μοίρα ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε.
37 μετὰ δὲ Ἀλάριχος μὲν τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν Οὐσιγότθων στρατός, ἡγουμένου σφίζων Ἀδα- ούλφον, ἔπει Γαλλίας ἔχωρησαν καὶ Κωνσταντίνος μάχη ἡσσθείς ἐξω τῶν παισὶ θυσίκει.
38 Βρέττανίας μὲντοι Ἡρωμάζοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔσχον, ἀλλ' οὔσα ὑπὸ τιράννους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐμείναι.
39 Γόθοι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ διάβασιν ποιη- σάμενοι Παννονιάν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔσχον, ἐπείτα δὲ βασιλεῶς δόντος φίλησαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης

1 τῆς ἓω Β: τὴν ἑών Ρ.
would happen in Libya, in order that, if those sent by Attalus were repulsed, he might himself sail for Libya and keep some portion of his own kingdom, while if matters there should go against him, he might reach Theodosius and remain with him. For Arcadius had already died long before, and his son Theodosius, still a very young child, held the power of the East. But while Honorius was thus anxiously awaiting the outcome of these events and tossed amid the billows of uncertain fortune, it so chanced that some wonderful pieces of good fortune befell him. For God is accustomed to succour those who are neither clever nor able to devise anything of themselves, and to lend them assistance, if they be not wicked, when they are in the last extremity of despair; such a thing, indeed, befell this emperor. For it was suddenly reported from Libya that the commanders of Attalus had been destroyed, and that a host of ships was at hand from Byzantium with a very great number of soldiers who had come to assist him, though he had not expected them, and that Alaric, having quarrelled with Attalus, had stripped him of the emperor’s garb and was now keeping him under guard in the position of a private citizen. And afterwards Alaric died of disease, and the army of the Visigoths under the leadership of Adaulphus proceeded into Gaul, and Constantinus, defeated in battle, died with his sons. However the Romans never succeeded in recovering Britain, but it remained from that time on under tyrants. And the Goths, after making the crossing of the Ister, at first occupied Pannonia, but afterwards, since the emperor gave them the right, they inhabited the country of

1 He ascended the throne at the age of seven.
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40 χωρία. ἐνταῦθα τε οὖ πολὺν διατρίψαντες χρόνον τῆς ἕστερίας ἐκράτησαν. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Γόθων εἰρήσεται.

III

Βανδίλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαυρίν φικημένοι λίμνην, ἐπειδὴ λυμὸ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμανοὺς τε, οἱ νῦν Φράγγοι καλοῦνται, καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥήνον ἐχὼρουν, 2 Ἁλανοὺς ἐταιρισμένοι, Гοτθικοίν ἄθνες. εἴτα ἐνθένδε, ἡγουμένου αὐτοὺς Γωδηγίσκλου, ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ἰδρύσαντο, ἡ πρώτη ἐστιν εἰς ὅκεανον χώρα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τόπος ξυμβάλει Γωδηγίσκλος Ὀνώριοις ἐφ᾽ ὅ δὴ οὐκ ἔπι λύμη τῆς χώρας 3 ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσονται. νόμον δὲ ὅντος Ῥωμαίους, ἢς τινες οὖν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοιεν καὶ τρίβοιτο χρόνος εἰς τριάκοντα ἐναυτοὺς ἢκων, τούτοις δὴ 1 οὐκέτι εἶναι κυρίως ἐπὶ τοὺς βιασαμένους ἴεναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς παραγραφὴν αὐτοὺς ἀποκεκρίσθαι τὴν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσόδον, νόμον ἐγραψεν ὅπως ὁ τῶν Βανδίλων χρόνος, ὃν ἂν ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ διατρίβοιεν, ἐς ταῦτην δὴ τὴν τριάκοντατον παραγραφὴν ἥκιστα 4 φέροιτο. Ὀνώριοις μὲν, ἐς τούτο ὁ τῆς ἕστερίας ἐληλαμένης, ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ. ἐτύχανε δὲ πρὸ- τερον ξῦν τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν Κωνστάντιος

1 δὴ Haury: δὲ MSS., Christ would delete.

1 That is, the actual occupant could enter a demurrer to the former owner’s action for recovery, citing his own occupancy for thirty years or more. The new law extended the period during which the ousted proprietor could recover

22
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. ii. 39–iii. 4

Thrace. And after spending no great time there they conquered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.

III

Now the Vandals dwelling about the Maeotic Lake, since they were pressed by hunger, moved to the country of the Germans, who are now called Franks, and the river Rhine, associating with themselves the Alani, a Gothic people. Then from there, under the leadership of Godigisclus, they moved and settled in Spain, which is the first land of the Roman empire on the side of the ocean. At that time Honorius made an agreement with Godigisclus that they should settle there on condition that it should not be to the detriment of the country. But there was a law among the Romans, that if any persons should fail to keep their property in their own possession, and if, meanwhile, a time amounting to thirty years should pass, that these persons should thenceforth not be entitled to proceed against those who had forced them out, but they were excluded by demurrer from access to the court; and in view of this he established a law that whatever time should be spent by the Vandals in the Roman domain should not by any means be counted toward this thirty-year demurrer. And Honorius himself, when the West had been driven by him to this pass, died of disease. Now before this, as it happened, the royal power had been shared by possession, by admitting no demurrer from the occupant so far as the years were concerned during which the Vandals should be in possession of the country.
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ἐχων, τῆς Ἀρκαδίου τε καὶ Ὄωνρίου ἀδελφῆς Πλακιδίας ἀνήρ, δε ημέρας τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιούσις ὀλγάς, πονήρως τε νοσήσας εἶτα ἀπέθανεν, Ὅωνρίου ξώντος, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἰσχύσας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπήρκει ὁ χρόνος δὲν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἔβλοι. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Κωνσταντίον παῖς Βαλεντινιανός, ἀρτι τὸν τιθὸν ἀπαλλαγεῖς, ἐν τοῖς Θεοδόσιον βασιλείους ἐτρέ-φετο, οἷς ἔτης ἐν Ἱωάννη ἦν σφικής σφικῆς τῶν τινα ἐκείνης στρατιωτῶν, Ἰωάννην δύομα, βασιλέα αἱροῦνται. ἦν δὲ οὕτως ἀνήρ πρᾶξες τε καὶ εὐνύσεως εὐ ἦκων καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι τι ἐξεπιστάμενος. πέντε γούν ἐτη τήν τυραννίδα ἐχον μετρίως ἐξηγήσατο, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς διαβάλ-λουσι καὶ ἄκρην ὑπόσχεται 2 οὔτε φόνου ἄδικον εἰργάσει ἐκών γε εἰναι οὔτε 1 χρημάτων ἀφαι-ρεσει ἐπεθέτο· εἰς δὲ βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ὅ τι 3 καὶ πρᾶξαι οἶς τε ἐγεγόνει, ἐτεί οἱ τὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου πολέμια ἦν. ἐπὶ τούτου τῶν Ἰωάννην Θεοδόσιον ὁ Ἀρκαδίου στρατοῦ πολύν πέμψας καὶ στρατη-γοὺς Ἀσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούρων, τῶν Ἀσπάρος νιόν, αὐτῶν τε ἀφαιρεῖται τήν τυραννίδα καὶ Βαλεντινιανό ἐτι παίδι δι' οὗ τήν βασιλείαν παρέ-δωκε. ξώντα δὲ Βαλεντινιανός Ἰωάννην λαβὼν ἐν τῇ ἀκυληίας ἑπιτοδρομίῳ τὴν ἐτέραν ταῖν χεροῖν ἀποκοπέντα εἰσήγην ἐπόμπευσε τε ὅνω ὀχούμενον, καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ σκυνῆς ἐνταύθα παθόντα τε καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἐκτείνεν. οὔτω μὲν Βαλεντινιανό τῷ τῆς ἐστερίας παρέλαβε

1 οὔτε—οὔτε—οὔτε Dindorf: οὔδε—οὔδε—οὔδε MSS.
2 ὑπέσχετο P: ἐπέσχετο V.
3 τι καὶ MSS.: Haury suggests ὅ τι καὶ λόγον ἄξιον; cf. ch. xvi. 15.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iii. 4–9

Honorius with Constantius, the husband of Placidia, the sister of Arcadius and Honorius; but he lived to exercise the power only a few days, and then, becoming seriously ill, he died while Honorius was still living, having never succeeded in saying or in doing anything worth recounting; for the time was not sufficient during which he lived in possession of the royal power. Now a son of this Constantius, Valentinian, a child just weaned, was being reared in the palace of Theodosius, but the members of the imperial court in Rome chose one of the soldiers there, John by name, as emperor. This man was both gentle and well-endowed with sagacity and thoroughly capable of valorous deeds. At any rate he held the tyranny five years ¹ and directed it with moderation, and he neither gave ear to slanderers nor did he do any unjust murder, willingly at least, nor did he set his hand to robbing men of money; but he did not prove able to do anything at all against the barbarians, since his relations with Byzantium were hostile. Against this John, Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, sent a great army and Aspar and Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, as generals, and wrested from him the tyranny and gave over the royal power to Valentinian, who was still a child. And Valentinian took John alive, and he brought him out in the hippodrome of Aquileia with one of his hands cut off and caused him to ride in state on an ass, and then after he had suffered much ill treatment from the stage-performers there, both in word and in deed, he put him to death. Thus Valentinian took

¹ This is an error; he really ruled only eighteen months.

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10 κράτος. Πλακιδία δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ θηλυνομένην παιδείαν τε καὶ τροφὴν τὸν βασιλέα τούτον ἐξέθρεψε τε καὶ ἐπαίδευσε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κακίας ἐμπλεως ἐκ παιδὸς γέγονε. Φαρμακεύσι τε γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐστὶ ἀστρα περιέργους ὀμίλει, ἐς τε ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν ἔρωτας δαίμονίως ἑστουδακὼς πολλῆ ἐχρίτο ἐς τὴν διαίτη παρανομία, καίτερ γυναικὶ ξυνοικῶν
12 εὑρετεὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς ἄγαν οὐσία, ταυτά τοι οὐδὲ τι ἀνεσώσατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ  ὅποι ἀφήρητο πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δεβύνη προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθαρ. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησε, τῇ τε γυναικὶ ταῖς τε παισὶ δορυλώτως γενέσθαι ἔυνεπεσε. γέγονε δὲ οὕτω τὸ ἐν Δεβύνη πάθος.
14 Στρατηγῶ δύο Ῥωμαίων ἦστην, Ἀετίος τε καὶ Βουβάτιος, καρτερῷ τέ ὃς μάλιστα καὶ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπείρω τῶν γε κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὀυδενὸς ἤσον, τούτω τῷ ἄνδρε διαφόρῳ μὲν τὰ πολιτικὰ ἐγενέσθην, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεγαλοπυχίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἥκετην ὡστε, εἰ τις αὐτοῦ ἐκάτερον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ὑστητον εὗτοι, ὀυκ ἀν ἀμάρτοι. οὕτω τῆν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετήν ξύμπασαν ἐς τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδρε ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε.  
15 τούτῳ τῶν ἐτερον Βουβάτιον ἡ Πλακίδια στρατηγῶ ἀπέδειξε Δεβύνη ἀπάχης. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν Ἀετίω, ἂλλ’ ἦκιστα γε ὅς αὐτὸν ὀυκ ἀρέσκει ἐξηνεγκεν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἡ ἐχθρὰ ἐς φῶς ἐκλήθει, ἂλλ’ ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ ἐκατέρφο

1 θηλυνομένη—τροφήν V: θηλυνομένη παιδεία te cal τροφή P
pr. m. 2 επαίδευσε V: ἐπαίδευσε P.
3 Ῥωμαίων V: Ῥωμαίοι P. 4 ὁς V: ἐς τά P.
5 εὗτοι P: εὗτη V. 6 προσώπω V: προσώπειω P.
over the power of the West. But Placidia, his mother, had reared this emperor and educated him in an altogether effeminate manner, and in consequence he was filled with wickedness from childhood. For he associated mostly with sorcerers and those who busy themselves with the stars, and, being an extraordinarily zealous pursuer of love affairs with other men’s wives, he conducted himself in a most indecent manner, although he was married to a woman of exceptional beauty. And not only was this true, but he also failed to recover for the empire anything of what had been wrested from it before, and he both lost Libya in addition to the territory previously lost and was himself destroyed. And when he perished, it fell to the lot of his wife and his children to become captives. Now the disaster in Libya came about as follows.

There were two Roman generals, Aetius and Boniface, especially valiant men and in experience of many wars inferior to none of that time at least. These two came to be at variance in regard to matters of state, but they attained to such a degree of high-mindedness and excellence in every respect that if one should call either of them “the last of the Romans” he would not err, so true was it that all the excellent qualities of the Romans were summed up in these two men. One of these, Boniface, was appointed by Placidia general of all Libya. Now this was not in accord with the wishes of Aetius, but he by no means disclosed the fact that it did not please him. For their hostility had not as yet come to light, but was concealed behind the countenance
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17 ἐκρύπτετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Βουιφάτιος ἐκποδῶν ἔγενε, διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλακιδίαν ὡς τυραννοῦ, ἀποστερήσας αὐτὴν τε καὶ βασιλέα Διβύς ἀπάσης, ράδιον τε εἰναι αὐτῇ ἔλεγε τάληθ᾽ ἐξευρεῖν. ἂν γὰρ μεταπέμποιτο Βουιφάτιον ἐς

18 Ῥόμην, οὗ μὴ ποτε ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσεν ἡ γυνὴ, εἶν τε οἱ εἰπεῖν 'Αέτιος ἔδοξε καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔποιει. προτερήσας δὲ 'Αέτιος ἔγραψε πρὸς Βουιφάτιον λάθρα ὡς ἐπίβουλευοι αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλέως μήτηρ καὶ βούλοιτο αὐτὸν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ οἱ τεκμήριοι τῆς ἐπίβουλῆς προηγόρευεν ἐσεῖσθαι μέγα· ἐξ αἰτίας γὰρ οὐδεμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα μετάπεμπτος ἦσται. ταῦτα

19 μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Βουιφάτιος δὲ οὐκ ἀλογήσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρῆσαν οὐ αὐτὸν ὡς βασιλεα ἐκάλουν, ἀπεῖπε τὸ μὴ βασιλεᾷ τε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ ἐπακοῦειν, οὐκενὶ τὴν 'Αετίου υποθήκην ἐκφήνας. Πλακιδία μὲν οὖν ὡς ταῦτα ἦκουσεν, 'Αετίον τε τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασιν εὐνου ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὤκετο εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Βουιφατίον ἐν βουλή εἴχε. Βουιφάτιος δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἱ οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἔδοκει αὐτιτάξασθαι οὐ τε εἶναι ἐς Ῥόμην τε ἄπιοντι οὐδεμία σωτηρία ἐφαίνετο) βουλεύεται ὅπως οἱ, ἂν δύνηται, ὑμαχίμα ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἦσται, οὐ ἐν Ἰσπανία, ὡς πρόσθεν εἰρηταί, οὐ πόρῳ Διβύς ἱδρύσαντο.

20 ἐνθα δὴ Γωδίγισκλος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, διεδέξατο3 δὲ τὴν ἄρχην οἱ ἐκείνων παῖδες, Γούθαρμος μὲν ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γαμητῆς γεγονός, Γιζέριχος δὲ

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1 οἱ V: ὁ P.
2 ὡς V: ἔς P.
3 διεδέξατο V: διεδεξάθην P, διεδεξάθην Dindorf.
of each. But when Boniface had got out of the way, Aetius slandered him to Placidia, saying that he was setting up a tyranny and had robbed her and the emperor of all Libya, and he said that it was very easy for her to find out the truth; for if she should summon Boniface to Rome, he would never come. And when the woman heard this, Aetius seemed to her to speak well and she acted accordingly. But Aetius, anticipating her, wrote to Boniface secretly that the mother of the emperor was plotting against him and wished to put him out of the way. And he predicted to him that there would be convincing proof of the plot; for he would be summoned very shortly for no reason at all. Such was the announcement of the letter. And Boniface did not disregard the message, for as soon as those arrived who were summoning him to the emperor, he refused to give heed to the emperor and his mother, disclosing to no one the warning of Aetius. So when Placidia heard this, she thought that Aetius was exceedingly well-disposed towards the emperor’s cause and took under consideration the question of Boniface. But Boniface, since it did not seem to him that he was able to array himself against the emperor, and since if he returned to Rome there was clearly no safety for him, began to lay plans so that, if possible, he might have a defensive alliance with the Vandals, who, as previously stated, had established themselves in Spain not far from Libya. There Godegisclus had died and the royal power had fallen to his sons, Gontharis, who was born to him from his wedded wife, and Gizeric,\(^1\) of illegitimate birth. But the

\(^1\) Geiseric, Gaiseric, less properly Genseric.
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24 νόθος. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἐτι ἦν παῖς καὶ τὸ δραστήριον οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων, Γιζέριχος δὲ τὰ τε πολέμια ός ἄριστα ἐξήσκετο καὶ δεινότατος ἦν
25 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. πέμψας οὖν ἐς Ἰσπανίαν Ὑσύφατιος τοὺς αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους ἐκάτερον τῶν Γανδιγιᾶκλου παίδων ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ
όμοιᾳ προσεποιήσατο, ἐφ’ ὧν αὐτῶν ἔκαστον τὸ Διβύης τριτιγραμμὸν ἔχοντα τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἦν δὲ τις ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τινα ἤτοι πολεμήσων,
26 κοινῇ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ Βανδίλων τὸν ἐν Γανδιγίας πορθμὸν διαβάντες ἐς Διβύην ἀφίκοντο καὶ Ὄουσιγοτιοῦ ἐν
27 τῷ υστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ ἐδρύσαντο. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὄομη ὦ Βούσφατιός ἐπιτήδειοι, τοῦ τε τρόπου ἑνθυμούμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογιζόμενοι τε ἡλίκος ὁ παράλογος ἦν, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποι-
ούντο, εἰ Βούσφατιος τυραννοῦτ, τινες δὲ αὐτῶν Πλακίδιας ἐπαγγελλούσης ἐς Καρκηδόνα ἠλθόν.
28 ἐνθά δὴ Βούσφατιός συγγενοῦμενοι τά τε Ἀετίου γράμματα εἶδον καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες ἐς Ἡρόμην τε ὡς εἶχον τάχους ἀνέστρεφον καὶ
29 ὅπως αὐτῇ Βούσφατιος ἔχοι ἀπήγγελλον. κατα-
πλαγείσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀετίου μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν ἀχαίρε ὁδε τὶ ωνείδισεν ὃν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οίκον ἐπέπρακτο, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς τε δυνάμει μεγάλη
ἐχρήτο καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα πονηρὰ ἦδη ἤν τοῖς δὲ Βούσφατιον φίλοις τήν τε Ἀετίου ὑποθήκην ἐφραζὲ καὶ πίστεις παρεχομένη καὶ
ὁρκία ἐχρηξεν αὐτῶν ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα, ἦν δύναν-
tαι, πείσοσιν ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἡθη, οὐ

1 ἐτι V : έτι τε Ρ.   2 διαβάντες P : διαλαβάντες V.  
3 πείσοσιν V : πείσωσιν Ρ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iii. 23–29

former was still a child and not of very energetic temper, while Gizeric had been excellently trained in warfare, and was the cleverest of all men. Boniface accordingly sent to Spain those who were his own most intimate friends and gained the adherence of each of the sons of Godigesclus on terms of complete equality, it being agreed that each one of the three, holding a third part of Libya, should rule over his own subjects; but if a foe should come against any one of them to make war, that they should in common ward off the aggressors. On the basis of this agreement the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira and came into Libya, and the Visigoths in later times settled in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Boniface, remembering the character of the man and considering how strange his action was, were greatly astonished to think that Boniface was setting up a tyranny, and some of them at the order of Placidia went to Carthage. There they met Boniface and saw the letter of Aetius, and after hearing the whole story they returned to Rome as quickly as they could and reported to Placidia how Boniface stood in relation to her. And though the woman was dumbfounded, she did nothing unpleasant to Aetius nor did she upbraid him for what he had done to the emperor’s house, for he himself wielded great power and the affairs of the empire were already in an evil plight; but she disclosed to the friends of Boniface the advice Aetius had given, and, offering oaths and pledges of safety, entreated them to persuade the man, if they could, to return to his fatherland and

31
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περιμένοντα υπὸ βαρβάρους κειμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βοιωφάτιος ἠκουσε ταῦτα, τῆς τε πρᾶξεως αὐτῶς καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὁμολογίας μετέμελε, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐλπιάρει μῦρια πάντα ὑποδεχόμενος ἀπὸ Διβύης ἀνίστασθαι.

31 τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περιθείζεσθαι οἰμένων, ἐς χείρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν ἡμαγκάσθη καὶ ἡσσθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἐς Ἰππονερέγιον ἀνεχώρησε, πόλιν ὀχυρὰν ἐν Νοεμβρίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Βαυδίλοι στρατοπεδεύσαμενοι Γιζερίχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου ἐπολεόρκουν. Γόνθαρις γὰρ ἤδη ἐτεθήκει. φασὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. Βαυδίλοι δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Γόνθαριν φασίν ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ πρὸς Γερμανῶν ἤμαχθέντα ἐν μάχῃ ἀνασκολοπισθήναι, καὶ Γιζερίχου ἤδη αὐτοκράτορα ὅντα Βαυδίλων ἡ Διβύη ἡγήσασθαι.

34 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὔτω πρὸς Βαυδίλων ἀκήκοα. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε οὔτε ὁμολογία τὸ Ἰππονερέγιον παραστῆσασθαι οἱ οἱ τῇ ἢσαν καὶ τῷ ληφθέντος, τῇ προσεδρεῖαν διέλυσαν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὑστερον χρόνῳ Βοιωφάτιος τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Διβύη Ῥωμαίοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῇ Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου πολὺς στρατὸς ἤλθε καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀσπαρ, ἀναμαχέσασθαι τῇ ἡξίουν καὶ μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσημένοι τῶν πολεμών ὑπὸ ἔκαστος ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν 36 ὀρμητο. καὶ οἱ τῇ Ἀσπαρ ἐπ᾽ οὐκοῦ ἀπεκομίσθη

1 ὑποδεχόμενος V: ὑποσχόμενος P.
2 ἀνεχώρησε P: ἀπεχώρησε V.
3 ὀχυρὰν V: ἐχυράν P.
4 οὔτε—οὔτε Haury: οὔδε—οὔδε MSS.
not to permit the empire of the Romans to lie under the hand of barbarians. And when Boniface heard this, he repented of his act and of his agreement with the barbarians, and he besought them incessantly, promising them everything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not receive his words with favour, but considered that they were being insulted, he was compelled to fight with them, and being defeated in the battle, he retired to Hippo Regius, a strong city in the portion of Numidia that is on the sea. There the Vandals made camp under the leadership of Gizeric and began a siege; for Gontharis had already died. And they say that he perished at the hand of his brother. The Vandals, however, do not agree with those who make this statement, but say that Gontharis was captured in battle by Germans in Spain and impaled, and that Gizeric was already sole ruler when he led the Vandals into Libya. This, indeed, I have heard from the Vandals, stated in this way. But after much time had passed by, since they were unable to secure Hippo Regius either by force or by surrender, and since at the same time they were being pressed by hunger, they raised the siege. And a little later Boniface and the Romans in Libya, since a numerous army had come from both Rome and Byzantium and Aspar with them as general, decided to renew the struggle, and a fierce battle was fought in which they were badly beaten by the enemy, and they made haste to flee as each one could. And Aspar betook himself homeward, and Boniface, coming

\[1\] Now corrupted to Bona.
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καὶ Βοινφάτιος ὡς Πλακιδίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν διέλυεν, ὡς οὖκ ἦξ ἀληθῶς αἰτίας ἐσ αὐτὸν γένοιτο.

IV

Τὴν μὲν δὴ Δισὴν οὔτω Βανδίλοι Ρωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι ἔσχον. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὐς ἁλβοιεν ᾧτας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενοι μοῖρα 1 ἐν φυ- 2 λακῇ εἴχον. ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸν ἔννε- πεσεν εἶναι, ὃς ὑστερον τελευτήσαντος Θεοδοσίου 3 τὴν βασιλείαν παρελαβε. τότε μέντοι Γιζέριχος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῇ παρεῖναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως οἱ εἰδέναι σκοπουμένῳ ἐξῆ ὦτῳ ἂν δεσπότῃ αὐτῶν ἐκατοστος ὡς ἄπο τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁξίας 4 δουλεύοι. καὶ ἔπειδὴ ἔννεεγησαν ἀιθροὶ. ἀμφὶ ἡμέρας μέσῃ ὁμαθῇ θέρους ἀρχόμενοι τῷ ἠλῳ ἐκάθησεν. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὅπον δὴ 5 ἀπημελημένως ἐκάθευδε. καὶ τὸς αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ύπερίπτατο, τὰ πτέρα, ὡς λέγονσι, διαπετᾶσας, ἅε τε μένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ ἄερος χῶρα μόνον 6 τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐπεσκίαξεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ύπερθοφῶν τὸ ποιούμενον ἰδὼν Γιζέριχος, ἀγχώνως τὶς ἄν μάλιστα, θείον τε εἶναι τὸ πράγμα ύποτευεσ 2 καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν μετατεμφάμενος ἐπυνθάνετο 7 αὐτοῦ ὅστις 3 ποτὲ εἰς. ὃ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων Ἀσπαρ ἔφη κοινωνὸς εἶναι δομέοτικον δὲ τοῦ- τον τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ καλοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι. 8 ταῦτα Γιζερίχῳ ἀκούσαντι καὶ ἐμβαλλομένῳ

1 ἐν—μοῖρα V: ἦς—μοῖραν P.
2 ὕποτευεσ Maltretus: ὕποτευεσ MS.
3 ὅστις Maltretus: ὅς τὶς MS

34
before Placidia, acquitted himself of the suspicion, showing that it had arisen against him for no true cause.

IV

So the Vandals, having wrested Libya from the Romans in this way, made it their own. And those of the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to slavery and held under guard. Among these happened to be Marcian, who later upon the death of Theodosius assumed the imperial power. At that time, however, Gizeric commanded that the captives be brought into the king's courtyard, in order that it might be possible for him, by looking at them, to know what master each of them might serve without degradation. And when they were gathered under the open sky, about midday, the season being summer, they were distressed by the sun and sat down. And somewhere or other among them Marcian, quite neglected, was sleeping. Then an eagle flew over him spreading out his wings, as they say, and always remaining in the same place in the air he cast a shadow over Marcian alone. And Gizeric, upon seeing from the upper storey what was happening, since he was an exceedingly discerning person, suspected that the thing was a divine manifestation, and summoning the man enquired of him who he might be. And he replied that he was a confidential adviser of Aspar; such a person the Romans call a "domesticus" in their own tongue. And when Gizeric heard this and considered first the meaning
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μὲν τὸ τοῦ ὄρυκος ἔργον, τὴν δὲ Ἀσπάρος δύναμιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ὡς ἐν Βυζαντιῷ ἔχρητο, καταφανεὶς ἐγίνετο ὡς εἰς βασιλείαν ὁ ἁγίος Ἀγοιτο.  

κτεῖναι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἥκιστα ἐδικαίω, ἐκλογιζόμενος ὡς, ἂν μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπου αὐτὸν ἀφαινήη, εὐδηλὸν ἦσσται ὡς οὔδεν ἄν τὸ τοῦ ὄρυκος ποιηθέν εἰη (οὐ γάρ βασιλέα τῇ σκιᾷ θεραπεύοι, ὃς γε αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπολείπεις ἐμελλεί), λόγῳ τε αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ κτεῖνοι. ἂν δὲ γε χρῆν ἐν τῷ ύστερῷ χρόνῳ βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπου, οὐ μὴποτὲ οἱ θανάτῳ καταληπτός ἦσσται τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς βουλὴν ἦκοντα οὐκ ἂν δύνατο ἀνθρώπου γνώμη κωλυτά εἴηναι. ὅρκος δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάναι ἡ, ἂν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ ἦσσται, οὔποτε πρὸς γε Βανδύλους ἐν ὅπλοις γένηται. οὔτω δὴ Μαρκιανός ἀφειμένος ἐς Βυζαντίον ἀφίκετο καὶ Θεοδοσίου χρόνῳ ύστερον 

teleutήςαντος ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ξύμπαντα βασιλεύς ἐγεγόνει ἀγαθός, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Διβύην ἐν οúdeιν ἐπουσίσατο λόγῳ, ἄλλα ταῦτα ἡ μὲν ἐν τῷ ύστερῷ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο. 

Γίζεριχος δὲ τότε Ἀσπάρα τε καὶ Βονιφάτιον μάχῃ νικήσας πρόνοιαν τε ἐπειδεξάμενος ἀφηγῆσεως αξίαν, τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὡς μάλιστα ἐκρατύνατο.  

dείσας γάρ, ἂν καὶ αὖθις ἐκ τῇ Ρώμῃς καὶ Βυζαντίου στρατός ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔοι, μὴ οὐκ οἷος τε ὅσιν οἱ Βανδύλοι τῇ τῇ ρώμῃ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὅμοια χρῆσια, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τοῖς τε θεῖοι σφαλλέσθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι φίλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οὐχ οἷς εὐμέρησεν ἐπηρμένον, ἀλλ’ οἷς ἐδεισε μέτριος ἔγενος.

1 eis basileian ὁ added by Haury, from Theophanes i. 104, 29.  
2 ταῦτα Maltretus: ταύτη MS.
of the bird's action, and then remembered how great power Aspar exercised in Byzantium, it became evident to him that the man was being led to royal power. He therefore by no means deemed it right to kill him, reasoning that, if he should remove him from the world, it would be very clear that the thing which the bird had done was nothing (for he would not honour with his shadow a king who was about to die straightway), and he felt, too, that he would be killing him for no good cause; and if, on the other hand, it was fated that in later times the man should become king, it would never be within his power to inflict death upon him; for that which has been decided upon by God could never be prevented by a man's decision. But he bound Marcian by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms against the Vandals at least. Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when at a later time Theodosius died he received the empire. And in all other respects he proved himself a good emperor, but he paid no attention at all to affairs in Libya. But this happened in later times.

At that time Gizeric, after conquering Aspar and Boniface in battle, displayed a foresight worth recounting, whereby he made his good fortune most thoroughly secure. For fearing lest, if once again an army should come against him from both Rome and Byzantium, the Vandals might not be able to use the same strength and enjoy the same fortune, (since human affairs are wont to be overturned by Heaven and to fail by reason of the weakness of men's bodies), he was not lifted up by the good fortune he had enjoyed, but rather became moderate because of what he feared, and so he made a treaty
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σπουδάς πρὸς βασιλέα Βαλεντινιανόν ποιεῖται ἐφ’ ὅ ἐσ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐτὸς δασμοῦς ἐκ Διβύς βασιλεὶς φέρειν, ἕνα τε τῶν παιδῶν Ὀνὼριχον ἐν ὀμήρου μοίρᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὀμολογίᾳ παρέδωκε.

14 Γυζέριχος μὲν ὄν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τῇ νίκῃ ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα διεφύλαξε καὶ Ὀνὼριχον τὸν παιδα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ μέγα χαρουσίας ἀπέλαβεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ Ὠμὴ Πλακιδία μὲν πρότερον ἐτελεύτα, ἐπείτα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς ὁ ταύτης νῦς, ἀπαις ἀρσενογόνου, θυγατέρε μέντοι αὐτῷ δύο ἐξ Εὐδοξίας τῆς Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς ἐγενέσθην. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτα, λέξων ἔρχομαι.

16 Μάξιμος τις ἣν ἐκ γερουσίας ἀνὴρ Ὀμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς ἑκείνου Μάξιμου οἰκίας δὴ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Θεοδόσιος τυραννοῦντα καθέλων ἔστειεν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἐορτήν ἀγονου Ὀμαῖοι τῆς τοῦ Μάξιμου ἡσσῆς ἐπώνυμον. οὕτως ὁ νεώτερος Μάξιμος γυναικὶ ξυνόκει σωφροῖ τε τὸ τρόπον καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαβοήτῳ ἐς ἀγαν οὔσῃ. διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ τίς ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ βουλομένῳ αὐτῇ ἀναγενέσθαι ἀμήχανα ἔχω, ἔβούλευσε τε ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτελῆ ταύτα ἐποίησε. μεταπεμψά-

18 μενος γὰρ τὸν Μάξιμον ἐς παλάτιον ἔξω αὐτῶ ἐς τὸ πετενεύειν καθίστατο, καὶ χρυσίον ρήτων ἐτέτακτο ἡ ζημία τῷ ἡσσηθέντι νεικήκος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τὸν Μάξιμον δαικτύλιον ἐνέχυρον τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ κεκομισμένος ἐς τὴν ἑκείνου οἰκίαν πέμπει, εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας

1 ὁ added by Herwerden.
with the Emperor Valentinian providing that each year he should pay to the emperor tribute from Libya, and he delivered over one of his sons, Honoric, as a hostage to make this agreement binding. So Gizeric both showed himself a brave man in the battle and guarded the victory as securely as possible, and, since the friendship between the two peoples increased greatly, he received back his son Honoric. And at Rome Placidia had died before this time, and after her, Valentinian, her son, also died, having no male offspring, but two daughters had been born to him from Eudoxia, the child of Theodosius. And I shall now relate in what manner Valentinian died.

There was a certain Maximus, a Roman senator, of the house of that Maximus who, while usurping the imperial power, was overthrown by the elder Theodosius and put to death, and on whose account also the Romans celebrate the annual festival named from the defeat of Maximus. This younger Maximus was married to a woman discreet in her ways and exceedingly famous for her beauty. For this reason a desire came over Valentinian to have her to wife. And since it was impossible, much as he wished it, to meet her, he plotted an unholy deed and carried it to fulfilment. For he summoned Maximus to the palace and sat down with him to a game of draughts, and a certain sum was set as a penalty for the loser; and the emperor won in this game, and receiving Maximus' ring as a pledge for the agreed amount, he sent it to his house, instructing the messenger to

1 Emperor in Gaul, Britain and Spain 383-388. Aspiring to be Emperor of the West, he invaded Italy, was defeated by Theodosius, and put to death.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tη γυναίκι ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν κελεύει Μάξιμος ὡς τάχιστα ἐς παλάτιον ἤκειν τὴν βασιλίδα Εὐ-
21 δοξίαν ἀσπασμένην. καὶ ἡ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῷ δακτυλίῳ τεκμηριαμένη Μαξίμου εἶναι ἐσβάσα
εἰς τὸ φορεῖον κομίζεται ἐς τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν.
22 λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν ὅς δὴ αὐτὴ ἐκ βασιλέως ἡ ὑπουργία ἐπέκειτο, εἰςάγονσιν εἰς τὶ δωμάτιον
τῆς γυναικοκυνίτιδος μακρὰν ἀποθεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτὴ ὁ Ἁβαλεντινιανὸς ἐντυχῶν οὕτι ἐκουσίαν βιάζεται.
23 ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὑβρίν ἐς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐλθόντα διδακρύμενη διὰ τὴν συμφορὰ ὡς ἐν ἡμί-
24 λίστα περιαλγούσα1 πολλὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ Μαξίμῳ ἁράς, ἀπὸ τὸσ πεπραγμένοις τὴν αὐτίνα
παρασχομένῳ. περιώδυνος τοῖνυν ὁ Μάξιμος τοῖς ἐμπεσοῦσι γενόμενοι αὐτίκα μὲν εἰς ἐπι-
βουλήν τοῦ βασιλέως καθίστατο· ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἁέτιον ἕωρα μέγα δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ Ἄττιλαν
ἀρτι ἐνενικηκεὶ στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Μασσαγετῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν ἐς τὴν Ρωμαίων ἀρχὴν
25 ἐσβαλόντα,2 ἐνθύμιμον οἱ ἐγένετο ὡς ὦ τῆς Ἁέτιος ἐς τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐμπόδιος ἔσται. ταῦτα τε δια-
νουμένῳ ἀμεινὸν ἐδοξέων εἶναι τὸν Ἁέτιον ἐκποδὸν πονησάθαι πρότερον, οὐδὲν ποιησάμενο ὃτι ἐς
26 αὐτὸν περιέστηκε πᾶσα ἡ Ρωμαίων ἀλήπης. τῶν δὲ ἀμφι τὴν βασιλέως θεραπείαν εὐνοῦχων εὐνοι-
κῶς οἱ ἐχόντων, ἀνέπεισε ταῖς αὐτῶν μηχαναῖς βασιλέα ὡς νεωτέρους πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῖ
27 Ἁέτιος. Ἁβαλεντινιανὸς δὲ ἄλλω οὐδενὶ ὃτι μὴ 
28 λόγον ύψιᾶ εἶναι κτείνει τὸν ἀνδρὰ. ὅτε δὴ καὶ

1 περιαλγούσα V: συναλγούσα P.
2 ἐσβαλόντα Hauray: ἐσβαλόντι V, ἐσβάλλοντον P.
tell the wife of Maximus that her husband bade her come as quickly as possible to the palace to salute the queen Eudoxia. And she, judging by the ring that the message was from Maximus, entered her litter and was conveyed to the emperor’s court. And she was received by those who had been assigned this service by the emperor, and led into a certain room far removed from the women’s apartments, where Valentinian met her and forced her, much against her will. And she, after the outrage, went to her husband’s house weeping and feeling the deepest possible grief because of her misfortune, and she cast many curses upon Maximus as having provided the cause for what had been done. Maximus, accordingly, became exceedingly aggrieved at that which had come to pass, and straightway entered into a conspiracy against the emperor; but when he saw that Aetius was exceedingly powerful, for he had recently conquered Attila, who had invaded the Roman domain with a great army of Massagetae and the other Scythians, the thought occurred to him that Aetius would be in the way of his undertaking. And upon considering this matter, it seemed to him that it was the better course to put Aetius out of the way first, paying no heed to the fact that the whole hope of the Romans centred in him. And since the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the emperor were well-disposed toward him, he persuaded the emperor by their devices that Aetius was setting on foot a revolution. And Valentinian, judging by nothing else than the power and valour of Aetius that the report was true, put the man to death. Whereupon a certain Roman made himself famous.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

'Ρωμαίων τις ἐπος εἰπὼν ἡδοκίμησεν. ἐρομένου γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέως εἰ οἱ καλῶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀετίου θάνατος ἐργασθεὶς, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων οὐκ ἔχειν μὲν εἰδέναι τούτο εἰτε εὐ εἰτε πὴ ἀλλη αὐτῷ εἰργασται, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὡς ἀριστα ἐξεπίστασθαι, ὅτι αὐτὸ τὴν δεξιὰν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἀποτεμὼν εἰη.

29 Ἀετίου γοῦν τελευτήσαντος Ἀττίλας, οὐδενὸς οἱ ἀντιπάλου ὁντος, Ἐὐρώπην τε ξύμπασαν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐλήξετο καὶ βασιλείαν ἐκατέραν ἐπακούουσαν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσχε. δασμοῖ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπέμποντο ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος.

30 τότε τῷ Ἀττίλα πόλιν Ἀκυληίαν πολυορκοῦντι μεγάλην τε καὶ ἀρχικοῦ πολυνύθρωπον, παραλίαν μὲν, ἐκτὸς δὲ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰούβιον οὔσαν,

31 τοιόνωθε φασὶν εὐτύχημα ἐπιμενεχθῆναι. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε βία οὔτε τῷ ἀλλῷ τρόπῳ οἶος τε ἢν τὸ χωρίον ἔλειν, πρὸς τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἀπειπεῖν, ἦδη ἐπὶ μακρότατον γεγενημένην, καὶ ἀπαν κελεύσαι τὸ στράτευμα τὰ ἔς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν παρασκευῇ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐνθένδε ἀπαντεῖς.

32 ἐξαναστώνται ἄμα ἡλίου ἀνύσχοντι. ἦμέρα δὲ τῇ ἐπιγηνομένῃ ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς λύσαντας μὲν τὴν προσεδρείαν τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ἄφοδου ἔχεσθαι ἦδη, ἔνα δὲ πελαργὸν ἐτίου πύργου τινὸς τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καλιάν τε ἔχοντα καὶ νεοττός τρέφοντα ἐνθένδε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ξύν

33 τοῖς τέκνοις ἐξαναστήτην. καὶ τῶν μὲν πατέρα πελαργὸν ὑπτασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πελαργίδεις, ἀτε οὔτω ἐκπετησίμους παντάπασιν ὁντας, τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ μετέχειν τῆς πτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου

1 ἄφοδου Ρ: ἄφοδυ V. 2 τρέφοντα Ρ: φέροντα V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. iv. 28–33

by a saying which he uttered. For when the emperor enquired of him whether he had done well in putting Aetius to death, he replied saying that, as to this matter, he was not able to know whether he had done well or perhaps otherwise, but one thing he understood exceedingly well, that he had cut off his own right hand with the other.

So after the death of Aetius, 1 Attila, since no one was a match for him, plundered all Europe with no trouble and made both emperors subservient and tributary to himself. For tribute money was sent to him every year by the emperors. At that time, while Attila was besieging Aquileia, a city of great size and exceedingly populous situated near the sea and above the Ionian Gulf, they say that the following good fortune befell him. For they tell the story that, when he was able to capture the place neither by force nor by any other means, he gave up the siege in despair, since it had already lasted a long time, and commanded the whole army without any delay to make their preparations for the departure, in order that on the morrow all might move from there at sunrise. And the following day about sunrise, the barbarians had raised the siege and were already beginning the departure, when a single male stork which had a nest on a certain tower of the city wall and was rearing his nestlings there suddenly rose and left the place with his young. And the father stork was flying, but the little storks, since they were not yet quite ready to fly, were at times sharing their father's flight and at times riding

1 This is an error, for Attila died before Aetius.
Procopius of Caesarea

tou patrōs fēresbhai, ou'tow te ἀποπτάντας τῆς
34 πόλεως ἐκαστάτω γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλαν
κατιδόντα (ἂν γὰρ δεινότατος ξυνεῖναι 1 te kal
ξυμβαλεῖν ἀπαντα) κελεύσαι τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις
ἐν χώρῳ τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ἔπειτάντα οὐκ ἀν ποτε
εἰκῇ ἐνδεώντα ἀποπτάντα ξύν τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν
ὄρνιν οὐχέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι ἐμαντεύετο φλαύρων οὐκ
35 εἰς μακράν τῷ χωρίῳ ξυμβήσεθαι. οὔτω μὲν
τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἐς τὴν
πολιορκίαν καταστήναι φασί, τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου
μοιράν τινα οὐ πολλῷ ὡστερον ἐκεῖνην ἢ τὴν τοῦ
ὄρνοθος τοῦτον καλιὰν εἴχεν, ἀπ' οὐδεμᾶς αἰτίας
ἐξαιπιναῖς καταπεσειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίως ταύτῃ
ἐσιτητὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι, οὔτω τε τὴν
'Ακυληίαν κατὰ κράτος ἀλῶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν
ἀμφὶ τῇ 'Ακυληίᾳ ταύτῃ τῇ ἔσχεν.
36 Ὅτερον δὲ καὶ βασιλεὰ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐκτεινε
Μάξιμος καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ἔσχε, τῇ τε Εὐδοξία
ξυγγέγονε βία. γυνὴ γὰρ ἥπερ αὐτῷ ξυνάκει
τετελευτήκει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. καὶ ποτε αὐτῇ
ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ προσέφερε λόγον ὡς τοῦ αὐτῆς ἔρωτος
εἴνεκα πάντα εἰς διαπετραγμένος καὶ εἰργαστο.
37 τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἀχθομένην Μαξίμῳ καὶ πρό-
τερον τίσασθαί τε αὐτῶν τῆς ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν
ἀδικίας ἑπιθυμοῦσαν έτι 2 μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτῶν
οἰδαίνειν ὁ λόγος ἑποίησεν, ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
ἐνήγειν, 3 ἐπεὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἑνεκα ξυμβῆναι
38 τὴν συμφορὰν Μαξίμου λέγοντος ἦκουσε. καὶ
ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, πέμπει εἰς Καρχη-

1 ξυνεῖναι V: ξυνίθειν P.
2 δὲ after έτι deleted by Haury.
3 ἐνήγειν Haury: ἐνήκειν MSS.
upon his back, and thus they flew off and went far away from the city. And when Attila saw this (for he was most clever at comprehending and interpreting all things), he commanded the army, they say, to remain still in the same place, adding that the bird would never have gone flying off at random from there with his nestlings, unless he was prophesying that some evil would come to the place at no distant time. Thus, they say, the army of the barbarians settled down to the siege once more, and not long after that a portion of the wall—the very part which held the nest of that bird—for no apparent reason suddenly fell down, and it became possible for the enemy to enter the city at that point, and thus Aquileia was captured by storm. Such is the story touching Aquileia.

Later on Maximus slew the emperor with no trouble and secured the tyranny, and he married Eudoxia by force. For the wife to whom he had been wedded had died not long before. And on one occasion in private he made the statement to Eudoxia that it was all for the sake of her love that he had carried out all that he had done. And since she felt a repulsion for Maximus even before that time, and had been desirous of exacting vengeance from him for the wrong done Valentinian, his words made her swell with rage still more against him, and led her on to carry out her plot, since she had heard Maximus say that on account of her the misfortune had befallen her husband. And as soon as day came, she sent to Carthage
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dóna deoméni Γιζερίχου τιμωρείν Βαλεντινιανῷ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου διαφθαρέντι, αὐτοῦ τε ἄναξίως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴν ῥύσεθαι πάσχουσαν πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου ἀνόσια. ἐπέσεκτε δὲ ὡς φίλῳ τε καὶ ξυμμάχῳ ὁντι Γιζερίχῳ καὶ τηλικοῦδε' πάθους ἐστὶ οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ξυμβάντος τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τιμωρῶ γενέσθαι οὐχ ὁσίον ἐστιν. ἐκ Βυζαντίου γὰρ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ὕπετο ἐσεθαι, Θεοδοσίου μὲν ἣδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος.

V

Γιζερίχος δὲ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα μεγάλα ἐσεθαι ὑπετόπαξε, στόλῳ πολλῷ ἐστὶ Ἰταλίαι κατέπλευσεν. ἀναβας δὲ ἐστὶ Ρώμῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐδεὶς οἱ ἐμποδῶν ἔστηκε, τῶν 2 βασιλείων ἐκράτησε. Μάξιμον μὲν οὖν 3 φευγοῦτα Ρωμαῖοι λίθοις βαλόντες 4 διέφθειραν, καὶ τὴν τε κεφαλὴν τῶν τε ἄλλων μελῶν ἔκαστον 3 ἀποτελόμενοι διείλοντο σφίσι. Γιζερίχος δὲ τὴν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἀμα Εὐδοκία τε καὶ Πλακιδία, ταῖς αὐτῆς τε καὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παισίν, αἰχμάλωτον εἴλε, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλείων κτημάτων πολύ τι χρήμα ἐν ταῖς ναοῦν ἐνθέμενος ἐστὶ Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, οὔτε χαλκῷ οὔτε ἄλλου ὄτουν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος. 4 ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

1 τηλικοῦδε O: τηλικοῦτον δὲ VP. 2 ἐς om. VO.
3 μὲν οὖν VP: δὲ αὐ O.
4 βαλόντες P: λαβόντες V, βάλλοντες O.

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entreat ing Gizeric to avenge Valentinian, who had been destroyed by an unholy man, in a manner unworthy both of himself and of his imperial station, and to deliver her, since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of the tyrant. And she impressed it upon Gizeric that, since he was a friend and ally and so great a calamity had befallen the imperial house, it was not a holy thing to fail to become an avenger. For from Byzantium she thought no vengeance would come, since Theodosius had already departed from the world and Marcian had taken over the empire.

V

AND Gizeric, for no other reason than that he suspected that much money would come to him, set sail for Italy with a great fleet. And going up to Rome, since no one stood in his way, he took possession of the palace. Now while Maximus was trying to flee, the Romans threw stones at him and killed him, and they cut off his head and each of his other members and divided them among themselves. But Gizeric took Eudoxia captive, together with Eudocia and Placidia, the children of herself and Valentinian, and placing an exceedingly great amount of gold and other imperial treasure in his ships sailed to Carthage, having spared neither bronze nor anything else whatsoever in the palace. He plundered also the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and

1 Including the famous treasure which Titus had brought from Jerusalem, cf. IV. ix. 5.
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νεὼν καὶ τοῦ τέγους τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀφείλετο μοῦραν. τούτῳ δὲ τὸ τέγος χαλκοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐτύγχανεν ὅν, χρυσοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπερχυθέντος ἀδροῦ ώς μάλιστα μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ θαύματος τολμοῦ ἀξίου διεφαίνετο. τὸν δὲ μετὰ Γίζερίχου νεών μίαν μὲν, ἢ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐφερε, φασὶν ἀπολέσθαι, πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἱ Βανδῖλοι εἰς τὸν Καρχηδόνος λιμένα κατήραν. Εὐδοκίαν μὲν οὖν Τοτερον δὲ Γίζερίχος Ὀνωρίχῳ τῷ τῶν παίδων πρεσβυτέρῳ ἔμνοκις,2 τὴν δὲ δὴ ἐτέραν (ἀνδρὶ γὰρ ἔτι ξυνόκει Οὐλβρίῳ, τῶν ἐν βουλῆ τῇ Ῥωμαίων δοκιμωτάτῳ) ἀμα τῇ μπτη Εὐδοξίᾳ, ἐξαιτητα-7 μένου βασιλέως, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπεμψεν. ἦδη δὲ τὸ τῶν ἐφύον κράτος ἐς Δέοντα περιεστήκει, Ἀσπαρῶς ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστημάτην,3 ἐπειδὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἐς ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλλακτο. ἤδη τῶν ἐν Λυβίη πόλεων, πλὴν Καρχηδόνος, τὰ τείχη καθείλεν, ώς ἂν μήτε αὐτοὶ Δίβυνες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐλομενοὶ ἐκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὄρμαζαν καὶ νεωτερίζων ικανοὶ εἶναι μήτε τοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως στελλομένοις ἐν ἑπτάδε ἔσται καὶ πόλει καταλήφουσαι καὶ φουράν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι πράγματα 8 Βανδῖλοις παρέξονται.4 τότε μὲν οὖν εὔνε τε ἐδοξε βεβουλεύσθαι5 καὶ τὴν εὐμερίαν Βανδῖλοι ἡς ἀσφαλέστατα διασώσασθαι, χρώνῳ δὲ τῷ ύστερῷ, ὅτε δὴ ἀτείχοτοι οὐσία ραὸν τε καὶ ἀπονάστηρον πρὸς Βελισαρίου αἱ πόλεις ἀντα ἡλίσκοντο, πολὺν τε γέλωτα ἤδη Γίζερίχος ὦφλε 1 οὖν VP : εὗ O. 2 ἔμνοκις τὸ VP : ἔμνοκις τὸ O. 3 καταστημάτην VP : ἀποκαταστημάτην O. 4 παρέξονται Dindorf : παρέξονται MSS. 5 βεβουλεύσθαι VO : βουλεύσθαι P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. v. 4–9
tore off half of the roof. Now this roof was of bronze of the finest quality, and since gold was laid over it exceedingly thick, it shone as a magnificent and wonderful spectacle.¹ But of the ships with Gizeric, one, which was bearing the statues, was lost, they say, but with all the others the Vandals reached port in the harbour of Carthage. Gizeric then married Eudocia to Honoric, the elder of his sons; but the other of the two women, being the wife of Olybrius, a most distinguished man in the Roman senate, he sent to Byzantium together with her mother, Eudoxia, at the request of the emperor. Now the power of the East had by now fallen to Leon, who had been set in this position by Aspar, since Marcian had already passed from the world.

Afterwards Gizeric devised the following scheme. He tore down the walls of all the cities in Libya except Carthage, so that neither the Libyans themselves, espousing the cause of the Romans, might have a strong base from which to begin a rebellion, nor those sent by the emperor have any ground for hoping to capture a city and by establishing a garrison in it to make trouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it seemed that he had counselled well and had ensured prosperity for the Vandals in the safest possible manner; but in later times when these cities, being without walls, were captured by Belisarius all the more easily and with less exertion, Gizeric was then condemned to suffer much ridicule,

¹ Domitian had spent 12,000 talents (£2,400,000) on the gilding alone; Plutarch, Publ. 15.
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καὶ ἡ τέως δοκούσα ὦ εὐβουλία ἐς ἄνοιαν αὐτῷ ἀπεκρίθη. ταῖς γὰρ ἀνίκαις ἀεὶ τὰς δόξας ἐπὶ τοὺς πρότερον βεβουλευμένους ξυμμεταβάλλεσθαι

φιλούσιν ἀνθρωποί. τῶν δὲ Λίβνου εἰ τι μὲν δόκιμον ἐτύγχανεν δὴ καὶ πλούτῳ ἀκμάζον, αὐτοῖς ἀγροῖς τε καὶ πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων μοιρὰ παρέδωκε τοὺς παισίν Ὅωρίχῳ τε καὶ Γένζωνι. Θεόδωρος γὰρ ὁ νεώτατος ἐτελεύτα ἧδη, ἀπαίς τὸ παράπαν ἄρρενος τε καὶ θῆλεος γόνου. Λίβνας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφείλετο μὲν τοὺς ἄγρους, οἱ πλείστοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι, ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν Βαυνίλων διένειμεν 1 ἔθνος, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ κλήροι Βαυνίλων οἱ ἁγροὶ οὕτου ἐσ τόδε καλούνται τοῦ χρόνου. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κεκτημένοις τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πένεσθαι τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ ἔλευθέρους εἶναι ξυνέβαινεν· ἂν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ὅποι βουλομένοι ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.

καὶ τὰ μὲν χωρία ἔμπαντα, ὡσα τοὺς τε παισί καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βαυνίλωι Γιζέριχος παραδεδωκεί, οὐδεμιᾶς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆς ὑποτελῆ ἐκέλευσεν εἶναι. τῆς δὲ γῆς ὅση οἱ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἠδοξὲν εἶναι, ἀφάκα τοῖς πρότερον ἔχουσι, τοσάρτα ἐνθένδε τῷ δημοσίῳ φέρεσθαι τὰξας ὡστε οὐδ’ ὅτιον περίην τοὺς τὰ χωρία τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ἑφευγον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκτείνοντο. αἰτία γὰρ αὐτῶν πολλαί τε καὶ χαλεπαὶ προσεφέροντο· πασῶν δὲ μία μεγίστη δὴ ἐδοκεὶ εἶναι ὧτι χρήματα τις ὁικεία ἔχων ἀπέκρυπτεν. οὗτο τοὺς Λίβνας πᾶσα ἰδέα ξυμφορᾶς περιέστη.
and that which for the time he considered wise counsel turned out for him to be folly. For as fortunes change, men are always accustomed to change with them their judgments regarding what has been planned in the past. And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves, together with their estates and all their money, to his sons Honorici and Genzon. For Theodorus, the youngest son, had died already, being altogether without offspring, either male or female. And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates, which were both very numerous and excellent, and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called "Vandals' estates" up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to be at the same time free men; and they had the privilege of going away wheresoever they wished. And Gizeric commanded that all the lands which he had given over to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowed to remain in the hands of the former owners, but assessed so large a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the government that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into exile or killed. For charges were brought against them of many sorts, and heavy ones too; but one charge seemed to be the greatest of all, that a man, having money of his own, was hiding it. Thus the Libyans were visited with every form of misfortune.
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18 Τούς δὲ δῆ Βανδίλους τε καὶ 'Αλανοὺς ἐς λόχους καταστησάμενος, λοχαγοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστησεν οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὑγδοίκοντα, οὕσπερ χιλιάρχους ἐκάλεσε, δόκησιν παρέχων ἢ ὁκτὼ ῥῶ κυριάδας συνιέναι τὸν τῶν στρατευόμενων λεών.
19 καὶ τοίς οὖ χάλλον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πέντε τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων τε καὶ 'Αλανών πλῆθος ἐν γε τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. ἔπειτα μέντοι τῇ τε κατὰ σφᾶς παιδοποίια καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἐταιρεσάμενοι ἐς μεγάλην τινὰ πολυανθρωπίαν ἐχώρησαν. τὰ δὲ τῶν 'Αλανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὄνοματα, πλῆ Μαυρουσίων, ἐς τὸ τῶν
20 Βανδίλων ἀπαντά ἀπεκρίθη. τότε δὲ Γιζέριχος Μαυρουσίους προστασία σάμενος, ἐπειδὴ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος ἤρι ἀρχομένως ἐς τε Σικελίαν καὶ 'Ιταλίαν ἐσβολάς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν ἄνδραποδίσας, τὰς δὲ καθελὼν ἐς ἐδαφος, λησμάμενος τε ἀπαντά, ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπων τε ἡ χώρα καὶ χρημάτων ἔρημος ἐγεγόνει, ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἐφόυ βασιλέως ἐσέβαλε κράτος.
21 Ἰλλυριους οὖν ἐλήξετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος τὰ πλείστα καὶ ὅσα αὐτῇ νήσοι ἐπίκειναι. αὕτης δὲ ἐς τε Σικελίαν καὶ 'Ιταλίαν ἀπέβαινεν, ὡγε τε καὶ ἐφερεν ἐκ περιτροπῆς ἀπαντά. καὶ ποτε αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν ἐσβάντα ἐν τῷ Καρχηδόνος λιμένι, ἀνατευνομένων ἡδη τῶν ἱστίων, φασὶν ἐρέσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην
22 ἐπὶ τίνας ποτε ἀνθρώπων ἴσιν τε κελεύοι. καὶ τῶν

1 προστασία σάμενος V: προστασία σάμενος O.
2 τὰς μὲν V: τὰ μὲν O.
3 τὰς δὲ VO pr. m. corr.: τὰ δὲ O pr. m.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. v. 18-25

The Vandals and the Alani he arranged in companies, appointing over them no less than eighty captains, whom he called "chiliarchs," making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amounted to eighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times, at least, to amount to no more than fifty thousand men. However, after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbarians with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous people. But the names of the Alani and all the other barbarians, except the Moors, were united in the name of Vandals. At that time, after the death of Valentinian, Gizeric gained the support of the Moors, and every year at the beginning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything; and when the land had become destitute of men and of money, he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. And so he plundered Illyricum and the most of the Peloponnesus and of the rest of Greece and all the islands which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy, and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. And one day when he had embarked on his ship in the harbour of Carthage, and the sails were already being spread, the pilot asked him, they say, against what men in the world he bade them go. And he in reply said: "Plainly

1 i.e. "leaders of a thousand."
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ἀποκρινάμενον φάναι, δηλονότι ἐφ’ οὖς ὁ θεὸς ὀργισται. οὕτως ἐξ οὐδεμᾶς αἰτίας ἐφ’ οὖς ἂν τύχοι ἐσέβαλλε.

VI

Τώνδε εἷνεκα τίσασθαι Βανδίλους βασιλεὺς Δέων ¹ βουλόμενος ξυνήγειρεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατεύματα· τούδε δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος λέγουσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς δέκα μᾶλιστα μυριάδας γενέσθαι. στόλον δὲ νεών ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πρὸς ἐως θαλάσσης ἀθροίσας πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ναῦτας, δεδιώς μὴ τί οὶ ἐκ μικρολογίας ἐμποδοῦν γένηται προθυμομένω ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν κόλασιν.

2 φασὶ γοῦν αὐτῶ τρικάσια καὶ χίλια κεντηνάρια ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ δεδαπανηθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Βανδίλους τὸ στόλο τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖται Βασιλίσκον, Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφόν ὑπὸ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκτόπως ἔρωτα, ἢν οἱ ἥλπισεν ἁμαρχητὶ ἔσεσθαι τῇ Ἄσπαρος προσποιησαμένῳ

3 φίλιαν. αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἄσπαρ τῆς Ἄρειοῦ δόξης μεταποιούμενος, ταύτην τε οὐκ ἐννοῶν μετατίθεσθαι, παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ὅχι οἶς τε ἢν, καταστήσασθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἔτερου εὔπετον ἔσχυνεν, ἥδη τε Λέωντι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὃς

4 ἐπιβουλεύσει προσκεκροκότι ἐπίδοξος ἢν. λέγουσιν οὖν ² "Ἄσπαρα τότε δείσαντα μὴ Βανδίλων ἥσσημένων ὁ Δέων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν

¹ λέων Ο: λέγων Υ.
² λέγουσιν οὖν Υ: λέγουσι γοῦν Ο.

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against those with whom God is angry.” Thus without any cause he kept making invasions wherever chance might lead him.

VI

And the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Vandals because of these things, was gathering an army against them; and they say that this army amounted to about one hundred thousand men. And he collected a fleet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, shewing great generosity to both soldiers and sailors, for he feared lest from a parsimonious policy some obstacle might arise to hinder him in his desire to carry out his punishment of the barbarians. Therefore, they say, thirteen hundred centenaria\(^1\) were expended by him to no purpose. But since it was not fated that the Vandals should be destroyed by this expedition, he made Basiliscus commander-in-chief, the brother of his wife Berine, a man who was extraordinarily desirous of the royal power, which he hoped would come to him without a struggle if he won the friendship of Aspar. For Aspar himself, being an adherent of the Arian faith, and having no intention of changing it for another, was unable to enter upon the imperial office, but he was easily strong enough to establish another in it, and it already seemed likely that he would plot against the Emperor Leon, who had given him offence. So they say that since Aspar was then fearful lest, if the Vandals were defeated, Leon should establish his

\(^1\) 130,000 Roman pounds; cf. Book I. xxii. 4. The modern equivalent is unknown.
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βασιλείαν κρατύνηται, πολλά Βασιλάκωφ ἐπι-
σκήψαντα παρακαταθέσθαι οἱ Βανδίλους τε καὶ
Γιζέριχον.

5 Δέων δὲ ἦδη πρότερον Ἀνθέμων, ἄνδρα ἐκ
γερουσίας, πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει μέγαν, βασιλέα
τῆς ἐσπερίας καταστησάμενος ἐπέμψεν, ὅτι 
οἱ τὰ ἐς τῶν Βανδιλικῶν συλλήψεται πόλεμον.

6 καίτοι Γιζέριχος ἔχρηξε καὶ πολλὰ ἐλιπάραι
Ὁλυβρίφω παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν Πλακιδία
τῇ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παιδὶ ξυνοικοῦντι καὶ διὰ τὸ
κήδος εὐνοϊκῶς αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἐπειδὴ τε τοῦτο
ὅτι χῆσεν, ἔτι μάλλον ὑργίζετο καὶ πᾶσαι τὴν
7 βασιλείας γῆν ἐληίζετο. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Δαλματία
Μαρκέλλιανος τῶν Ἀετίων γνωρίμων, ἄνηρ δό-
κιμος, δὴ ἐπειδὴ Ἀέτιος ἐτελευτησε τρόπω τῷ
εἰρημένῳ, βασιλεῖ εἰκεν οὐκέτι ἤξιον, ἀλλὰ νεω-
τερίσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς ἀποστήσας
αὐτὸς ἐθεῖ τὸ Δαλματίας κράτος, οὐδενὸς οἱ ἐς
8 χεῖρας ἴναι τολμήσαντος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαρ-
κέλλιανον τότε Δέων βασιλεὺς εἰ μᾶλα τιθασ-
σεύν προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς Σαρδῶν τὴν νῆσον
ἐκέλευεν ἴναι, Βανδίλων κατήκοιον οὐσαν. ὁ δὲ
αὐτὴν ἃ Βανδίλους ἔξελάσασα οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

9 Ἡράκλεως δὲ σταλεῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου εἰς Τρίπολιν
τὴν ἐν Διβύη νυκτῆσας τε μάχῃ τοὺς ταύτῃ Βανδί-
λους τὰς τε πόλεις ῥαδίως εἰλὲ καὶ τὰς ναὸς
ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπὼν πεζῷ τὸ στράτευμα ἐς Καρχη-
δόνα ἤγε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πολέμου προοίμια
τῇ δὲ ἐφέρετο.

1 αὐτὸς Haury : αὐτὸς MSS.
2 αὐτὴν VPO pr. m. : αὐτὴς O corr.
power most securely, he repeatedly urged upon Basiliscus that he should spare the Vandals and Gizeric.

Now before this time Leon had already appointed and sent Anthemijs, as Emperor of the West, a man of the senate of great wealth and high birth, in order that he might assist him in the Vandalic war. And yet Gizeric kept asking and earnestly entreating that the imperial power be given to Olybrius, who was married to Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian, and on account of his relationship well-disposed toward him, and when he failed in this he was still more angry and kept plundering the whole land of the emperor. Now there was in Dalmatia a certain Marcellianus, one of the acquaintances of Aetius and a man of repute, who, after Aetius had died in the manner told above, no longer deigned to yield obedience to the emperor, but beginning a revolution and detaching all the others from allegiance, held the power of Dalmatia himself, since no one dared encounter him. But the Emperor Leon at that time won over this Marcellianus by very careful wheedling, and bade him go to the island of Sardinia, which was then subject to the Vandals. And he drove out the Vandals and gained possession of it with no great difficulty. And Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis in Libya, and after conquering the Vandals of that district in battle, he easily captured the cities, and leaving his ships there, led his army on foot toward Carthage. Such, then, was the sequence of events which formed the prelude of the war.

1 Placidia's sister, Eudocia, was wife of Honoric, Gizeric's son.  
2 See chap. iv. 27.
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10 Βασιλίσκος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς πόλισμα κατέπλευσε, Καρχηδόνος διέχον οὐχ ἤσσον ἢ ὁγδοῦκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους σταδίους 1 (Ἔρμοῦ δὲ νεὼς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὅν, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ Μερκούριον ὁ τότος ἐκλήθη· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ἐρμῆν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαίοι), καὶ εἰ μὴ ἑθελοκακήσας ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺ ἐπεχειρήσε Καρχηδόνος ἴέναι, αὐτὴν τε ἂν αὐτοβοεῖ εἰλὲ καὶ Βανδίλους ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλήθην τραπεμένους κατεδουλώσατο. οὕτω Γιζέριχος Λέοντα ὡς ἀμα- χον βασιλέα κατωρρώθησεν, εἵτε οἱ Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Τρίτολος ἀλούσαι ἤγγελλοντο καὶ τὸν Βασι- λίσκον στόλῳ ἔφερα οἶνος οὐδεὶς τῶν ἔληγετο Ῥωμαίοις πρὸ τερον γεγενηθαί. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ἣ τὸν στρατηγοῦ μέλλησις, εἶτε κακό- τητι εἶτε προδοσία προσγενομένη. 2 Γιζέριχος δὲ τῆς Βασιλίσκου ὀλυγωρίας ἀπολαύσων ἐποίει τάδε. ὀπλίσας ἀπαντας ὡς ἀριστα εἶχε τοῦ υπηκόους ἐπλήρων τὰς ναῦς, ἀλλας τε κενὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὥς τάχιστα πλεούσας ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε. πέμψας δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς Βασιλίσκου ἐδείτο τὸν πόλεμον ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι χρό- νον, ὅπως μεταξὶ βουλευσάμενος εκείνα ποιοῖς ἀ δὴ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ βουλομένω εἰς. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσὸν πολὺ τε χρήμα κρύφα τῆς Βασιλίσκου στρατιάς πέμψαντα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ἄνήσσασθαι. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταύτα οἴο- μενοι, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ γενήσεσθαι. Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἡ Ἀσπαρι καθάπερ ὑπέστη χαριζόμενος ἡ τῶν

1 σταδίους ΡΟ: σταδίους Β.  
2 προσγενομένη ΒΡ: γεγομένη Ω.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vi. 10–16

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage no less than two hundred and eighty stades (now it so happened that a temple of Hermes had been there from of old, from which fact the place was named Mercurium; for the Romans call Hermes “Mercurius”), and if he had not purposely played the coward and hesitated, but had undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the first onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection without their even thinking of resistance; so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor, when the report was brought to him that Sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. But, as it was, the general’s hesitation, whether caused by cowardice or treachery, prevented this success. And Gizeric, profiting by the negligence of Basiliscus, did as follows. Arming all his subjects in the best way he could, he filled his ships, but not all, for some he kept in readiness empty, and they were the ships which sailed most swiftly. And sending envoys to Basiliscus, he begged him to defer the war for the space of five days, in order that in the meantime he might take counsel and do those things which were especially desired by the emperor. They say, too, that he sent also a great amount of gold without the knowledge of the army of Basiliscus and thus purchased this armistice. And he did this, thinking, as actually did happen, that a favouring wind would rise for him during this time. And Basiliscus, either as doing a favour to Aspar in accordance with what
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καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδίδόμενος, ἢ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίζητι, ἐποίει τε τὰ αἰτοῦμενα καὶ ἱσύχαζεν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ, τὴν εὐκαιρίαν προσδεχόμενος τῶν πολεμίων.

17 Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐπειδὴ σφίσι τάχιστα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐγενόντα, δὴ τέως καραδοκούντες ἐκάθηντο, ἀράμενοι τε τὰ ἱστία καὶ τὰ πλοῖα αφέλκουτες ὃσα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κενά, ὡσπερ μοι πρότερον εὑρηται, παρεσκεύαστο, ἐπέλευσεν ἐπὶ τόσον πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πῦρ ἐν τοῖς πλοῖοις ἐνθέμενοι, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκουτες ἤγον, κεκολπωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱστίων, ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ρωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἀτε δὲ πλήθουσαν ὅντος ἑνταῦθα νῆσῳ, ὡς τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα προσπίπτοιες, ἐκαίνης τε τὸ βασίλειον καὶ αὐτὰ οἷς ἄν

18 συμμίξαιεν ἑτοίμως ξυνιδιεφθείρωστο. 3 οὖτω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπιφερομένων θόρυβός τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, εἶχε τῶν Ρωμαίων στόλου καὶ κραυγῆς μέγεθος τῷ τε πνεύματι καὶ τῷ τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντιπατηγούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοίως τοῖς ναύταις ἄλληλοις ἔγκελευσεν καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς διωθουμένων τὰ τοῦ πυρόπλου καὶ τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς ὑπὸ ἄλληλων διαφθειρο-

19-20 μέναις οὕτως κόσμῳ. ἢδὲ δὲ καὶ οἱ Βανδίλοι παρήσαν ἐμβάλλοντες τοῖς καταδύοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς ὁπλίς τοὺς διαφεύγοντας τῶν στρατίω-

21-22 τῶν ληθόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ

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1 προσπίπτοιεν P: παραπίπτοιεν O.
2 αὐτὰ O: αὐτὸν P, αὐτοῖς Grotius.
3 ξυνιδιεφθείρωστο Haugy: ξυνιδιεφθείρετο MSS.
4 εἶχε τῶν—στόλου P: ἦν ἐν τῶ—στόλῳ O.
5 ἄλληλοις P: ἄλληλους τε O.
6 ἐμβάλλοντες O: βάλλοντες P.
he had promised, or selling the moment of opportunity for money, or perhaps thinking it the better course, did as he was requested and remained quietly in the camp, awaiting the moment favourable to the enemy.

But the Vandals, as soon as the wind had arisen for them which they had been expecting during the time they lay at rest, raised their sails and, taking in tow the boats which, as has been stated above, they had made ready with no men in them, they sailed against the enemy. And when they came near, they set fire to the boats which they were towing, when their sails were bellied by the wind, and let them go against the Roman fleet. And since there were a great number of ships there, these boats easily spread fire wherever they struck, and were themselves readily destroyed together with those with which they came in contact. And as the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet was filled with tumult, as was natural, and with a great din that rivalled the noise caused by the wind and the roaring of the flames, as the soldiers together with the sailors shouted orders to one another and pushed off with their poles the fire-boats and their own ships as well, which were being destroyed by one another in complete disorder. And already the Vandals too were at hand ramming and sinking the ships, and making booty of such of the soldiers as attempted to escape, and of their arms as well. But there were also some of the Romans who proved
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'Ρωμαίων ἐν τῷ πόλω τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Ἰωάννης, ὑποστράτηγός τε ὁ Ἱωακίμου καὶ οὗδ᾽ ὀπωσιδιῶν τῆς ἐκείνου προδοσίας μεταλαχῶν. περισσάντος γὰρ ὡμίλου πολλοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἐκτεινε μὲν ἐπιστροφάδην ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος πολὺ τῶν πολεμίων πλήθος, ὡς δὲ ἀληκομένης ἔσθετο τῆς νεῶς, ἤλατο ᾧν πάση τῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν σκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ιερῶν εἰς θάλασσαν. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν αὖτων ἐλπίσατε Γενίζου ὁ Γιοζεφίχου, πιστά τε παρεχόμενοι καὶ σωτηρίαν προτεινόμενοι, ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔσωστον ἐς θάλασσαν καθίκη τὸ σῶμα, ἔκεινο μοῦνον ἀποφθεγμάμενος, ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ χερσὶ κυνῶν γένηται.

25 Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος αὐτὸς ἐς τούτῳ ἐτελεύτα ταὶ Ἡράκλειος ἐπ᾽ οἰκον ἀπεκομίσθη· Μαρκελλίαν τὸν πρὸς τοῦ τῶν συναρχόντων ἀπώλετο δόλῳ.

26 Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἰκέτης ἐκάθητο ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τῶν νεῶν, ταῦτην δὴ μάλιστα τῷ θεῷ πρέπειν τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ ἔγονοι), ἔξαιτα ταμεύμενος δὲ αὐτῶν Βηρίνης τῆς βασιλίδος τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγεν, ἐς βασιλείαν δὲ τότε παρελθεῖν, ἢς δὴ ἔνεκα πάντα αὐτῷ εἰργαστὸ, οὐχ οἷος τε ἦν. Λέων γὰρ Ἰωακίμου ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀσπαράτα ταῖς Ἀρδα-βούριοις ἐν παλατίῳ διέφθειρεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ θάνατον ἐπιβουλεύοντος αὐτοῖς ὑπετόπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇ δὲ.

1 ἤλατο Hoeschel : ἤλατο MSS. 2 αὐτὸν O : om. P.
themselves brave men in this struggle, and most of all John, who was a general under Basiliscus and who had no share whatever in his treason. For a great throng having surrounded his ship, he stood on the deck, and turning from side to side kept killing very great numbers of the enemy from there, and when he perceived that the ship was being captured, he leaped with his whole equipment of arms from the deck into the sea. And though Genzon, the son of Gizeric, entreated him earnestly not to do this, offering pledges and holding out promises of safety, he nevertheless threw himself into the sea, uttering this one word, that John would never come under the hands of dogs.

So this war came to an end, and Heracleius departed for home; for Marcellianus had been destroyed treacherously by one of his fellow-officers. And Basiliscus, coming to Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Christ the Great God ("Sophia") 1 the temple is called by the men of Byzantium who consider that this designation is especially appropriate to God), and although, by the intercession of Berine, the queen, he escaped this danger, he was not able at that time to reach the throne, the thing for the sake of which everything had been done by him. For the Emperor Leon not long afterwards destroyed both Aspar and Ardaburius in the palace, because he suspected that they were plotting against his life. Thus, then, did these events take place.

1 i.e. "wisdom."
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VII

'Ανθέμιος δὲ ὁ τῶν δυσμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Ρέκιμερος διαφθαρεῖς ἐτελεύτα, Ὀλύμπριος τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξάμενος ὀλίγῳ ὥστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε. 2 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Λέουτος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Δέων ὁ Ζήνων τοῦ τε καὶ Ἄριάδνης τῆς Λέουτος θυγατρὸς, ἐς ἦμερῶν ἔτι 3 ὀλίγου που ἡλικίαν ἦκων. αἱρεθέντος δὲ ξυμβασιλέως αὐτῶ τοῦ πατρός, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὁ 4 παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφαίστιο. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ Μαιόρινου ἐπιμησθῆναι, δὴ δὴ πρότερον ἔσχε τὸ ἐσπέριον κράτος. οὕτος γὰρ ὁ Μαιόρινος, ξύμπαντας τὸν πῶς πᾶτερ Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλεύκοτας ὑπεραίρων ἀρετὴ πάση, τὸ Διβύθιος πάθος οὐκ ἠγεγκε πράξεσ, ἀλλὰ στρατιῶν ἐπὶ Βαυδίλους ἀξιολογούσατιν ἀγείρας ἐν Διογύρως ἐγένετο, οὗτος τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι 5 διανουόμενος. ὁ γὰρ οἱ Μαιόρινος ἐστὶν τοὺς ἄλλους πόνους καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους 6 ἀκινὸς κομίδη. οὐκ ἀξύμφορον δὲ οἱ ἠγούμενοι εἶναι δυνάμεν τῇ τῆς Βαυδίλων καὶ τὸ Γιερίχου ἠθος διερευνήσασθαι πρότερον καὶ ὅπερ ποτὲ Μαυρούσιοι τε καὶ Δίβυνες εὐνοιας τῇ ἔχθους πέρι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοιεν, οὐκ ἄλλους τίς πιστεῦειν 7 τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ ὁθῆλαμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ 3 ἐγνω. πρεσ-

1 ἐκδεξάμενος VP: διαδεξάμενος ὁ.
2 ξυμβασιλέως PO: ξυμβασιλεύειν ἡ.
3 ἔχοιεν——αὐτῶν VO: κατέστησαν, αὐτὸς τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἔργου τελεσθῆς γενέσθαι ἡ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vii. 1–7

VII

Now Anthemius, the emperor of the West, died at the hand of his son-in-law Rhecimer, and Olybrius, succeeding to the throne, a short time afterward suffered the same fate. And when Leon also had died in Byzantium, the imperial office was taken over by the younger Leon, the son of Zeno and Ariadne, the daughter of Leon, while he was still only a few days old. And his father having been chosen as partner in the royal power, the child forthwith passed from the world. Majorinus also deserves mention, who had gained the power of the West before this time. For this Majorinus, who surpassed in every virtue all who have ever been emperors of the Romans, did not bear lightly the loss of Libya, but collected a very considerable army against the Vandals and came to Liguria, intending himself to lead the army against the enemy. For Majorinus never showed the least hesitation before any task and least of all before the dangers of war. But thinking it not inexpedient for him to investigate first the strength of the Vandals and the character of Gizeric and to discover how the Moors and Libyans stood with regard to friendship or hostility toward the Romans, he decided to trust no eyes other than his own in such a matter. Accordingly he set out as
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βευτής οὖν ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως παρά τὸν Γιζέρι-χου ἐστάλη, ἀλλο τι αὐτῷ ὄνομα ξυμπεπλασμένον ἐπενεγκών. δείσας δὲ μὴ καταφανὴς γεγονός αὐτός τε κακῶν τι λάβῃ καὶ τὰ πρασόμενα διακωλύσῃ, μηχανάται τοιάδε. τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας (διαβόητοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὅτι δὴ οὐτὶ ξανθαὶ εἰσὶν ὡστε χρυσῷ ἀκιβδήλῳ εἰκάζεσθαι) βαφῆ τυι χρίσασα ἐς τοῦτο ἐξεπίτηδες ἐξευρημένη ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ κυάνου παντελῶς ἵσχυσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γιζερίχῳ ἦς ὃς φέρεται, τὰς ἀλλὰ ὁ Γιζέριχος αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρει δεδίσσεσθαι καὶ ἅτε φίλον ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα ἥλθεν οὗ ὡς τὰ ὁπλα ἑννέκειτο πάντα, πολλὰ τε καὶ αξιολογώτατα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα.

ἐνταῦθα φασί τὰ ὁπλα κινθηόντα εκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου πάταγον οὗ μέτριον οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα ἀφεῖναι, καὶ τότε μὲν τῷ Γιζερίχῳ σεισμὸν τῶν γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἔξω δὲ γεγομένῳ ἀμφί τε τῷ σεισμῷ ἀναπτυχθομένῳ, ἐπεί οἱ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδές ὁμολογεῖ, θαύμα μὲν ἐπιπεσεῖν μέγα, οὐ μέντοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γεγονός οὐφ τε εἰναι. ὦ μὲν οὖν Μαἰορίνος διαπεπραγμένος ἀπέρ ἐβουλευτο ἐπὶ Δυνούρια ἀπεκομίσθη, καὶ τῷ στρατῷ πεζῇ βαδίζοντι ἐξηγούμενος ἐπὶ στῆλας τὰς Ἡρακλεόνες ἦν, διαβαινεῖ μὲν διανοούμενος τὸν ἐκείνην πορθμόν, ὅδι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐνθενδέ ἢναι. ἄντερ ὁ Γιζερίχος αἰσθόμενος καὶ ὅτι δὴ πρὸς Μαἰορίνον ἐν τῇ πρεβεβεία φενακισθῆ, ἐς τε ὀρρωδίαν ἐμπέπτωκε καὶ τὰ ἐς τῶν πόλεμον 13 ἔξηρτεο. οὐ τε Ρωμαίοι τεκμηριούμενοι τῇ Μαἰορίνοι ἀρετῇ εὐελπίδες ἦδη ἐγένοντο Διβύνην

1 οὗ μέτριον VPO in marg. : οὗ μικρὸν O in context.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vii. 7–13

if an envoy from the emperor to Gizeric, assuming some fictitious name. And fearing lest, by becoming known, he should himself receive some harm and at the same time prevent the success of the enterprise, he devised the following scheme. His hair, which was famous among all men as being so fair as to resemble pure gold, he anointed with some kind of dye, which was especially invented for this purpose, and so succeeded completely in changing it for the time to a dark hue. And when he came before Gizeric, the barbarian attempted in many ways to terrify him, and in particular, while treating him with engaging attention, as if a friend, he brought him into the house where all his weapons were stored, a numerous and exceedingly noteworthy array. Thereupon they say that the weapons shook of their own accord and gave forth a sound of no ordinary or casual sort, and then it seemed to Gizeric that there had been an earthquake, but when he got outside and made enquires concerning the earthquake, since no one else agreed with him, a great wonder, they say, came over him, but he was not able to comprehend the meaning of what had happened. So Majorinus, having accomplished the very things he wished, returned to Liguria, and leading his army on foot, came to the Pillars of Heracles, purposing to cross over the strait at that point, and then to march by land from there against Carthage. And when Gizeric became aware of this, and perceived that he had been tricked by Majorinus in the matter of the embassy, he became alarmed and made his preparations for war. And the Romans, basing their confidence on the valour of Majorinus, already began to have fair hopes of recovering Libya for the
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14 τῇ ἁρχῇ ἀνασώσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ νόσῳ δυσ-ευτερίας ἄλοις ὁ Μαυρίνος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς υπηκόους μέτριος γεγονός, φοβε-ρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολέμιους. καὶ Νέπως δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγας τε ἡμέρας ἐπιβιούς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, καὶ Γλυκέριος μετ' αὐτὸν ἐσ-ταῦτην δὴ προελθὼν τὴν ἁρχὴν τύχην τὴν ὀμολογ ἀνέπλησε. μεθ' ὑμ. δὴ Ἀὐγουστος τὴν αὐτοκρά-τορα ἁρχὴν ἔλαβε. βασιλείς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοι πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ γεγόνασιν, δυντέρ τὸ ὅνοματα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήτομαι.

16 χρόνον τε γὰρ αὐτῷ τῇ ἁρχῇ ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐπι-βιῶναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὸς λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν πεπρα-χέναι1 ξυνέπεσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ ἐγένετο.

17 Ἔν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Βασιλίσκος (οὗ γὰρ ἐτι οἶός τε ἦν τὸν ἕρωτα τῆς βασιλείας βιάζοντα) τυραν-νίδι ἐπιδέμενος ἐκράτησεν οὔδει τὸν όμον, Ζήνωνος ὅμοιό τη γυναικὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν, ἀφ' ἦς δὴ

18 ὠρμάτω, διαφυγόντως. ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τυραν-νίδα ἐνιαυτὸν τε καὶ μῆνιν ὡκτὸ οἶ τε ἄλλοι ὕσ-τερον ἐξυμπαντεῖς καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐλῆς στρατιῶται

19 διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἤχθουντο. ἄν δὴ Ζήνωνος αἰσθόμενος στρατιὰν τὰ ἄγερας ἐπ' αὐτῶν 

20 ἐτεὶ. Βασιλίσκος δὲ στρατὸν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀρμάτον ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος 2 Ζήνωνι ἐπεμψεν.

21 ὡς δὲ πλησίον που ἄλληλος ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, παραδίδοσιν Ἀρμάτως Ζήνωνι τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευ-μα, ἐφ' ὁ Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ νύν, κομιδῆ

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1 πεπραχέναι ΡΟ: πεπράχθαι Β.
2 ἀντιταξόμενος ΒΟ: ἀντιταξόμενον Ρ.
empire. But meantime Majorinus was attacked by the disease of dysentery and died, a man who had shewn himself moderate toward his subjects, and an object of fear to his enemies. And another emperor, Nepos, upon taking over the empire, and living to enjoy it only a few days, died of disease, and Glycerius after him entered into this office and suffered a similar fate. And after him Augustus assumed the imperial power. There were, moreover, still other emperors in the West before this time, but though I know their names well, I shall make no mention of them whatever. For it so fell out that they lived only a short time after attaining the office, and as a result of this accomplished nothing worthy of mention. Such was the course of events in the West.

But in Byzantium Basiliscus, being no longer able to master his passion for royal power, made an attempt to usurp the throne, and succeeded without difficulty, since Zeno, together with his wife, sought refuge in Isauria, which was his native home. And while he was maintaining his tyranny for a year and eight months he was detested by practically everyone and in particular by the soldiers of the court on account of the greatness of his avarice. And Zeno, perceiving this, collected an army and came against him. And Basiliscus sent an army under the general Harmatus in order to array himself against Zeno. But when they had made camp near one another, Harmatus surrendered his army to Zeno, on the condition that Zeno should appoint as Caesar Harmatus’ son Basilis-
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όντα παίδα νέον, 1 Καίσαρά τε καταστήσεσθαι καὶ
tελευτώντι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπέιν. 2
22 Βασιλίσκος δὲ πάντων ἔρημος γεγονός ἐς τὸ
ιερὸν καταφεύγει οὔπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ αὐτὸν
Ἄκακιο, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ιερεύς, Ζήνων ἐνεχείρισεν,
ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκών καὶ ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ
Χριστιανῶν δόγματος ἕννεφάραξε τε καὶ ἐνέχωμο-
σεν, ἐς τὴν Ἐὐτυχοὺς αἴρεσιν ἀποκλίνας. καὶ ἴν
23 δὲ οὕτως. Ζήνων δὲ αὐθίς τὴν βασιλείαν παρα-
λαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἀρμάτων πίστιν ἀφοσιούμενος
Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ παίδα Καίσαρα καταστη-
σάμενος, οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον αὐτὸν τε ἀφείλετο
24 τὴν τιμὴν καὶ Ἀρμάτων ἐκτεινε. Βασιλίσκον δὲ
όμοιο τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πέμψας ἐς
Καππαδοκίαν χειμῶνος ὥρα στίων τε καὶ ἱμα-
τίων καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔρημους ἐκέλευσεν
25 εἰναι. ἔνθα δὴ ψύχει τε καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐς
τε ἀλλήλους καταφεύγουντε καὶ τὰ φίλτατα περι-
βαλόντες σώματα διεφθάρησαν. αὐτὴ τε Βασι-
λίσκον τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις.
ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ύστερῷ ἐγένετο.
26 Γιζέρχως δὲ τοῦτο ἀπάτη τε περιελθὼν καὶ κατὰ
κράτος ἐξελάσας, ὡς πρόσθεν εἰρήνη, τοὺς πολε-
μίους, οὐδὲν τι ἦσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἥγε τε
τὰ Ἡρωμαίων καὶ ἑφερε ξύμπαντα, ἐως αὐτῷ
βασιλεὺς Ζήνων ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἀφίκετο σπουδαῖ τε
αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντοι ξυνετέθησαν, μήτε Βανδίλους
πολέμιον τι ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ἡρωμαίους ἐργά-
σασθαι μήτε αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἑκεῖνων ξυμβιβασθοῖ
ταύτας τε τὰς σπουδὰς Ζήνων τε αὐτῶς διεσώσατο

1 νέον V: om. P, νήπιον O.
2 ἀπολιπεῖν VP: καταλιπεῖν O.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. vii. 21–26

cus, who was a very young child, and leave him as successor to the throne upon his death. And Basiliscus, deserted by all, fled for refuge to the same sanctuary as formerly. And Acacius, the priest of the city, put him into the hands of Zeno, charging him with impiety and with having brought great confusion and many innovations into the Christian doctrine, having inclined toward the heresy of Eutyches. And this was so. And after Zeno had thus taken over the empire a second time, he carried out his pledge to Harmatus formally by appointing his son Basiliscus Caesar, but not long afterwards he both stripped him of the office and put Harmatus to death. And he sent Basiliscus together with his children and his wife into Cappadocia in the winter season, commanding that they should be destitute of food and clothes and every kind of care. And there, being hard pressed by both cold and hunger, they took refuge in one another's arms, and embracing their loved ones, perished. And this punishment overtook Basiliscus for the policy he had pursued. These things, however, happened in later times.

But at that time Gizeric was plundering the whole Roman domain just as much as before, if not more, circumventing his enemy by craft and driving them out of their possessions by force, as has been previously said, and he continued to do so until the emperor Zeno came to an agreement with him and an endless peace was established between them, by which it was provided that the Vandals should never in all time perform any hostile act against the Romans nor suffer such a thing at their hands. And this peace was preserved by Zeno himself and
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καὶ ὅς μετ’ ἐκείνων τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν
27 Ἄναστάσιος. διέμειναν δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰουστίνον ἀυτοκράτορα. τούτου δὲ Ἰουστίνου ἀδελφίδος
28 δὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς διεδέχετο τὴν βασιλείαν: ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεύοντος ο πόλεμος
κατέστη ὦδε, τρόπῳ ὡς ἐν τοῖς θυσιοῖς λελέξεται
29 λόγοις. χρόνον δὲ ὁλίγον Γιζέριχος ἐπιβιοῦσ
ἐτελέυτα πόρρω ποὺ ἦδη ἡλικίας ἵκων, διαθήκας
diaθήμενος ἐν αἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Βαυδίλοις
ἐπέσκηψε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἂεί Βαυδίλων ἐς τούτου λέναι ἃς 
ἀν ἕκ γόνου ἄρρενος ἄυτῷ Γιζερίχῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκων πρῶτος 
30 τῶν αὐτοῦ εὐγενεῖων τὴν ἡλικίαν τύχοι. Γιζέριχος
μὲν οὖν ἄρξας Βαυδίλων ἐπείδὴ Καρχηδόνος
ἐκράτησεν ἐτῇ ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐτελεύτησεν,
ὁσπερ εἰρηταί.

VIII

Ὅνωρίχος δὲ, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου παιδῶν πρεσβύ-
τατος, διεδέχετο τὴν ἄρχην, Γένξωνος ἦδη ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἐπὶ τούτου Ὄνωρίχου
3 ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐς Μαυρουσίους, ἐγένετο. δέει
γὰρ τῷ ἐκ Γιζερίχου ἡσυχάζοντες πρὸ τοῦ οἱ
Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν αὐτοῖς
ἐκείνος ἔγενεν, ἔδρασαν τε πολλὰ τοὺς Βαυ-
3 δίλους κακὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαθοῦν. ἔγενεν δὲ Ὅνω-
ρίχος ἐς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύη Χρυστιανοὺς ἠμότατος τε
καὶ ἀδικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. Βιαζόμενος
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ἀρειανῶν μετατίθεσθαι δόξαν,

1 διεδέχετο ΡΟ: ἐδέχατο Β.
also by his successor in the empire, Anastasius. And it remained in force until the time of the emperor Justinus. But Justinian, who was the nephew of Justinus, succeeded him in the imperial power, and it was in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass, in the manner which will be told in the following narrative. Gizerie, after living on a short time, died at an advanced age, having made a will in which he enjoined many things upon the Vandals and in particular that the royal power among them should always fall to that one who should be the first in years among all the male offspring descended from Gizeric himself. So Gizeric, having ruled over the Vandals thirty-nine years from the time when he captured Carthage, died, as I have said.

VIII

And Honoric, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the throne, Genzon having already departed from the world. During the time when this Honoric ruled the Vandals they had no war against anyone at all, except the Moors. For through fear of Gizeric the Moors had remained quiet before that time, but as soon as he was out of their way they both did much harm to the Vandals and suffered the same themselves. And Honoric shewed himself the most cruel and unjust of all men toward the Christians in Libya. For he forced them to change over to the Arian faith, and as many as he found not readily
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δοὺς ἂν λάβοι οὖχ ἔτοίμως ἀυτῷ εἰκονιώμενον, ἐκαίνε τε καὶ ἄλλας θανάτου ἰδέας διέφθειρε, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας ἀπέτεμεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς φάρμαγος, οἱ ἐτί καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ περιόντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔχρωντο ἀκραίφυει τῇ φωνῇ, οὐδ' ὀπωσδήποτες, ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπανεπεστήμουμεν: δὴ δὴ δύο, ἐπειδὴ γυναιξὶν ἐταίραις πλησιάζειν ἐγνώσαν,

5 οὐκέτι φθεγγυσθαί τὸ λοιπὸν ἱσχύσαν. ἦτη τε ὁκτὼ Βασιλίων ἁρξας ἀπελεύθησε νόσῳ, Μαυροσίων ἠδὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ Αὐρασίῳ ὅρει φημένων ἀποστάντων τε ἀπὸΒασιλίων καὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν (ἐστι δὲ τῷ Αὐρασίῳ ἐν Νοουμδίᾳ τρίῳ καὶ δέκα ἡμέρῶν ὄδον μάλιστα Καρχηδόνος διέχον, τετραμμένον τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν), οὐκέτι ὑπὸΒασιλίων ἐγέννοτο, οὐ δυναμένων 3 Βασιλίων ἐν ὅρει δυσόδω τε καὶ ἀνάντει λίαν πόλεμον πρὸς Μαυροσίους διενεγκένει.

6 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ὅσωριχοῦ τὸ τῶν Βασιλίων κράτος ἐς Γουνδαμοῦν ἣλθε τῶν Γενέσσων τοῦ Γιζερίχου, ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἐφέρε τὰ

7 προτείνα τοῦ Γιζερίχου γένος. οὕτως ὁ Γουνδα-

8 μοῦνδος πλείος: μὲν πρὸς Μαυροσίους ἐμαχαίρατο ἔμμεθολαί, μεῖζον δὲ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπα-

9 γαγων πάθησιν ἐπελεύσῃ νοσήσας, ἤδη που

μεσούντος τοῦ δωδεκάτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐτοῦ. ἄδελ-

φός τε αὐτοῦ Τρασαμοῦνδος παρέλαβε τὴν

βασιλείαν, εἴδους τε καὶ ἑξυπέσεως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα

καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας εὑ ἔκον. τοὺς μεντο Χρισ-

τιανοὺς ἔβιαζετο μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν πάτριον

δόξαι, οὐκ αἰκίζομεν τὰ σῶματα ὡσπερ οἱ

1 ἔτοίμως VO: ἔτοίμως P. 2 φημένων VP: κειμένων O. 3 δυναμένων PO: γενομένων V.
yielding to him he burned, or destroyed by other forms of death; and he also cut off the tongues of many from the very throat, who even up to my time were going about in Byzantium having their speech uninjured, and perceiving not the least effect from this punishment; but two of these, since they saw fit to go in to harlots, were thenceforth no longer able to speak. And after ruling over the Vandals eight years he died of disease; and by that time the Moors dwelling on Mt. Aurasium ¹ had revolted from the Vandals and were independent (this Aurasium is a mountain of Numidia, about thirteen days’ journey distant from Carthage and fronting the south); and indeed they never came under the Vandals again, since the latter were unable to carry on a war against Moors on a mountain difficult of access and exceedingly steep.

After the death of Honoric the rule of the Vandals fell to Gundamundus, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric. For he, in point of years, was the first of the offspring of Gizeric. This Gundamundus fought against the Moors in numerous encounters, and after subjecting the Christians to still greater suffering, he died of disease, being now at about the middle of the twelfth year of his reign. And his brother Trasamundus took over the kingdom, a man well-favoured in appearance and especially gifted with discretion and highmindedness. However he continued to force the Christians to change their ancestral faith, not by torturing their bodies as his predecessors had

¹ Jebel Auress.
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πρότεροι, ἀλλὰ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς μετιὼν καὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦν- 
τας, ὥποιοι ποτὲ ἐίεν, ἥκιστά γε εἴδεναι ποιού- 
μενος. εἰ δέ τινας λάβοι μεγάλοις ἀμαρτήμασιν 
ἔνοχους ἢ τύχη ἢ γνώμη γεγενημένους, τούτοις 
δὴ 1 μεταβαλλόμενοι τὴν δόξαν μισθὸν προῦ- 
τιθεὶς μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην ἤν ἡμαρτον. ἐπειδὴ 
δὲ ἡ γνήσι ἐτελεύτα, οὐ γενομένη μήτηρ οὔτε 
ἄρσενος οὔτε θῆλεος γόνου, κρατοῦν ἡς ἁρίστα 
τὴν βασιλείαν βουλόμενος, ἢς Θεοδορίχον τὸν 
Γότθων βασιλέα ἐπέμψας ἦτει οἱ γυναίκα τὴν 
ἀδελφὴν Ἅμαλαφρίδαι δεδόναι, ἣς δὴ ἀρτιὸ ἀνήρ 
12 ἐπεθύμηκε. ὃ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὴν 2 ἀδελφὴν ἐπεμψὲ καὶ 
Γότθων δοκίμων χιλίους, ἐν δορυφόρων λόγῳ, οἷς 
ἠ ὅμιλος θεραπείας εὐπετο ἐς πέντε μάλιστα 
13 χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τὴν 
ἀδελφὴν Θεοδορίχον καὶ τῶν Σικελίας 3 ἀκρο- 
τηρίων τριῶν 4 ὑπτων ἐνί, δὴ καλοῦσι Διλύ- 
βαιον, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ὁ Τρασαμοῦνδος 
πάντων δὴ τῶν ἐν Βαυδίλοις ἡγησαμένων κρείσ- 
σων τε ἐναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. ἐγένετο δὲ φίλος 
καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ 
τούτοις βασιλεύσαντος ἐξενέσετε Βαυδίλοις πάθος 
τή παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων οἶον οὕτω πρὸ τοῦ 
ἐνυπνέχη γενέσθαι.
15 Καβάων ἢ τις ἀρχων τῶν ἄμφι Τρίτολων 
Μαυρουσίων, πολέμων τε πολλῶν ἐμπειρος καὶ 
λίαι ἀγάλων. οὕτος ὁ Καβάων ἐπειδὴ ἐπ’ 
αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι Βαυδίλοις ἐπύθητο, ἔποιει

1  δὴ Hoeschel: δὲ MSS.  2 καὶ τὴν ὁ: καὶ om. P. 
3 σικελίας PO pr. m.: ἐν σικελία O pr. m. corr. 
4 τριῶν added by Haury.
done, but by seeking to win them with honours and offices and presenting them with great sums of money; and in the case of those who would not be persuaded, he pretended he had not the least knowledge of what manner of men they were.\(^1\) And if he caught any guilty of great crimes which they had committed either by accident or deliberate intent, he would offer such men, as a reward for changing their faith, that they should not be punished for their offences. And when his wife died without becoming the mother of either male or female offspring, wishing to establish the kingdom as securely as possible, he sent to Theodoric, the king of the Goths, asking him to give him his sister Amalafrida to wife, for her husband had just died. And Theodoric sent him not only his sister but also a thousand of the notable Goths as a bodyguard, who were followed by a host of attendants amounting to about five thousand fighting men. And Theodoric also presented his sister with one of the promontories of Sicily, which are three in number,—the one which they call Lilybaeum,—and as a result of this Trasamundus was accounted the strongest and most powerful of all those who had ruled over the Vandals. He became also a very special friend of the emperor Anastasius. It was during the reign of Trasamundus that it came about that the Vandals suffered a disaster at the hands of the Moors such as had never befallen them before that time.

There was a certain Cabaon ruling over the Moors of Tripolis, a man experienced in many wars and exceedingly shrewd. This Cabaon, upon learning that the Vandals were marching against him, did as

\(^1\) \textit{i.e.} to what sect or religion they belonged.
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16 τοιάδε. πρώτα μὲν τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπήγγελλεν ἀδικίας τε πάσης καὶ βρώσεως ἐσ τρυφήν ἁγούσης καὶ πάντων μάλιστα γυναικῶν ἤσυχοις ἀπ' ἁρχακόματα τε δύο πηξάμενος ἐν θατέρῳ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν πᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῶν γυναικῶν καθείρξε, θάνατον τε τὴν ζημίαν ἥπειλησεν ἐσεθαί, ἥν τις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν χαράκωμα ἦν.

17 μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατασκόπους ἔποταττε τάδε: ἐπειδὰν οἱ Βανδῖλοι ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἑβδόμιτες ἐς τινα νεὼν ὑβρίσωσιν ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφορᾶν τὰ γνώμενα. ἢν δὲ οἱ Βανδῖλοι τὸ χωρίον ἀμείβωσιν, ἀπαντᾷ ποιεῖν τάναντια ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὅν ἐκεῖνοι δράσαντες οὐχονται. ἐπειτείν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο φασιν, ὡς ἁγνοῖοι ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἥν Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτῶν, εἰπερ ἱσχυρὸς ἢστιν, ὡς λέγεται, τίσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, ἀμέναι δὲ τοὺς θεραπεύουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὐν κατάσκοποι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐλθόντες ἡσύχασον, τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Βανδίλων θεώμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στρατεύμα τὴν ἑπὶ Τρίπολιν ἤσεαν, σχῆματα περιβεβλημένα μένοι ταπεινά εἶποντο. οἱ δὲ Βανδῖλοι ὡς ἡμέρα τῇ πρῷτῃ πελάσαντο, ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοὺς νεὼς τοὺς τῇ ἱππον τὰ τῇ ἀλλα ζῷα ἐσαγαγόντες, ὑβρεῖς τοὺς ὄνειμας ἀπελεύησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολοῦσι τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς τῇ ἱερείᾳ, οὗς ἄν λάβοιεν, ἐφραίμιζον τοι καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ νότου πολλὰς ὑπηρετεῖν σφίσιν ἐκέλευν ὅσα δὴ

1 στρατείαν Euagrius : στρατιάν MSS.
2 αὐτῶν MSS. : αὐτόν, φησὶν Euagrius.
3 ἡσύχασον MSS. : ἐσχάλαζον Euagrius.
4 ἤσεαν Euagrius : ἤσεi MSS.
follows. First of all he issued orders to his subjects to abstain from all injustice and from all foods tending towards luxury and most of all from association with women; and setting up two palisaded enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and in the other he shut the women, and he threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone should go to the women's palisade. And after this he sent spies to Carthage with the following instructions: whenever the Vandals in going forth on the expedition should offer insult to any temple which the Christians reverence, they were to look on and see what took place; and when the Vandals had passed the place, they were to do the opposite of everything which the Vandals had done to the sanctuary before their departure. And they say that he added this also, that he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians worshipped, but it was probable that if He was powerful, as He was said to be, He should wreak vengeance upon those who insulted Him and defend those who honoured Him. So the spies came to Carthage and waited quietly, observing the preparation of the Vandals; but when the army set out on the march to Tripolis, they followed, clothing themselves in humble garb. And the Vandals, upon making camp the first day, led their horses and their other animals into the temples of the Christians, and sparing no insult, they acted with all the unrestrained lawlessness natural to them, beating as many priests as they caught and lashing them with many blows over the back and commanding them to render such service to the Vandals as they were accustomed to assign to
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ἐπέχειν τῶν ὀικετῶν τοῖς ἀτιμωτάτοις εἰώθεσαν. 21 καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνθέντε άπηλλάγησαν, ἐποίουν οἱ τοῦ Καβάωνος κατάσκοποι ὁσα αὐτοῖς ἐπετέκτοκτο. τά τε γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐκάθεραν αὐτίκα τὴν τε κόπτον καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο ὅσιός ἐπέκειτο ήξυν ἐπιμελεία πολλή ἄφελμενοι, τά τε λύχνα ἐκατεῖναν ἀπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεας αἶδοι τε πολλὴ προσκύνησαν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἥστα- σαντο. ἀργυρία τε τοῖς πτωχοῖς 1 δόντες οὐ ἄμφι 

τὰ ἱερὰ ταύτα ἐκάθηντο, οὕτω δὴ τῇ τῶν Βαν-

δίλων στρατιάς εἴποντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ξύμπασαν οὐ τε Βανδίλων κατὰ ταύτα 

ἡμάρτανον καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι ἔθεράπευν. ἐπεὶ 

de ἀγχοῦν ἔσσοθαί ἐμελλών, προτερήματε οἱ 

κατάσκοποι ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Καβάωνι ὁσα Βαν-

δίλων τε καὶ σφίσων ἐς τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἱερὰ 

εἴργαστο καὶ ὡς ἐγγύς που οἱ πολέμοι εἶεν. ὦ δὲ 

ἀκούσας ἐς τὴν ἔμπωσθην καθίστατο ὅδε. κύκλων 

ἀπολαβὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐνθα δὴ τὸ χαράκωμα 

ποιεῖσθαι ἐμελλε, τὰς καμήλους ἔρυμα τῷ στρα-

τατόπεδῳ ἐγκαρσίας ἐν κύκλῳ καθίστη, κατὰ δὲ-

δεκα μιλίατα καμήλους ποιησάμενος τὸ τοῦ 

μετώπου βάθος. παίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας 

καὶ εἰ τι αὐτοῖς ἀπόμαχον ἣν ὀμοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν 

ἔς μέσον ἐτίθετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν μαχίμων λεών ἐς 

τῶν θοών ἐκείνων τοὺς πόδας ἐν μέσῳ φραξα-

27 μένους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκέλευτεν εἶναι. 2 οὕτω 

δὲ Μαυροσίους ἐχούσης τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ Βανδίλων 

ἐν ἀπόροι ἐνχον θέσθαι τὸ παρόν. οὕτε γὰρ ἀκον-

τισταὶ οὕτε τοξόται ἄγαθοι ἥσαν οὕτε πεζοὶ ἐς

1 πτωχοῖς Π. Euagrius: τολλοῖς P. 
2 εἶναι MSS. : εἶναι Dindorf.
the most dishonoured of their domestics. And as soon as they had departed from there, the spies of Cabaon did as they had been directed to do; for they straightway cleansed the sanctuaries and took away with great care the filth and whatever other unholy thing lay in them, and they lighted all the lamps and bowed down before the priests with great reverence and saluted them with all friendliness; and after giving pieces of silver to the poor who sat about these sanctuaries, they then followed after the army of the Vandals. And from then on along the whole route the Vandals continued to commit the same offences and the spies to render the same service. And when they were coming near the Moors, the spies anticipated them and reported to Cabaon what had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were somewhere near by. And Cabaon, upon learning this, arranged for the encounter as follows. He marked off a circle in the plain where he was about to make his palisade, and placed his camels turned sideways in a circle as a protection for the camp, making his line fronting the enemy about twelve camels deep. Then he placed the children and the women and all those who were unfit for fighting together with their possessions in the middle, while he commanded the host of fighting men to stand between the feet of those animals, covering themselves with their shields.\footnote{Cf. Book IV. xi. 17 ff.} And since the phalanx of the Moors was of such a sort, the Vandals were at a loss how to handle the situation; for they were neither good with the javelin nor with the bow, nor did they know how to go into battle
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΟΦ ΓΕΩΡΓΕΑΡΙΑ

μάχην ἴναι ὁπίσταντο, ἀλλ' ἵππεῖς τε ἦσαν ἀπαντε, δόρασι τε ὡς ἔπλευσων καὶ ξίφος ἔχρωντο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποθέν τε οὐδὲν ἐργάζεθαι κακῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ὀνοὶ τε ἦσαν, ἡ τε ὑπ' αὐτοῖς, ἀχθομένη τῇ τῶν καμῆλον ὄνει, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴκεστα ἤγετο. ἐπειδὴ τε συχνὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζουσε εκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοὺς οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς τε ὑπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς, ἀτε πλήθος ὄντας, 1 οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐκτεινοῦ, ἐφευγόν τε καὶ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπεξιόντων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ υπὸ τοῖς πολέμιοις ἐγένοντο, ὀλγοὶ τε κομιδὴ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦτον ἐπ' οἰκον ἀπεκομίζθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν Τρασαμούνδῳ παρεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων ξυνέπεσεν. ἐτελεῦτα δὲ χρόνῳ ὑστερον ἐπτά τε καὶ έκοσιν ἐκ Βανδίλων ἄρξας.

IX

Ἰλδέμιχος δὲ ὶΟυωρίχου τοῦ Γηγερίχου παῖς την βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, δι' ὑπὲρ κόσοις ἐνπρόσοδός τε ἦν καὶ ὅλως 2 πρᾶσις, καὶ οὔτε Χριστιανός οὔτε τὸ ἄλλο χαλεπός ἐγεγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλακός τε λίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὅτα τὸ πράγμα οἱ τούτο ἐθέλων ἴναι.

2 Ὀάμερ γοῦν ἀνέψιος τε ὅν αὐτό 3 καὶ ἀνήρ ἀγαθός τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγηε ἐφ' οὖς ἄν στρατεύοντο Βανδίλων ὅν δὴ καὶ Ἀχίλλεα Βανδίλων 3 ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰλδερίχου ἠσσάθησάν τε μάχη οἱ Βανδίλοι πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν

1 πλῆθος ὄντας Haury: πλῆθος ὄντες V, πλῆθος ὄντος RO.
2 καὶ ὅλως Haury: καὶ ὅλως VP, ὅλος O.
3 αὐτό VP: αὐτοῦ O.
on foot, but they were all horsemen, and used spears and swords for the most part, so that they were unable to do the enemy any harm at a distance; and their horses, annoyed at the sight of the camels, refused absolutely to be driven against the enemy. And since the Moors, by hurling javelins in great numbers among them from their safe position, kept killing both their horses and men without difficulty, because they were a vast throng, they began to flee, and, when the Moors came out against them, the most of them were destroyed, while some fell into the hands of the enemy; and an exceedingly small number from this army returned home. Such was the fortune which Trasamundus suffered at the hands of the Moors. And he died at a later time, having ruled over the Moors twenty-seven years.

IX

And Ilicher, the son of Honoric, the son of Gizeric, next received the kingdom, a ruler who was easily approached by his subjects and altogether gentle, and he shewed himself harsh neither to the Christians nor to anyone else, but in regard to affairs of war he was a weakling and did not wish this thing even to come to his ears. Hoamer, accordingly, his nephew and an able warrior, led the armies against any with whom the Vandals were at war; he it was whom they called the Achilles of the Vandals. During the reign of this Ilicher the Vandals were defeated in Byzacium by the Moors,
Βυζακίω, διω ἦρξεν Ἀντάλας, καὶ σφίσει ἔσυνην Ἐωδερίχῳ τε καὶ Γόθθοις ἐν Ἰταλία ἐκ 4 τε συμμάχων καὶ φίλων πολεμίως γενέσθαι. τὴν τε γὰρ Ἀμαλαφρίδαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἐσχὼν καὶ τοὺς Γόθθους διέφθειραν ἀπαντας, ἐπενεγκόντες αὐτοῖς 5 νεωτέρες ἐς τε Βανδιλών καὶ Ἰλδερίχον. τύσις μὲντοι οὐδεμία πρὸς Θευδερίχου ἐγένετο, ἐπεί ἀδύνατος ἐνόμισεν εἶναι στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λιβύην στρατεύσαι, Ἰλδερίχος δὲ φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ ξένους ἐγένετο, οὕτω μὲν ἥκοντι ἐς βασιλείαν, διακομμένῳ δὲ αὐτὴν κατ᾽ ἕξουσίαν, ἐπεὶ οἱ θεῖοι Ἰουστίνου ὑπέργηροι τε δὲν ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς ἐμπερασ. χρήμασι τε μεγάλοις ἀλλήλους ἐδωροῦντο.

6 Ἡν δὲ τις ἐν τῷ Γιζερίχου γένει Γελίμερ ο Γειλάριδος τοῦ Γενόων τοῦ Γιζερίχου πόρρω πον ἡλικίας ἤκουν μετὰ γαίς Ἰλδερίχοι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίθεος ὥν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν 7 ἀφίεσθαι δι τὰ μὲν πολέμων ἐδόκει τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀριστος εἶναι, ἀλλὰς δὲ δεινὸς τε ἦν καὶ κακοκῆς καὶ πράγμασι τε νεωτέροις καὶ χρήμασι ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀλλοτρίως ἐξεπιστάμενος. 8 οὕτως ὁ Γελίμερ ἐπεὶ οἱ μέλλουσαν ἐκεῖ ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἐδύνατο εν τῷ καθεστώτι τρόπῳ βιοτείνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ βασιλείας ἐργα προσποιησάμενος ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ἀροῦ γε αὐτῷ οὐσίας καὶ Ἰλδερίχου δι ἐπιείκειαν ἐνδιδόντος κατέχειν οὐκέτι οἶος τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ Βανδιλών ἐπαιρισάμενος εί τι ἀριστὸν ἦν, ἀναπείθει ἀφελεθαὶ μὲν Ἰλδερίχοι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς ἀπόλεμον 1 νεωτέροις ΡΟ: καινοτέροις V.

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who were ruled by Antalas, and it so fell out that they became enemies instead of allies and friends to Theoderic and the Goths in Italy. For they put Amalafrida in prison and destroyed all the Goths, charging them with revolutionary designs against the Vandals and Ilderic. However, no revenge came from Theoderic, for he considered himself unable to gather a great fleet and make an expedition into Libya, and Ilderic was a very particular friend and guest-friend of Justinian, who had not yet come to the throne, but was administering the government according to his pleasure; for his uncle Justinus, who was emperor, was very old and not altogether experienced in matters of state. And Ilderic and Justinian made large presents of money to each other.

Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, Gelimer, the son of Geilaris, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric, who was of such age as to be second only to Ilderic, and for this reason he was expected to come into the kingdom very soon. This man was thought to be the best warrior of his time, but for the rest he was a cunning fellow and base at heart and well versed in undertaking revolutionary enterprises and in laying hold upon the money of others. Now this Gelimer, when he saw the power coming to him, was not able to live in his accustomed way, but assumed to himself the tasks of a king and usurped the rule, though it was not yet due him; and since Ilderic in a spirit of friendliness gave in to him, he was no longer able to restrain his thoughts, but allying with himself all the noblest of the Vandals, he persuaded them to wrest the kingdom from Ilderic, as being an un-
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te kai ἡσσημένον πρὸς Μαυρουσίων, καὶ Ἰουστίνω βασιλεῖ καταπροδιόντα τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων κράτος, ὡς μὴ ἔστων ἐκ τῆς ἀλήθειας οἴκιας ὄντα ἡ βασιλεία ἡκού τούτο γὰρ οἱ βουλεύονται τὴν ἐς Βυζάντιον προσβείειν διεβαλλεν, ἀυτῷ δὲ παραδιόνα τὸ Βανδίλων κράτος. οἱ δὲ ἀναπεισθέντες κατὰ ταύτα ἔποιον. οὔτω δὲ Γελίμερ τῆς ἱγεμονίας ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἡλεδρίχον τε, ἐβδομον ἐτος Βανδίλων ἅρξατα, καὶ Οάμερα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Εὐαγείου ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν.

Ἐπεί δὲ ταύτα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἦκουσεν, ἦδη τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβών, πρέσβεις ἐς Διβινὴν ὡς 1 Γελίμερα πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε. "Ὅρι νοσία ποιεῖς οὐδὲ τῶν Γιζερίχου διάθηκην ἄξια, γέρουντα τε καὶ εὐγενίῃ καὶ βασιλεία Βανδίλων, εἰ τί τῶν Γιζερίχω βεβουλευμένων ὅφελος ἔστιν, ἐν φυλακῇ ἑχον, καὶ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιροῦμενος, ἔζην αὐτήν ὅλως ὑστερον χρόνῳ κατὰ νόμον λαβεῖν. μὴν 2 οὖν ἐργάσῃ περαίτερο κακὸν μὴν 3 τοῦ βασιλείως ὄνοματος ἀνταλλάξῃ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου προσηγορίαν, Βραχεὶ προτερεύουσαν 4 χρόνῳ. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν, ἀνδρὰ ὅσον οὖν πιετή- ἑμένων, εὰν φέρεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας εἰκόνα, σὺ δὲ ἀπαντὰ πρᾶττε ὅσα βασιλεία πράτ- τευν εἰκός· προσδέχου τε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ Γιζερίχου νόμον μόνον λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ὅνομα. ταῦτα γὰρ σοι ποιώντι τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος εὔμενη ἔσται καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῶν φίλια.”

1 ὡς Ψ: πρὸς Ρ.
2 μήτε οὖν Ηαρίγγ: μὴ δὲ οὖν Ψ, μὴδὲν οὖν Ὄ.
3 μήτε Ηαρίγγ: μὴ δὲ ΜΣ.
4 προτερεύουσαν Ψ: προτερεύουσαν Ὄ.

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warlike king who had been defeated by the Moors, and as betraying the power of the Vandals into the hand of the Emperor Justinus, in order that the kingdom might not come to him, because he was of the other branch of the family; for he asserted slanderously that this was the meaning of Ilderic's embassy to Byzantium, and that he was giving over the empire of the Vandals to Justinus. And they, being persuaded, carried out this plan. Thus Gelimer seized the supreme power, and imprisoned Ilderic, after he had ruled over the Vandals seven years, and also Hoamer and his brother Elagees.

But when Justinian heard these things, having already received the imperial power, he sent envoys to Gelimer in Libya with the following letter: "You are not acting in a holy manner nor worthily of the will of Gizeric, keeping in prison an old man and a kinsman and the king of the Vandals (if the counsels of Gizeric are to be of effect), and robbing him of his office by violence, though it would be possible for you to receive it after a short time in a lawful manner. Do you therefore do no further wrong and do not exchange the name of king for the title of tyrant, which comes but a short time earlier. But as for this man, whose death may be expected at any moment, allow him to bear in appearance the form of royal power, while you do all the things which it is proper that a king should do; and wait until you can receive from time and the law of Gizeric, and from them alone, the name which belongs to the position. For if you do this, the attitude of the Almighty will be favourable and at the same time our relations with you will be friendly."
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14 Τοσαύτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Γελίμερ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπεπεμψε, καὶ τὸν τε Ὁαμερα ἤξετύφλωσε τὸν τε Ἰλδέριχον καὶ Εὐαγέρθιν ἐν μείζων φυλακῆ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπικαλέσας φυγήν ἐς Βυζάντιον μελετάν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἠκουσε, πρέσβεις ἐτέρους πέμψας ἐγράψε τάδε Ἐ. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οἴομενοι σε οὕτως τῆς ἡμετέρας συμβουλῆς ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἕξειν ἐγράψαμεν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν προτέραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀρέσκει σοι τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτω κεκτήσατι ὡς νῦν ἔχεις λαβών, ἀπόλαβε ὁ τι οὖν εἰς αὐτῆς ὁ δαίμων διδό. σὺ δὲ Ἰλδέριχον τε καὶ Ὁαμερα τὸν πηρὸν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄδελφον ὡς ἡμᾶς πέμπε, παραψυχήν ἔξοντας ἢν ἔχειν εἰδώς δυνατῶν ὅσοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡ τὴν ὑπὸν ἀφῆρενται ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν γε, ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσῃς. ενάγη γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἐλπὶς ἢν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν ἔσχον.

19 αἱ τε σπονδαί ἢμῖν αἱ πρὸς Γιζέριχον ἐκποδῶν στήσονται. τοῦ γὰρ ἐκδεξαμένω τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν ἐρχόμεθα οὐ πολεμήσοντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ δυνατὰ τιμωρήσοντες.

20 Ταῦτα Γελίμερ ἀναλεξάμενος ἢμείσβετο τοῦσθε ἐς βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεῖ. οὐτὲ βία τὴν ἁρχὴν ἔλαβον οὐτὲ τί μοι ἀνόσιον ἐς ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἰργάσατε. Ἰλδέριχον γὰρ νεώτερα πράσσοντα ἐς 2 οἶκον τὸν Γιζέριχον καθεῖλε τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων ἔθνος ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλεσε, κατὰ γε τὸν νόμον τὰ πρεσβεῖα διδοῦς. τὴν δὲ ὑπάρχουσαν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτὸν τινα διοικεῖσθαι καλῶν καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίας 23 οἰκείουσθαι φροντίδας. ὡστε καὶ σοι βασιλείαν

1 ἀπόλαβε VP: ἀπόλανε O. 2 ἐς οἶκον PO: ἐπ’ οἶκον V.
Such was his message. But Gelimer sent the envoys away with nothing accomplished, and he blinded Hoamer and also kept Ilderic and Euagees in closer confinement, charging them with planning flight to Byzantium. And when this too was heard by the Emperor Justinian, he sent envoys a second time and wrote as follows: "We, indeed, supposed that you would never go contrary to our advice when we wrote you the former letter. But since it pleases you to have secured possession of the royal power in the manner in which you have taken and now hold it, get from it whatever Heaven grants. But do you send to us Ilderic, and Hoamer whom you have blinded, and his brother, to receive what comfort they can who have been robbed of a kingdom or of sight; for we shall not let the matter rest if you do not do this. And I speak thus because we are led by the hope which I had based on our friendship. And the treaty with Gizeric will not stand as an obstacle for us. For it is not to make war upon him who has succeeded to the kingdom of Gizeric that we come, but to avenge Gizeric with all our power."

When Gelimer had read this, he replied as follows: "King Gelimer to the Emperor Justinian. Neither have I taken the office by violence nor has anything unholy been done by me to my kinsmen. For Ilderic, while planning a revolution against the house of Gizeric, was dethroned by the nation of the Vandals; and I was called to the kingdom by my years, which gave me the preference, according to the law at least. Now it is well for one to administer the kingly office which belongs to him and not to make the concerns of others his own. Hence
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ἐχοντι τὸ περιέργῳ εἶναι οὐ δίκαιον. λύντι δὲ σοι
tὰς σπουδὰς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἱόντι ἀπαντήσουμεν ὅση
dύναμις, μαρτυρόμενοι τούς ὦρκους τοὺς Ζήνωνοι
ὀμωμοσμένους, οὐ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβῶν
24 ἐχεις." ταῦτα λαβὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
τὰ γράμματα, ἐχὼν καὶ πρότερον δι' ὀργῆς Γελί-
μερα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐσ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἑτήρτο. καὶ
οἱ ἔδοξε καταλύσαντι ως τάχιστα τὸν Μηδικὸν
πόλεμον ἐς Διβύην στρατεύσαι, καὶ (ἡν γὰρ
ἐπινοῆσαί τε ὦς καὶ ἀκούσα τὰ βεβουλευμένα
ἐπιτελέσαι) παρῆν μὲν αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτος ὁ τῆς
ἐφας στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐς Διβύην
στρατηγήσεις μελλον προειρήμενον αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ
ὄθροιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλέλυτο ἦς εἰχεν ἄρχῆς.
26 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτίκα αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπουδαῖ, ὡς
ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἑρρήθη.

X

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανός, ἐπεὶ οἱ τὰ τε οἴκοι
καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἁριστα ἐχε, τὰ ἐν
2 Διβύην πράγματα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο.1 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς
tὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξήγευκεν ὡς στρατὶν ἀγείροι ἐπὶ
Βαυκίλους τε καὶ Γελίμερα, οἱ πλείστοι ἢδη ἐδυ-
σχέραινον τε καὶ ἐν εὐμφορᾷ ἢσαν, τὸν τε Δέον-
tος τοῦ βασιλέως στόλον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βασιλίσκου
πάθος ἀνανεούμενοι τε καὶ ἀποστοματίζοντες

1 ἐποιεῖτο VP in marg. O: εἶχεν P in context.
for you also, who have a kingdom, meddling in other's affairs is not just; and if you break the treaty and come against us, we shall oppose you with all our power, calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold.' 

The Emperor Justinian, upon receiving this letter, having been angry with Gelimer even before then, was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya; and since he was quick at forming a plan and prompt in carrying out his decisions, Belisarius, the General of the East, was summoned and came to him immediately, no announcement having been made to him nor to anyone else that he was about to lead an army against Libya, but it was given out that he had been removed from the office which he held. And straightway the treaty with Persia was made, as has been told in the preceding narrative.¹

X

And when the Emperor Justinian considered that the situation was as favourable as possible, both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took under consideration the situation in Libya. But when he disclosed to the magistrates that he was gathering an army against the Vandals and Gelimer, the most of them began immediately to show hostility to the plan, and they lamented it as a misfortune, recalling the expedition of the Emperor Leon and the disaster of Basiliscus, and reciting how many soldiers

¹ Book I. xxii. 16.
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στρατιώτας μὲν ὅσοι ἀπέθανον, χρῆματα δὲ ὅσα
3 τὸ δημόσιον ὁρεί. μάλιστα δὲ ἠλευθερώθη τῇ ιερἀμυνῇ ἐγώντο οὐ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐσπαρχὸς, ὃν δὴ πράατωρα καλοῦσι τῷ Ρωμαίοι, καὶ οὗ τοῦ ταμείου ἡγούμενος καὶ ὁ ἄλλῳ φόρῳ ἐκλογὴ δημοσίου ἤ βασιλικοῦ ἐπετέ‐
tακτο, λογιζόμενοι ὃτι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν τοῦ
πολέμου χρείαν δεῖσει ἄμετρα φέροντιν οὐτε
ξυγγράμης τινὸς οὔτε ἀναβολῆς ἀξίους εἶναι.
4 τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν αὐτῶν ἐκατάστης στρατηγήσειν
οἴμενος κατωρρώδες τε καὶ ἀπώκεις τοῦ κινδύνου
τὸ μέγεθος, εἰ οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι εἶν ἰδιασωθέντι ἐκ τῶν
ἐν θαλάσσῃ κακῶν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ
πολεμία, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεών ὄρμωμένοι διαμάχεσθαι
5 πρὸς βασιλεῖαν μεγάλην τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. οἱ
dὲ στρατιώται ἄρτι ἐκ πολέμου μακρὸν τε καὶ
χαλεποῦ ἐπανηκοτες οὔτω τῇ ὄλῃ γλώσσῃ ἀγα‐
θῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν γευσάμενοι ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ
ἐγώντοι ἐς τε ναυμαχίαν ἄγομενοι, ἢν οὔδε ἄκος
πρότερον παραλαβόντες ἐτύχηναν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἐνών ὀρίων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς τοῦ θλίου δυσμάς,
ἐς διακινδυνεύοντες πρὸς τε Βανδίλους καὶ
6 Μαυρουσίους. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοιν, ἀπερ ἐν ὄμιλῳ
φιλεί γίγνεσθαι, ἑσστέρων πραγμάτων ἠθελον διὰ
κινδύνου άλλοτρίων θεταί γενέσθαι.
7 Βασιλεῖ μέντοι εἰπέειν τι ἐπὶ κωλύμη τῆς
στρατιᾶς οὐδείς, ὅτι μὴ ὁ Καππαδόκης Ἰωάννης,
ἐτὸμησεν, ὥ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐσπαρχὸς, θρασύτατος τε

1 ἐσπαρχὸς VO: ἐσπαρχὸς P.
2 πράατωρα VP: πράατωριῶν O; Haury would prefer τῶν
πραιτωρίων.
3 eis added by Maltretus.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. x. 2–7

had perished and how much money the state had lost. But the men who were the most sorrowful of all, and who, by reason of their anxiety, felt the keenest regret, were the pretorian prefect, whom the Romans call "praetor," and the administrator of the treasury, and all to whom had been assigned the collection of either public or imperial ¹ taxes, for they reasoned that while it would be necessary for them to produce countless sums for the needs of the war, they would be granted neither pardon in case of failure nor extension of time in which to raise these sums. And every one of the generals, supposing that he himself would command the army, was in terror and dread at the greatness of the danger, if it should be necessary for him, if he were preserved from the perils of the sea, to encamp in the enemy's land, and, using his ships as a base, to engage in a struggle against a kingdom both large and formidable. The soldiers, also, having recently returned from a long, hard war, and having not yet tasted to the full the blessings of home, were in despair, both because they were being led into sea-fighting,—a thing which they had not learned even from tradition before then,—and because they were sent from the eastern frontier to the West, in order to risk their lives against Vandals and Moors. But all the rest, as usually happens in a great throng, wished to be spectators of new adventures while others faced the dangers.

But as for saying anything to the emperor to prevent the expedition, no one dared to do this except John the Cappadocian, the pretorian prefect,

¹ The "imperial" taxes were for the emperor's privy purse, the fiscus.
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δὲν καὶ δεινότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων.
8 οὗτος γὰρ Ἰωάννης, τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῆ τὰς παρούσας ὄνυμον τῶν, παρελθὼν ἐς βασιλεία ἐλέει τοιάδε: “Τὸ πιστῶν, ὃ βασιλεῖ, τῆς ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς σοὺς ὁμίλια τῆς παρηγορίαν ἥμιν ἀναπέτανυσιν 1 ὁ τι ἀν μέλλοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῇ σῇ ἔσοιςειν, ἂν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἤδονήν
9 σοι τὰ λεγόμενα τε καὶ πρασσόμενα ἥ. οὖν γὰρ σοι κεράνυσι τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἔξονςιαν ἡ σύνεσις, ὥστε οὐ τῶν ὑπηρετήσαντα πάντως εὐνοῶν εἶναι ἡγῆ τοῖς σαυτῷ πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀντειπόντι χαλεπώς ἐχεῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς διανοιας ἀκραίφει πάντα σταθμὼμενος ἀκίνδυνον ἡμῖν ἀπεδείξας πολλάκις τὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντιστὶναι βουλεύμασι. τούτοις ἡγμένοις, δὸ βασιλεῖ, κατέστην εἰς ξυμβουλήν τήν, προσκρούσων μὲν τὸ παραντίκα ἱσως, ἂν οὗτος τύχῃ, 2 ἢ δὲ τὸ μέλλον τῆς εὐνοῖαν τῆς ἐμῆς καταφάνη δείξων, ταύτης τε σε μάρτυρα παρεξόμενος. ἦν γὰρ ἀπειθῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔξονςις ἐς Βασιλίους τὸν πόλεμον, μηκυνομένης σοι τῆς ἀγωνίας τῆς ἐμῆς παραίσεως εὐδοκιμῆσαι
10 ξυμβῆσεται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατήσεις τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θαρρεῖν ἑχεῖς, οὐδὲν ἀπεικόνι σε τὰ σε σώματα προκαθαρθεί καὶ χρημάτων δαπανᾶν πλῆθος, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγώνων ὑψίστασθαι πόνους ἔκι γὰρ ἐπεγενομένη πάντα καλύπτει τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πάθη. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ γούνασι κεῖται, παραδείγμασι δὲ τῶν προγεγενεμένων χρωμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκῃ δεδέναι τὸ τοῦ

1 ἀναπέτανυσιν VO: ἀναπέτανυσι ποιεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν Ρ.
2 τύχῃ V: τόχοι ΡΟ.

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a man of the greatest daring and the cleverest of all men of his time. For this John, while all the others were bewailing in silence the fortune which was upon them, came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "O Emperor, the good faith which thou dost shew in dealing with thy subjects enables us to speak frankly regarding anything which will be of advantage to thy government, even though what is said and done may not be agreeable to thee. For thus does thy wisdom temper thy authority with justice, in that thou dost not consider that man only as loyal to thy cause who serves thee under any and all conditions, nor art thou angry with the man who speaks against thee, but by weighing all things by pure reason alone, thou hast often shewn that it involves us in no danger to oppose thy purposes. Led by these considerations, O Emperor, I have come to offer this advice, knowing that, though I shall give perhaps offence at the moment, if it so chance, yet in the future the loyalty which I bear you will be made clear, and that for this I shall be able to shew thee as a witness. For if, through not hearkening to my words, thou shalt carry out the war against the Vandals, it will come about, if the struggle is prolonged for thee, that my advice will win renown. For if thou hast confidence that thou wilt conquer the enemy, it is not at all unreasonable that thou shouldst sacrifice the lives of men and expend a vast amount of treasure, and undergo the difficulties of the struggle; for victory, coming at the end, covers up all the calamities of war. But if in reality these things lie on the knees of God, and if it behoves us, taking example from what has happened in the past, to fear the outcome of war, on

1 ἀνόνητον ΡΟ: ἀνόνητον Β.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. x. 13–20

what grounds is it not better to love a state of quiet rather than the dangers of mortal strife? Thou art purposing to make an expedition against Carthage, to which, if one goes by land, the journey is one of a hundred and forty days, and if one goes by water, he is forced to cross the whole open sea and go to its very end. So that he who brings thee news of what will happen in the camp must needs reach thee a year after the event. And one might add that if thou art victorious over thy enemy, thou couldst not take possession of Libya while Sicily and Italy lie in the hands of others; and at the same time, if any reverse befall thee, O Emperor, the treaty having already been broken by thee, thou wilt bring the danger upon our own land. In fact, putting all in a word, it will not be possible for thee to reap the fruits of victory, and at the same time any reversal of fortune will bring harm to what is well established. It is before an enterprise that wise planning is useful. For when men have failed, repentance is of no avail, but before disaster comes there is no danger in altering plans. Therefore it will be of advantage above all else to make fitting use of the decisive moment."

Thus spoke John; and the Emperor Justinian, hearkening to his words, checked his eager desire for the war. But one of the priests whom they call bishops, who had come from the East, said that he wished to have a word with the emperor. And when he met Justinian, he said that God had visited him in a dream, and bidden him go to the emperor and rebuke him, because, after undertaking the task of protecting the Christians in Libya from tyrants, he had for no good reason become afraid. "And yet," He had said, "I will
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21 ξυλληψομαι Διβύης τε κύριον θήσομαι.” ταύτα βασιλεύς ἐπεὶ ἥκουσε, κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἠγείρειν, ὅπλα τε καὶ συνά ἠτούμαζε καὶ Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπήγγελλεν εἶναι ὡς ἐν
22 Διβύη ¹ στρατηγήσοντι αὐτίκα μάλα. Τρίτολιν δὲ τὴν ἐν Διβύη τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Πουδέντιος ἀπὸ Βανδίλων ἀπέστησε, πέμψας τε ὡς βασιλέα
23 ἐδειτὸ οἱ στρατιὰν στείλαι· πόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς προσποιήσειν. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντά τε
24 Ταττιμοῦθ καὶ στράτευμα ὅποι πολὺ ἔστειλεν. ὁ δὴ ἐταιρισάμενος Πουδέντιος Βανδίλων οὐ παρόντων τὴν τε χώραν ἐσχε καὶ βασιλεῖ προσεποίησε. τῷ δὲ Γελίμερῳ τιμωρεῖν βουλομένῳ Πουδέντιον ἐναντίωμα ξυνέπεσε τόδε.
25 Γώδας τις ἢν ἐν τοῖς Γελίμερος δούλοις, Γότθος τὸ γένος, θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ δραστήριος καὶ πρὸς ἵσχυν ἰκανώς πεφυκός, εὐνοϊκός δὲ δοκῶν ἐς ² τὰ τοῦ δεσπότου πράγματα ἔχειν. τοῦτο τῷ Γώδα ὁ Γελίμερος Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπέτρεψε, φυλακῆς
27 τε ἔνεκα καὶ φόρου τὸν ἐπέτειου ἀποφέρειν. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης εὐημερίαν οὔτε καταπέψας οὔτε τῇ ψυχῷ φέρειν οἷος τε ὁν τυραννίδι ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ φοροῦ ἀπαγωγὴν ἀποφέρειν ἐτὶ ἥξιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐτὸς
28 Βανδίλων ἀποστήσας εἴξε. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἕσχετο βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πολεμοσείοντα ἐπὶ τε Διβύην καὶ Γελίμερα, ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε:

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¹ ἐν λιβύη V: ἐς λιβύην PO. ² ἐς VP: πρὸς O.
Myself join with him in waging war and make him lord of Libya." When the emperor heard this, he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, and he began to collect the army and the ships, and to make ready supplies of weapons and of food, and he announced to Belisarius that he should be in readiness, because he was very soon to act as general in Libya. Meanwhile Pudentius, one of the natives of Tripolis in Libya, caused this district to revolt from the Vandals, and sending to the emperor he begged that he should despatch an army to him; for, he said, he would with no trouble win the land for the emperor. And Justinian sent him Tattimuth and an army of no very great size. This force Pudentius joined with his own troops and, the Vandals being absent, he gained possession of the land and made it subject to the emperor. And Gelimer, though wishing to inflict punishment upon Pudentius, found the following obstacle in his way.

There was a certain Godas among the slaves of Gelimer, a Goth by birth, a passionate and energetic fellow possessed of great bodily strength, but appearing to be well-disposed to the cause of his master. To this Godas Gelimer entrusted the island of Sardinia, in order both to guard the island and to pay over the annual tribute. But he neither could digest the prosperity brought by fortune nor had he the spirit to endure it, and so he undertook to establish a tyranny, and he refused to continue the payment of the tribute, and actually detached the island from the Vandals and held it himself. And when he perceived that the Emperor Justinian was eager to make war against Libya and Gelimer, he wrote to him as follows:
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29 "Οὔτε ἀγωγμοσύνη εἰκὼν οὔτε τι ἄχαρι πρὸς
dεσπότον παθῶν τού ἐμοῦ εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον,
ἀλλὰ τάνδρος ἰδῶν τὴν ὁμότητα ἵσχυράν οἴαν εἰς
tε τὸ εὐγγενές καὶ ὑπήκουον μετέχειν τῆς ἀπαν-
θρωπίας οὐκ ἂν δόξαμι ἐκῶν γε ἐίναι. ἄμεινον
gὰρ βασιλεῖ δικαίῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἢ τυράννῳ τὰ οὐκ
31 ἐννομα ἐπαγγέλλοντι. ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὲν συλλήψῃ
μοι ταῦτα σπουδάζοντι, ὅπως δὲ στρατιώτας
πέμποις ὅστε με ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπίοντας ἰκανῶς
ἐχειν."

32 Ταῦτῃ βασιλεῖς ἄμενος λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστο-
λήν Εὐλόγιον πρεσβευτὴν ἐπεμψε καὶ γράμ-
ματα ἐγραφεῖν, ἐπαυγών τὸν Γώδαν τῆς
tε ἐννέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δικαιοσύνην προθυμίας,
ξυμμαχίαν τε ἐπαγγέλλομενος καὶ στρατιώτας
καὶ στρατηγόν, ὅσις αὐτῷ ξυμφοιλάξαι τε τὴν νήσουν
οἷς τε εἰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξυλλήψιμον, ὅστε
αὐτῷ δύσκολον μηδέν πρὸς Βανδίλων ξυμβῆναι.
33 Εὐλόγιος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Σαρδῶν εὑρίσκε Γώδαν
ὅνομά τε καὶ σχῆμα βασιλέως περιβαλλόμενον
34 καὶ δορυφόρους προσποιησάμενον. ὅς ἐπειδὴ τὴν
βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν ἀνέλεξα, στρατιώτας μὲν
ἐφῇ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἀρ-
χοντος δὲ ὅπ πάνυ χρήζειν. κατὰ ταῦτα τε πρὸς
βασιλέα γράψας τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἤπεπέμψατο.

XI

Ταῦτα βασιλεῖς οὕτω πεπυσόμενοι τετρακο-
sίους τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἄρχοντα Κύριλλον ὡς
2 τὴν ἑρυμ ξυμφοιλάξοντας Γώδα ἤτοιμαζεν. ἦδη

[End of Document]
"It was neither because I yielded to folly nor because I had suffered anything unpleasant at my master's hands that I turned my thoughts towards rebellion, but seeing the extreme cruelty of the man both toward his kinsmen and toward his subjects, I could not, willingly at least, be reputed to have a share in his inhumanity. For it is better to serve a just king than a tyrant whose commands are unlawful. But do thou join with me to assist in this my effort and send soldiers so that I may be able to ward off my assailants."

And the emperor, on receiving this letter, was pleased, and he sent Eulogius as envoy and wrote a letter praising Godas for his wisdom and his zeal for justice, and he promised an alliance and soldiers and a general, who would be able to guard the island with him and to assist him in every other way, so that no trouble should come to him from the Vandals. But Eulogius, upon coming to Sardinia, found that Godas was assuming the name and wearing the dress of a king and that he had attached a body-guard to his person. And when Godas read the emperor's letter, he said that it was his wish to have soldiers, indeed, come to fight along with him, but as for a commander, he had absolutely no desire for one. And having written to the emperor in this sense, he dismissed Eulogius.

XI

The emperor, meanwhile, not having yet ascertained these things, was preparing four hundred soldiers with Cyril as commander, who were to assist Godas in guarding the island. And with
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dè εἶναι αὐτοὶς καὶ τὴν ἐς Καρχηδόνα στρατείαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, πεζοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας μυρίους, ἵππεας δὲ πεντακισχίλιους, ἐκ τε στρατιώτων 3 καὶ φοιδεράτων συνειλεγμένους. ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο, ὡσοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δούλῳ εἶναι, ἀτε μὴ πρὸς Ὁρμαίων ἡσσημένοι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ ἵσι καὶ 4 ὀμοίᾳ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἁφίκοιντο· φοίδερα γὰρ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς καλοῦσι Ὁρμαίοι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἀπασὶ τοῦ ὁνόματος τοῦτον ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμη ἐστὶ, τοῦ χρόνου τὰς προσωπορίας ἐφ’ ὅν τέθειται ἡκιστα ἂξιούντος τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ περιφερε-μένων, ἃ ταῦτα ἁγεῖν ἐθέλουσιν ἀνθρώποι, τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὄνομασμένων 1 ὀλυγοροῦντες.
5 ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδεράτων μὲν Δωρόθεος τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίωσι καταλόγων στρατηγός, καὶ Σολόμων, δὲ τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε στρατη-
6 γίαν (δομέστικου τούτων καλοῦσι Ὁρμαίοι. ὁ δὲ Σολόμων οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν, οὐκ ἔξ ἐπιβουλής δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ αἰδοὶα ἐτύγχανεν ἀποτμηθείς, ἀλλὰ τις αὐτῷ τύχῃ ἐν σπαργάνοις ὑμτο τοῦτο ἐβράβευον) καὶ Κυπριανός καὶ Βαλε-ριανὸς καὶ Μαρτίνος καὶ Ἀλθίας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μάρκελλος καὶ Κύριλλος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐμνή-
7 οθην στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱππέων μὲν Ῥουφίνος τε καὶ Ἀἰγάν, ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Πάππος, πεζῶν δὲ Θεόδωρος,

1 ὄνομασμένων Ο: ὄνομασμένων V, ὄνομασμένων P.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 2-7

them he also had in readiness the expedition against Carthage, ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horsemen, gathered from the regular troops and from the "foederati." Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political system, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality.¹ For the Romans call treaties with their enemies "foedera." But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, since time will by no means consent to keep names attached to the things to which they were formerly applied, but conditions are ever changing according to the desire of men who control them, and men pay little heed to the meaning which they originally attached to a name. And the commanders of the foederati were Dorotheus, the general of the troops in Armenia, and Solomon, who was acting as manager for the general Belisarius; (such a person the Romans call "domesticus." Now this Solomon was a eunuch, but it was not by the devising of man that he had suffered mutilation, but some accident which befell him while in swaddling clothes had imposed this lot upon him); and there were also Cyprian, Valerian, Martinus, Althias, John, Marcellus, and the Cyril whom I have mentioned above; and the commanders of the regular cavalry were Rufinus and Aīgan, who were of the house of Belisarius, and Barbatus and Pappus, while the regular infantry

¹ These foederati were private bands of troops under the leadership of condottiere; these had the title of "count" and received from the state an allowance for the support of their bands.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ὄντερ Κτεάνον ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν, καὶ Τερεντιός τε καὶ Ζάϊδος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Σάραπις.
8 Ἡσάνης δὲ τις ἐξ Ἑπιδάμων ὅρμωμενος, ἢ νῦν Δυρράχιον καλεῖται, τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμόνις ἰδίας ἀπασίως ἐφειστήκει. τούτων ἄπαντων Σολόμων μὲν ἔχως ἐτύχανεν διὸ ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐσχατικὸς αὐτής, οὐ νῦν πόλεις οἰκεῖται Δάρας, Ἄγιαν δὲ ἦν Μασσαγέτης γένος, οὓς νῦν Οὐνοὺς καλοῦσι, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σχεδὸν τι ἄπαντες
tὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θάρκης χωρία φικουν. εἶποντο δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἐρουλοί τετρακόσιοι, ὅπως Φάρας ἤρχε, καὶ ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι ἐξακόσιοι μάλιστα ἐκ τού τοῦ
12 Μασσαγετῶν ἔθνων, ὑποτοξότατοι πάντες: διὸ δὴ ἡ ἁγουντοι Σιννίων τε καὶ Βάλας, ἀνδρίας τε καὶ καρτερίας ἐς ἀκρον ἤκουτε. οὐδὲ δὴ ἡ σύμπασα στρατιά πεντακοσίας ἤγε, καὶ αὐτῶν οὐκεμία πλέον ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε μεδίμνων φέρειν οἷα τε ἢ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔλασσον ἡ κατὰ τρισχίλιοι. ναῦται δὲ τρισμυρίοι ἐπεπλεοῦν ἀπάσαις, Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Ἰωνεῖς οἱ πλείστοι καὶ Κίλκες, ἀρχηγὸς τε εἰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσίν ἀπάσαις Καλώνυμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο.
15 ήσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖα μακρά, ὡς ἐς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευασμένα, ἐνενήκοντα δύο, μονήρη μέντοι καὶ ὀροφὰς ὑπερθεῖν ἔχοντα, ὅπως οἱ ταύτα ἐρέσσοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκοστα βάλλοντο. ὑδρόμωνας καλοῦσι τὰ πλοία ταῦτα οἱ νῦν ἄθρωποι· πλείων γὰρ κατὰ τάχος δύνανται μάλιστα. ἐν τούτοις δὴ Βυζάντιοι δισχίλιοι

1 δὲ ΡΟ: γὰρ Β.
2 τρισμύριοι ΡΟ Theophanes: δυσμύριοι Ρ.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 7–16

was commanded by Theodorus, who was surnamed Cteanus, and Terentius, Zaïdus, Marcian, and Sarapis. And a certain John, a native of Epidamnus, which is now called Dyrachium, held supreme command over all the leaders of infantry. Among all these commanders Solomon was from a place in the East, at the very extremity of the Roman domain, where the city called Daras now stands, and Aīgan was by birth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns; and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them also four hundred Eruli, whom Pharas led, and about six hundred barbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetae, all mounted bowmen; these were led by Sinnion and Balas, men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highest degree. And for the whole force five hundred ships were required, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thousand medimni,¹ nor any one less than three thousand. And in all the vessels together there were thirty thousand sailors, Egyptians and Ionians for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed over all the ships, Calonymus of Alexandria. And they had also ships of war prepared as for sea-fighting, to the number of ninety-two, and they were single-banked ships covered by decks, in order that the men rowing them might if possible not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such boats are called "dromones"² by those of the present time; for they are able to attain a great speed. In these sailed two thousand men of Byzantium, who were all rowers as well as

¹ The medimnus equalled about one and a half bushels.
² i.e. "runners."
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἔπλευν, αὐτερέται πάντες· περίνεως γὰρ ἢν ἐν
τούτοις οὐδείς. ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος,
ἀνὴρ ἐσ πατρικίους τελῶν, ἥδη μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς
ἔπαρχος 1 ἐν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ἰλλυρίῳς γεγονός,
tότε δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταστάς ἐπαρχός. 2
οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεται.

στρατηγόν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ’ ἀπασί Βελισάριον
βασιλέως ἐστελλεν, δι’ τῶν ἐσών αὖθις κατα-
λόγων ἥρχε. καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μὲν δορυφόροι,
πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπασπισται ἔποντο, ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ
tὰ πολέμια καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κινδύνων ἀτεχ-

νῶς 3 ἐμπεροῦ. γράμματά τε αὐτῷ βασιλέως
ἔγραψε, δράν ἐκαστὰ ὅπῃ ἀν αὐτῷ δοκῆ ἄριστα
έχειν, ταῦτα τε κύρια εἶναι ἀτε αὐτοῦ βασιλέως
αὐτὰ διαπεπραγμένου. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτῷ

ροπῆν τὰ γράμματα ἐποίει. ὁρμητὸ δὲ ὁ Βελι-
σάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ἡ Θρακῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυ-
ριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο

τῆδε.

Γελίμερ δὲ Τριπόλεως τε πρὸς Πουδετίου καὶ
Σαρδοῦς πρὸς Γώδα ἐστερημένος, Τρίπολιν μὲν
ἀνασώσασθαι μόλις ἤλπισεν, ἀπωτέρω τε ὁ κη-


1 ἐπαρχὸς V: ἐπαρχὸς P O.
2 ἀτεχνῶς VP: παντελῶς O.
3 ὁ κημένην VO: ὡς κειμένην P.
fighting men; for there was not a single superfluous man among them. And Archelaus was also sent, a man of patrician standing who had already been pretorian prefect both in Byzantium and in Illyricum, but he then held the position of prefect of the army; for thus the officer charged with the maintenance of the army is designated. But as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius, who was in command of the troops of the East for the second time. And he was followed by many spearmen and many guards as well, men who were capable warriors and thoroughly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the emperor gave him written instructions, bidding him do everything as seemed best to him, and stating that his acts would be final, as if the emperor himself had done them. The writing, in fact, gave him the power of a king. Now Belisarius was a native of Germania, which lies between Thrace and Illyricum. These things, then, took place in this way.

Gelimer, however, being deprived of Tripolis by Pudentius and of Sardinia by Godas, scarcely hoped to regain Tripolis, since it was situated at a great distance and the rebels were already being assisted by the Romans, against whom just at that moment it seemed to him best not to take the field; but he was eager to get to the island before any army sent by the emperor to fight for his enemies should arrive there. He accordingly selected five thousand of the Vandals and one hundred and twenty ships of the fastest kind, and appointing as general his brother Tzazon, he
Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐστελλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Γοῦδαν τε καὶ Σαρδώ θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ σπουδῇ χρώμενοι ἐπλεον, βασιλεῖς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Βαλεριανὸς τε καὶ Ματτίνον προτέρους ἐστελλεν, ἐφ’ ὦ προσδεξονται τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμφω ἐγενέσθην, ἐνθύμιοι βασιλεῖ εγένετο ἐντέλλεσθαί τι αὐτοῖν· ὅ καὶ πρότερον ἔθελοντα λέγειν ἄσχολα τίς λόγων ἔτερων τὴν διάνοιαν περιλαβοῦσα ἐξέκρουσε. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν αὐτῶ λέγειν ἐμέλλεν ἂ ἐβούλητο, ἀλλὰ ξυμβαλῶν εὐρίσκεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖν ἀισιον εἰτ’ ἡ τὴν πορείαν ἐκκόψαν. ἐπεμπεν οὖν τινας ἀπεροῦντας αὐτοῖν μὴτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐς αὐτοῦν αὖθις μήτε ἐκ τῶν νεὼν ἀποβαίνειν. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ τῶν νεών ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἐκέλευον ξὺν βοή τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ μηδαμῶς ἀναστρέφειν, ἐδοξέ τε τοῖς παροῦσιν οἰωνοῖς τε εἶναι οὐκ ἀγαθὸς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ οὐποτε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκεῖναις τινὰ ἐκ

Διβύνης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήξειν. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τῷ οἰωνῷ καὶ ἄραν ἐς αὐτοῦς ἦκειν ἐκ βασιλείως οὕτω ἐκόντος, ὡστε μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ὑπόπτευον. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὰ ἐς τῷ ἄρχοντε τοῦτῳ, Βαλεριανὸν τε καὶ Ματτίνον, ξυμβάλλοιτο, οὐκ ἄλθηθη
eυρήσει τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοξάντα. ἢν δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς Ματτίνοις δορυφόροις Στότζας, δ’ ἐν καὶ βασιλεῖ πολέμους ἐμελλεν ἐσεσθαι καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἦκιστα ἀναστρέφειν, ἐφ’ ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἄραν ἐκείνῃν ὑποπτεύσειν ἂν τὶς ξυν-

1 ἐπειδή VP: ἐπεί Ο.
2 αἰσιον VP: δαἰσιον Ο.

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sent them off. And so they were sailing with great enthusiasm and eagerness against Godas and Sardinia. In the meantime the Emperor Justinian was sending off Valerian and Martinus in advance of the others in order to await the rest of the army in the Peloponnesus. And when these two had embarked upon their ships, it came to the emperor's mind that there was something which he wished to enjoin upon them,—a thing which he had wished to say previously, but he had been so busied with the other matters of which he had to speak that his mind had been occupied with them and this subject had been driven out. He summoned them, accordingly, intending to say what he wished, but upon considering the matter, he saw that it would not be propitious for them to interrupt their journey. He therefore sent men to forbid them either to return to him or to disembark from their ships. And these men, upon coming near the ships, commanded them with much shouting and loud cries by no means to turn back, and it seemed to those present that the thing which had happened was no good omen and that never would one of the men in those ships return from Libya to Byzantium. For besides the omen they suspected that a curse also had come to the men from the emperor, not at all by his own will, so that they would not return. Now if anyone should so interpret the incident with regard to these two commanders, Valerian and Martinus, he will find the original opinion untrue. But there was a certain man among the body-guards of Martinus, Stotzas by name, who was destined to be an enemy of the emperor, to make an attempt to set up a tyranny, and by no means to return to Byzantium, and one might suppose that curse to have been
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31 ενεγκεῖν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε πη ἄλλη ἔχει, ἀφίημι ἐκάστῳ ὅτι θαύμα ἐργαλεῖον ὑπὲρ τῆς βούλησεν ἐκλεγόμενον. ὥπως δὲ ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐστάλη, ἐρών ἔρχομαι.

XII

"Εβδομον ἣδη ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχουν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφὶ θερμᾶς τροπάς τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐκέλευσε ναῦν ὀρμίζασθαι ἐς τὴν ἀκτήν ἢ πρὸ τῆς βασιλείας αὐλῆς τυγχάνει οὖσα.

2 ἐνταῦθα ᾗ Ἑπιφάνιος ἀφικόμενος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεύς, εὐξάμενος τε ὅσα εἰκός ἦν τῶν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἀρτί βεβαπτισμένον τε καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὄνοματος μεταλαχόντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασεν. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ τε στρατηγὸς Βελι-

3 σάριος καὶ Ἀντωνίνα ἡ γυνὴ ἐπέλευς. ξυνήν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνεγραψε, πρότε-

ρον μὲν καὶ μάλα κατορρωδήσας τῶν κίνδυνων, ὅπως ὁ ὑπὲρον ἱδὼν ύστερον ἢ αὐτὸν βαρσήσαι τε ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατεύσεσθαι ὁμημέρει.

4 ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρον εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Βελι-

σάριον οἰκίᾳ, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ἀγγείλα τῶν οἰκείων ἐνα ὡς ἥκοιέν τινες δῶρα φέρουσι καὶ Βελι-

σάριον διασκοπεῖσθαι κελεύειν αὐτοῦ εἴπτε ὁ ποιό 

ποτε εἴη τὰ δῶρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ γενέ-

ωσας ἰδεῖν ὁ ἐφερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμῶν γῆν

5 αὐτοῖς ἁνθέθει. τούτους δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγ-

αθόντα κελεύειν καταθέται ἐν τῷ προστώφῳ ἢν

ἐφερον γῆν. οὐ δὴ Βελισάριον ἁμα τούς δορυφο-

1 αὐτὸν ᾠμ. V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xi. 30–xii. 5

turned upon him by Heaven. But whether this matter stands thus or otherwise, I leave to each one to reason out as he wishes. But I shall proceed to tell how the general Belisarius and the army departed.

XII

In the seventh year of Justinian’s reign, at about the spring equinox, the emperor commanded the general’s ship to anchor off the point which is before the royal palace. Thither came also Epiphanius, the chief priest of the city, and after uttering an appropriate prayer, he put on the ships one of the soldiers who had lately been baptized and had taken the Christian name. And after this the general Belisarius and Antonina, his wife, set sail. And there was with them also Procopius, who wrote this history; now previously he had been exceedingly terrified at the danger, but later he had seen a vision in his sleep which caused him to take courage and made him eager to go on the expedition. For it seemed in the dream that he was in the house of Belisarius, and one of the servants entering announced that some men had come bearing gifts; and Belisarius bade him investigate what sort of gifts they were, and he went out into the court and saw men who carried on their shoulders earth with the flowers and all. And he bade him bring these men into the house and deposit the earth they were carrying in the portico; and Belisarius together with his guards-
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ροις ἤκοντα, αὐτὸν τε κατακλίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ἑσθίεν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις αὐτὸν δὴ τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐγκελεύεσθαι, κατακλινομένοις τε σφίσι καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἥδειαν κομιδῇ τὴν βρόσων φανήναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ οὐείρου ταῦτη περὶ ἔσχεν.

6 Ὁ δὲ ξύμπας στόλος τῇ στρατηγίδι νὴ ἐπέπετο, καὶ προσέσχον Περίνθῳ, ἢ νῦν Ἡράκλεια ἐπι- καλεῖται, ἐδέῃ δὴ πέντε ἡμέρῶν χρόνος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐτρίβη, ἐπεὶ βασιλεύς ἦπερ οὐτὸ περί μᾶλιστα πλείστοι τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐδωρεῖτο ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἒπποφορίων, ἀ οἱ νέμονται ἐς τὰ

7 ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία. ᾠδέν δὲ ἀπαραντεῖ Ἀβύδῳ προσωρίσαντο, καὶ σφίσι ξυνέπεσε τῇ διά τὴν νησεῖμαν ἡμέρας διατρίβουσι τέσσαρας πράγμα

8 τοῖς ὑπὸ ξυνενεγκθήναι. Μασσαγετὴς δύο τῶν τινα ἐταῦρων ἐν τῇ ἀκρατοποσίᾳ ἔρεσχελούντα σφᾶς, ἀτε οἰνωμένως, ἀνειλήτην. πάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώ- πων μᾶλιστα εἰς ἀκρατοπόται οἱ Μασσαγετής.

9 Βελσαρίους οὖν αὐτίκα τῷ ἀνδρε τοῦ τῶ ἐν τῷ κολωνῷ δ ἄγχη. Ἀβύδου οὖς ἀνεσκολόπησε.

10 καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ξυγ- γενεῖς ἐδοποχεῖαν τε καὶ ἐφασκοῦν οὐκ ἴπτε τιμο- ρία ὁ ὑπεύθυνοι εἶναι Ῥωμαίων νόμοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἤκειν (τὰ γὰρ δὴ σφῶν νόμων ὅπως τοιάσθη τῶν φόνων οσοὶ ἐς τὴς τίσεις), ξυνε- θρύλλουν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐς τῶν στρατηγῶν αἰτίαν καὶ στρατιωταὶ Ῥωμαίοι οἷς ἐκ ἐπιμελεῖς ἐγερόναι τῶν ἀμαρτανμένων μὴ εἶναι δίκαιι, τοὺς τε Μασσα- σαγέτας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ἄνευ καλέσας

1 αὐτὸ MSS. : ταῦτα Herwerden, approved by Christ.
2 ἄγχη VP : ἄγχιστα O.
men came there, and he himself reclined on that earth and ate of the flowers, and urged the others to do likewise; and as they reclined and ate, as if upon a couch, the food seemed to them exceedingly sweet. Such, then, was the vision of the dream.

And the whole fleet followed the general's ship, and they put in at Perinthus, which is now called Heracleia, where five days' time was spent by the army, since at that place the general received as a present from the emperor an exceedingly great number of horses from the royal pastures, which are kept for him in the territory of Thrace. And setting sail from there, they anchored off Abydus, and it came about as they were delaying there four days on account of the lack of wind that the following event took place. Two Massagetae killed one of their comrades who was ridiculing them, in the midst of their intemperate drinking; for they were intoxicated. For of all men the Massagetae are the most intemperate drinkers. Belisarius, accordingly, straightway impaled these two men on the hill which is near Abydus. And since all, and especially the relatives of these two men, were angry and declared that it was not in order to be punished nor to be subject to the laws of the Romans that they had entered into an alliance (for their own laws did not make the punishment for murder such as this, they said); and since they were joined in voicing the accusation against the general even by Roman soldiers, who were anxious that there should be no punishment for their offences, Belisarius called together both the Massagetae and the rest of the army and spoke as

1 Eregli, on the Sea of Marmora.
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11 Βελισάριος ἔλεγε πολίτε: "Εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνδρας
νῦν πρῶτον εἰς πόλεμον καθισταμένους οἱ λόγοι
ἐγίνοντο, μακρῷ ἂν μοι ἐδέσης χρόνου λέξαντα
πείσαι ύμᾶς ἡλίκον ἐστίν εὐφόδιον εἰς τροπαῖον
κτῆσιν τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεπεστάμενοι τὰς
tῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων τύχας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις
οἶονται εἶναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας. ύμεῖς δὲ, οἱ
πολλάκις μὲν νευκήκατε πολεμίους οὔτε οἱ
σώματι εἰλασσομένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὰν ἰκανὸς
πεφυκότας, πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἑναυτῶν ἐν πείρᾳ
γεγένησθε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, οἶμαι, ὡς μάχονται μὲν
ἐκ ἐκατέρας ἀεὶ στρατιάς ἁνθρωποί, βραβεύει δὲ
ὁ θεὸς ὅπως ποτestate αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου
dιδώσοι λόγος. ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, τὴν
τὸν σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς
ἔπιμελείαν καὶ τὴν ἁλην τοῦ πολέμου παρα-
σκευὴν περὶ ἐλάσσονος προσήκει τοῦ τὸ δίκαιον
καὶ τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἤκοντον ποιεῖσθαι. τὸ γὰρ
μάλιστα ξυνενεγκείν τοῖς δεομένοις δυνάμενον
μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως πρὸς ἐκεῖνων τιμῆτο. πρῶτον
δὲ ἂν τοῦ δικαίου γένοιτο γνώρισμα ἢ τῶν ἄδικως
ἀγγρηκτῶν ποιήσει. εἰ γὰρ τὸ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ
ἀδικον κρίνειν τε καὶ ὀνομάξειν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
πέλας ἂεὶ πρασσομένων ἐπάναγκες, οὔδεν ἂν
γένοιτο μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐντιμοῦν. εἰ
dὲ τις βάρβαρος, ὅτι τὸν εὐγενῆ μεθύων ἁνεῖλεν,
ἀξιοὶ συγγνώμονα ἔχειν τὴν δίκην, δι’ ὃν ἀπο-
λύεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας φησὶ χείρω εἰκότως εἶναι
ποιεῖ τὰ ἐγκλῆματα. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτως μεθύειν

1 χρόνου MSS.: λόγου Haury.
2 λέξαντα πείσαι ύμᾶς P: om. VO.
3 οὔτε Dindorf: οὔδε MSS.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xii. 10–18

follows: "If my words were addressed to men now for the first time entering into war, it would require a long time for me to convince you by speech how great a help justice is for gaining the victory. For those who do not understand the fortunes of such struggles think that the outcome of war lies in strength of arm alone. But you, who have often conquered an enemy not inferior to you in strength of body and well endowed with valour, you who have often tried your strength against your opponents, you, I think, are not ignorant that, while it is men who always do the fighting in either army, it is God who judges the contest as seems best to Him and bestows the victory in battle. Now since this is so, it is fitting to consider good bodily condition and practice in arms and all the other provision for war of less account than justice and those things which pertain to God. For that which may possibly be of greatest advantage to men in need would naturally be honoured by them above all other things. Now the first proof of justice would be the punishment of those who have committed unjust murder. For if it is incumbent upon us to sit in judgment upon the actions which from time to time are committed by men toward their neighbours, and to adjudge and to name the just and the unjust action, we should find that nothing is more precious to a man than his life. And if any barbarian who has slain his kinsman expects to find indulgence in his trial on the ground that he was drunk, in all fairness he makes the charge so much the worse by reason of the very circumstance by which, as he alleges, his guilt is removed. For it is not right for a man under
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ἀξιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ βαδίζοντα, ὃςτε ἀναίρειν τοὺς φιλτάτους ἐτοίμως, ἀλλ’ αὐτή γε ἡ μέθη, κἂν ὁ φῶνος ἢκιστα ἐπιγένηται, ποινής ἀξία, τὸ τε ἄγγιγεν ἀδικούμενον περὶ πλείονος ἀν τῶν ὡς προσηκότων ἐς τιμωρίαν τοὺς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι φαίνοιτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν παράδειγμα καὶ ἦ τῶν πραττομένων ἀπόβασις ὅποια ποτέ ἔστιν ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει μήτε κειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων μήτε τι φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· ὥς οὐ περίφοριοι γε οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τίνα συστρατιώ- την ἔμοι ἡγήσομαι εἶναι, κἂν πάνυ φοβέρος τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκῇ δὲ ἂν μὴ καθαρὰς ταῖς χερσὶν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους δύνηται χρῆσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀνδρείον οὐκ ἂν ὑκριφή μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου ταττόμενον.”

Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, ἐπειδὴ τά τε λεγόμενα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐσ τῷ ἀνεσκολοπισμένῳ ἀνέβλεψαν, ἡ δὲσ τι ἄμηχανον ἢλθον καὶ σωφρόνως βιο- τεύειν ἐν νῷ ἐλαβον, ὡς οὐκ ἔξω κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐσόμενοι, ἡν τι οὐκ ἐννομον ποιοῦντες ἄλοιπον.

XIII

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔφροντις Βελισάριος ὅπως τε ὁ ξύμπασα στόλος ἀεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πλέοι καὶ ἐσ 2 χωρίου ταῦτο προσορμίζοιτο. ἤδει γὰρ ὡς ἐν μεγάλω στόλῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἦν τραχεῖς σφίσιν

1 ταττόμενον PO: πραττόμενον V.
2 ἀνέβλεψαν O: ἀπέβλεψαν VP.
any circumstances, and especially when serving in an army, to be so drunk as readily to kill his dearest friends; nay, the drunkenness itself, even if the murder is not added at all, is worthy of punishment; and when a kinsman is wronged, the crime would clearly be of greater moment as regards punishment than when committed against those who are not kinsmen, at least in the eyes of men of sense. Now the example is before you and you may see what sort of an outcome such actions have. But as for you, it is your duty to avoid laying violent hands upon anyone without provocation, or carrying off the possessions of others; for I shall not overlook it, be assured, and I shall not consider anyone of you a fellow-soldier of mine, no matter how terrible he is reputed to be to the foe, who is not able to use clean hands against the enemy. For bravery cannot be victorious unless it be arrayed along with justice.” So spoke Belisarius. And the whole army, hearing what was said and looking up at the two men impaled, felt an overwhelming fear come over them and took thought to conduct their lives with moderation, for they saw that they would not be free from great danger if they should be caught doing anything unlawful.

XIII

After this Belisarius bethought him how his whole fleet should always keep together as it sailed and should anchor in the same place. For he knew that in a large fleet, and especially if rough winds should

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3 ταύτα PO: ταύτα V. 4 ἔδει VO: ἔδει P.
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ἀνεμοι ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἔπαναγκες ἀπολείπεσθαι τε τῶν νεῶν πολλάς καὶ σκεδάνυσθαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, οὐκ εἰδέναι τε αὐτῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας ὅποιας ποτὲ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἁναγομένων ἐπε-3 σθαί ἀμεινον. λογισάμενοι οὖν ἐποίει τάδε. τριῶν νεῶν, ἐν αἷς αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἔπλευ, τὰ ἱστία ἐκ γαυνίας τῆς ἀνω καὶ ἐς τριτημόριον μάλιστα ἔχρισε μᾶλτῳ, κοντοὺς τε ὄρθοὺς ἀνα-στήσας ἐν πρύμνῃ ἐκάστῃ ἀπεκρέμασεν ἀπὰ αὐτῶν λύχνα, ὅπως ἐν τε ἡμέρα καὶ νυκτὶ αἱ τοῦ στρα-τηγοῦ νῆσος ἐκδηλοῖ εἶναι ἀἰς δὴ ἐπεσθαί τοὺς 4 κυβερνήτας ἔκέλευε πάντας. οὔτω τε τῶν νεῶν τῶν τριῶν ἡγομένων παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τετύχηκεν αὐτῶν οὔδεμίαν ἀπολελείφθαι. ὅτε μέντοι ἐκ λιμένος ἀπαίρειν μέλλοιεν, ἐσῆμαινον αὐτοῖς αἱ σάλπυγις τοῦτο.

5 Ἡκ δὲ Ἀβύδου ἀναχθείσων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμοὶ σκληροὶ ἐπιπέσωντες ἡγαγον εἰς τὸ Σύνειον. αὐθίς τε νηνεμία χρησάμενοι σχολαίτεροι ἐς Μαλέαν ἦλθον, ἐνθα δή αὐτοῖς ἡ νηνεμία ξυνήγε-6 κεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἀτε γὰρ ἐν στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ νασῶν ὑπερμεγέθεσαν, νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, ἡ στενοχωρία ξυνετάραξε τε ἀπαντα καὶ ἐς ἑσχατὸν 7 κινδύνου ἤγεγεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τε κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ναῦται ἄρετην ἐπεδείξαντο, βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγω πολλῷ χρώμει καὶ τοῖς κοινῷ διωθοῦμεν, ἐμπείρως τε ἂν ἀλλήλων τὰς δια-στάσεις ποιούμενοι, ὡστε εἰ καὶ πνεῦμα ἐπί-φορον ἢ καὶ ἂν ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο, μόλις ἄν οἱ ναῦται μοι δοκεῖ σφάς τε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς 8 ναὺς διεσώσαντο. νῦν δὲ οὕτως ὡσπερ εἰρηται 1 ἁναγομένων PO: ἁγομένων V. 2 κινδύνου PO: κινδύνου V.

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assail them, it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and scattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So after considering the matter, he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper corner for about one third of their length, and he erected upright poles on the prow of each, and hung lights from them, so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable; then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them.

And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they proceeded more leisurely to Malea, where the calm proved of the greatest advantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exceedingly large ships, as night came on everything was thrown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme peril. At that time both the pilots and the rest of the sailors shewed themselves skilful and efficient, for while shouting at the top of their voices and making a great noise they kept pushing the ships apart with their poles, and cleverly kept the distances between their different vessels; but if a wind had arisen, whether a following or a head wind, it seems to me that the sailors would hardly have preserved themselves and their ships. But as
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diaφυγόντες Ταύρων προσέμεξαν, ἡ νῦν Καινοῦ-πολις ἐπικαλεῖται. εἰτὰ ἐνθένδε ὅρμηθεντες Μεθώνη προσέσχον, εὐρὸν τε ὀλύνῳ πρότερον τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανὸν τε καὶ Μαρτίνον αὐτόσε ἀφικομένους. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄνεμοι οὐκ ἐπέπνεον ἁφίσι, τὰς μὲν ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐνταύθα ὁρμίσε, τὸ δὲ στρατεύμα ἀπεβίβασεν ἄπαυν, καὶ ἀποβάντας τοὺς τε ἀρχόντας διεκόσμησε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας διέτασε. ταῦτα τε αὐτοῦ διέποντος καὶ ἄνεμοι ἦκισα ἐπιγυμνομένων, ἐπῆλθε πολλοὶς τῶν στρατιωτῶν νόσῳ διαφθαρῆναι ἐξ αἰτίας τοιάστε.

'Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος Ἰωάννης φλαῦρος τε ἤτι τῶν τρόπον καὶ οὗτος δυνατός εἰς τὸ προσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπινοησαι χρήστα ἐπὶ λύμη ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ἔγογγε φράσαι ἰκανῶς ἔχομι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρήθη, ἦνικα πρὸς τῆς ἱστορίας ἐς τὸ τε ήγόμην τοῦ λόγου. τὰ δὲ νῦν ὅτως ποτὲ τρόπῳ τούτῳ δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας διεχρήσατο ἔρων ἔρχομαι. τὸν ἄρτον δὴ μέλλουσιν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ στρατιώται σιτίζονται, διὸς μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πυγεὰ εἰσάγεται, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ οὕτως ὀπτάζει δῶστε ἐξικεκίθαι τοῖς πλεῖστον καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ βραχεῖ διαφθείρεσθαι, τὸν τε οὕτως ὀπτόμενον ἄρτον ἀνάγκη ἐλάσσω τὸν σταθμὸν ἐλκείν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀρτοδαισίαις εἰώθασιν οἱ στρατιώται

1 ἐπέπνεον V: ἐπέπνεον PO. 2 ἔπαρχος V: ὑπάρχος PO.
3 εἰς τὸ προσαγαγεῖν P: om. VO.
4 καὶ ἐν Ἁυρυ: καὶ MSS., καὶ Dindorf.
5 λόγοις VP: χρόνοις O. 6 πρὸς V: πρὸ PO.
7 δἰς VP: δὶ O. 8 ἐλκείν VOP corr.: ἔχειν P pr. m.
it was, they escaped, as I have said, and put in at Taenarum, which is now called Caenopolis. Then, pressing on from there, they touched at Methone, and found Valerian and Martinus with their men, who had reached the same place a short time before. And since there were no winds blowing, Belisarius anchored the ships there, and disembarked the whole army; and after they were on shore he assigned the commanders their positions and drew up the soldiers. And while he was thus engaged and no wind at all arose, it came about that many of the soldiers were destroyed by disease caused in the following manner.

The pretorian prefect, John, was a man of worthless character, and so skilful at devising ways of bringing money into the public treasury to the detriment of men that I, for my part, should never be competent to describe this trait of his. But this has been said in the preceding pages, when I was brought to this point by my narrative. But I shall tell in the present case in what manner he destroyed the soldiers. The bread which soldiers are destined to eat in camp must of necessity be put twice into the oven, and be cooked so carefully as to last for a very long period and not spoil in a short time, and loaves cooked in this way necessarily weigh less; and for this reason, when such bread is distributed, the soldiers generally received as their

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1 Cape Matapan.
2 Book I. xxiv. 12-15; xxv. 8-10.
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tου συνειδησιμένου σταθμοῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον
16 ἀποτείμενεται. Ἡ Ἰωάννης οὖν λογισάμενος ὡς ἐκάσω τὸ τὰ ἡμέρα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἀρτοποιοῖς ἤσσουν δοή, καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔνδειξ ὁ σταθμὸς εἶν, ὥμων ἔτι τὸν ἁρτον ἐς τὸ δημοσίουν βαλανεῖον ἐσκομίσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, οὗ δὴ ἐνερθεὶ
17 τὸ πῦρ καίεται, καταθέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀμορφυγέως ὑπάσθαι ἑδόκει, ἐμβαλάων θυσακίοις
18 ἐνθέμενος τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν ἐστελλε. καὶ ἔτει ὁ στόλος ἐς Μεθώνην ἀφίκετο, διαρρέουντες οἱ ἁρτοι ἐπανήκουν ἀθοίς ἐς άλευρα, οὐχ ὡς μέντοι, σεσηπότα δὲ καὶ εὐρωτιῶντα καὶ τινα ὀσμήν ἦδη
19 βαρείαν φέροντα. ἔχορηγον τε αὐτὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς μέτρον οἷς προσέκειτο ἡ τιμή αὐτῆ, χάνει τε ἡδὴ καὶ μεδίμνοις τὴν ἀρτοδαισίαν
20 ποιοῦμενοι. τούτοις δὲ οἱ στρατιώται ὁρα θέρους ἐν χωρίῳ αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι χωρίῳ αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι 2 σιτιζόμενοι ἐνόσθησάν τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἤσσον ή πεντακόσιον 3 δὴ καὶ τοῖς πλείοις ξυμπεσεῖ δὲ ἐμελλεν, ἄλλα 4 Βελισάριος διεκάλυσεν, ἁρτοὺς ἀυτοὺς ἐπιχωρίους χορηγεῖσθαι κελεύσας. βασιλεῖ δὲ τὸ πράγμα δηλώσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἡδοκίμησεν, οὐ μὴν τινα τότε Ἰωάννη ζημίαν ἤγεγκε.
21 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἐκ δὲ Μεθώνης ὁρμηθέντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν Ζακυνθίων λιμένα,

1 The comparative idea is required to govern σταθμοῦ.
2 αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι VP: αὐχμηρῷ O.
3 ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἤσσον ή πεντακόσιοι VP in marg. O: ἐν ὁλίγων ὑ τὸ χρόνον ἀπέθανον πεντακόσιοι P in context.
4 ἄλλα VP pr. m.: οἱ μὴ P corr. O.
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portion one-fourth more than the usual weight.\footnote{1} John, therefore, calculating how he might reduce the amount of firewood used and have less to pay to the bakers in wages, and also how he might not lose in the weight of the bread, brought the still uncooked dough to the public baths of Achilles, in the basement of which the fire is kept burning, and bade his men set it down there. And when it seemed to be cooked in some fashion or other, he threw it into bags, put it on the ships, and sent it off. And when the fleet arrived at Methone, the loaves disintegrated and returned again to flour, not wholesome flour, however, but rotten and becoming mouldy and already giving out a sort of oppressive odour. And the loaves were dispensed by measure\footnote{2} to the soldiers by those to whom this office was assigned, and they were already making the distribution of the bread by quarts and bushels. And the soldiers, feeding upon this in the summer time in a place where the climate is very hot, became sick, and not less than five hundred of them died; and the same thing was about to happen to more, but Belisarius prevented it by ordering the bread of the country to be furnished them. And reporting the matter to the emperor, he himself gained in favour, but he did not at that time bring any punishment upon John.

These events, then, took place in the manner described. And setting out from Methone they reached

\footnote{1} The ration of this twice-baked bread represented for the same weight one-fourth more wheat than when issued in the once-baked bread. He was evidently paid on the basis of so much per ration, in weight, of the once-baked bread, but on account of the length of the voyage the other kind was requisitioned. \footnote{2} Instead of by weight.
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ἐνθα ὅθη ὕδωρ τε ἐμβεβλημένοι ὅσον σφίσιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐμελλε τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσι καὶ τὰ άλλα παρασκευασάμενοι 22 ἐπλευσαν. ἀνέμου δὲ σφίσι μαλακοῦ τε καὶ νόθροι κομιδὴ ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἐκκαίδεκαται ὑπετέπλευσαν τὴς Σικελίας ἐς χώρον ἔρημον, οὗ τὸ ὄρος ἐγνύ ἢ Λιθυνὴ ἀνέχει. ἐν δὲ τῷ διάτλορ τούτῳ διατριψασιν αὐτοῖς ὄσπερ εἰρηται, ξυνεπεζευ ἀπασι διαφθαρήμας τὰ ὕδατα, πλὴν γε δὴ οὗ Ἐκλεοσάριος τε αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ξυμπόται ἐπιών. 24 τούτο γὰρ διεσώσατο μόνον ἢ Ἐκλεοσάριον γυνὴ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀμφορέας ἐς ύδαλον πεποιημένους ὕδατος ἐμπλησμένην οἰκίσκον τε ἐκ σανίδων ποιήσασα ἐν κοίλῃ νη ἐνθα δὴ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐστεναι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐς ψάμμου τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατέχοσε, ταύτη τε ἀπαθῆς τὸ ὕδωρ διέμεινε. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε.

XIV

Βελισάριος δὲ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀπέβη, ἀπορούμενος τε ἡσχάλλε καὶ ἐστρεφεν αὐτὸν τῇν διάνοιαν τὸ μῆ εἰδέναι ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς Βαυδήλους ἢν, ἢ ὅποιος ποτὲ τὰ πολέμια, μηδὲ ὅτῳ πρόπῳ ἢ ὅποθεν ποτὲ σφίσιν 2 ὄρμωμένοις πολεμητέα εἰς. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιώται χυνετάρασσον, κατωρρωδήκοτες τε τῇν ναυμαχίαν καὶ προλέγειν ἦκεστα αἰσχυνώμενοι ὥς, ἢ μὲν τις σφᾶς εἶς τὴν γῆν ἀποβῆσει, πειράσονται ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γίγνεσθαι, ἢ δὲ πολέμια πλοία ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἢν, ἦς φυγήν
the harbour of Zacynthius, where they took in enough water to last them in crossing the Adriatic Sea, and after making all their other preparations, sailed on. But since the wind they had was very gentle and languid, it was only on the sixteenth day that they came to land at a deserted place in Sicily near which Mount Aetna rises. And while they were being delayed in this passage, as has been said, it so happened that the water of the whole fleet was spoiled, except that which Belisarius himself and his table-companions were drinking. For this alone was preserved by the wife of Belisarius in the following manner. She filled with water jars made of glass and constructed a small room with planks in the hold of the ship where it was impossible for the sun to penetrate, and there she sank the jars in sand, and by this means the water remained unaffected. So much, then, for this.

XIV

And as soon as Belisarius had disembarked upon the island, he began to feel restless, knowing not how to proceed, and his mind was tormented by the thought that he did not know what sort of men the Vandals were against whom he was going, and how strong they were in war, or in what manner the Romans would have to wage the war, or what place would be their base of operations. But most of all he was disturbed by the soldiers, who were in mortal dread of sea-fighting and had no shame in saying beforehand that, if they should be disembarked on the land, they would try to show themselves brave men in the battle, but if hostile ships assailed them, they would
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τραπήσουται: οὐ γὰρ οἶοι τέ εἰσι πολέμιοι τε
3 ἀνδρᾶς καὶ ὑδασὶ διαμάχεσθαι. τούτοις οὖν
ἀπασιν ἀπορούμενοι Προκόπιον τὸν αὐτὸν πάρ-
εδρον ἐστελλεν ἐς Συρακούσασ, πενυσμενὸν τε ἢν
τινές τοῖς πολέμιοις ἐνέδραι εἰσὶ προλοχίζουσαι
τὸν διάπλουν ἢ ἐν νήσῳ ἢ ἐν ἤπειρῳ, καὶ ὅπτη μὲν
τῆς Διβύς προσορμίσασθαι σφίσιν ἀμεινοῦν ἀν
εἰ, ὅποθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοι τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Βαν-
4 διλοὺς διενεγκεῖν ξυνοίσει. ἔπαν δὲ τὰ ἐντεταλ-
μένα ποιοὶ, ἐπανήκοντα οἱ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς Καύκανα
τὸ χωρίον ἐνυμῆξαι, διακοσίους μάλιστα σταδίους
Συρακούσῶν διέχουν, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ ἐξύπτας
5 στόλος ὀρμίσασθαι ἐμελλε. τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τροφὰς
αὐτὸν ἐπεμπεν ὠνησμενον, ἀτε τῶν Γότθων
ἀγορὰν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων διδόναι, δόξαν τοῦτο
βασιλεῖ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ ἀμαλασσύνθη τῇ
ἀταλάριχου μητρὶ, δε τὸτε παῖς τε δω καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ
μητρὶ ἀμαλασσύνθη τρεφόμενος εἰχε τὸ Γότ-
6 θών τε καὶ Ἰταλιῶτῶν κράτος. ἐπεδὴ γὰρ Θεο-
δέριχος τετελευτήκει 1 καὶ ἐς τῶν θυγατριδῶν
ἀταλάριχου, ὀρφανὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἕδη πρότερον
γεγονότα, ἡ βασιλεία ἤκη, δειμάινοντα ἡ ἀμα-
λασσύνθα περί τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ
φίλον Ἰουστινιανὸν ὡς τὰ μάλιστα ἐταυρισμένη
tα τε ἄλλα ἐπήκουεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ τότε
ἀγορὰν διδόναι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ
ἐποίει ταῦτα.
7 Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις Προκόπιος
καὶ ἀνδρὸς παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτυχῶν πολίτου μὲν οὐ
καὶ φίλου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ παιδὸς, ἐπὶ ἐργασία δὲ
τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐν Συρακούσαις

1 τετελευτήκει VO: ἐτεθνήκει P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xiv. 2–7

turn to flight; for, they said, they were not able to contend against two enemies at once, both men and water. Being at a loss, therefore, because of all these things, he sent Procopius, his adviser, to Syracuse, to find out whether the enemy had any ships in ambush keeping watch over the passage across the sea, either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya, and from what point as base it would be advantageous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Vandals. And he bade him, when he should have accomplished his commands, return and meet him at the place called Caucana,\(^1\) about two hundred stades distant from Syracuse, where both he and the whole fleet were to anchor. But he let it be understood that he was sending him to buy provisions, since the Goths were willing to give them a market, this having been decided upon by the Emperor Justinian and Amalasountha, the mother of Antalaric,\(^2\) who was at that time a boy being reared under the care of his mother, Amalasountha, and held sway over both the Goths and the Italians. For when Theoderic had died and the kingdom came to his nephew, Antalaric, who had already before this lost his father, Amalasountha was fearful both for her child and for the kingdom and cultivated the friendship of Justinian very carefully, and she gave heed to his commands in all matters and at that time promised to provide a market for his army and did so.

Now when Procopius reached Syracuse, he unexpectedly met a man who had been a fellow-citizen and friend of his from childhood, who had been living in Syracuse for a long time engaged in the

\(^1\) Now Porto Lombardo. \(^2\) Or Athalaric.
8 ὥκημένου, ἐπύθετο ὅσων ἐξηρῆσεν· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀνήρ οἰκέτην αὐτῷ ἔπεδειξε, τριταῖοι οἱ ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἦκοντα, ὅτι ἐφάσκεν ὡς οὐδὲ τίνα πρὸς Βανδίλων ἐνέδραν τῷ στόλῳ ἑσσοθαί ἄξιον εἶναι ύφοράσθαι. πρὸς οὔδενος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνθρώπων πεπύθασθαί στράτευμα ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἴναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατεύσασθαι ὀλίγῳ ἑμπροσθεν ἐπὶ Γώδαν εἶ  
10 τι ἐν Βανδίλως δραστήριον ἦν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα Γελίμερα πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐννοοῦντα, Καρχηδόνος τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὠλγορηχότα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση χρώμιον, ἐν Ἐρμιόνη διατριβὴν ἔχειν, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἡμερῶν τετάρων ὅφῳ τῆς ἡμόνος διέχουσα· ὅστε πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν τε οὗδὲν δειμαίνουσι δύσκολον καὶ προσομίζοσθαι  
11 ἐνθα ἀν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλοῖ. ταῦτα Προκόπιος ἀκούσας τῆς τε χειρὸς τοῦ οἰκέτου λαβόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ λιμένα ἐβαδίζε τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν, ἐνθα δὴ οἱ τὸ πλοῖον ὁρμίζετο, πυνθαυόμενος τε τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συχνὰ καὶ διερευνώμενος ἔκαστα. ἐσβὰς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν ναῦν αἴρεσται τε τὰ ἴστια ἐκέλευσε καὶ πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Καῦκαν. καὶ ἐπεὶ οὗ τοῦ οἰκέτου δεσπότης ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμόνος θαναμάζων εἰστήκει ὅτι οἱ οὐκ ἀπεδίδουν τὸν ἀνθρώπου, ἀναβοσίας Προκόπιος, πλεούσης ἦδη  
12 τῆς νεῶς, παρητειτο μὴ οἱ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν· κρηναὶ γὰρ τῶν οἰκέτην τῷ τε στρατηγῷ συμμίξας καὶ ἐς τὴν Διβύτην τῷ στρατῷ καθηγησάμενον οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἰς τᾶς Συρακούσας ἐπανήκειν, χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενον.  

1 ἐπύθετο ὅσων ΨΩ: ἐπύθετο ὅσων Ρ.  
2 ὀλίγῳ ΡΟ: ὀλίγου Ψ.
shipping business, and he learned from him what he wanted; for this man showed him a domestic who had three days before that very day come from Carthage, and he said that they need not suspect that there would be any ambush set for the fleet by the Vandals. For from no one in the world had they learned that an army was coming against them at that time, but all the active men among the Vandals had actually a little before gone on an expedition against Godas. And for this reason Gelimer, with no thought of an enemy in his mind and regardless of Carthage and all the other places on the sea, was staying in Hermione, which is in Byzacium, four days' journey distant from the coast; so that it was possible for them to sail without fearing any difficulty and to anchor wherever the wind should call them. When Procopius heard this, he took the hand of the domestic and walked to the harbour of Arethousa where his boat lay at anchor, making many enquiries of the man and searching out every detail. And going on board the ship with him, he gave orders to raise the sails and to make all speed for Caucana. And since the master of the domestic stood on the shore wondering that he did not give him back the man, Procopius shouted out, when the ship was already under way, begging him not to be angry with him; for it was necessary that the domestic should meet the general, and, after leading the army to Libya, would return after no long time to Syracuse with much money in his pocket.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

14 Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Καύκανα εὑρίσκουσιν ἄπαντας ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ. Δωρόθεος γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίωις καταλόγων στρατηγὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐτετελευτήκει, πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ πόθον τῷ παντὶ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. Βελισάριος δὲ, ἐπεὶ οἱ ὁ τε οἰκέτης ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε καὶ τῶν πάντα λόγον ἔφρασε, περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ Προκόπιοι τολμᾶ ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε σημὴναὶ τῶν ἀπόπλουν ταῖς σάλπιγξιν. ἀράμενοι τε κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἱστια, Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νῆσοις προσέσχον, αἰ τό τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος διορίζουσιν. ἦνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς Ἐβροὺ πολὺ τι πνεῦμα ἐπιπέσον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Διβύης ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν ἐς χωρίον, δὴ Κεφαλήν Βραχοὺς τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ καλοῦσι Ρομαῖοι. Καπούτβαδα γὰρ ὁ τόπος προσαγορεύεται, πέντε ἡμέρων ὁδὸν ἕνωσιν ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχων.

XV

'Επεὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἄγχου ἐγένοντο, τὰ τε ἱστιὰ κατατίθεσθαι ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε καὶ ἄγκυρας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπορρυφαμένους ἀνακοχεύειν, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας συγκαλέσας ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν ξύμπαντας Βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποβάσεως προῆθηκεν. ἦνθα δὴ ἄλλοι τε λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐλέγχθησαν ἐφ' ἐκάτερα φέροντες καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος ἐλέξε τοιάδε:

"Τού μὲν στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγαμαι, δὲ καὶ γνώμη παρὰ πολὺ νικῶν ξύμπαντας καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπὶ πλείστον ἥκων, ἔχων τε τὸ

1 ὁδὸν V : ὁδῶ Ο.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xiv. 14–xv. 2

But upon coming to Caucana they found all in deep grief. For Dorotheus, the general of the troops of Armenia, had died there, leaving to the whole army a great sense of loss. But Belisarius, when the domestic had come before him and related his whole story, became exceedingly glad, and after bestowing many praises upon Procopius, he issued orders to give the signal for departure with the trumpets. And setting sail quickly they touched at the islands of Gaulus and Melita,¹ which mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas. There a strong east wind arose for them, and on the following day it carried the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "Shoal's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days' journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller.

XV

And when they came near the shore, the general bade them furl the sails, throw out anchors from the ships, and make a halt; and calling together all the commanders to his own ship, he opened a discussion with regard to the disembarkation. Thereupon many speeches were made inclining to either side, and Archelaus came forward and spoke as follows:

"I admire, indeed, the virtue of our general, who, while surpassing all by far in judgment and possessing the greatest wealth of experience, and at

¹ Now Gozzo and Malta.
κράτος αὐτὸς, ἐσ μέσον μὲν τὴν βουλήν προοθηκε, κελεύει δὲ λέγειν ἡμῶν ἐκαστόν, ἀστε ὅπῃ ἂν ἀριστα ἐχειν δοκῇ ἐλέσθαι ἡμῶν δυνατοῖς εἴναι, παρόν αὐτῷ γνῶναι τε μόνῳ τὰ δέοντα καὶ κατ᾽.

3 ἔξουσιάν ἔξηγεῖσθαι ἢ βούλοιτο. ὑμῶν δὲ, ὡς ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες (οὐκ οἶδα ὡς 1 ἂν εἰπομε εἰπετῶς 2), θανμάσειν ἂν τις ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐκαστός πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἄπειπείν

4 ἔσπευσε. καὶ τοῖς ἐπίσταμαι ὡς τὸ εἰσηγεῖσθαι τι τοῖς ἐς κίνδυνον καθισταμένοις ἀνησυχήσαντο καὶ τῷ παρανενταὶ ὑδεμίαν ἴδια φέρει, ἄπνιαν δὲ ὡς

5 τὰ πολλὰ περισταται. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καλῶς μὲν φερόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν γνώμην ἡ τύχην ἀναφέρουσι τὰ πρασόμενα, σφαλέντες δὲ τὸν

6 παρανενταὶ αἰτιῶνται μοῦν. εἰρήσεται δὲ ὅμως. ἀπίαν γὰρ ὑποστείλασθαι τοὺς περὶ 3

7 σωτηρίας βουλευομένους οὐχ ὁσιον. βουλεύεσθε εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἀποβαίνειν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες· τίνι λιμένι παρακαταθέσθαι τὰς ναῦς ἐνυοῦντες; ἡ τίνος πόλεως τείχει τὸ ἐχυροῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν

8 αὐτῶν ἔξοντες· ἡ οὖν ἄκηκοστε ὡς ταύτῃ μὲν τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐννέα ἡμεροῦ ὁδὸν, λέγω δὲ εἰς Ἰούκην ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, κατατείνειν φασίν, ἀλίμενον τὸν παντελῶς ὑδαστάν καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὑδεῖν ἄν ἐπι-

9 πνεύσαιεν 4 ἐκκειμένην; τεῖχος δὲ οὐδέν ἐσ πάσαν Διβύτην ὅτι μὴ τὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀπολειπεῖται, τοῦτο Γιζερίχου βουλεύσαντος. 5 προσθέθη δὲ ἀν

10 τις ὡς καὶ τοῦτο τῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τὸ παράπαν ἐνδείχνει μέγασον. φέρε γὰρ, εἰ δοκεῖ, καὶ τι τῶν

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1 ὡς VP: πᾶς O.
2 εἰπετῶς V: εἴπρεπᾶς O.
3 περὶ V: ὑπὲρ O.
4 ἐπιπενεύσαιεν Haurg.: ἐπιπενεύσαιεν V, ἐπιπενεύσαιεν O.
5 βουλεύσαντος O: βασιλεύσαντος V.
the same time holding the power alone, has proposed an open discussion and bids each one of us speak, so that we shall be able to choose whichever course seems best, though it is possible for him to decide alone on what is needful and at his leisure to put it into execution as he wishes. But as for you, my fellow officers—I do not know how I am to say it easily—one might wonder that each one did not hasten to be the first to oppose the disembarkation. And yet I understand that the making of suggestions to those who are entering upon a perilous course brings no personal advantage to him who offers the advice, but as a general thing results in bringing blame upon him. For when things go well for men, they attribute their success to their own judgment or to fortune, but when they fail, they blame only the one who has advised them. Nevertheless I shall speak out. For it is not right for those who deliberate about safety to shrink from blame. You are purposing to disembark on the enemy's land, fellow-officers; but in what harbour are you planning to place the ships in safety? Or in what city's wall will you find security for yourselves? Have you not then heard that this promontory—I mean from Carthage to Jouse—extends, they say, for a journey of nine days, altogether without harbours and lying open to the wind from whatever quarter it may blow? And not a single walled town is left in all Libya except Carthage, thanks to the decision of Gizeric. And one might add that in this place, they say, water is entirely lacking. Come now, if you wish, let us

1 Cf. III. v. 8 ff.
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έναντίων ὑποθέμενοι τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιησόμεθα.

11 τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀγώνας καθισταμένους μηδὲν προσ-
δοκᾶν δύσκολον οὔτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τῆς τῶν

12 πραγμάτων φύσεως ἄξιον. ἂν οὖν ἄποβεβηκό-
των ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἣπειρον χειμῶν ἐπιτέσοι,1 οὐκ
ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ταῖς ναυσὶ ἤμβηναι, ἂ
ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀπο-

13 λωλέναι ταύτης; εἶτα τὶς ἡμῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
γενήσεται πόρος; μηδεὶς εἰς ἐμὲ βλεπῶν τὸν τῆς
δαπάνης χορηγὸν ἐπαρχον.2 ἀρχὴν γὰρ πᾶσαν

14 τῆς ὑπούργίας ἐστερημένην ἐπάναγκες ἐς ὄνομά
tε καὶ πρόσωπον ἰδιώτου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. ποῦ δὲ

15 ἡμῶν τῶν ὁπλῶν τὰ περιττὰ καταθεμένους ἢ ἄλλο
tι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δέχεσθαι δεῖσθε προσίτα τὸν
βάρβαρον; ἀλλὰ τἀῦτα μὲν οὔδε λέγειν καλὸν

16 ὅτα ἐκβήσεται. εὐγενὴς δὲ ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἡμᾶς
evθυνον ἠγαθὸν ἰέναι. ἠμένα γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἢ
tεσσαράκοντα στάδιους ἄνευς διέχοντα εἶναι

17 πολέμου διενεχεῖν οὐ χαλετῶν ἔσται. οὐκ εἰ

1 ἐπιτέσοι V : ἐπιτέση O. 2 ἐπαρχον V : ὑπαρχον O.
suppose that some adversity befall us, and with this in view make the decision. For that those who enter into contests of arms should expect no difficulty is not in keeping with human experience nor with the nature of things. If, then, after we have disembarked upon the mainland, a storm should fall upon us, will it not be necessary that one of two things befall the ships, either that they flee away as far as possible, or perish upon this promontory? Secondly, what means will there be of supplying us with necessities? Let no one look to me as the officer charged with the maintenance of the army. For every official, when deprived of the means of administering his office, is of necessity reduced to the name and character of a private person. And where shall we deposit our superfluous arms or any other part of our necessaries when we are compelled to receive the attack of the barbarians? Nay, as for this, it is not well even to say how it will turn out. But I think that we ought to make straight for Carthage. For they say that there is a harbour called Stagnum not more than forty stades distant from that city, which is entirely unguarded and large enough for the whole fleet. And if we make this the base of our operations, we shall carry on the war without difficulty. And I, for my part, think it likely that we shall win Carthage by a sudden attack, especially since the enemy are far away from it, and that after we have won it we shall have no further trouble. For it is a way with all men's undertakings that when the chief point has been captured, they collapse after no long time. It behoves us, therefore, to bear in mind all these things and to choose the best course.” So spoke Archelaus.
18 Βελισάριος δὲ ἐξεξεν ὃδε: "Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὁ ἔσυνάρχωτες, ἐπιγυνώμονος εἶναι τοὺς λόγους οἰέσθω, μηδὲ δὲ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστάτῳ εἰρηκών, ὡστε αὐτοῖς ἐπεσθαί, ὁποῖοί ποτ' ἀν ὅσι, ἀναγκαῖον ἀπασι γίγνεσθαι. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ δοκεί ἄριστα ἐναι ἀκήκοα· προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅσα γινώσκω ἐς μέσον ἐξενεγκόντα οὕτω σὺν ὑμῖν ἠλέσθαι τὰ κρέισσον. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς ἡξίων, ὥς ὅληγ̄ πρότερον οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται δεδίναι τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κυνδύνους ἀντικρος ἐλεγον καὶ ὡς ἐς φυγὴν τρέψονται, ἵππας πολεμία ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἰοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ἔτοιμον γῇ τὴν Διβύνης καὶ τὴν ἐς ταύτην ἀπόβασιν εἰρηναίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ἀξιωτῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡγούμαι εἶναι εὐχεσθαι μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ βελτίων, δεδομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐποσείσθαι τε καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἰέναι.

22 ὁν δὲ καὶ πλέονειν ἡμῖν εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος στόλος ἀπαντήσῃ πολεμίους, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις κατὰ κράτος φεύγουσι τὸ μὴ μεμπτοῖς εἶναι λεηφήται· ἀμάρτημα γὰρ προρρηθέν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐφ' ἓαυτοῦ φέρει· ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ διασωθεῖσιν οὐ· δεμια συγγνώμη· πολλῶν δὲ οὕτων, ἣν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ μένωμεν, δυσχερῶν, ἐκείνῳ μόνον ἱκανῶς, οἶμαι, λεπτοίν, τὸ μάλιστα δεδυττεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἄξιον, τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπανασεῖσις. ἡν γὰρ τὸς ἐπιπέσου χειμῶν, ἀνάγκη ταῖς ναυσίν, ὄστερ φασὶ, δυνῶν εὑρῆσαι τὸ ἔτερον, ἢ πόρων που τῆς Διβύνης διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς διαφθαρῆ-ναι ταύτης. τοῦτον ὡς ἓκ τῶν παρόντων ἐλο-μένως ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει; μόνας διεφθάρθαι 1 δὲ αὐτῶν Dindorf: τε αὐτῶν MSS.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, III. xv. 18–25

And Belisarius spoke as follows: "Let no one of you, fellow-officers, think that my words are those of censure, nor that they are spoken in the last place to the end that it may become necessary for all to follow them, of whatever sort they may be. For I have heard what seems best to each one of you, and it is becoming that I too should lay before you what I think, and then with you should choose the better course. But it is right to remind you of this fact, that the soldiers said openly a little earlier that they feared the dangers by sea and would turn to flight if a hostile ship should attack them, and we prayed God to shew us the land of Libya and allow us a peaceful disembarkation upon it. And since this is so, I think it the part of foolish men first to pray to receive from God the more favourable fortune, then when this is given them, to reject it and go in the contrary direction. And if we do sail straight for Carthage and a hostile fleet encounters us, the soldiers will remain without blame, if they flee with all their might—for a delinquency announced beforehand carries with it its own defence—but for us, even if we come through safely, there will be no forgiveness. Now while there are many difficulties if we remain in the ships, it will be sufficient, I think, to mention only one thing,—that by which especially they wish to frighten us when they hold over our heads the danger of a storm. For if any storm should fall upon us, one of two things, they say, must necessarily befall the ships, either that they flee far from Libya or be destroyed upon this headland. What then under the present circumstances will be more to our advantage to choose?
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tὰς ναῦς, ἡ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀπαντᾷ ἀπολογότατα τὰ πράγματα; χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἡ ὑπὸ μὲν ἀπαρα-
σκεύως ἐπιπέσοντες τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ νοῦν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαλλάξει τὰ γὰρ πολέμα τῷ
ἀπροσδοκήτῳ δουλοῦσα τέφυκε· μικρὸν δὲ ὅστερον ἦδη 1 τῶν πολεμίων ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγονό-
tων εἶ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγών
27 ἐσταὶ. προσθείη δὲ ἂν τις ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἰσως ἅγωνείησα δεῖσθε τῆς ἀποβάσεως, ἐκεῖνα
τε ξητεῖν ἃ νῦν παρόντα ἡμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα
tὶς τοὐς Ἄνδριλος διαμαχόμενοι μεταμαθεῖν τὴν
28 ἐσθαλὴν ἔρχεται. ἢν δὲ καὶ δεχομοῦ την καίτρα
ἀγωνιζόμενοι 2 ἡμῖν ἐπιγένθηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐν 
θαλάσσῃ φιλεὶ γίνεσθαι, πρὸς τέ τὰ κύματα καὶ τοὺς Ἀνδριλοὺς διαμαχόμενοι μεταμαθεῖν τὴν
29 εὐβοηλίαν εἰσόμεθα. φημὶ δὴ 3 ἔγγυτος χρήναι
ἀποβήναι μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον αὐτικά δὴ 
μᾶλα, ἵππους τε ἀποβιβάζοντας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ 
et τὸ ἄλλο ἐς τὴν χρέιαν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι 
οἰόμεθα, τάφρον δὲ κατὰ τάχος ὁρύζαι καὶ χαρά-
κῳμα περιβάλειν οὐδέν τι ἡς σοῦν ὅτους ὃν 4 
ἐποιεῖ τεῖχος εἰς άσφάλειαν ἡμῖν συντελέσαι 
δυνάμενον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὄρμομένους τὸν πόλεμον, 
30 ἧν τίς ἐπίοι, διενεγκεῖν. ἐπιλείψηι δὲ ἡμᾶς 
ἀνδρας ἅγαθοὺς γινομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν.
tοῖς γὰρ κρατοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ κυρίος εἶναι 
tῶν ἑκεῖνοι προσηκοῦτον ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ἡ νίκη 
pάντα περιβαλομένη τὰ χρήματα, ἐνθα ἰ ο ον 
κατατίθεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὡστε ὅμω ὃ τε σωτηρία 
καὶ ἡ τῶν ἅγαθον περιουσία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κεῖται."
31 Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος ξυνέφασάν τε καὶ

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1 ἢδη Ο: om. V.  2 ἀγωνιζόμενοι O: ἀγομένοις V.  3 δή Β Χριστ.: δὲ Ο.  4 ὅτου τίς ἀν Ο: ἡ ὡς ἢν τίς V.
to have the ships alone destroyed, or to have lost everything, men and all? But apart from this, at the present time we shall fall upon the enemy unprepared, and in all probability shall fare as we desire; for in warfare it is the unexpected which is accustomed to govern the course of events. But a little later, when the enemy have already made their preparation, the struggle we shall have will be one of strength evenly matched. And one might add that it will be necessary perhaps to fight even for the disembarkation, and to seek for that which now we have within our grasp but over which we are deliberating as a thing not necessary. And if at the very time, when we are engaged in conflict, a storm also comes upon us, as often happens on the sea, then while struggling both against the waves and against the Vandals, we shall come to regret our prudence. As for me, then, I say that we must disembark upon the land with all possible speed, landing horses and arms and whatever else we consider necessary for our use, and that we must dig a trench quickly and throw a stockade around us of a kind which can contribute to our safety no less than any walled town one might mention, and with that as our base must carry on the war from there if anyone should attack us. And if we shew ourselves brave men, we shall lack nothing in the way of provisions. For those who hold the mastery over their enemy are lords also of the enemy’s possessions; and it is the way of victory, first to invest herself with all the wealth, and then to set it down again on that side to which she inclines. Therefore, for you both the chance of safety and of having an abundance of good things lies in your own hands.”

When Belisarius had said this, the whole assembly
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ἀπέδεξαντο ἅπασις ὁ ἔξιλλογος, καὶ διαλυθέντες ὡς τάχιστα τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐποίησαντο τρισὶ μάλιστα μησίων ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου

32 ὁ ἀπόπλους ἐγένετο. καὶ δείξας τι χωρίον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ στρατηγὸς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ ναύταις ἐκέλευε τὴν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίοιν. ἄτε δὲ ὦχλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζόμενον καὶ τοῦ φόβου τὴν προβομίαν ἐγείροντος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκεκελευμένου, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τε τάφρος ὀρφικότερο καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ἐυντεκνεστὸ καὶ οἱ σκόλοπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ἐξιστητὶ-

χατο. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τι τοῖς τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι τετύχκει ἡμείς θαυμάσιον ἡλίκιον. ὡδατος πολὺ τοι τὸ χρῆμα ἢ γῆ ἀνήκειν, οὐ γεγονός τοῦτο ἐν Βυζαντίῳ πρότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀνύδρον ὡντος. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς πᾶσαν χρείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξένοις ἐπήρκεσε. καὶ συμπόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν ᾿Προκόπιος ἔληεγεν ὡς οὕ διὰ τὴν χρείαν τῇ τοῦ ὡδατος περιουσίᾳ χαίροι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι οἱ ἔμπολοι εἶναι δοκεῖ νῖκης ἀπονευτε καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι προλέγειν τὸ θείον.

36 ὄπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο. τὴν μὲν οὖν νῦκτα ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιώταις ἐξίππαντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἅλλοντο, φύλακάς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἦν ἐνάσκει ποιούμενοι, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι τὸ δοῦτας πέντε ἐν νη ἐκάστη Βελισάριος ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι φύλακής ἐνεκεῖ, καὶ τοὺς δρόμωνας ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ὀρμίζε-

σθαι, φυλασσομένους μὴ τις ἐπὶ αὐτὰς κακουρ-

γήσων οὐ.

1 ἐπὶ V: ὑπὲρ O. 2 χαίροι P: χαίρει V, χαίρειν O. 3 ἦπερ VP: ἄπερ O. 4 αὐτὰς VP: αὐτοὺς O.

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agreed and adopted his proposal, and separating from one another, they made the disembarkation as quickly as possible, about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shore the general bade both soldiers and sailors dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And they did as directed. And since a great throng was working and fear was stimulating their enthusiasm and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dug on the same day, but the stockade was also completed and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all around. Then, indeed, while they were digging the trench, something happened which was altogether amazing. A great abundance of water sprang forth from the earth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzacium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water sufficed for all uses of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procopius said that he rejoiced at the abundance of water, not so much because of its usefulness, as because it seemed to him a symbol of an easy victory, and that Heaven was foretelling a victory to them. This, at any rate, actually came to pass. So for that night all the soldiers bivouacked in the camp, setting guards and doing everything else as was customary, except, indeed, that Belisarius commanded five bowmen to remain in each ship for the purpose of a guard, and that the ships-of-war should anchor in a circle about them, taking care that no one should come against them to do them harm.
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XVI

Τῇ δὲ ύστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐς τούς ἀγροὺς ἀναβαίνοντες τῶν ὁραίων ἡπτομένοι, αὐτῶν τε τὰ σώματα οὐ στρατηγὸς ἡγίσατο καὶ ἐνεγκαλέσας ἀπαντας ἐλέει τουαίδε.

2 Τὸ μὲν βιαζέσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σιτίζε-σθαι ταύτη μόνον ἐν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις καροίς μοχθηρὸν πεφυκέναι δοκεῖ, ὅτι τὸ ἄδικον ἐν αὐτῷ φέρεται. νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τῆς δυσκολίας περίεστιν ὡστε, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, τῶν τοῦ δικαίων λόγων περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησμένους τῶν ἐντεύθεν κίνδυνον ἡμᾶς ἡλίκος ποτε ἐστιν ἐκλογή.

3 ξεσθαι χρή. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τὸ βαρεῖν ἐχὼν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀπεβίβασα ταύτην, ὅτι τοῖς Βανδίλοις οἱ Λίβνες, Ρωμαιοὶ τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες, ἀπιστοὶ τε εἰσὶ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὃμην ὡς οὕτως ἂν τί τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡμᾶς ἐπιλέπτῳ οὕτε τι ἐπίδρομης κακῶν

4 εργάσονται ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτὴ ὑμῶν ἡ ἀκράτεια ταύτα εἰς τοῦντιῶν ἡμῶν μεταβέβληκε. τοὺς γὰρ Λίβνας δῆπον κατηλ- λάξατε τοῖς Βανδίλοις, εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη τὴν

5 τούτων περιαγάγοντες δυσμένειαν. φύσει γὰρ πρόσετι τοῖς ἄδικουμένοις ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βιαζό- μένους ἔχθα, καὶ περιέστηκεν ὑμῖν τῆς τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας

1 αὐτῷ Wahlcr : αὐτῷ MSS.
2 ἀπ'—οβ' Haury : οὐδ'—οὐδὲ MSS.
3 περιαγάγοντες VÖ : περιάγοντες P.
But on the following day, when some of the soldiers went out into the fields and laid hands on the fruit, the general inflicted corporal punishment of no casual sort upon them, and he called all the army together and spoke as follows: "This using of violence and the eating of that which belongs to others seems at other times a wicked thing only on this account, that injustice is in the deed itself, as the saying is; but in the present instance so great an element of detriment is added to the wrongdoing that—if it is not too harsh to say so—we must consider the question of justice of less account and calculate the magnitude of the danger that may arise from your act. For I have disembarked you upon this land basing my confidence on this alone, that the Libyans, being Romans from of old, are unfaithful and hostile to the Vandals, and for this reason I thought that no necessaries would fail us and, besides, that the enemy would not do us any injury by a sudden attack. But now this your lack of self-control has changed it all and made the opposite true. For you have doubtless reconciled the Libyans to the Vandals, bringing their hostility round upon your own selves. For by nature those who are wronged feel enmity toward those who have done them violence, and it has come round to this that you have exchanged your own safety and a bountiful supply of good
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όλγα ἄττα ἀργύρια ἀνταλλάξασθαι, παρόν ὑμῖν παρ’ ἐκόντων ὄνουμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν κυρίων μὴτε ἀδίκους εἶναι δοκεῖν καλὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐστὶ
6 μάλιστα χρῆσθαι. νῦν οὖν πρὸς τε Βανδίλους ὑμῖν καὶ Διβνας ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται, λέγω δὲ ἐγὼ γε καὶ τὸν θεόν αὐτόν, δὴν οὐδεὶς ἀδίκον ἐστὶ ἐπὶ
7 κουρίαν παρακαλεῖ. ἀλλὰ παύσασθε μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιτηδέωτες,1 κέρδος δὲ ἀποσείσασθε
8 κινδύνων μεστοῖν. οὕτως γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ καρός ἔστιν ἐν ὁ μάλιστα σωφροσύνη μὲν οἷα τε σωφίζειν, ἀκοσμία δὲ ἐστὶν ἡθάνατον φέρει. τούτων γὰρ ἐπι-
μελομένους ὑμῖν ἔλεως μὲν ὁ θεός, εὖνοις δὲ ὁ τῶν Διβνίων λεώς, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων γένος εὔθειαν ἐστί.

9 Τοσαύτα εἰπών Βελισάριος καὶ τῶν ξύλλογον διαλύσας, ἔτει ἦκουσε Σύλλεκτον πόλιν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διέχουσαν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
eῖναι ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα φεροῦσῃ, ἦς τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθηρμένον ἐτύγχανεν, οἷ δὲ
tαύτη φιλημένοι τοὺς τῶν οἰκιῶν τοῖς παντα-
χόθεν ἀποφράζαντες διὰ τὰς τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπι-
τρομάς περιβόλον ἐφύλασσο σχῆμα, τῶν
dορυφόρων ἕνα Βοριάδην ἀμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν
tισῶν ἐστελλεν, ἐπαγγείλας αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ πόλεως
ἀποτεράσθαι καὶ, ἣν ἔλωσι, κακῶν μὲν μηδέν ἐν
αὐτή δράσαι, ἐπαγγείλασθαι δὲ ἀγαθὰ μυρία, καὶ
ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερία ἦκουσι, ὡςτε εἰσιτήτα

10 τῷ στρατῷ ἐς αὐτὴν γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ λύχνων
ἀφας ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι ἐν φάραγγι τε
γαθόντες διενυκτέοντες. ἐσθενὶ δὲ ἀγροίκων σὺν
ἀμάξαις ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσιόντων ἐπιτυχόντες συν-

1 ἐπιτηδέωτες V and Theophanes: ἐπεισηδέωτες PO.

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things for some few pieces of silver, when it was possible for you, by purchasing provisions from willing owners, not to appear unjust and at the same time to enjoy their friendship to the utmost. Now, therefore, the war will be between you and both Vandals and Libyans, and I, at least, say further that it will be against God himself, whose aid no one who does wrong can invoke. But do you cease trespassing wantonly upon the possessions of others, and reject a gain which is full of dangers. For this is that time in which above all others moderation is able to save, but lawlessness leads to death. For if you give heed to these things, you will find God propitious, the Libyan people well-disposed, and the race of the Vandals open to your attack.”

With these words Belisarius dismissed the assembly. And at that time he heard that the city of Syllectus was distant one day’s journey from the camp, lying close to the sea on the road leading to Carthage, and that the wall of this city had been torn down for a long time, but the inhabitants of the place had made a barrier on all sides by means of the walls of their houses, on account of the attacks of the Moors, and guarded a kind of fortified enclosure; he, accordingly, sent one of his spearmen, Boriades, together with some of the guards, commanding them to make an attempt on the city, and, if they captured it, to do no harm in it, but to promise a thousand good things and to say that they had come for the sake of the people’s freedom, that so the army might be able to enter into it. And they came near the city about dusk and passed the night hidden in a ravine. But at early dawn, meeting country folk going into the city
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11 εἰσῆλθόν τε ἐνωπὶ καὶ οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐσχον. καὶ ἔπει ήμέρα ἐγένετο, οὐδενὸς θορύβου ἠγησαμένου, τὸν τε ἱερέα καὶ εἰ τι δόκιμον ἦν ἐνυγκαλέσαντες τᾶς τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἑντολὰς ἀπῆγγελλον, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν εἰσόδων παρ’ ἑκόνυτων λαβόντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπέμψαν.

12 Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου ἐπιμελούμενος ἴτουμόλησε παραδοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους ἄμπαντας ὑποτ. ξυλληφθέντα δὲ καὶ των τῶν ἐς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀποκρίσεις αἰεί στελλομένων, οὐδὲ βεριδαρίους καλοῦσι, κακῶν μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδρασε, χρυσῷ δὲ πολλῷ δωρησάμενος καὶ πιστὰ λαβὼν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισεν ἀσπέρ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς Βαυτίλους ἐγραψεν, ἐφ’ ὧν τοῖς Βαυτίλου ἄρχουσι δοῦναι. ἐδῆλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε: "Ὅτε Βαυτίλοις πολεμεῖν ἔγραψεν οὔτε τὰς 3 Γιζερίχου σπουδαῖς λύσειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων τύραννον καθελεῖν ἐγχειροῦμεν, δὲ τῶν Γιζερίχου διαθήκων ὀλυγορήσας τὸν μὲν βασιλεὰ ὑμῶν καθείρξας τηρεῖ, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν οὐδὲν σφόδρα ἐμέσει κατ’ ἄρχας ἑκτείνει, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰς ὑψίς ἀφελόμενος ἐν φυλακῇ ἤχει, 4 οὗκ ἔων θανάτῳ καταλύσαι τὰς συμφορὰς. συλλάβασθε τοῖνυν ἡμῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦτε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὕτω μοχθῆρας τυραννίδος, ὅπως ἀν δύνησθε τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἠλευθερίας ἀπόνασθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐσεῖσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ

1 συνεισήλθον τε Ηαυρυγ: συνεισέλθοντες ΒΡ, συνεισέλθοντες Ο. 2 καὶ οὔδενι Π: εν οὐδενὶ Ψ, καὶ ομ. Ο. 3 οὔτε τάς Ηαυρυγ: οὔτε δὲ τάς Ψ, οὔδε τάς ΡΟ. 4 ἤχει Ψ: ἤχει Ο.
with waggons, they entered quietly with them and with no trouble took possession of the city. And when day came, no one having begun any disturbance, they called together the priest and all the other notables and announced the commands of the general, and receiving the keys of the entrances from willing hands, they sent them to the general.

On the same day the overseer of the public post deserted, handing over all the government horses. And they captured also one of those who are occasionally sent to bear the royal responses, whom they call "veredarii"; and the general did him no harm but presented him with much gold and, receiving pledges from him, put into his hand the letter which the Emperor Justinian had written to the Vandals, that he might give it to the magistrates of the Vandals. And the writing was as follows: "Neither have we decided to make war upon the Vandals, nor are we breaking the treaty of Gizeric, but we are attempting to dethrone your tyrant, who, making light of the testament of Gizeric, has imprisoned your king and is keeping him in custody, and those of his relatives whom he hated exceedingly he put to death at the first, and the rest, after robbing them of their sight, he keeps under guard, not allowing them to terminate their misfortunes by death. Do you, therefore, join forces with us and help us in freeing yourselves from so wicked a tyranny, in order that you may be able to enjoy both peace and freedom. For we give you pledges in the name of God that these things will

\footnote{i.e. couriers, from \emph{veredus}, "post-horse."}

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15 πιστὰ δίδομεν." τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἐδήλουν. ὦ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ Βελισαρίου λαβὼν ἔξενεγκείν μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν οὐκ ἐτὸλμησε, λάθρα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιδείξας οὐδὲν ὁ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διεπράξατο. 1

XVII

Βελισάριος δὲ ὡς ἐς παράταξιν ὅδε διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα έβαδίζε. τῶν δὲ ὑπασπιστῶν τριακοσίων ἀπολέξας, ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, Ἰωάννη παρέδωκεν, ὡς οἱ ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὁπτώνα τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ρωμαίοι. ἀνήρ δὲ ἤν Ἀρμένιος μὲν γένος, ἤπωσες δὲ καὶ ἄνδριας ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον μάλα ἤκουν. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευσε τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁγείσθαι, ὡς ἦσον ἤ κατὰ εἴκοσι σταδίους διέχοντα, καὶ ἤν τι πολέμιον ἔδω, κατὰ τάχος σημνῆαι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἀπαράσκευοι ἤς μάχην καθίστασθαι ἀναγκάζωντο. τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχους Μασσαγέτας ἐκέλευσε τοσοῦτοι ἢ καὶ πλείσσοι σταδίους ἀπέχοντας ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστέρον μέρος τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ ὀπισθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἐβάδιζεν. ὑπόπτευε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Ἐρμόνης Γελίμερα σφίσιν ἐπόμενον οὐκ ἢς μακρὰν ἐπιθησθεῖα. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος οὐδὲν ἦν δέος οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἡ ὡνος πορευομένοις. τοὺς δὲ ναῦτας ἐπήγγελλε παρακολουθεῖν τε ἢς καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος μὴ πολὺ διεστάναι, ἀλλ'
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come to you by our hand.” Such was the message of the emperor’s letter. But the man who received this from Belisarius did not dare to publish it openly, and though he shewed it secretly to his friends, he accomplished nothing whatever of consequence.

XVII

AND Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the march to Carthage. He chose out three hundred of his guards, men who were able warriors, and handed them over to John, who was in charge of the expenditures of the general’s household; such a person the Romans call “optio.”¹ And he was an Armenian by birth, a man gifted with discretion and courage in the highest degree. This John, then, he commanded to go ahead of the army, at a distance of not less than twenty stades, and if he should see anything of the enemy, to report it with all speed, so that they might not be compelled to enter into battle unprepared. And the allied Massagetae he commanded to travel constantly on the left of the army, keeping as many stades away or more; and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he suspected that it would not be long before Gelim-mer, following them from Hermione, would make an attack upon them. And these precautions were sufficient, for on the right side there was no fear, since they were travelling not far from the coast. And he commanded the sailors to follow along with them always and not to separate themselves far from

¹ An adjutant, the general’s own “choice.”

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6 Ἐἰς δὲ Σύλλεκτον ἄφικόμενος Βελισάριος σώφρονας τε τοὺς στρατιῶτας παρείχετο καὶ ὦτε ἁδίκων χειρῶν ἀρχοντας ὦτε τι ἀπὸ τρόπους ἐργαζόμενος, αὐτὸς τε προφήτητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος ὦτῳ τοὺς Λίβνας προσεποίησατο ὡστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καθάπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, ὦτε ὑποχωρούντων τῶν ταύτη ὁμημένων ὦτε τι ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγοράν παρεχομένως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῖς στρατιῶταις ἢ βουλοιντο
7 ὑπηρετούντων. οὐδοκήκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἁνύντες εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα διετελέσαμεν, ἡ κατὰ πόλιν, ἀν τῆς τύχης ἢ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα αὐλιζόμενοι. ὦτῳ γοῦν διὰ τὸ Ῥέπτης πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμητοῦ ἐς Γράσσην τὸ χωρίον ἄφικόμεθα, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριάκοσίους σταδίους Καρχηδόνος.
8 διέχον. ἦνθα δὴ βασιλείᾳ τε ἦν τοῦ Βαυδίλων ἠγουμένου καὶ παράδεισος κάλλιστος ἀπάντων ἦν ἡμεῖς ἵσμεν. ταῖς τε γὰρ κρήναις κομιδὴ κατάρρυτος ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλογους ἔχει πάμπολυ χρήμα. ὁπότε δὲ τὰ δένδρα μεστὰ ἐστὶ γὰρ κρήναις ἐστὶ ὡστε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκαστος τὴν καλύβην ἐν δένδροις ὁπότε ἐπήξατο καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τηνικάδε ὁμαιῶν ὄντων ἐς κόρον μὲν αὐτῶν ἄφικοντο.

1 ὦτε—ὁτὲ Haury: ὦτὲ—ὁτὲ MSS.
2 τύχη V: τόχοι PO. 3 ἐστὶ V: εἰςı PO.
the army, but when the wind was favouring to lower the great sails, and follow with the small sails, which they call "dolones,"¹ and when the wind dropped altogether to keep the ships under way as well as they could by rowing.

And when Belisarius reached Syllectus, the soldiers behaved with moderation, and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kindness, won the Libyans to his side so completely that thereafter he made the journey as if in his own land; for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we completed the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, or in a camp made as thoroughly secure as the circumstances permitted. Thus we passed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumentum and reached the place called Grasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the ruler of the Vandals and a park the most beautiful of all we know. For it is excellently watered by springs and has a great wealth of woods. And all the trees are full of fruit; so that each one of the soldiers pitched his tent among fruit-trees, and though all of them ate their fill of

¹ Topsails.
πάντες, αἰσθησίς δὲ σχεδὸν τι τῆς ὁπώρας ἐλασ-σουμένης οὐ γέγονε.

11 Γελίμερ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἕρμιονῃ τὸ πρώτον παρόν-τας ἦκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους, γράφει πρὸς τὸν ἄδελφον Ἄμματαν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἰλδέριχον μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, ὅσους εἶτε κατὰ γένος εἶτε ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἀποκτηνύναι, αὐτὸν δὲ τοὺς τῆς Βανδίλους καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο μάχιμον ἐν ἡ πόλει ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιήσασθαι, ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων ἐν στενοῖς γενομένων ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως προάστειον, δὲ δέκιμον καλοῦσιν, ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἄνωτάς κυκλώσασθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σαγηνεύσαντας διαφθείραι. Ἄμματας δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἔτοιμα, καὶ τὸν τῇ Ἰλδέριχον, ἐνγενῇ ὅντα, καὶ Ἐναγένῳ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν

12 Ἰδιβών όσοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδειοι ἦσαν. Ὅαμερ γὰρ ἦδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφάνιστο. τοὺς τῆς Βανδίλους ἐξοπλίσασι, ὡς εἰς καίρον ἐπιθησό-μενος, ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποίησατο. Γελίμερ δὲ ὅπισθεν, οὐ παρέχων ἡμῖν αἰσθησίων, εἶπε το, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτη ἢ ἐν Γράσσῃ ηὐλισάμεθα, κατάσκοποι ἐκατέρωθην ἑντες ξυνέ-μεζαν, πλήξαντες τοὺς ἄλλοις ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον ἐκάτεροι ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ταύτῃ γέγονεν ἡμῖν φανερὸν οὐ πόρρῳ ἐναι τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν πορευόμενοι τὰς ἱερᾶς ἐσορᾶν ἀδύνατα ἦν. πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαί, πόρρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διήκονοι, περίοδον τοῖς πλέονυι πολλῷ μέτρῳ ἐργάζονται, καὶ ἀκρα ἀνέχει, ἢς

15 ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἕρμου πολισμά ἐστι. Βελισάριος οὖν Ἄρχελαφ τῷ τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ Καλονύμῳ τῷ

1 ἐπάρχῃ V: ὑπάρχῳ RO.
the fruit, which was then ripe, there was practically no diminution to be seen in the fruit.

But Gelimer, as soon as he heard in Hermione that the enemy were at hand, wrote to his brother Ammatas in Carthage to kill Ilderic and all the others, connected with him either by birth or otherwise, whom he was keeping under guard, and commanded him to make ready the Vandals and all others in the city serviceable for war, in order that, when the enemy got inside the narrow passage at the suburb of the city which they call Decimum, they might come together from both sides and surround them and, catching them as in a net, destroy them. And Ammatas carried this out, and killed Ilderic, who was a relative of his, and Euagees, and all the Libyans who were intimate with them. For Hoamer had already departed from the world. And arming the Vandals, he made them ready, intending to make his attack at the opportune moment. But Gelimer was following behind, without letting it be known to us, except, indeed, that, on that night when we bivouacked in Grasse, scouts coming from both armies met each other, and after an exchange of blows they each retired to their own camp, and in this way it became evident to us that the enemy were not far away. As we proceeded from there it was impossible to discern the ships. For high rocks extending well into the sea cause mariners to make a great circuit, and there is a projecting headland, inside of which lies the town of Hermes. Belisarius therefore commanded Archelaus, the prefect, and Calonymus, the

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1 *i.e.* *Decimum miliarium*, tenth milestone from Carthage.
2 Before 533 A.D.
3 *Hermaeum*, Lat. *Mercurii promontorium* (Cape Bon).
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καβάρχῳ ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν μὴ καταίρειν, σταδίους δὲ ἀμφί τοὺς διακοσίους
17 ἀπέχοντας ἄχρι αὐτὸς καλέσῃ μένειν. ἐκ δὲ Γράσσης ἐξαναστάντες τεταρταῖοι ἐς Δέκιμον
ἀφικόμεθα, σταδίους ἐβδομήκοντα Καρχηδόνος ἀπέχουν.

XVIII

Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Γελίμερ τὸν ἄνεψιδον
Γιβαμούνδου ἐκέλευεν ἃμα Βανδίλων δισχίλιοις
φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον
μέρος ἴναι, ὅπως Ἀμμάτας μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος,
Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν, Γιβαμούνδος δὲ ἐκ
τῶν ἐν ἀριστέρᾳ χωρίων ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνώντες
ῥόου δὴ καὶ ἀπονάστερον τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν
2 πολεμίων ποιήσονται.ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ τε θεὶα καὶ
τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι,
ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεός, πόρρωθεν ὅρῳ τὰ ἐσόμενα,
ὑπογράφει ὅτι ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβῆσεθαι,
οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ η σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι.
οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἐπταϊσάν τι, ἂν οὐτω τύχοι, ἢ ὅρθος
ἔδρασαν, ἢ τραγωδον τῇ τύχῃ τρίβοις, φέρουσα
3 τάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. εἰ μὴ γὰρ
Βελισάριος οὐτω διφυκήσατο τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς
μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας,
τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστέρᾳ τῆς στρατιάς
ἵναι, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ διαφυγείν τοὺς Βανδίλους
4 ἐσχύσαμεν. καὶ τούτων δὲ οὗτω Βελισαρίῳ

1 καὶ Καλωνύμφῳ τῷ καβάρχῳ supplied by Haury from Theophanes.
2 ἄχρι τοῦ Π. ἄχρι τοῦ Π.
3 ποιήσονται τοῦ Π.: ποιήσονται τοῦ Π.

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admiral, not to put in at Carthage, but to remain about two hundred stades away until he himself should summon them. And departing from Grasse we came on the fourth day to Decimum, seventy stades distant from Carthage.

XVIII

And on that day Gelimer commanded his nephew Gibamundus with two thousand of the Vandals to go ahead of the rest of the army on the left side, in order that Ammatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer himself from the rear, and Gibamundus from the country to the left, might unite and accomplish the task of encircling the enemy with less difficulty and exertion. But as for me, during this struggle I was moved to wonder at the ways of Heaven and of men, noting how God, who sees from afar what will come to pass, traces out the manner in which it seems best to him that things should come to pass, while men, whether they are deceived or counsel aright, know not that they have failed, should that be the issue, or that they have succeeded, God’s purpose being that a path shall be made for Fortune, who presses on inevitably toward that which has been foreordained. For if Belisarius had not thus arranged his forces, commanding the men under John to take the lead, and the Massagetae to march on the left of the army, we should never have been able to escape the Vandals. And even with this planned so by Belisarius,
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βεβουλευμένων, εἰ τὸν καιρὸν Ἄμματας διεφύλαξε καὶ μη τοῦτον τεταρτημορίῳ τῆς ἡμέρας μᾶλιστα ἔθησεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ οὕτω Βανδίλοις διεφθάρη τὰ πράγματα· νῦν δὲ Ἄμματας προτερήσας ἀμφὶ μέσην ἡμέραν ἐς Δέκιμον ἦκε, μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένων ἡμῶν τε καὶ τὸν Βανδίλων στρατεύματος, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἀμαρτήσας, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν δέοντι ἀφίκετο χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βανδίλων πλήθος ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολυτῶν, ἀπαγγέλας τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Δέκιμον ἤκειν, αὐτὸς ἐν διάγοις καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστίνδην ξυνελεγμένος τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἡσίαν ἔσχει ἥλθε. καὶ κτείνει μὲν τῶν ἀρίστων δώδεκα ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις ἀγωνιζόμενος, πίπτει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς, ἀνὴρ ἀγάθος ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦτῷ γενόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν τροπη, ἐπεὶ Ἄμματας ἔπεσε, λαμπρὰ ἐγέγονεν, φεύγουτε δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἀνεσσόβουν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἐκ Καρχηδόνιος ἐς Δέκιμον ἱόντας. ἐπορεύοντο γὰρ οὐδὲν κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ὡς ἐς μάχην ξυντεταγμένοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμορίας, καὶ ταύτας βραχείας· κατὰ τριάκοντα γὰρ ἡ εἰκοσις ἡπεσαν. ὅροντες δὲ Βανδίλους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἄμματαν φεύγοντας, καὶ οἶμοι τοὺς διώκοντας παμπληθεῖς εἶναι, τρέψαντες τὰ νῦτα συνέβην. Ἡσίαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτῷ οὐς ἂν ἐντύχοιες κτείνουτες ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Καρχηδόνος πύλας ἀφίκοντο. καὶ γέγονε φόνος Βανδίλων ἐν τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίοις τοσοῦτος ὡστε εἰκάζειν τοὺς θεωμένους δισμυρίων πολεμίων τὸ ἔργον εἶναι.

1 ἀπαγγέλας VP: ἀπαγγέλας Ο.  
2 ἐκ καρχηδόνος PO: ἐν καρχηδόνι V.  
3 θεωμένους PO: τεθεωμένους V.  

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if Ammatas had observed the opportune time, and had not anticipated this by about the fourth part of a day, never would the cause of the Vandals have fallen as it did; but as it was, Ammatas came to Decimum about midday, in advance of the time, while both we and the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that he did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Vandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible, while he with a few men and not even the pick of the army came into conflict with John's men. And he killed twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, and he himself fell, having shewn himself a brave man in this engagement. And the rout, after Ammatas fell, became complete, and the Vandals, fleeing at top speed, swept back all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were advancing in no order and not drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that; for they were coming in bands of twenty or thirty. And seeing the Vandals under Ammatas fleeing, and thinking their pursuers were a great multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And John and his men, killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the gates of Carthage. And there was so great a slaughter of Vandals in the course of the seventy stades that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy twenty thousand strong.

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Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τὸν διυψίλου ἦκον ἐς Πεδίου Ἄλων, ὅπερ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίους τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχει ἐν ἀριστερὰ εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἱόντι, ἀνθρώπων δὲ καὶ δένδρων καὶ ἄλλου ότονου ἐρημών ἔστι, τῆς τοῦ ύδατος ἀλμης ἄλλο όυδὲν ἐνταῦθα πλην τοὺς ἄλας ἐώςης γίγνεσθαι. ἐνθα δὴ τοῖς Οὐννοις περιπεπτόκοτες ἀπόλοις πάντες. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ἀνήρ, ἀνδρίας μὲν καὶ ἱσχύος εὖ ἦκον, ὄλγων δὲ ἡγούμενος ἀνδρῶν οὗτος εἰχε γέρας ἐκ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων ἐν πάσι τοῖς Οὐννικῶι στρατεύματι πρῶτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσβάλλειν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν ἀνδρὶ Μασσαγέτῃ προτύφαντι ἐν μάχῃ τῶν τινα πολεμίων λαβεῖν, πρὶν γε δὴ τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν χειρῶν ἀρξαί. οὗτος ἀνήρ, ἔπει τὰ στρατεύματα οὐ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐγείρετο, ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππου, τοῦ τῶν Βανδίλων στρατοπέδου μόνος ὡς ἐγγυτάτω ἔστη. οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἡ τὴν τοῦ ἄνδρος εὐψυχίαν καταπλαγέντες ἢ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποτήσαντες ἐς αὐτοὺς μηχανᾶσθαι, οὕτε κινεῖσθαι. οὗτος τὸν ἄνδρα βαλεῖν ἐγνωσαν. οἱ με ἀυτοὺς οὐπότοτε Μασσαγέτῶν μάχην ἐν πείρᾳ ἔχοντας, ἀκούοντας δὲ κομιδὴ μάχιμον τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ κατορρωδῆσαι τοῖς κινδύνοις. ἀναστρέψας δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὀμοφύλους ὁ ἀνθρωπός ἐλεξεν ὡς ὁ θεὸς σφίς ἐτοίμον βρῶσιν τοὺς ξένους τούσδε πέμψειν. οὕτω δὴ ὄρμωμένους αὐτοὺς

1 χρόνον V: τρόπον P in context, γρ. χρόνον P in marg., om. O.
2 λαβείν VO: βαλείν P with λαβείν written above it.
3 οὔτε—οὔτε Haury: οὔδε—οὔδε MSS.
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At the same time Gibamundus and his two thousand came to Pedion Halon, which is forty stades distant from Decimum on the left as one goes to Carthage, and is destitute of human habitation or trees or anything else, since the salt in the water permits nothing except salt to be produced there; in that place they encountered the Huns and were all destroyed. Now there was a certain man among the Massagetae, well gifted with courage and strength of body, the leader of a few men; this man had the privilege handed down from his fathers and ancestors to be the first in all the Hunnic armies to attack the enemy. For it was not lawful for a man of the Massagetae to strike first in battle and capture one of the enemy until, indeed, someone from this house began the struggle with the enemy. So when the two armies had come not far from each other, this man rode out and stopped alone close to the army of the Vandals. And the Vandals, either because they were dumbfounded at the courageous spirit of the man or perhaps because they suspected that the enemy were contriving something against them, decided neither to move nor to shoot at the man. And I think that, since they had never had experience of battle with the Massagetae, but heard that the nation was very warlike, they were for this reason terrified at the danger. And the man, returning to his compatriots, said that God had sent them these strangers as a ready feast. Then at length they made
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οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ λύσαντες τὴν
tάξιν καὶ ἤκιστα ἐς ἀλκην ἰδόντες ἀπαντας
αἰσχρῶς διεφθάρησαν.

XIX

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν πεπυσα-
μένοι ἐπὶ τὸ Δέκιμον ἤμειν. Βελισάριος δὲ
χῶρον ἰδὼν ἐς στρατόπεδον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα,
pέντε καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ Δεκίμου δι-
έχοντα, χαράκωμα τε αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν εὑ μάλα
πεποιημένους καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἁπαντας ἐντάθα
καταστησάμενος ἀπαν τε ἔξυγκαλεσα το το στρά-
2 τεμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε: "Ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀγωνίας καὶς,
ἀνδρες συστρατιῶτα, ὡθη πάρεστιν αἰσθάνομαι
γὰρ προσιόντας ἡμῖν τοὺς πολέμιους· τὸς δὲ ναὶς
ὡς πορρωτάτω ἡμῶν ἡ τοῦ τόπου φύσις ἀπή-
νεγκε· περιέστηκε δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς
3 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὐσα. οὑ γὰρ ἢστιν οὐλοὶς
φιλία, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα, ἄτικ δὴ καὶ
πιστεύοντες τὸ θαρρεῖν ὑπέρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐξο-
4 μεν. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα,1 εἰκὼς
ἀν εἴη καὶ περιέσεσθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν
ἐναντίων· ἢν δὲ τὰς μαλακίζοιμεθα, λειτυθηται
ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις γεγενημένοις αἰσχρῶς διεφ-
5 θάρθαι. καὶ τοι πολλὰ ἡμῖν ἐφόδια πρὸς τὴν
νίκην ἔστι· τὸ τε δίκαιον, μεθ’ ὅ πρὸς τοὺς δυσ-
μενένης ἡκομεν (τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν κομμούμενοι
πάρεσμεν), καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων ἐς τὸν σφῶν
6 αὐτῶν τύραννον ἔχοσ. ἢ τε γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄμμ-
μαχία τοῖς τὰ δίκαια προτεινομένους προσγίνε-

1 γενοίμεθα O : γενόμεθα VP.
their onset and the Vandals did not withstand them, but breaking their ranks and never thinking of resistance, they were all disgracefully destroyed.

XIX

But we, having learned nothing at all of what had happened, were going on to Decimum. And Belisarius, seeing a place well adapted for a camp, thirty-five stades distant from Decimum, surrounded it with a stockade which was very well made, and placing all the infantry there and calling together the whole army, he spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the decisive moment of the struggle is already at hand; for I perceive that the enemy are advancing upon us; and the ships have been taken far away from us by the nature of the place; and it has come round to this that our hope of safety lies in the strength of our hands. For there is not a friendly city, no, nor any other stronghold, in which we may put our trust and have confidence concerning ourselves. But if we should show ourselves brave men, it is probable that we shall still overcome the enemy in the war; but if we should weaken at all, it will remain for us to fall under the hand of the Vandals and to be destroyed disgracefully. And yet there are many advantages on our side to help us on toward victory; for we have with us both justice, with which we have come against our enemy (for we are here in order to recover what is our own), and the hatred of the Vandals toward their own tyrant. For the alliance of God follows naturally those who put justice
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σθαί πέφυκε, καὶ στρατιώτης τῷ κρατοῦντι δύσνους
7 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταται. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἡμεῖς μὲν Πέρσας τε καὶ Σκύθας τὸν ἀπαντα ὀμιλήσαμεν χρόνων, οἱ δὲ Βανδῖλοι, ἐξ ὧν τοῦ Διβύς ἐκράτησαν, οὐδένα πολέμιον ὅτι μὴ γυμνοῦς Μαρουσίους τεθέανται. τὰς δὲ οὐκ οίδεν ὡς ἔργον παντὸς μελέτη μὲν ἐς ἐμπειρίαν, ἀργία δὲ εἰς ἀμαθίαν φέρει; τὸ μὲν οὖν χαράκωμα, οἴδεν ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον διαφέρειν δεῖσαι, ὡς ἀριστα 9 ἡμῖν πεποιῆσθαι ἔμμβαινε. πάρεστι δὲ ἡμῖν τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα φέρειν οὐχ οὐδὲ τε ἐσμὲν ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένοις οἴνει, καὶ ἀναστρέψαντας ἄν ἐνθάδε ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων 10 ἐπιλίποι. εὐχομαι δὲ ὡμῶν ἐκαστὸν τῆς τε οἰκείας ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον άναμηνήσχεντα οὕτω δὴ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρεῖν.

11 Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ ἐπευξάμενος τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἰππέων ἁπάντων ἐξῆλασεν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐξυμφορον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεύσαι στρατῷ, ἄλλα ἔξω τοῖς ἰππεύσι πρῶτον ἀκροβολισμένῳ καὶ ἀποπειρασμένῳ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως οὕτω δὴ τῷ ὅλῳ στρατεύματι διαμάχεσθαι.

12 στείλας οὖν ἐμπροσθεῖν τοὺς τῶν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντας, σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς αὐτῶς εἴπετο. 13 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φοιδεράτοι ἤν τοῖς ἤγεμόσιν ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, ὄρωσι τοὺς τῶν πεπτωκότων

1 καταφρονήματι Ῥ: μετὰ φρονήματος Ἡ, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι Ὁ.

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forward, and a soldier who is ill-disposed toward his ruler knows not how to play the part of a brave man. And apart from this, we have been engaged with Persians and Scythians all the time, but the Vandals, since the time they conquered Libya, have seen not a single enemy except naked Moors. And who does not know that in every work practice leads to skill, while idleness leads to inefficiency? Now the stockade, from which we shall have to carry on the war, has been made by us in the best possible manner. And we are able to deposit here our weapons and everything else which we are not able to carry when we go forth; and when we return here again, no kind of provisions can fail us. And I pray that each one of you, calling to mind his own valour and those whom he has left at home, may so march with contempt against the enemy."

After speaking these words and uttering a prayer after them, Belisarius left his wife and the barricaded camp to the infantry, and himself set forth with all the horsemen. For it did not seem to him advantageous for the present to risk an engagement with the whole army, but it seemed wise to skirmish first with the horsemen and make trial of the enemy's strength, and finally to fight a decisive battle with the whole army. Sending forward, therefore, the commanders of the foederati,\(^1\) he himself followed with the rest of the force and his own spearmen and guards. And when the foederati and their leaders reached Decimum, they saw the corpses of the

\(^1\) "Auxiliaries"; see chap. xi. 3, 4.
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νεκροὺς, δόθεκα μὲν ἑταίρους τῶν μετὰ Ἰωάννου, πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμμάταν καὶ Βανδῖλων τινᾶς.

15 παρὰ δὲ τῶν ταύτη φιλημένων τῶν πάντα λόγων ἀκούσαντες ἡσχαλλοῦν, ἀπορούμενοι ὅτι αὐτοῖς χωρητεά εἰη. ἔτι δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων ἀπάντα περισκοπουμένων τὰ ἑκεῖνη χωρία, κονιορτὸς τε ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐφαίνετο καὶ μικρὸν ὤστερον Βανδῖλων ἐπτέων πάμπολυ

16 χρῆμα. καὶ πέμπουσι μὲν πρὸς 1 Βελισάριον, ὡς τάχιστα ἢκειν αἰτοῦντες, ἀτε δὴ σφίσιν ἐγκεφυ- μένων τῶν πολεμίων. τῶν δὲ ἄρχωντων αἰ γνώμαι δίχα ἐφέροντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥξιον τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ὁμοσε ἱέναι, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων σφίσιν

18 ἐς τοῦτο ἐφασκον εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφιλονεικοῦσιν 2 οἱ βάρβαροι ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἡγομένου αὐτοῖς Γελίμερος καὶ ὁδὸς χρησαμένου μεταξὺ ᾧς τε Βελισάριος εἶχε καὶ ὃς οἱ Μασσαγέται ἦκον οἱ Γιβαμούνδῳ ξυμ- μίζαντες. λοφώδεις δὲ χώροι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα 3 οὕτε οὐτε 4 τὸ Γιβαμούνδου πάθος 5 ἱδεὶν οὐτε 4 τὸ Βελισαρίου χαράκωμα ξυνεχώρησαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ὄδον ἦν οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐπορεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἀλλήλους γεγόνασιν, ἐρή μὴ στρατιὰ ἑκατέρα ἐνέτεσει, ὅποτεροι τοῦ πάντων ὑψηλο- τάτου τῶν ἑκεῖνη λόφων κρατήσουσιν. ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτιθέειος εἶναι, καὶ αὐτὸ ἑκάτεροι ἐνθένδε ἱροῦντο τοῖς πολεμίως

22 εἰς χεῖρας ἱέναι. προτερήσαντες δὲ οἱ Βανδῖλοι

1 πρὸς VO: ὃς Ρ. 2 διαφιλονεικοῦσιν VO: φιλονεικοῦσιν Ρ. 3 ἑκάτερα VO: ἑκατέροις Ρ. 4 οὕτε—οὐτε Haurv: οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ MSS. 5 πάθος ΡΟ: πλῆθος V.

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fallen—twelve comrades from the forces of John and near them Ammatas and some of the Vandals. And hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight, they were vexed, being at a loss as to where they ought to go. But while they were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared from the south and a little later a very large force of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible, since the enemy were bearing down upon them. And the opinions of the commanders were divided. For some thought that they ought to close with their assailants, but the others said that their force was not sufficient for this. And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leadership of Gelimer, who was following a road between the one which Belisarius was travelling and the one by which the Massagetae who had encountered Gibamundus had come. But since the land was hilly on both sides, it did not allow him to see either the disaster of Gibamundus or Belisarius' stockade, nor even the road along which Belisarius' men were advancing. But when they came near each other, a contest arose between the two armies as to which should capture the highest of all the hills there. For it seemed a suitable one to encamp upon, and both sides preferred to engage with the enemy from there. And the Vandals, coming first, took possession of the
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tὸν τε λόφον καταλαμβάνουσιν ὥθισμόφ χρησάμενοι καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἣδη φοβερὸ

23 αὐτοῖς γεγονότες. φεύγοντες δὲ Ἄρμαν έ ες χωρίων ἀφικνοῦντα σταδίους ἐπτα τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχον, ἐνθα ἢ Ὑλίαριν τὸν Βελισαρίου δορυ-φόρον ἔχων ὑπασπισταῖς ὀκτακοσίοις τετύχηκεν

24 εἰναι. πάντες τε φόντο ὡς σφάς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὑλίαριν δεξάμενοι στήσουντα τε καὶ ἔξω αὐτοῖς ὁμός ἐπὶ τοὺς Βανδίλους χωρήσωσιν ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ἀμα ἐγένοντο, παρὰ δόξαν ἢδη ξύμπαντες ἀνά κράτος τε εφευγον καὶ δρόμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βελισάριου ἔσαν.

25 Ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἴπειν ὃ τί ποτε παθὼν Γελίμερ, ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ἔχων τὸ τοῦ πολέμου κράτος, ἔθελονιος αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθήκα, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἄβουλίας ἀναφέρειν δεῖσθε, ὅσ, ἡνίκα τι ἄνθρωπον συμβῆναι βουλεύται ἕλεοιρον, τῶν λογισμῶν ἀφέμενος πρῶτον οὐκ εἴ τα αὐτοῖς διαιστάντα ἐς βολήν ἔρχε-σθαι. εἰτε γὰρ τὴν δίώξειν εὐθυωρὰ ἐποίησαι, οὐδ’ ἀν αὐτὸν ὑποστήναι Βελισάριον οἶμαι, ἀλλ’ ἀρδὴν ἀπαντά ἡμῖν διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματ’

26 τοσοῦτον δὴ το ετὸς τῶν Βανδίλων πλῆθος τὸ τοῦ αὐτῶν κατὰ ΐρμαίων δέος ἕφανετο. εἰτε καὶ Καρχηδόνιος εὔθυ ἡλάσθαι, τοὺς τε σὺν Ἰώάννῃ εὐπτετὸς ἀν ἀπαντᾶς ἐκτενεῖν, οἱ γε κατὰ ἕνα καὶ δύο ἀφροντιστήσαντες τε καὶ περιτότους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ποιοῦμενοι τοὺς κειμένους ἐσύλων.

27 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξῆν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώσάμενος τῶν τε ἡμετέρων νεῶν οὐ πόρρω ἀφικομένων ἐκράτει καὶ ἀληθῆ ἡμῖν ἀνέστελλε τοῦ τε ἀπόσπου

1 βουλεύται VP corr. O: βούλεται P pr. m. V₁.

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hill by crowding off their assailants and routed the enemy, having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place seven stades distant from Decimum, where, as it happened, Uliaris, the personal guard of Belisarius, was, with eight hundred guardsmen. And all supposed that Uliaris would receive them and hold his position, and together with them would go against the Vandals; but when they came together, these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius.

From then on I am unable to say what happened to Gelimer that, having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy, unless one ought to refer foolish actions also to God, who, whenever He purposes that some adversity shall befall a man, touches first his reason and does not permit that which will be to his advantage to come to his consideration. For if, on the one hand, he had made the pursuit immediately, I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him, but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fear they inspired in the Romans; or if, on the other hand, he had even ridden straight for Carthage, he would easily have killed all John's men, who, heedless of everything else, were wandering about the plain one by one or by twos and stripping the dead. And he would have preserved the city with its treasures, and captured our ships, which had come rather near, and he would have withdrawn from us
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καὶ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔπραξε τούτων οὐδέτερα. βαδην δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπει ἐν τῷ ὀμαλεὶ ἐγένετο καὶ τάδελφοι τὸν νεκρὸν εἶδεν, ἐς τὲ ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράπετο καὶ τῆς ταφῆς ἐπιμελούμενοι οὕτω δὴ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἦμβλυνε, ἢς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέοθαί ἔδυνατο.

30 τοῖς δὲ φεύγονσι Βελισαρίους ἀπαντήσας στῆναι κελεύει, κοσμίως τε ἀπαντας διατάξας καὶ πολλὰ ὀνειδίσας, ἐπείδη τὴν τε Ἀμμάτα τελευτῆν καὶ τὴν Ἰωάννου δίωξιν ἤκουσε 1 καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιθέτο ὥσα ἐβούλετο, δρόμῳ ἐπὶ Γελύμερα τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐχώρει. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀτακτοὶ τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ἥδη γεγονότες ἐπίωντας αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, πολλοὺς ἐνταῖθα ἁπο-

31 βαλόντες, καὶ ἡ μάχα ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἐφευγὸν δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐκ ἐς Καρχηδόνα οὐδὲ ἐς Βυζάκιον, ὅθενπερ ἤκου, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ Βουλλῆς πεδίων καὶ τὴν 32 εἰς Νουμίδας οὐδὲν φέρουσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ οἱ Μασσαγέται περὶ λύχνων ἀφὰς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναστρέψαντες καὶ ἀπαντά τὰ ἐμβεβη-

κότα μαθόντες τε καὶ ἀναγγειλαντες 2 σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν Δεκίμῳ διενυκτέρευσαν.

XX

Τῇ δὲ υστερεῖα τῶν πεζῶν ἀμα τῇ Βελισαρίου γυναικὶ παραγενομένων ἐξύμπαντες τὴν ἔπὶ Καρ-

χηδόνα ἐπορευόμεθα, ἐνθα δὴ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἤκουσε ηὐλισάμεθα, καὶ τοιο ἐκώλυνεν οὐδεὶς ἐς τὴν

1 καὶ τὴν—ἥκουσε ΥΟ: ἥκουσε καὶ τὴν ἱωάννου μεμάθηκε δίωξιν Ρ. 2 ἀναγγειλαντες Ψ: ἀγγειλαντες ΡΟ.

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all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his brother, he turned to lamentations, and, in caring for his burial, he blunted the edge of his opportunity—an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again. Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives, bade them stop, and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length; then, after hearing of the death of Ammatas and the pursuit of John, and learning what he wished concerning the place and the enemy, he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians, having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared, did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there, and the battle ended at night. Now the Vandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium, whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading into Numidia. So the men with John and the Massagetae returned to us about dusk, and after learning all that had happened and reporting what they had done, they passed the night with us in Decimum.

XX

But on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius came up and we all proceeded together on the road toward Carthage, which we reached in the late evening; and we passed the night in the open, although no one hindered us
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πόλιν αὐτίκα ἐσελάσατι. οὐ τε γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίναντες λύχνα ἔκαιον πανθημεῖ καὶ ἡ πόλις κατελάμπετο τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἐκείνην, καὶ τῶν Βανδίλων οἱ ἀπολελειμμένοι ἐν τοῖς ίεροῖς ἱκέται ἐκάθηντο. ἄλλὰ Βελισάριος διεκώλυσε τοῦ μῆτε ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς τὸν πολεμίων γενέσθαι μῆτε τοῖς στρατιωταῖς ἀδειαν εἶναι, ἀτε ἐν νυκτὶ θανάσωσον, ἐς ἄρπαγνη τραπέσθαι. ¹ ταύτη ἡ ἡμέρα αἱ νῆσοι, εὐροῦ σφίσιν ἀνέμου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἡ τὴν ἀκραν ἀφίκοντο. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἣδη γὰρ αὐτᾶς καθεώρων, τὰς σείδρας ἀλύσεις τοῦ λιμένος, ὅπως ἦ Μαυράκιον καλοῦσιν, ἀφελομένοι, εἰσίτητα τῷ στόλῳ ἐποίουν. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐλῇ ὦκημα σκότους ἀνάπλεων, ὅ δὲ Ἀγκώνα καλοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἐνθα ἐνεβάλλοντο ἀπαντεῖσιν ὦς ἄν χαλεπαῖνοι ὠ τύραννοι. ἐνταῦθα καθεργομένοι ἐνοχγανοῖν πολλοῖ τῶν ἐσέων ἐμπορικῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. τούτοις γὰρ δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ἐπικαλῶν ὀς δὴ αὐτοὶ βασιλεά ἐς τὸν πολεμίῳ ἐναγάγοιεν, ἔμελλον τῇ διαθεραιμένων πάντες, δόξαν τοῦτο Γελίμερ ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦ Ἀμμάτας ἐν Δεκίμῳ ἀπέθανεν. παρὰ τὸ στόλον κυνδύνῳ ἠθεῖν. τοῦτον ὁ φύλαξ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ἐπεὶ τὰ τὰ ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραγματεύσαν χρίσιμο καὶ τὸν στόλον εἶδε τῆς ἀκρας ἐντός, ἔσεθών ἐς τῷ οἴκημα πυθαπλαιμένας τῶν ἄνδρῶν, οὐπώ τὰ γάθα απειπομένους, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ καθημένων καὶ καραδοκοῦντων τῶν θάνατον, τί

¹ τραπέσθαι: Ἰκέσθαι V.
² Ἡαυρυ ἀδικεῖ ταύτη.
³ φύλαξ V: δεσμοφύλαξ RO.
from marching into the city at once. For the Carthaginians opened the gates and burned lights everywhere and the city was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who had been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to guard against any ambuscade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from having freedom to turn to plundering, as they might under the concealment of night. On that day, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland, and the Carthaginians, for they already sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium, and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king’s palace a room filled with darkness, which the Carthaginians call Ancon, where all were cast with whom the tyrant was angry. In that place, as it happened, many of the eastern merchants had been confined up to that time. For Gelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having urged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed, all of them, this having been decided upon by Gelimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum; to such an extremity of danger did they come. The guard of this prison, upon hearing what had taken place in Decimum and seeing the fleet inside the point, entered the room and enquired of the men, who had not yet learned the good news, but were sitting in the darkness and expecting death, what among their
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ποτε ἄρα βουλομένοις ἄν αὐτοῖς εἰ ὑπάρχ.
8 ὀντων προεμένοις σεσώσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἀπαντα
αἱρουμένων διδόναι ἀ βούλοιτο, ἀλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
ητεὶ τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, ἥξιον δὲ ἀπαντας
ὁμώνυμαι ὡς, ἣν διαφύγοιεν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἐν κινδύνων
γενησομένω ξυλλήψονται ὡς δύναμις. οἱ μὲν
9 οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀπαντα ἐφραζὲ καὶ σανίδα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν
ἄφελῶν μέρους προσίοντα τὸν στόλον ἐπέδειξε,1
τῆς τε εἰρκτῆς ἀφεὶς ἀπαντας ἔριν αὐτοῖς ἤει.
10 Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν ὄντες, οὕτω τι ἄκηκοίτες
ὅν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἐδρασε, διηπορούντο, καὶ
tὰ ἱστία χαλάσαντες ἐς το Ἡρκούριον πέμ-
ψαντες τὰ ἐν Δεκίμω πραχέντα ἐμαθον, καὶ περι-
χαρεῖς γενόμενοι ἔπλευν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος
σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ὄντος ἀπὸ σταδίων πενηκοντά
καὶ ἐκατὸν Καρχηδόνος ἐγένοντο, Ἅρχελαος μὲν
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ὅρμεσας ἑκέλευον,
tὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δεδιότες πρόρρησιν, οἱ δὲ
11 ναῦται οὐκ ἔπεθοντο. τὴν τε γὰρ ἔκειν αἰτή
ἀλίμενον εἶναι ἐφασκὸν καὶ χειμῶν ἐπίσημον
αὐτίκα μᾶλα γενήσεσθαι ἑπίδοξον εἶναι, ὅν ὁ ἡ
12 ἐπιγιρόοι Κυπριανᾶ καλοῦσι. προὐλεγόν τε ὡς,
eὶ ἐνταῦθα σφίσιν ἐπιγείνηται, οὐδὲν ἀν τῶν νεών
μίαν διασώσασθαι δυνατοὶ εἰεν. καὶ ἢν δὲ οὕτῳς.
13 ἐν βραχεὶ οὐν τὰ τε ἱστία χαλάσαντες καὶ βου-
λευσάμενοι τοῦ μὲν Μανδράκιου πειρᾶσασθαι οὐκ
14 ὤντο χρῆμα (τὰς τε γὰρ Βελσάριου ἐντολὰς
ὑπεστέλλωντο καὶ ἀμα τὴν ἐς τὸ Μανδράκιον
εἴσοδον ταῖς ἀλλότερῶν ἀποκεκλείσθαι ὑπὸ πτευον,
ἀλλως τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ τὸν λιμένα ἑκείνον
1 ἐπέδειξε ΒΟ: ἐπέδειξε Ρ.

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possessions they would be willing to give up and be saved. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures, but required them all to swear that, if they escaped, they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them the whole story, and tearing off a plank from the side toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them.

But the men on the ships, having as yet heard nothing of what the army had done on the land, were completely at a loss, and slackening their sails they sent to the town of Mercurium; there they learned what had taken place at Decimum, and becoming exceedingly joyful sailed on. And when, with a favouring wind blowing, they came to within one hundred and fifty stades of Carthage, Archelaus and the soldiers bade them anchor there, fearing the warning of the general, but the sailors would not obey. For they said that the promontory at that point was without a harbour and also that the indications were that a well-known storm, which the natives call Cypriana, would arise immediately. And they predicted that, if it came upon them in that place, they would not be able to save even one of the ships. And it was as they said. So they slackened their sails for a short time and deliberated; and they did not think they ought to try for Mandracium (for they shrank from violating the commands of Belisarius, and at the same time they suspected that the entrance to Mandracium was closed by the chains, and besides they feared that this harbour was not
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οὐχ ἰκανὸν εἶναι), τὸ δὲ Στάγμουν σφίσιν ἐφαύνετο ἐν καλῷ κεῖσθαι (μέτρῳ γὰρ σταδίων τεσσαράκοντα Καρχηδόνος διέχει) ἐμπόδιον τε οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν στόλον ἀπαντὰ ἰκανῶς 16 πεφυκέναι, ἐνθὰ δὴ ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς ὀρμίσκατο πάντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι Καλώνυμος ἀμα τῶν ναυτῶν τισι, τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ ἀφροντιστήσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ἐς τὸ Ἰονιδάκιον λάθρα ἀπέβη, οὔδενδος κωλύσαι τολμήσαντος, καὶ χρήματα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὁκημένων ἐμπόρων ἕξον τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων διήρτασε.

17 Τῇ δὲ ἐπηγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Βελεσάριος τοὺς τε ἐν ταῖς ναοῖς τὴν ἀποβασίν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὅλον διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὡς ἢς μάχην ἔπεις Καρχηδόνα ἐσῆλυνεν· ἐδείκε γὰρ μὴ τίς οἱ ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμών ὑπαντιάσῃ.

18 ἐνθὰ δὴ πολλά μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπέμνησεν, ἢλικα σφίσιν εὐτυχήματα γένοιτο, ἐπειδὴ σωφροσύνης ἐς Λίβνας ἐπεδείξαντο, πολλὰ δὲ παρῆνεσε τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὡς μάλιστα.

19 διασώσασθαι. Λίβνας γὰρ ἀπαντας Ἱρωμαίους τὸ ἄνεκαθεν ὄντας γενέσθαι τε ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις οὐτὶ ἑθελούσιοι καὶ πολλὰ πεποιθέναι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων ἀνόσια. διὸ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα ἐς πόλεμον καταστήσαι Βανδίλοις, εἶναι τε οὐχ ὅσιον ἐμμβήναι τι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄχαρι ἐς ἀνθρώπους δυνὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἰονιδάκιον ἐστράτευσαν. τοσαύτα παραπέσοντα ἐς τε Καρχηδόνα εἰσῆλθε καὶ, ἐπτεῖ πολέμων σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐφαύνετο,1 ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀναβὰς

1 ἐφαύνετο ΒΡ: ἀπῆντα Ο.
sufficient for the whole fleet) but Stagnum seemed to them well situated (for it is forty stades distant from Carthage), and there was nothing in it to hinder them, and also it was large enough for the whole fleet. There they arrived about dusk and all anchored, except, indeed, that Calonymus with some of the sailors, disregarding the general and all the others, went off secretly to Mandracium, no one daring to hinder him, and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians.

On the following day Belisarius commanded those on the ships to disembark, and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation, he marched into Carthage; for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at length of how much good fortune had come to them because they had displayed moderation toward the Libyans, and he exhorted them earnestly to preserve good order with the greatest care in Carthage. For all the Libyans had been Romans in earlier times and had come under the Vandals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hands of these barbarians. For this very reason the emperor had entered into war with the Vandals, and it was not holy that any harm should come from them to the people whose freedom they had made the ground for taking the field against the Vandals. After such words of exhortation he entered Carthage, and, since no enemy was seen by them, he went up to the

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22 ἐν τῷ Γελίμερος θρόνῳ ἐκάθισεν. ἐνταῦθα ἐντυχόντες πολλῆς κραυγῆς Βελισαρίῳ ἐμπόρουν τε πλήθος καὶ ἄλλοι Καρχηδόνιοι ὅσοι ἐπιθαλάσσια τὰ οἰκία₁ τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἤτιοντο ἁρπαγὴν σφίσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ προλαβοῦσῃ νυκτὶ τρὸς τῶν ναυτῶν ἐξαιτήματα. ὁ δὲ Καλώνυμοι ὀρκοῖς καταλαμβάνει ἢ μὴ ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανές ἐνεγκείν τὰ φώρια. Καλώνυμος δὲ ἀνόσας τε καὶ τὰ ὀμομοιόμενα ἐν ἀλογία ποιησάμενος τὸ μὲν παραντικά τὰ χρήματα ἐληίσατο, χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον τὴν δίκην ἔτισεν ἐς Βυζάντιον.

24 νύσῳ γὰρ ἀλοιφή τῇ καλομενή ἀποπληξία καὶ τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενος τῆς τε γλώσσης ἀποτραγών τῆς αὐτοῦ, εἶτα ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

XXI

Τότε δὲ Βελισάριῳ, ἐπεὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς τὸ ἄρχει, ἄριστον σφίσιν ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι οὗ δὴ Γελίμερος τοὺς τῶν Βανδίλων ἡγομένους ἐστιάν 2 εἰώθει. Δέλφικα τὸν τόπον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὓς τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλληνίζοντες. ἐν Παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἑπτά Ῥώμης, ἔνθα ξυνεβαίνει στιβάδας τὰς βασιλείως εἶναι, τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐιστήκει, ἐφ’ οὗ δὴ τὰς κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἰνοχόοι ἐτίθεντο. Δέλφικα δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς γέγονε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Βυζαντίῳ καὶ ὅπῃ βασιλέως εἶναι στιβάδα ἡμβαίνει Δέλφικα τούτῳ καλοῦσι τὸ σημεῖο, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ

₁ οἰκία VO: οἰκήματα Ρ. ₂ παλαιοῦ ΡΟ: παλαίων Β.
palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. There a crowd of merchants and other Carthaginians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus by oaths to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus, taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn, for the moment made the money his plunder, but not long afterwards he paid his just penalty in Byzantium. For being taken with the disease called apoplexy, he became insane and bit off his own tongue and then died. But this happened at a later time.

XXI

But then, since the hour was appropriate, Belisarius commanded that lunch be prepared for them, in the very place where Gelimer was accustomed to entertain the leaders of the Vandals. This place the Romans call "Delphix," not in their own tongue, but using the Greek word according to the ancient custom. For in the palace at Rome, where the dining couches of the emperor were placed, a tripod had stood from olden times, on which the emperor's cupbearers used to place the cups. Now the Romans call a tripod "Delphix," since they were first made at Delphi, and from this both in Byzantium and wherever there is a king's dining couch they call the room "Delphix"; for the Romans follow the Greek
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βασιλέως οἰκία Παλάτιον ἐλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι
4 Ἡρωμαίοι. Πάλλαντος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐν
tούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ οἰκήσαντος πρὸ Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως
οἰκίαιν τε λόγων ἄξιαν ἑνταῦθα δειμαμένον, Παλά-
tιον μὲν τὸ οίκημα τούτο ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν
αὐτοκράτορα παραλαβὼν ἀρχὴν Ἀὐγουστος ἑν-
tαῦθα καταλύειν τὸ πρῶτον ἔγνω, Παλάτιον ἀπ’
αυτοῦ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον οὐ ἀν βασιλεύς κατα-
λύη.1 ἐν Δέλφικι τοῖς Βελισάριος τε ήσθιε
6 καὶ εἰ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι δόκιμον ἦν. τετύχηκε
δὲ τὸ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῷ Γελίμεροι γεγονός ἀριστον
ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι. καὶ ταῖς τε βρώσεωι αὐ-
tαῖς εἰστιάθημεν2 ἡ τε τοῦ Γελίμερος θεραπεία
παρετίθει τε καὶ φυσικοὶ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑπούργει.
7 παρῆν τε Ἰδεῶν ὀραίομένην τὴν τύχην καὶ ποιου-
μένην ἐπίδειξιν ὡς ἀπαντά τε αὐτῆς εἰς καὶ οὐδὲν
8 ἀνθρώπωρ ἱδίου γένοιτο. Βελισαρίῳ δὲ εὐνυνέχθη
ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι ὡς οὔτε3 τῶν κατ’
aυτὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε3 τῷ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐκ
9 παλαιοῦ γεγονότων τετύχηκε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ Ἡρ-
ωμαίων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εἰσιωθῶν θερύβοι χωρίς
ἐς πόλιν κατήκουν σφίσιν οὐδ’ ἄν κατὰ πεντα-
kοσίους εἶνεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου
ἔναι, οὕτω δὴ κοσμίους ἀπαντᾷς ὁ στρατηγὸς
οὗτος τοὺς ἀρχομένους παρέσχετο ὡστε οὔδε
10 ὑβριν τινὰ ἢ ἀπειλήν γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν οὔδε τε
ἐμπόδισμα τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασία ἐξυνέβη,
ἄλλ’ ἐν ἀλούση πόλει καὶ πολιτείαις μεταβαλούσῃ
cαὶ βασιλείαις ἀλλαζαμένη οὔδε τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς

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1 καταλύη Ο : καταλύει V, καταλύοι P.
2 εἰστιάθημεν P : είστια Ο.
3 οὔτε—οὔτε Haury : οὔδε—οὔδε MSS.

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also in calling the emperor’s residence “Palatium.” For a Greek named Pallas lived in this place before the capture of Troy and built a noteworthy house there, and they called this dwelling “Palatium”; and when Augustus received the imperial power, he decided to take up his first residence in that house, and from this they call the place wherever the emperor resides “Palatium.” So Belisarius dined in the Delphix and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for Gelimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domestics of Gelimer served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory and making a display of the fact that all things are hers and that nothing is the private possession of any man. And it fell to the lot of Belisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to enter a subject city without confusion, even if they numbered only five hundred, and especially if they made the entry unexpectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this general showed themselves so orderly that there was not a single act of insolence nor a threat, and indeed nothing happened to hinder the business of the city; but in a captured city, one which had changed its government and shifted its allegiance, it came about that no man’s household
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ἀγορᾶς ξυνέβη τινὸς τὴν οἶκιαν ἀποκεκλείσθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ γραμματεῖς τὰ βιβλίδια γράψαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὅσπερ εἰσθεί, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσῆγαγον, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνίον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ἀριστον λαβόντες ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἦν βουλομένος ἡσύχαζον.

11 Μετὰ δὲ Βελισάριος Βασίλειος τοὺς ἔτι τὰ ἱερὰ καταφυγοῦσι πιστὰ ἔδιδον καὶ τῶν τεχόνων ἐπεμελεῖτο. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Καρχηδόνιος περίβολος οὕτω δὴ ἀπημελημένος ὅστε ἐσβατός ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ εὐφέδος ἐγεγονεί.

12 μοῖρα γὰρ ὅλης αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Γελίμερα οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔφασκον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὅποι οὕστορναι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτὲ οἴεσθαι χρόνῳ ὅλης οἴον τε ἐναι τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνασώσασθαι. ἐλεγον δὲ τι καὶ λόγιον παλαιὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πρὸς τῶν παιδίων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις εἰρήσθαι ὡς τὸ γάμμα διώξει τὸ βήτα, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ τὸ βήτα διώξει τὸ γάμμα. καὶ τότε μὲν παίζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς παιδίοις εἰρήσθαι καὶ ἀπολελεῖφθαι ἐν αἰνίγματος ἀπορουμένου μοίρα, νῦν δὲ ἄπασιν ἀντικρὺς φανεροὶ εἰσι. πρῶτον τῷ γὰρ Γεγέριχος Βουφάτοιον ἐξεδίωξε καὶ ταῦτα Γελίμερα Βελισάριος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, εἶτε φήμη τις ἢν εἶτε λόγιον, ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε.

17 Τότε δὲ καὶ ὃναρ πολλοῖς μὲν πολλάκις ὁφθέν πρῶτον, ἀδηλοῦν δὲ γεγονὸς ὑπὲρ ἐκβήσεται, ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει. εἰσύρχει δὲ ὅν τὸ ὅναρ τοιόνδε. Κυπριανόν, ἄγιον ἀνδρὰ, μάλιστα πάντων οἱ

1 ἀπημελημένος ὅστε ἐσβατός οὐκ ἔχειν ἀποκεκλείσθαι.

2 ἀπημελημένος ὅστε ἐσβατός ἐν χώροις πολλοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ.

3 καὶ ὃμοῦ.

4 εὐφέδος ἐν τῷ βουλομένῳ.

5 αὐτῶν τὸ βήτα διώξει τὸ γάμμα. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν, εἶτε φήμη τις ἢν εἶτε λόγιον, ταύτῃ ἐχώρησε.
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was excluded from the privileges of the marketplace; on the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings, just as usual,¹ and the soldiers themselves, getting their lunch by purchase from the market, rested as each one wished.

Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuit-wall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and easy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down, and it was for this reason, the Carthaginians said, that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be impossible in a short time to restore such a circuit-wall to a safe condition. And they said that an old oracle had been uttered by the children in earlier times in Carthage, to the effect that “gamma shall pursue beta, and again beta itself shall pursue gamma.” And at that time it had been spoken by the children in play and had been left as an unexplained riddle, but now it was perfectly clear to all. For formerly Gizeric had driven out Boniface and now Belisarius was doing the same to Gelimer. This, then, whether it was a rumour or an oracle, came out as I have stated.

At that time a dream also came to light, which had been seen often before this by many persons, but without being clear as to how it would turn out. And the dream was as follows. Cyprian,² a holy man, is reverenced above all others by the

¹ The troops were billeted as at a peaceful occupation.
² St. Cyprian (circa 200–257 A.D.), Bishop of Carthage.
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18 Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται. καὶ αὐτῷ νεών τινα λόγον πολλοῦ ἁξιόν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἱδρυσάμενοι παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἥενα τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐξουσιώντα καὶ ἄγουσιν ἑορτὴν ἴνα δὴ Κυπριανᾶ καλοῦσι, καὶ ἄπτοι αὐτοῦ τὸν χειμώνα οἱ ναῦται, οὕτε ἐγὼ ἄρτιώς ἐμνήσθην, ὡμωνύμως τῇ πανηγύρει προσ- αγορεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπισκή- πτειν φίλει ἐφ’ οὗ ταύτην οἱ Διόβυνες ἁγείν ἐς ἅλει τὴν ἑορτὴν νεομίκασι. τούτον οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸν νεών ἐπὶ Ὄνωρίχου βασιλεύοντος τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς βιασάμενοι ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνθένδε ἔδω πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς ἑρείας εὐθὺς ἐξελάσαντες αὐτοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὸ λουπόν, ἀτε προσηκόντων τοὺς "Αρειανοῖς, ἐπεμελοῦντο. ἀσχάλλουσιν οὐν διὰ ταύτα καὶ διαπορουμένοις τοῖς Διόβυσι πολλάκις φασὶ τὸν Κυπριανὸν ὅναρ ἐπισκήπταντα φάναι ἀμφ’ αὐτῷ μεριμνᾶν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἢ ἐκείνα θρήναι αὐτῶν γάρ οἱ προϊόντος τὸν χρόνου τιμω- ροῦν ἐσεθῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφέρομενος ἐς τοὺς Διόβυνας ἀπαίτας ἢθε, καραδοκεῖν μὲν αὐ- τοὺς τίσιν ποτὲ τίνα τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἐνεκα ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἄφιξεθαν, οὐκ ἔχειν μέντοι τεκ- μηριῶσαι ὅτι ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἢ τοὺς ὀνείρουν ὄψις ἐκβήσεται. νῦν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἢ Διβύνην ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἄφικεν (ἐπαινοῦν γὰρ ἡδὲ ὁ χρόνος τῇ ὕστεραι τὴν πανήγυριν ἀγαγεῖν ἐμελλεν), οἱ μὲν τῶν "Αρειανῶν ἑρείας, καὶ πέρ Ἀμμάτα Βανδίλους ἢς Δέκμουν ἡγησαμένου, τὸ τε ἱερὸν ἐκάθηρον ἀπαν καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀναθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστα

1 ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν MSS.: ἄφελοντο Euagrius.
2 αὐτοὶ—ἐπεμελοῦντο MSS.: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀτε προσηκόντα Ἀρειανοῖς ἐπανώρθωσι Euagrius.

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Carthaginians. And they have founded a very noteworthy temple in his honour before the city on the sea-shore, in which they conduct all other customary services, and also celebrate there a festival which they call the "Cypriana"; and the sailors are accustomed to name after Cyprian the storm, which I mentioned lately, giving it the same name as the festival, since it is wont to come on at the time at which the Libyans have always been accustomed to celebrate the festival. This temple the Vandals took from the Christians by violence in the reign of Honorius. And they straightway drove out their priests from the temple in great dishonour, and themselves thereafter attended to the sacred festival which, they said, now belonged to the Arians. And the Libyans, indeed, were angry on this account and altogether at a loss, but Cyprian, they say, often sent them a dream saying that there was not the least need for the Christians to be concerned about him; for he himself as time went on would be his own avenger. And when the report of this was passed around and came to all the Libyans, they were expecting that some vengeance would come upon the Vandals at some time because of this sacred festival, but were unable to conjecture how in the world the vision would be realized for them. Now, therefore, when the emperor's expedition had come to Libya, since the time had already come round and would bring the celebration of the festival on the succeeding day, the priests of the Arians, in spite of the fact that Ammatas had led the Vandals to Decimum, cleansed the whole sanctuary and were engaged in hanging up the most

1 Chap. xx. 13.
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ἐκρέμων, καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησάμενοι τὰ τε κειμήλια ἐξευγκόντες ἐκ τῶν ταμείων ἡτοίμαζον ἀκριβῶς ἀπαντά, ὡς πη ἀυτῶν ἔκαστον 24 ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον ἐτύγχανε. τὰ δὲ ἐν Δεκίμῳ οὕτως ὠσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται γενέ- 25 σθαί εὐνέβη. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς φεύγοντες ὠχοῦντο, Χριστιανοὶ δὲ οὐς τὰ ἐς τὴν δόξαν ὡρθῶς ἦκεχαί, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τοῦ Κυπριανοῦ τὸν νεόν, τὰ τε λύχνα ἐκαίον ἀπαντά καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἑπεμελοῦντο ἦπερ αὐτοῖς τελείωθαι ταύτα νόμος, οὕτω τε ἅπασιν ἢ ἃ προὐλεγεν ἢ τοῦ ἀνείρου ὁψις ἐγνώσθη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἥδε ἐχώρησεν.

XXII

Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι1 λόγου παλαιοῦ ἀναμνησθέντες έθαυμαζον, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι οὕτ' ἄν ἀπιστός τις ἐλπίς οὕτ' κτῆσις 2 βέβαιοι γένοιτο. ὅστης δὲ ἢν οὕτος ὁ λόγος καὶ 3 οὕτως ἐρρήθη τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἦνικα Βαν- δίλοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐξ ἡθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἀνύστασθαι ἐμέλλουν, μοιρά τις αὐτῶν ἀπελεύπτω, οἰς δὴ ὁκνηθεὶς ἐχομένους πρὸς ἡδονήν 4 Γωδυγίσκλῳ ἐπιστέσθαι οὐκ ἦν. προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τοῖς τε μεῖναι τὰ ἐς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὴν ἀφθονίαν εὖ ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Γιζέριχος ἐξ νῦν τοῖς 5 ἀμφ' αὐτῶν Διεύθην ἐσχεν. ὅπερ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Γωδυγίσκλῳ οὐκ ἐπιστόμενοι ἔχαιρον, τῆς χώρας λοιπὸν ἱσχυρότατα σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀποξην διαρ-

1 οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι ΒΟ: ἢ δὲ τῶν Βανδίλων τάξις Π.  
2 οὕτ'—οὕτε Haury: οὐδ'—οὐδὲ MSS.
beautiful of the votive offerings there, and making ready the lamps and bringing out the treasures from the store-houses and preparing all things with exactness, arranging everything according to its appropriate use. But the events in Decimum turned out in the manner already described. And the priests of the Arians were off in flight, while the Christians who conform to the orthodox faith came to the temple of Cyprian, and they burned all the lamps and attended to the sacred festival just as is customary for them to perform this service, and thus it was known to all what the vision of the dream was foretelling. This, then, came about in this way.

XXII

And the Vandals, recalling an ancient saying, marvelled, understanding clearly thereafter that for a man, at least, no hope could be impossible nor any possession secure. And what this saying was and in what manner it was spoken I shall explain. When the Vandals originally, pressed by hunger, were about to remove from their ancestral abodes, a certain part of them was left behind who were reluctant to go and not desirous of following Godigisclus. And as time went on it seemed to those who had remained that they were well off as regards abundance of provisions, and Gizeric with his followers gained possession of Libya. And when this was heard by those who had not followed Godigisclus, they rejoiced, since thenceforth the country was altogether
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6 κοῦσας. δείσαντες δὲ μὴ χρόνῳ τινὶ πολλῷ ὑπεροῦν ἢ αὐτὸι ὀσοὶ Διβύθην ἔσχον, ἢ οἱ τούτων ἀπόγοινοι ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ Διβύθης ἐξελαννύμενοι ἐπανήξουσιν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ηθῆ (οὐ γὰρ ποτε Ἦρωμαιοι αὐτὴν ἢς ἀεὶ περιώφεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον),

7 πρέσβεις ἐπεμψαν παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς. οὐ, ἐπεὶ Γιζερίχῳ ἐς ὅψιν ἤκουσε, συνήδεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ὁμογένεσιν ὃς ὑπὸ δὴ εὐημερήσασιν ἔφασκον, φυλάσσειν δὲ περαιτέρῳ τὴν γῆν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι ἦσπερ

8 αὐτοῖς ὠλιγωρηκότες ἐπὶ Διβύθης ἠδρύσαντο. ἐδέοντο οὖν, εἰ μὴ γῆς τῆς πατρίδος μεταποιεύονται, κτῆματι αὐτοὺς ἀνοικήσω σφυσὶ δωρήσασθαι, ὡς ὁ πῶς δὴ κύριοι τῆς χώρας ὅς ἀσφαλέστατα γεγενημένοι, ἢ τὸς κακουργῆσων ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἴοι, ὡς

9 ἤκιστα ἀπαξιοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θυσίσκειν. Γιζερίχῳ μὲν οὖν καὶ Βανδίλως τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐ τε καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν ἐδοξαζόμενοι, καὶ ἐνεκώροις ἀπαντάτα ὅσα

10 οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔχρηζον. γέρων δὲ τὸς ἀνήρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δόκιμος καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ἐξεσθεῖ πολλήν τι να ἔχων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψεων ὀυδάμηθη ἐφη. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείων οὐδέν ὀτιοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄσφαλούς ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ’ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰώνα βέβαιον μὲν τῶν ὅπως ὑπόνεν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὅπως

11 οὐδὲν ἄμήχανον. ταῦτα ὁ Γιζερίχος ἄκουσάς ἐπήμνεσε τε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀποπέμπεσθαι ἐγὼν. τὸτε μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ παραινέσας ἀτε τὰ ἄμήχανα προορόμενοι, πρὸς

12 πάντων Βανδίλων γέλωτα ὀφλοῦν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα

1 παρ᾽ ΒΟ: πρὸς Ῥ.
sufficient for them to live upon. But fearing lest at some time much later either the very ones who had conquered Libya, or their descendants, should in some way or other be driven out of Libya and return to their ancestral homes (for they never supposed that the Romans would let Libya be held for ever), they sent ambassadors to them. And these men, upon coming before Gizeric, said that they rejoiced with their compatriots who had met with such success, but that they were no longer able to guard the land of which he and his men had thought so little that they had settled in Libya. They prayed therefore that, if they laid no claim to their fatherland, they would bestow it as an unprofitable possession upon themselves, so that their title to the land might be made as secure as possible, and if anyone should come to do it harm, they might by no means disdain to die in behalf of it. Gizeric, accordingly, and all the other Vandals thought that they spoke fairly and justly, and they were in the act of granting everything which the envoys desired of them. But a certain old man who was esteemed among them and had a great reputation for discretion said that he would by no means permit such a thing. "For in human affairs," he said, "not one thing stands secure; nay, nothing which now exists is stable for all time for men, while as regards that which does not yet exist, there is nothing which may not come to pass." When Gizeric heard this, he expressed approval and decided to send the envoys away with nothing accomplished. Now at that time both he himself and the man who had given the advice were judged worthy of ridicule by all the Vandals, as foreseeing the impossible. But when these things which have been told took
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άπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγένετο, μετέμαθον τε τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων οἱ Βανδίλοι τὴν φύσιν καὶ σοφὸν τὸ ἔτος εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἐγνωσαν.

13 Τούτων μὲν οὖν Βανδίλων οἱ ἐμείναν ἐν γῇ τῇ πατρφίᾳ, οὔτε ἡ μνήμη τις οὔτε ὁ ὄνομα ἐς ἐμὲ σώζεται. ἀτε γὰρ, οἶμαι, ὅλος ὅσις ὤσιν ἢ βεβίασθαι πρὸς βαρβάρους τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων ἢ ἀναμεμίχθαι οὔτε ἀκουσίοις ποτέ τετύχηκε, τὸ τε ὄνομα ἢ αὐτοῦς πη ἀποκεκρίσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ ἡσσημένοις τότε πρὸς Βελισαρίου Βανδίλωις ἐν- νοια γέγονεν ἡ ἡθη τὰ πάτρια ἐνθάδε ἱέναι. οὐ γὰρ εἶχον εκ Διβύης εκ τοῦ αἱφνίδιον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ νεών οὐ παρασυνοσι σφίσιν, ἢ τὴν Ἐὐρώπην κομίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτίσαν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δίκην ἀπάν- των ὄντω τε Ρωμαίοις εἰργάσαντο καὶ οὐχ ἦκιστα ἢ Ζακυνθίως. Γεζέριχος γάρ, ἐπισκήπας ποτὲ τοῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρίοις, Ταυνάρῳ προσβαλείν ἐνεχείρησεν. ἐνθάδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀποκρουσθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων ἀπο- βαλὼν ἀνεχώρησεν οὔδεν κόσμῳ. διὸ δὴ τῷ θυμῷ ἢ ἐξ ἔχομενος Ζακύνθῳ προσέσχε, καὶ πολ- λοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐν ποσὶ κτένας, τῶν δὲ δοκίμων ἢ πεντακοσίων ἀνδραποδίσας δὴ ὁλίγου ἀπέπλευ- σεν. ἐπειδὴ τε γέγονεν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ καλομένῳ πελάγει, ἐνταῦθα κρεουργήσας τῶν πεντακοσίων τὰ σώματα, πανταχὺ τῆς θαλάσσης οὔδεν ὑπολογισάμενος ἐγρίψεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο.

1 οὔτε—οὔτε Haury: οὔδὲ—οὔδὲ MSS.
2 ἀκουσίοις VP: ἀκουσίοις O.
place, the Vandals learned to take a different view of the nature of human affairs and realized that the saying was that of a wise man.

Now as for those Vandals who remained in their native land, neither remembrance nor any name of them has been preserved to my time.¹ For since, I suppose, they were a small number, they were either overpowered by the neighbouring barbarians or they were mingled with them not at all unwillingly and their name gave way to that of their conquerors. Indeed, when the Vandals were conquered at that time by Belisarius, no thought occurred to them to go from there to their ancestral homes. For they were not able to convey themselves suddenly from Libya to Europe, especially as they had no ships at hand, but paid the penalty² there for all the wrongs they had done the Romans and especially the Zacynthians. For at one time Gizeric, falling suddenly upon the towns in the Peloponnesus, undertook to assault Taenarum. And being repulsed from there and losing many of his followers he retired in complete disorder. And while he was still filled with anger on account of this, he touched at Zacynthus, and having killed many of those he met and enslaved five hundred of the notables, he sailed away soon afterwards. And when he reached the middle of the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, he cut into small pieces the bodies of the five hundred and threw them all about the sea without the least concern. But this happened in earlier times.

¹ Compare the remarks of Gibbon, iv. p. 295.
² In Arcana, 18, 5 ff.; Procopius estimates the number of the Vandals in Africa, at the time of Belisarius, at 80,000 males, and intimates that practically all perished.
Γελίμερ δὲ τὸτε χρήματα τε πολλὰ Διβύων
τοῖς γεωργοῖς προϊμένοι καὶ φιλοφροσύνη ἐς
αὐτοὺς χρώμενοι ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἱσχυσεν.
2 οὐς δὲ ἐκέλευσε Ἡρωμαίων τοὺς ἐς τὰ χωρία
περιώντας κτείνειν, χρυσίον τακτὸν ἐπὶ φόνῳ
3 ἐκάστῳ τῷ ἀπολούντι ἐπικηρύξας. οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς
τοῦ Ἡρωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔκτεινον, οὐ στρατιώτας
μέντοι, ἀλλὰ δούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρέτας, οὐ δὴ
χρημάτων ἐπιθυμία ἐς τὰς κώμας ἀναβαίνοντες
4 λάθρα ἠλίσκοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ
γεωργοὶ παρὰ Γελίμερα φέροντες αὐτὸλ μὲν ἐμμη-
σθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτας
ἀνηρκεῖνα πολεμίων ὑπώπτευεν.
5 Ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρώμου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου
dορυφόρος, ἐργα ἐπεδείξασαν ἀρετῆς ἀξία. σταλεῖς
γὰρ ἁμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν δύο καὶ εἰκοσιν ἐπὶ
κατασκοπῆς τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐγένετο ἐν χωρίῳ δυοῖν
6 ἡμέρων ὁδὸν Καρχηδόνος διέχοντα. τοῦτοις δὲ
tους ἄνδρας (οὐ γὰρ οἱ τε ἦσαν οἱ τοῦ χωρίου
γεωργοὶ κτείνειν) ἀγγέλλοντι τῷ Γελίμεροι ἐνταῦθα
7 εἶναι. καὶ δὲ τρικοσίουσι ἀπολεξάμενος Βαυδί-
λων ὑπέεις ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἔστελλε, ξύντας ἀπαντάς
8 ἐπισκῆψας 2 παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἄγαγεῖν. λόγου γὰρ πολ-
λοῦ ἄξιοι οἱ ἔδοξον εἶναι Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον
ἐξ ὑπασπιστῶν δύο καὶ εἰκοσι δορυλάτων
9 τοιῆσασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἅμφι Διογένης ἐς οἰκίαν
ἐσεληνυθότες τινὰ ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ,
1 γὰρ ΒΟ: γὰρ λάθρα Ρ.  2 ἐπισκῆψας V: ἐπιστείλας ΡΟ.
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XXIII

But at that time Gelimer, by distributing much money to the farmers among the Libyans and shewing great friendliness toward them, succeeded in winning many to his side. These he commanded to kill the Romans who went out into the country, proclaiming a fixed sum of gold for each man killed, to be paid to him who did the deed. And they killed many from the Roman army, not soldiers, however, but slaves and servants, who because of a desire for money went up into the villages stealthily and were caught. And the farmers brought their heads before Gelimer and departed receiving their pay, while he supposed that they had slain soldiers of the enemy.

At that time Diogenes, the aide of Belisarius, made a display of valorous deeds. For having been sent, together with twenty-two of the body-guards, to spy upon their opponents, he came to a place two days' journey distant from Carthage. And the farmers of the place, being unable to kill these men, reported to Gelimer that they were there. And he chose out and sent against them three hundred horsemen of the Vandals, enjoining upon them to bring all the men alive before him. For it seemed to him a most remarkable achievement to make captive a personal aide of Belisarius with twenty-two body-guards. Now Diogenes and his party had entered a certain house and were sleeping in the
ΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΟΥ ΟΪΔΕΝ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, οἱ γε μακρὰν ἄπειναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπιθύμοντο. οἱ δὲ Βανδίλωι δρθῶν βαθέος ἐνταῦθα ἔλθόντες διαφθείρατο μὲν τὰς ἐκείνης θύρας ἣ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθεῖν νῦκτωρ ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν φῶντο εἶναι, δεῖσαντες μὴ ἐς νυκτομαξίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες αὐτόλ μὲν σφᾶσιν αὐτοῖς διαφθείροντας, ἔξοδον δὲ πλείστοις τῶν πολεμίων ἐν σκότῳ, ἄν οὖτω τύχοι, παρέξωσιν. ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δειλίας αὐτοῖς ἐκπλησσοῦσι τῶν νοῦν, παρὸν σφίσιν οὔδενι πόνῳ φέρουσι τε πυρὰ καὶ τούτων χωρίς οὐχ ὅσον ἀνόπλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνοὺς παντάπασι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν λαβεῖν. νῦν δὲ ἀμφι τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπασαν κύκλῳ καὶ διαφεροῦντος τὰς θύρας φάλαγγα ποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν ἀπαντεῖς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἐνὶ εἴς ὑπνοῦν ἀναστὴρια γυνέη, ὅστερ τοῦ θαρύβου αἰσθόμενος ὅτι οἱ Βανδίλωι φθεροῦσι τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐπόιον καὶ ἕξην τοῖς ὅπλοις κινούμενοι, ἄμβαλεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον ἔσχυσε, καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀνεγείρας σιωπῇ ἐκαστὸν τὰ πρασσόμενα φράζει. οἱ δὲ Διογένους γνώμη τὰ τῆς ἴματια ἐνδιδύσκονται ἴσην ἀπαντεῖς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἀνελόμενοι κἀκεῖνοι ἐγχώρουν. οὐ δὴ τοῖς ἐποίοις τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἐπιθέμενοι ἀναδρόσκουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς, οὔδενι αἰσθήσιοι παρεχόμενοι. παρὰ τῇ τὴν αὐλίνου χρόνου τινά σταῦτες ἀνακλίνουσι μὲν ἐξαπιναίοις τὰς ταύτας θύρας, ἐξίασι δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπαντεῖς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Βανδίλωι ἔργου ἡδὴ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς

1 οὔδεν PO: οὐδένα V.
2 πλείστοις τῶν πολεμίων VO: τοῖς πολεμίοις P.
3 εἰς ὑπνοῦ PO: ἔξυπνῳ V.
upper storey, having no thought of the enemy in mind, since, indeed, they had learned that their opponents were far away. But the Vandals, coming there at early dawn, thought it would not be to their advantage to destroy the doors of the house or to enter it in the dark, fearing lest, being involved in a night encounter, they might themselves destroy one another, and at the same time, if that should happen, provide a way of escape for a large number of the enemy in the darkness. But they did this because cowardice had paralyzed their minds, though it would have been possible for them with no trouble, by carrying torches or even without these, to catch their enemies in their beds not only without weapons, but absolutely naked besides. But as it was, they made a phalanx in a circle about the whole house and especially at the doors, and all took their stand there. But in the meantime it so happened that one of the Roman soldiers was roused from sleep, and he, noticing the noise which the Vandals made as they talked stealthily among themselves and moved with their weapons, was able to comprehend what was being done, and rousing each one of his comrades silently, he told them what was going on. And they, following the opinion of Diogenes, all put on their clothes quietly and taking up their weapons went below. There they put the bridles on their horses and leaped upon them unperceived by anyone. And after standing for a time by the court-yard entrance, they suddenly opened the door there, and straightway all came out. And then the Vandals immediately
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eἰχοντο, ἦνυνον δὲ οὐδέν.¹ οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς
tε ἀσπίσι φραξάμενοι καὶ τοῖς δορατίοις ἁμνό-
17 μεν τοὺς ἐπίοντας σπουδὴ ἦλαυνον. οὔτω τε
Διογένης τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγε, δύο μὲν τῶν
ἐπομένων ἀποβαλών, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώσας.
18 πληγάς μέντοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἐλαβεν ἐς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τρείς,
ἀφ’ ὧν δὴ παρ’ ὁλίγον ἀποθανεῖν ἤλθε, κατὰ δὲ
χειρὸς τῆς λαίας μίαν, ἐξ ἡς οὐκέτι τῶν δακτύλων
τὸν σμικρότατον ἐνεργεῖν ἵσχυσε. ταύτα μὲν οὖν
όδε γενέσθαι ξινέβη.
19 Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
tεχνίταις καὶ τῷ ἀλλῷ όμίλῳ χρήματα μεγάλα
προτεινόμενος τάφρον τε λόγῳ πολλοῦ ἁξίων
ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὄρυξε κύκλω, καὶ σκόλοπας
αὐτῇ ἐνθέμενος συχνοὺς εὐ μάλα περιεσταύρωσε.
20 καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ πεποιθότα τοῦ τείχους ἐν βραχεῖ
ἀνωκοδομήσατο χρόνῳ, θαῦματος ἀξίων οὐ Καρ-
χηδονίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ Γελίμερι γεγόνος
21 ύστερον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δορυάλωτος ἐς Καρχηδόνα
ῄεν, ἡγάζθη τε ιδὼν τὸ τείχος καὶ τὴν ὀλυνορίαν
τὴν αὐτοῦ πάντων οἱ ἐφὶ γεγονέναι τῶν παρόν-
tων αἰτίαν. ταύτα μὲν Βελισαρίῳ ἐν Καρχηδόνι
οὔτι κατείργαστο ὄδε.

XXIV

Τξάζων δὲ, ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, τῷ στόλῳ
ὁ ἐμπροσθεν εἰρηταί ἐς Σαρδῶ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὸν
Καρανάλεως λιμένα ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτο-
¹ ἦνυνον δὲ οὐδέν V: ἦνυν δὲ οὐδέν O, om. P.

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closed with them, but they accomplished nothing. For the Romans rode hard, covering themselves with their shields and warding off their assailants with their spears. And in this way Diogenes escaped the enemy, losing two of his followers, but saving the rest. He himself, however, received three blows in this encounter on the neck and the face, from which indeed he came within a little of dying, and one blow also on the left hand, as a result of which he was thereafter unable to move his little finger. This, then, took place in this way.

And Belisarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engaged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admiration about the circuit-wall, and setting stakes close together along it he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this, but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians, but also to Gelimer himself at a later time. For when he came as a captive to Carthage, he marvelled when he saw the wall and said that his own negligence had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This, then, was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage.

XXIV

But Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, reached Sardinia with the expedition which has been mentioned above and disembarked at the harbour of Caranalis; and at the first onset he captured the

1 Chap. xi. 23.  
2 Cagliari.
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βοεὶ εἶλε τὸν τε τύραννον Γώδαν ἔκτεινε καὶ εὐ τι
tις ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν μάχιμον ἦν, καὶ ἔπει ἐς γῆν τὴν
Λιβύης τὸν βασιλέως στόλον ἥκουσεν εἰναι, οὕτω
τι πεπυσμένος ὄν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο, γράφει πρὸς

3 Γελίμερα τάδε: "Γώδαν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν τύραννον,
ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις γεγονότα χερσί, καὶ τὴν νῆσον
αὐθίς ὑπὸ τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εἶναι, ὦ Βανδίλων τε
καὶ Ἀλανὼν βασιλεὺς, ἵσθι καὶ τὴν ἐπινίκιον

4 ἔστην ἄγιον. τῶν δὲ πολεμών οἱ ἐτόλμησαν εἰς
τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατεύσθαι, ἐπιπέδει τὴν πειραμαῖν ἐς
τούτο ἀφίξεθαί τύχῃς, ἐς δὲ καὶ πρότερον τοῖς
ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους στρατευσά-

5 μένοις ἔχωρψε." ταύτα οἱ λαβόντες τὰ γράμ-

ματα, οὐδὲν πολέμοι ὑπὸ ἔχοντες, κατέπλευσαν

6 ἐς τὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λιμένα. καὶ πρὸς τῶν
φυλάκων παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες τὰ τε
γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ περὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πῦρτων
ἐποίετο ἐσὴγελλον, οἷς τε ἔθενετο καταπεπληγ-

7 καὶ τεθηπότες τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἰφνύδιον
ἐπαθον μέντοι πρὸς Βελισαρίων οὐδὲν ἄχαρι.

7 'Τπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀυτῶν χρόνων καὶ ἔτερον ἐξηνεχθη
τοῦνδε. Γελίμερον ὅληγο πρότερον ἡ ἐς Διβύην ὁ
βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἐπέμψε πρέσβεις ἐς

1 Λαβόντες PO: Αἴβυνος V

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city and killed the tyrant Godas and all the fighting men about him. And when he heard that the emperor's expedition was in the land of Libya, having as yet learned nothing of what had been done there, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "Know, O King of the Vandals and Alani, that the tyrant Godas has perished, having fallen into our hands, and that the island is again under thy kingdom, and celebrate the festival of triumph. And as for the enemy who have had the daring to march against our land, expect that their attempt will come to the same fate as that experienced by those who in former times marched against our ancestors." And those who took this letter sailed into the harbour of Carthage with no thought of the enemy in mind. And being brought by the guards before the general, they put the letter into his hands and gave him information on the matters about which he enquired, being thunderstruck at what they beheld and awed at the suddenness of the change; however, they suffered nothing unpleasant at the hand of Belisarius.

At this same time another event also occurred as follows. A short time before the emperor's expedition reached Libya, Gelimer had sent envoys into Spain, among whom were Gothaeus and Fuscias, in order to persuade Theudis, the ruler of the Visigoths, to establish an alliance with the Vandals. And these envoys, upon disembarking on the mainland after crossing the strait at Gadira, found Theudis in a place situated far from the sea. And when they had come up to the place where he was, Theudis received them with friendliness and entertained them.

1 On this Theudis and his accession to the throne of the Visigoths in Spain see V. xii. 50 ff.

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ἐπινυθόνετο δήθεν ὅτη ποτὲ Γελίμερι τε καὶ
10 Βαυδίλοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχοι. τοίτων δὲ τῶν
πρέσβεων σχολαίτερον ἐστιν τῶν ἱόντων ἔτυχεν
11 ἀκηκοός ἁπαντά ὅσα Βαυδίλοις ξυνέπεσεν. ὅλκας
γὰρ μία ἐπὶ ἐμπορία πλέουσα ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ἡ τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰσῆλθεν, ἐν-
θένδε ἀναγομενέν καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπι-
τυχούσα, ἐς Ἰσπανίαν ἤλθεν. θευν δὲ ὁ Θεόδις
μαθὼν ὅσα ἐν Διβύῃ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἀπείπε
τοὺς ἐμπόρους μηδενὶ φράζειν, ὡς μὴ ταύτα εἰκ-
πυτα ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο
οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γοτθαίον ἁπαντᾶ σφίσιν ὡς ἄριστα
14 ἔχειν, ἥρωτα ὅτου ποτὲ ἐνεκα ἠκούειν. τῶν δὲ τὴν
ομαίχμιαν προτεινομένων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεό-
δις εἰς τὴν παραλίαν ἑλέαν. “Ἐνθένε γάρ,” ἐφη,
15 “τὰ οἶκοι πράγματα ἀσφαλῶς εἰσέστη.” οἱ δὲ
πρέσβεις οὐχ ὑπαν τὸν λόγον εἶναι, ἀτε οἶνομένου
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἐν σωτηρίᾳ ἔσχοιν.
16 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τῇ ὀστεραίᾳ ξυγγενόμενοι τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ῥήματι αὐτῆς τῷ
αὐτῷ ὁ Θεόδις ἱερὸτο, οὕτω δὴ ξυνέντες νεώτερα
σφίσιν ἐν Διβύῃ ξυμπεσεῖν πράγματα, οὗτοι
μέντοι ἀμφὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ἐς αὐτὴν
17 ἐπλευν. ἀγχοῦ τε αὐτῆς καταπλεύσαντες καὶ
Ῥωμαίοις στρατιώταις περιτυχόντες ἐνεχείρισαν
18 σφάς αὐτοὺς ὁ τῷ βούλοντο χρῆσθαι. θευν ἐς
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἁπαχθέντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον
ἀγγείλαντες ἐπαθον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἑκείνου κακὸν.
19 ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Κύριλ-
λος δὲ, Σαρδούς τε ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ τῷ

1 ταύτα ΠΟ : πάντα Ρ.

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heartily, and during the feast he pretended to enquire how matters stood with Gelimer and the Vandals. Now since these envoys had travelled to him rather slowly, it happened that he had heard from others everything which had befallen the Vandals. For one merchant ship sailing for trade had put out from Carthage on the very same day as the army marched into the city, and finding a favouring wind, had come to Spain. From those on this ship Theudis learned all that had happened in Libya, but he forbade the merchants to reveal it to anyone, in order that this might not become generally known. And when Gothaeus and his followers replied that everything was as well as possible for them, he asked them for what purpose, then, they had come. And when they proposed the alliance, Theudis bade them go to the sea-coast; “For from there,” he said, “you will learn of the affairs at home with certainty.” And the envoys, supposing that the man was in his cups and his words were not sane, remained silent. But when on the following day they met him and made mention of the alliance, and Theudis used the same words a second time, then at length they understood that some change of fortune had befallen them in Libya, but never once thinking of Carthage they sailed for the city. And upon coming to land close by it and happening upon Roman soldiers, they put themselves in their hands to do with them as they wished. And from there they were led away to the general, and reporting the whole story, they suffered no harm at his hand. These things, then, happened thus. And Cyril,¹ upon coming near to Sardinia and learning

¹ The leader of a band of foederati. Cf. III. xi. 1, 6, xxiv. 19.
Γώδα ξυμπεσόντα ἀκούσας, ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, ἐνθα τὸ τε Ἡρωαίων στράτευμα καὶ Βελισάριον εὐρῶν νεικηκότας ῥήσας καὶ Σολώμων παρὰ βασιλεά, ὅπως ἀγγείλη τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐστελ- λετο.

XXV

Γελίμερ δὲ ἔπει ἐν πεδίῳ Βούλλης ἐγεγόνει, ὡστε εὐξώνω ἀνδρὶ τεσσάρων ῥημῶν ὁδὸν Καρχη- δόνος διέχει, οὐ πολλῷ ἀποθεν τῶν Νουμιδίας ὁρίων, ἐνταῦθα Βανδίλους τε ξύμπαντας ῥηγείρε καὶ εἰ τί οἱ φίλοι εἰς Μαυρουσίοις ἐτύγχανεν ὅν. 2 ὅλιγοι μέντοι Μαυρουσίοι αὐτῷ ἀφίκοιτο ἐς ξυμ- 3 μαχίαν, καὶ οὐτοὶ παντάπασιν ἄναρχοι. ὅσοι γὰρ ἐν τε Μαυρουσία καὶ Νουμιδία καὶ Βυζαντίων Μαυρουσίων ἱρχον, πρέσβεις οὐς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες δοῦλοι τε βασιλέως ἐφασκόν εἰναι καὶ 4 ξυμμαχήσεωι ὑπέσχοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων παρεῖχοντο λόγῳ, τά τε ξύμ- βολα σφίσι παρ’ αὐτοῖς στέλλεσθαι τῆς ἄρχης 5 κατὰ δὴ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων ἐδέσωτο. νῦνος γὰρ ἦν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχειν μηδένα, καὶ Ἡρωαίων πολέμους ὑ, πρὶν ἀν αὐτῷ τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς 6 ἄρχης ὁ Ἡρωαίων βασιλεὺς δοίη. ἀπερ ἦδη πρὸς Βανδίλου λαβόντες οὐκ ἔμεθεν ἐν βεβαιῷ 7 τὴν ἄρχην ἔχειν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξύμβολα ταῦτα ὅσος τε ἁγυρᾶ κατακεχυμομένη καὶ πίλος ἁγυροῦς οὐχ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπτω, ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ στεφάνη τελαμώσιν ἁγυροῦς πανταχόθεν ἀνεχόμενος, καὶ τριβώμιν τι λευκὸν ἐς χρυσήν

1 στέλλεσθαι V.P.: στέλλεσθαι Ο.
what had happened to Godas, sailed to Carthage, and there, finding the Roman army and Belisarius victorious, he remained at rest; and Solomon\(^1\) was sent to the emperor in order to announce what had been accomplished.

XXV

But Gelimer, upon reaching the plain of Boulla, which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller, not far from the boundaries of Numidia, began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors, however, joined his alliance, and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and requested that the symbols of office be sent them from him according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already received them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Now these symbols are a staff of silver covered with gold, and a silver cap,—not covering the whole head, but like a crown and held in place on all sides by bands of silver,—a kind of white cloak gathered by a

\(^1\) Also a dux foederatorum, and domesticus of Belisarius. Cf. III. xi. 5 ff.
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περόνην κατὰ τὸν δεξιῶν ὄμον ἐν χλαμύδος σχή-ματι Θετταλῆς ξυνιόν, χιτῶν τε λευκὸς ποικιλ-
8 ματα ἔχων, καὶ ἀρβύλη ἐπίχρυσος. Βελισαριος
dὲ ταύτα τε αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψε καὶ χρῆμασι πολλοῖς
9 αὐτῶν ἕκαστον ἔδωρησατο. οὔ μενοι αὐτῷ ἐς
ξυμμαχιάν ἀφίκοντο, οὔ μὴν οὐδὲ Βανδίλων
ἐπαμύνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκπολὺν ἀμφοτέρους
στάντες ἐκαραδόκουν ὡπε ποτὲ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου
τύχη ἐκβηθεσθαι. ὃδε μὲν Ἠρωαίως τὰ πράγ-
ματα εἰχε.

10 Γελίμερο δὲ τῶν τινα Βανδίλων ἦς Σαρδῶ
ἐπεμψεν, ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Τζάζωνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν
ἐχοντα. δε ἐς τὴν παραλιαν κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν
ὁλκάδος τε ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχῶν, ἐς Καρανάλεως
τὸν λιμένα κατέπλευσε καὶ Τζάζων τὴν ἑπι-
στολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή τάδε:

11 "Οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, Γώδας ὡς τὴν νῆσον ἡμῶν ἀπο-
στήσας, ἀλλὰ τις ἄτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἄς Βανδίλους
12 ἐπιτεσσοῦσα. σὲ τε γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Βανδίλων
tους δοκίμους ἀφελομένη ἁπαντα συλλήβδην ἐκ
tου Γιαζερίχου οἰκοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἤρπασεν. οὐ γὰρ
ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν νῆσον ἡμῖν ἐνθέεις
ἀπῆρας, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸς Λιβύης Ἰουστινιανὸς κύριος
ἔσται. τὰ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ δοξάντα πρότερον πάρεστι
13 τανῦν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβάντων εἰδέναι. Βελισαρίως
μὲν οὖν στρατῷ ὅλῳ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤκει. ἢ δὲ ἀρετὴ
ἐκ Βανδίλων ἁπωνύσα εὐθὺς ψχετο, μεθ' ἑαυτῆς
14 λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀγαθήν τύχην. Ἄμματας μὲν γὰρ
καὶ Γιαζμούνδος πεπτώκασι, μαλθακιζομένων
Βανδίλων, ἢπποι δὲ καὶ νεώρα καὶ ἐξυμπασα
Λιβύη καὶ οὗξ ἥκιστα αὕτη Καρχηδῶν ἔχονται

1 αὐτῶν ΡΩ : αὐτῶν V.
golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a Thessalian cape, and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them, and presented each one of them with much money. However, they did not come to fight along with him, nor, on the other hand, did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants, they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. Thus, then, matters stood with the Romans.

But Gelimer sent one of the Vandals to Sardinia with a letter to his brother Tzazon. And he went quickly to the coast, and finding by chance a merchant-ship putting out to sea, he sailed into the harbour of Caranalis and put the letter into the hands of Tzazon. Now the message of the letter was as follows:

"It was not, I venture to think, Godas who caused the island to revolt from us, but some curse of madness sent from Heaven which fell upon the Vandals. For by depriving us of you and the notables of the Vandals, it has seized and carried off from the house of Gizeric absolutely all the blessings which we enjoyed. For it was not to recover the island for us that you sailed from here, but in order that Justinian might be master of Libya. For that which Fortune had decided upon previously it is now possible to know from the outcome. Belisarius, then, has come against us with a small army, but valour straightway departed and fled from the Vandals, taking good fortune with her. For Ammatas and Gibamundus have fallen, because the Vandals lost their courage, and the horses and shipyards and all Libya and, not least of all, Carthage itself, are
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16 ἡδη προς των πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ κάθηνται, τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πάνω ἀνδραγαθίζοντας παιδέων τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνταλλαξάμενοι καὶ πάντων χρημάτων, ἡμῖν τε ἀπολέειται μόνον τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὕτως ἡμᾶς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπί τις καθίσασα εἰργεῖ.
17 ἀλλὰ σὺ τυραννίδα τε καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ τὰς περὶ ταύτα φροντίδας ἐάσας ὅτι τάχιστα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἤκε. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ κίνδυνος, τάλλα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον.
18 κοινῇ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τύχην τὴν προτέραν ἀνασωσόμεθα, ἢ κερδανοῦμεν τὸ μὴ ἄλληλων χωρίς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐνεγκεῖν δύσκολα."

19 Ταύτα ἐπεί Τξᾶξων εἶδε τὲ ἀπενεχθέντα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἠξηνεγκεί, ἐς τε οἰμωγὰς καὶ ὀλοφύρσεις ἐπράπτωσε, οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγκρυφαίζοντες τε καὶ τοὺς νησιώτας λανθάνοντες σωπῇ ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῶν τὰ παρόντα σφίσων ὁδύροντο. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν τὰ ἐν ποσίν, ὡς πη ἐτυχὲ, διαθέμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν.
20 ἄραντες δὲ ἐνθέντε παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τριτάιοι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Δεμβής ἀκτὴν ἡ Νοῦμίδας τε καὶ Μαυριτανοὺς διορίζει. καὶ πεζῆ βαδίζοντες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὐ δὴ ἀνεμώγυντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ. ἐνταῦθα συνεχὰ ἑλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια Βανδίλους ἐξενήθη, ἀπερ ἐγγεγένεται ὁμὶς ἂν ἐτὶ φράσατα ἰκανὸς ἔχοιμι. οἴμαι γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρὶ θεατῇ γενέσθαι τετύ-

1 πρὸς ΒΟ: όπως Ρ.
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held already by the enemy. And the Vandals are sitting here, having paid with their children and wives and all their possessions for their failure to play the part of brave men in battle, and to us is left only the plain of Boulla, where our hope in you has set us down and still keeps us. But do you have done with such matters as rebel tyrants and Sardinia and the cares concerning these things, and come to us with your whole force as quickly as possible. For when men find the very heart and centre of all in danger, it is not advisable for them to consider minutely other matters. And struggling hereafter in common against the enemy, we shall either recover our previous fortune, or gain the advantage of not bearing apart from each other the hard fate sent by Heaven.”

When this letter had been brought to Tzazon, and he had disclosed its contents to the Vandals, they turned to wailing and lamentation, not openly, however, but concealing their feelings as much as possible and avoiding the notice of the islanders, silently among themselves they bewailed the fate which was upon them. And straightway setting in order matters in hand just as chance directed, they manned the ships. And sailing from there with the whole fleet, on the third day they came to land at the point of Libya which marks the boundary between the Numidians and Mauretanians. And they reached the plain of Boulla travelling on foot, and there joined with the rest of the army. And in that place there were many most pitiable scenes among the Vandals, which I, at least, could never relate as they deserve. For I think that even if one of the enemy themselves had happened to be a
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χηκε, τάχα ἄν καὶ αὐτὸς 1 Βανδῖλους τε τότε καὶ 
24 τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φικτίσατο. ὦ τε γὰρ 
Γελίμερ καὶ ὁ Τζάζων ἐπειδή ἀλλήλους τῷ 
τραχύλῳ περιβαλέσθην, μεθέσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν 
οὐδαμῆ εἶχον, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφθέγ-
γοντο, ἀλλὰ τῷ χεῖρε σφύγγοντες ἔκλαιον, καὶ 
Βανδῖλων τῶν ἔνν Γελίμερι ἐκαστὸς τῶν τινα ἐκ 
Σαρδοὺς ἢκοντα περιβαλὼν κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίει.

25 χρόνον τε συχνὸν ὅσπερ ἀλλήλους ἐμπεφυκότες, 
ηδονῆς τῆς ἐνεδένε ἀπώναντο, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἀμφὶ 
Γελίμερα περὶ τοῦ Γώδας 2 (ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἡ παροῦσα 
tύχη ἐκπλήξασα τὰ πρόσθεν σφίσι σπουδαῖότατα 
dόξαντα εἶναι τοῖς ήδη ἐς ἄγαν ἀπημελημένοις 3 
ξυνέτασσεν) οὔτε οἱ ἐκ Σαρδοὺς ἢκοντες ἐρωτῶν 
tῷ ἡξίουν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν γε Διβύῃ ξυνενεκθεῖσιν. 
ικανός γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χῶρος τεκμηριώσατα τὰ 
26 ξυμπεσόντα ἐγίνετο. οὐ μὴν οὔδε γυναικῶν ἢ 
παῖδων ἰδίων 4 λόγον ἐποιοῦντο τινα, ἐξεπιστά-
μενοι ὡς, ἡν τις αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εὖ, δήλον 
ὅτι ἡ ἐτελεύτα ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ 
γέγονε. ταύτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν.

1 αὐτὸς VP: αὐτοῦς O.
2 περὶ τοῦ Γώδα Dindorf: περὶ τε τῶ γώδα MSS.
3 ἀπημελημένοι VP: ἡτημελημένοι O.
4 ή παῖδων ἰδίων VO: ἰδίων ἡ παῖδων P.

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spectator at that time, he would probably have felt pity, in spite of himself, for the Vandals and for human fortune. For Gelimer and Tzazon threw their arms about each other's necks, and could not let go, but they spoke not a word to each other, but kept wringing their hands and weeping, and each one of the Vandals with Gelimer embraced one of those who had come from Sardinia, and did the same thing. And they stood for a long time as if grown together and found such comfort as they could in this, and neither did the men of Gelimer think fit to ask about Godas (for their present fortune had prostrated them and caused them to reckon such things as had previously seemed to them most important with those which were now utterly negligible), nor could those who came from Sardinia bring themselves to ask about what had happened in Libya. For the place was sufficient to permit them to judge of what had come to pass. And indeed they did not make any mention even of their own wives and children, knowing well that whoever of theirs was not there had either died or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus, then, did these things happen.
HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV

THE VANDALIC WAR (Continued)
ΤΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΔΕΜΩΝ ΔΟΓΟΣ
ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ

Γελίμερ δέ, ἔπει Βανδίλους ἀπαντας ἐς ταύτῳ εἰδεν ἀγηγερμένους, ἔπηγεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τὸ στράτευμα. γενόμενοι τε αὐτὴς ἀγχιστα τὸν τε ὄχετον ἀξιοθέατον ὃντα διεῖλον, ὅσ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆγε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὑπεχώρησαν, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφίσσω ἐπεξήγη τῶν πολεμίων. περιώντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρίᾳ τὰς τῷ ὅδους ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιούντο καὶ Καρχηδόνα πολιορκεῖν ταύτῃ φοντο, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐληξώντο ὀγδοῦν οὔτε τὴν ὁγίν ἔδησον, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἰκείας μετέποιοῦντο. ἀμα δέ καὶ προσοφίαν τινὰ ἐσεσθησάι σφίσιν ἐν ἐπτίδι εἰχον Καρχηδονίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὀρμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσοις ἢ τοῦ Ἀρείου δόξα ἡσκητο. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Ὅνυνων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ πολλὰ ἐσεσθαι αὐτοίς ἀγαθὰ πρὸς Βανδίλων ὑποσχόμενοι, ἐδέοντο φίλους τε καὶ ἐξουμάχους γενέσθαι σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς ἐς τὰ Ὀρμαίων πράγματα ἔχοντες ἀτε οὐδὲ ξύμμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἐκοῦσιν ἢ κοιντε (ἐφασκον γὰρ τὸν Ὀρμαίων στρατηγὸν Πέτρον ὀμομοκότα τε καὶ τὰ ὀμομοσμένα ἠλογηκότα

1 ἐς ταύτῳ ΡΟ: ἐπ' αὐτῶν V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV

THE VANDALIC WAR (continued)

I

GELIMER, seeing all the Vandals gathered together, led his army against Carthage. And when they came close to it, they tore down a portion of the aqueduct,—a structure well worth seeing—which conducted water into the city, and after encamping for a time they withdrew, since no one of the enemy came out against them. And going about the country there they kept the roads under guard and thought that in this way they were besieging Carthage; however, they did not gather any booty, nor plunder the land, but took possession of it as their own. And at the same time they kept hoping that there would be some treason on the part of the Carthaginians themselves and such of the Roman soldiers as followed the doctrine of Arius. They also sent to the leaders of the Huns, and promising that they would have many good things from the Vandals, entreated them to become their friends and allies. Now the Huns even before this had not been well-disposed toward the cause of the Romans, since they had not indeed come to them willingly as allies (for they asserted that the Roman general Peter had given an oath and then, disregarding what had been sworn, had thus
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ούτω δὴ σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον), λόγους
te τοὺς Βανδίλων ἐνεδέχουτο καὶ ὁμολόγουν,
ἐπειδὰν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ γενώνται, ἄν αὐτοῖς
7 ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα πρέφεσθαι. ταῦτα
dὲ ἀπαντὰ Βελισάριος ἐν ὑποψία ἔχων (ἡκηκόει
gὰρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἁμα δὲ καὶ ὁ περίβολος
ὀὕτω ἐτετέλεστο ἅπας) ἔξητητα μὲν σφίσιν ἐπὶ
tους πολεμίους ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ὕστερο εἶναι, τὰ
8 δὲ ἐνδὸν1 ὡς ἀριστα ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ Καρχηδόνιον
μὲν τινα, ὅνομα Δαύρον, ἐπὶ προδοσία τε ἡλωκότα
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου γραμματέως ἐληλεγγένου
ἀνεσκολόπισεν ἐν λόφῳ τινὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ
ἂπ' αὐτῶν ἐσ δέος τι ἄμαχον οἶ ἄλλοι καταστάσες
9 τῆς ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. τοὺς δὲ
Μασσαγέτας δόρῳ τε καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ
θωπείᾳ μετιῶν ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν
ἐπείσεν2 ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὁ Γελίμερ ὑποσχόμενοι εἶνα.
10 ἐφ' ω ἐν τῇ ἐμμβολῇ κακοὶ γένωνται. ἐφασκὸν
dὲ οἱ βάρβαροι οὔτοι οὐδεμίαν σφῖσι προθυμίαν
ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι. δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ Βανδίλων
ησσημένων οὐκ ἀπόπεμψηται Ῥωμαιοὶ σφᾶς ἐς
τὰ πάτρια ἡθή, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγκάζοντο εἰν
Διβύς γηράσκοντες θυνσκείν καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ
tῇ λεία, μὴν ἀφαιρεθῶς αὐτὴν, εἰν φροντίδο εἶναι.
11 τότε δὴ ὁν αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος πιστὰ ἐδωκεν ὡς,
ἕν κατὰ κράτος Βανδίλοι ἦσσηδεῖν, αὐτίκα δὴ
μάλα ἐς τὰ οἰκεία ἔν ὑπὸ πάσι λαφύροις σταλη-
σοῦνται, οὔτω τε αὐτοῖς ὅρκοις καταλαμβάνει ἡ
μὴν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐξυπνευγεικεῖν σφῖσι τῶν
πόλεμον.

1 ἐνδὸν VO : ἐνδοθεν P. 2 ἐπείσεν VP : ἐποίησεν O. 3 εἰ VP : ἦν O.
brought them to Byzantium), and accordingly they received the words of the Vandals, and promised that when they should come to real fighting they would turn with them against the Roman army. But Belisarius had a suspicion of all this (for he had heard it from the deserters), and also the circuit-wall had not as yet been completed entirely, and for these reasons he did not think it possible for his men to go out against the enemy for the present, but he was making his preparations within as well as possible. And one of the Carthaginians, Laurus by name, having been condemned on a charge of treason and proved guilty by his own secretary, was impaled by Belisarius on a hill before the city, and as a result of this the others came to feel a sort of irresistible fear and refrained from attempts at treason. And he courted the Massagetae with gifts and banquets and every other manner of flattering attention every day, and thus persuaded them to disclose to him what Gelimer had promised them on condition of their turning traitors in the battle. And these barbarians said that they had no enthusiasm for fighting, for they feared that, if the Vandals were vanquished, the Romans would not send them back to their native land, but they would be compelled to grow old and die right there in Libya; and besides they were also concerned, they said, about the booty, lest they be robbed of it. Then indeed Belisarius gave them pledges that, if the Vandals should be conquered decisively, they would be sent without the least delay to their homes with all their booty, and thus he bound them by oaths in very truth to assist the Romans with all zeal in carrying through the war.
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12 Ἐπειδή τε ἀπαντά οἱ ὡς ἁριστα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ ὁ περίβολος ἦδη ἀπελργάστο, ἕγγακάλεσας ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε: “Παραίνεσιν μὲν, ἀνδρεῖς Ῥωμαίοι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ γε οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἑναγχος νεκρίκατε ὥστε Καρχηδόν τε ἦδη καὶ Διβύς ἐξυμπασα κτῆμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστι, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν μισβουλῆς οὐδεμᾶς ὑμῖν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὀρμώσῃς δεήσει. τῶν γὰρ νεκρικὸτων ἡμίστα

14 ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. ἔκειν δὲ μόνον ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ οἴομαι εἶναι, ὡς, ἣν ὁμοίως ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸ πέρας ἔξει τοῖς μὲν Βανδίλων τὰ τῆς ἐπίδοσι, ὑμῖν δὲ ἡ μάχη. ὥστε ὑμᾶς ὁ προθυμότατα εἰκός ἐς ἐν μισβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. ἤδης γὰρ ἄει τοῖς ἀνθρώπως ἀπολήγον τε καὶ εἰς καταστροφὴν βαδίζον· ὁ πόνος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Βανδίλων ὡμολογὸν ὑμῶν διαλογιζότως μηδείς. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πληθεὶς οὐδὲ σωμάτων μέτρον, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετὴς φιλεῖ ὁ πόλεμος διακρίνεσθαι. εἰς τοῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ πάντων ἰσχυρότατον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρασσομένοις αἰῶνι.

16 αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἠσσάσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἐλάσσους ὀφθήναι. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους εὐθεῖα ὅτι ὀρθῶσιν τε καὶ κακῶν μνήμη περιλαμβοῦσαι ἀναγκάζουσι· κακίους γενέσθαι, ἢ μὲν τοῖς φθάσαι δεδιστομένη, ἢ δὲ ἀνασσοῦσα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπίδοσι.

17 τύχῃ γὰρ εὐθὺς μοχθηρὰ ὀφθεῖσα δουλοὶ τῶν

1 βαδίζων ΒΟ: ἐγγύζων Ρ.
2 ἀναγκάζουσι Β: ἀναγκάζουσι ΡΩ.

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And when all things had been prepared by him in the best way possible, and the circuit-wall had been already completed, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows: "As for exhortation, fellow Romans, I do not know that it is necessary to make any to you,—men who have recently conquered the enemy so completely that Carthage here and the whole of Libya is a possession of your valour, and for this reason you will have no need of admonition that prompts to daring. For the spirits of those who have conquered are by no means wont to be overcome. But I think it not untimely to remind you of this one thing, that, if you on the present occasion but prove equal to your own selves in valour, straightway there will be an end for the Vandals of their hopes, and for you of the battle. Hence there is every reason why you should enter into this engagement with the greatest eagerness. For ever sweet to men is toil coming to an end and reaching its close. Now as for the host of the Vandals, let no one of you consider them. For not by numbers of men nor by measure of body, but by valour of soul, is war wont to be decided. And let the strongest motive which actuates men come to your minds, namely, pride in past achievement. For it is a shame, for those at least who have reason, to fall short of one's own self and to be found inferior to one's own standard of valour. For I know well that terror and the memory of misfortunes have laid hold upon the enemy and compel them to become less brave, for the one fills them with fear because of what has already happened, and the other brushes aside their hope of success. For Fortune, once seen to be bad, straightway enslaves the spirit of those
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αὐτῇ περιπεπτωκότων τὸ φρόνημα. ὡς δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν ἡ πρότερον ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ὃ ἀγών ἔστιν

19 ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ προτέρα μάχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμῖν 2 οὐκ εὐ προϊόντων ἐν τῷ μὴ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν λαβεῖν ὁ κύνδυνος ἦν, νῦν δὲ, ἢν μὴ τῶν ἀγώνων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπο-

20 βαλοῦμεν. ὅσῳ τόινυν τὸ κεκτήσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐστερήσθαι κοουφότερον, τοσοῦτῳ νῦν μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὁ φόβος. καίτοι πρότερον τῶν πεζῶν ἡμῖν ἀπολε-

21 λειμένων τὴν νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τετύχκη, νῦν δὲ ᾿ ὑλεω τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν ἐμπολλὴν καθιστάμενος κρατήσειν τοῦ στρατο-

22 πέδου τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτίθει ἡ μοσα. πρόχειρον οὖν ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας ἡ τινὶ ὁλογορία ἐς ἀλλον αὐτῷ ἀπόθησθε χρόνον, μὴ παραδραμὸντα τὸν καρδίαν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀναγκάζοντο.

23 ἀναβαλλομένη γὰρ οὗ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη ὁμοίως τοῖς καθεστῶσι χωρεὶ τὸ πέρυκεν, ἀλλος τῇ ἦν καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν αὐτῶν 3 διαφερόντων μηκύνηται.

24 τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐνημερίαν προϊόντες τὸ δαιμόνιον αἰὲ νεμεσάν εἰώθεν. εἰ δὲ τις ἐννοεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους, παίδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμωτάτα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὀρώντας χερσί, τολμήσεις μὲν παρὰ γνώμην, κυνδυνεύσεις δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς

25 οἶτε. θυμὸς γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐν ταῖς ψυγαῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμωτάτων φυλόμενος τὴν τε οὖσαν

1 ἡμῖν P : ὡμῖν VO.
2 ἡμῖν VPO pr. m. : ὡμῖν O pr. m. corr.
3 αὐτῶν Haury : om. V, αὐτῶν P pr. m. corr. and O, αὐτῇ P pr. m.

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who have fallen in her way. And I shall explain how the struggle involves for you at the present time a greater stake than formerly. For in the former battle the danger was, if things did not go well for us, that we should not take the land of others; but now, if we do not win the struggle, we shall lose the land which is our own. In proportion, then, as it is easier to possess nothing than to be deprived of what one has, just so now our fear touches our most vital concerns more than before. And yet formerly we had the fortune to win the victory with the infantry absent, but now, entering the battle with God propitious and with our whole army, I have hopes of capturing the camp of the enemy, men and all. Thus, then, having the end of the war ready at hand, do not by reason of any negligence put it off to another time, lest you be compelled to seek for the opportune moment after it has run past us. For when the fortune of war is postponed, its nature is not to proceed in the same manner as before, especially if the war be prolonged by the will of those who are carrying it on. For Heaven is accustomed to bring retribution always upon those who abandon the good fortune which is present. But if anyone considers that the enemy, seeing their children and wives and most precious possessions in our hands, will be daring beyond reason and will incur risks beyond the strength which they have, he does not think rightly. For an overpowering passion springing up in the heart in behalf of what is most precious is wont to diminish men’s actual strength.
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ισχύν καθαρεῖν εἰσώθε καὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ ἐξέχρησθαι. ἐν δὲ πάντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἵναι προσήκειν.

II

Τοσαῦτα Βελισάριος παρακελευσάμενος ἵππεας μὲν ἀπαντᾷ, πλὴν πεντακοσίων, ἡμέρα τῇ αὐτῇ ἐστιλε, τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὸ σημείον, δὴ δὴ βάνδου καλοῦσι Ρωμαίους. Ιωάννη ἐπιτρέψας τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ ἀκροβολίσασθαι ἔπιστειλας, ὡν 2 καιρὸς γένηται. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ύστεραιᾳ ξύν τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἤπεισεν 3 εἰπετο. τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέταις, βουλευσάμενος ἐν σφίσιν αὐτῶς, ἔδεξεν, ὅπως δὴ εὐσυνθετεῖν πρὸς τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βελισάριον δόξωσι, μήτε μάχης ὑπὲρ Ρωμαίων ἀρξαι μήτε πρὸ τοῦ ἐργοῦ ἐς Βαυδίλους ἴναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ὁποτέρας στρατιὰς τὰ πράγματα πονηρὰ εἴη, τηνικάυτα ξύν τοῖς νικῶσι τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἠσσωμένους πονησάσθαι.1 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς βαρβάροις 4 ἐδέδοκτο τῇ δε. ὁ δὲ Ρωμαίων στρατὸς κατέλαβε τοὺς Βαυδίλους ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ στρατοπεδεύσαντας, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν σταδίους Καρχη- 5 δὸνος ἀπέχουτι. ἔνθα δὴ μακρὰν ποὺ ἄπ’ ἀλλή- λων ηὐλίσαντο ἐκάτεροι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πόρρῳ ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, τέρας ἐν τῷ Ρωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ 2 6 ἐγεγόνει τούνδε. τῶν δοράτων αὐτῶν τὰ ἀκρα πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμαλ

1 πονησάσθαι VP: ἄποφημαθαί Ο.  
2 στρατοπέδω VP: στρατῶ Ο and Theophanes.

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and does not allow them to make full use of their present opportunities. Considering, then, all these things, it behooves you to go with great contempt against the enemy."

II

After such words of exhortation, Belisarius sent out all the horsemen on the same day, except five hundred, and also the guardsmen and the standard, which the Romans call "bandum," entrusting them to John the Armenian, and directing him to skirmish only, if opportunity should arise. And he himself on the following day followed with the infantry forces and the five hundred horsemen. And the Massagetae, deliberating among themselves, decided, in order to seem in friendly agreement with both Gelimer and Belisarius, neither to begin fighting for the Romans nor to go over to the Vandals before the encounter, but whenever the situation of one or the other army should be bad, then to join the victors in their pursuit of the vanquished. Thus, then, had this matter been decided upon by the barbarians. And the Roman army came upon the Vandals encamped in Tricamarum, one hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. So they both bivouacked there at a considerable distance from one another. And when it was well on in the night, a prodigy came to pass in the Roman camp as follows. The tips of their spears were lighted with a bright fire and the points

1 The vexillum praetorium carried by the cavalry of the imperial guard, IV. x. 4 below; cf. Lat. pannum.
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καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλείστου σφίσιν ἐδόκουν. τοῦτο οὐ πολλοῖς μὲν φυνερὸν γέγονεν, ἀλλοίως δὲ τοὺς θεασαμένους κατέπληξεν, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅπῃ ἐκβή-7 σεται. ξυνεπεσε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τούτῳ καὶ αὐθις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ὅτε δὴ αὐτὸ καὶ νίκης ἔμβολον ἀτε πείρα εἰδότες ἐπίστευν εἶναι. τότε δὲ, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, ἔπει πρῶτον ἐγε-γόνει, κατεπλάγησαν τε καὶ ξυν δέει πολλῷ ἐνυκτέρευσαν.

8 Τῇ δὲ ὕστεραια Μελίμερ Βανδίλους ἐκέλευεν παίδας τε καὶ γυναίκας καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἐν μέσῳ καταθέσαι τῷ χαράκῳ, καίπερ ὡρῳς οὐδὲν ἔχοντι, καὶ εὐγνακέσας ἄπαντας ἔλεεξε

9 τοιάδε: "Οὐχὶ ὑπὲρ δόξης ἡμῖν, ἄνδερι Βανδίλου, οὐδὲ ἁρχής στερήσεως μόνον ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ὡστε καὶ ἐθελοκακήσας καὶ ταύτα προεμένοις δυνατῶν εἶναι βιοῦν, οἶκοι τε καθημένοι καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα

10 αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν. ἄλλα ὅρατε δήτουθεν ὡς ἐς τούτῳ ἡμῖν περιέστηκε τύχης τὰ πράγματα ὥστε, ἦν μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν, τελευτῶμες μὲν κυρίους αὐτῶς καταλείψομεν παίδων τῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ χώρας καὶ πάντων χρημάτων, περιοῦσι δὲ ἡμῖν προσέσται τὸ δούλους τε εἶναι

11 καὶ ταύτα ἐπίδειξιν ἀπανταί. ἦν δὲ γε περιεσώμεθα τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ ἔσώμεν τοῖς πάσιν ἀναθοίς βιοτεύσῳ καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν παῖσί μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολειψεται, τῷ δὲ τῶν Βανδίλων ὄνοματι τὸ περεῖναι τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώ-12 σασθαι. εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ ἄλλως πῶς τετεῦρ

1 οὐχ MSS. : οὐθ᾽ Dindorf. 2 οὐδὲ Christ : οὔτε MSS.
3 ἦν P : εἶl VO. 4 πάσιν VO : πᾶσι τοῖς P.

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of them seemed to be burning most vigorously. This was not seen by many, but it filled with consternation the few who did see it, not knowing how it would come out. And this happened to the Romans in Italy again at a much later time. And at that time, since they knew by experience, they believed it to be a sign of victory. But now, as I have said, since this was the first time it had happened, they were filled with consternation and passed the night in great fear.

And on the following day Gelimer commanded the Vandals to place the women and children and all their possessions in the middle of the stockade, although it had not the character of a fort, and calling all together, he spoke as follows: "It is not to gain glory, or to retrieve the loss of empire alone, O fellow Vandals, that we are about to fight, so that even if we wilfully played the coward and sacrificed these our belongings we might possibly live, sitting at home and keeping our own possessions; but you see, surely, that our fortunes have come round to such a pass that, if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy, we shall, if we perish, leave them as masters of these our children and our wives and our land and all our possessions, while if we survive, there will be added our own enslavement and to behold all these enslaved; but if, indeed, we overcome our foes in the war, we shall, if we live, pass our lives among all good things, or, after the glorious ending of our lives, there will be left to our wives and children the blessings of prosperity, while the name of the Vandals will survive and their empire be preserved. For if it has ever
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tōn òlou ἐτύχκεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν ἰσομέτροι πάνων ἡμών ἡμῶν ὥσ τὰς ἐπὶ ἀπάντων ἐπίδοσις ἐφ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φέροντες ἐστὶν
13 παράταξιν καθιστάμεθα. οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς σώμασιν τούτων τοῖς ἁμαμέρως ὁ φῶςος οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπόνθατι ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ’ ὅστε μὴ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἠσσήσθαι. τῆς γὰρ νίκης ἀπολελειμμένων ἡ
14 τεθλάναι ἴσως. ὅτε τούτων ταύτα οὕτως ἔχει, μαλακιζόμεθα Βανδίλων μυθείς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν φρονήματι προϊσθώ τὸ σῶμα, αἰσχύνη δὲ τῶν μετὰ τὴν ἠττήσαν κακῶν ξηλοῦτω τὴν τοῦ βίου
15 καταστροφήν. τῷ γὰρ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχυνομένῳ πάρεστιν ἀλλὰ τῇ μή δεδεῖται τῶν κίνδυνων. μάχης δὲ τῆς πρότερον γεγενημένης μεθεμεία ἢμᾶς εἰσίτω μνήμη. οὐ γὰρ κακία ἡμετέρα ἠσσήσθημεν, ἀλλὰ τύχης ἑνευτίκοις προσπερακότες ἐσφάλμην. ταύτης δὲ τὸ βεῦμα οὐκ ἀλλὰ κατὰ ταύτα φέρεσθαι πέφυκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἡμέρα ἐκάστη ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
17 μεταπίπτειν φιλεῖ. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ὑπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν καὶ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. μέτρῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιείναι οὕτως ἠγούσσαν ἦ δεκαπλασίων οἴκωθα. καὶ τ’ ἐπ’ ἠσσήσατο πολλὰ τε καὶ μεγάλα εἶναι τὰ νῦν μᾶλλον ἦμᾶς ἐς ἀρτὴν ὀμάντα, τὴν τοῦ προσήκουν δόξαν καὶ τὴν παραπόθεσαν ἠμῖν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἀρχῆν;
18 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν τῷ ἄνωμοι τοῦ ἐνεχεινοῦ ἠγκαλύπτεται,3 ἢ δὲ ὥς ἀναξίως ἡμᾶς ἀποφυγεῖν ἵσχυρεται. καὶ σιωπώ τούτων τῶν γυναιῶν τὰς ὀμογγάς καὶ τῶν παῖδων τῶν ἠμετέρων τὰ

1 ἀπολελειμμένων Herwerden: ἀπολελειμμένης VP, ἐπιλειμμένωις O. 2 τ’ added by Capps (or οὐ). 3 ἠγκαλύπτεται PO: ἠγκαταλέλειπται V.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. ii. 12–20

happened to any men to be engaged in a struggle for their all, we now more than all others realize that we are entering the battle-line with our hopes for all we have resting wholly upon ourselves. Not for our bodies, then, is our fear, nor in death is our danger, but in being defeated by the enemy. For if we lose the victory, death will be to our advantage. Since, therefore, the case stands so, let no one of the Vandals weaken, but let him proudly expose his body, and from shame at the evils that follow defeat let him court the end of life. For when a man is ashamed of that which is shameful, there is always present with him a dauntless courage in the face of danger. And let no recollection of the earlier battle come into your minds. For it was not by cowardice on our part that we were defeated, but we tripped upon obstacles interposed by fortune and were overthrown. Now it is not the way of the tide of fortune to flow always in the same direction, but every day, as a rule, it is wont to change about. In manliness it is our boast that we surpass the enemy, and that in numbers we are much superior; for we believe that we surpass them no less than tenfold. And why shall I add that many and great are the incentives which, now especially, urge us on to valour, naming the glory of our ancestors and the empire which has been handed down to us by them? For in our case that glory is obscured by our unlikeness to our kindred, while the empire is bent upon fleeing from us as unworthy. And I pass over in silence the wails of these poor women and the tears of our children,
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21 δάκρυα, οἷς νῦν, ὡς ὄρατε, περιαλγήσας μηκύναι τὸν λόγον οὗ δύναμαι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὡς ἔπανοδος ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ φίλτατα τάυτα οὐκ ἔσται μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσασιν.

22 δὲν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἄνδρες τε ἄγαθοι γίγνεσθε καὶ μὴ καταισχύνητε τὴν Γιζέριχον δόξαν." 

23 Τοσαύτα εἰπὼν Γελίμερ Τξάξωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐκελευσε Βανδίλοις τοῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἡκουσι παραίνεσιν ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ξυναγείρας μικρὸν ἀποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεξε τοιάδε: "Βανδίλοις μὲν ἀπασιν, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ ἀγών ἑστιν ὡν ἡ ἄρτιως λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἥκουστε, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασι καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμιλλάσθαι ξυμβαίνει. νενικήκατε γὰρ ἐναγχος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκτήσασθε τῇ Βανδίλων ἀρχῇ. ὑμᾶς οὖν ἦς μὲν ποιεῖσθαι εἰκὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπιδείξειν. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ὁ κύνδυνος, μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀνάγκη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἡσσηθέντες, ἂν οὐτω τύχῃ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφάλισαν. οἷς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἡ μάχη, πάντως ὁ βίος πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου μυθίζεται πέρας. ἄλλως τε, ἂν μὲν ἄνδρες ἄγαθοι ἐν τῷ παρώντι γέννησθε, βεβαιοῦτε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῆς ἔργον τὴν τοῦ τυράννου Γώδα γεγονέναι καθαίρεσιν. μα-

1 ὑμᾶς οὖν V: ὡστε ὑμᾶς νῦν P, ὡστε ἡμᾶς νῦν O.
2 τὸ πολεμεῖν VO: τοὺς πολεμίους P.
by which, as you see, I am now so deeply moved that
I am unable to prolong my discourse. But having
said this one thing, I shall stop,—that there will be
for us no returning to these most precious possessions
if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy.
Remembering these things, shew yourselves brave
men and do not bring shame upon the fame of
Gizeric."

After speaking such words, Gelimer commanded
his brother Tzazon to deliver an exhortation sep-
arately to the Vandals who had come with him from
Sardinia. And he gathered them together a little
apart from the camp and spoke as follows: “For all
the Vandals, fellow soldiers, the struggle is in behalf
of those things which you have just heard the king
recount, but for you, in addition to all the other con-
siderations, it so happens that you are vying with
yourselves. For you have recently been victorious
in a struggle for the maintenance of our rule, and
you have recovered the island for the empire of
the Vandals; there is every reason, therefore, for you
to make still greater display of your valour. For
those whose hazard involves the greatest things must
needs display the greatest zeal for warfare also.
Indeed, when men who struggle for the maintenance
of their rule are defeated, should it so happen, they
have not failed in the most vital part; but when men
are engaged in battle for their all, surely their very
lives are influenced by the outcome of the struggle.
And for the rest, if you shew yourselves brave men
at the present time, you will thereby prove with
certainty that the destruction\(^1\) of the tyrant Godas
was an achievement of valour on your part; but if

\(^1\) See III. xxiv. 1.
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λακισθέντες δὲ νῦν καὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους εὐδοξίας
28 ὡς οὔδὲν ύμῖν προσηκούσης στερήσεσθε. καὶ τοιού
cαὶ ἄλλως ύμᾶς γε εἰκὸς τῶν λοιπῶν Βανδίλων
29 ἐν ταύτῃ πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
σφαλέντας ἡ προλαβοῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήσσει, οἱ δὲ
οὔδὲν ἐπταικότες μετ' ἀκραιφυὸς τοῦ θάρσους ἐσ
τῶν ἀγώνα καθίστανται. κάκεινο δὲ οὐ μὴν
ἀπὸ τρόπον εἰρήσεται, ὡς ἦν τῶν πολεμίων
κρατήσωμεν, τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ύμης ύμεῖς ἀναδή-
σεσθε1 μέρος, σωτηρᾶς τε ύμᾶς ἄπαντες τοῦ τῶν
31 Βανδίλων καλέσουσιν ἔθνους. οἱ γὰρ σὺν τοῖς
πρῶτοι ἡτυχήσοσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντες εἰκότως αὐτοὶ
32 τὴν ἀμείων σφετερίζονται τύχην. ταῦτα τοῖς
ἀπαντα λογιζομένους ύμᾶς φημὶ χρηνai παίδας
tε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπολοφυρμένους κελεύειν θαι-
ρεῖν τε ἡδι καὶ τὸν θεόν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρα-
καλεῖν, καὶ θυμός μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴναι,
τοῖς δὲ ὅμοφύλοις ἐς ταύτην ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην."

III

Τυσαῦτα Γ' ελίμερ τε καὶ Τζάζων παρανέσαντες
ἐξῆγον τοὺς Βανδίλους, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἱερὸν
καὶ τοῦ τοῦ ἵλιστον
καὶ ὑπὸ προσέχουσι φωμαιών ἀλλ' ἱε-
ροῦ σφίσι παρασκευαζόντων, παρῆσαν καί παρὰ2
τὰς τῶν ποταμῶν ὄχθας ός ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο.
2 ἐστι δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ ταύτης ἰσούς ἀνέφαρας μὲν,
οὕτω δὲ τὸ ῥέμα βράχως διότε οὐδὲ ὄνοματος ἱδίου
1 ἀναδήσεσθε Ο: ἀναδήσεσθαι V, ἀναδήσεσθε P.
2 παρὰ Maltretus: περὶ MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. ii. 27—iii. 2

you weaken now, you will be deprived of even the renown of those deeds, as of something which does not belong to you at all. And yet, even apart from this, it is reasonable to think that you will have an advantage over the rest of the Vandals in this battle. For those who have failed are dismayed by their previous fortune, while those who have encountered no reverse enter the struggle with their courage unimpaired. And this too, I think, will not be spoken out of season, that if we conquer the enemy, it will be you who will win the credit for the greatest part of the victory, and all will call you saviours of the nation of the Vandals. For men who achieve renown in company with those who have previously met with misfortune naturally claim the better fortune as their own. Considering all these things, therefore, I say that you should bid the women and children who are lamenting their fate to take courage even now, should summon God to fight with us, should go with enthusiasm against the enemy, and lead the way for our compatriots into this battle."

III

After both Gelimer and Tzazon had spoken such exhortations, they led out the Vandals, and at about the time of lunch, when the Romans were not expecting them, but were preparing their meal, they were at hand and arrayed themselves for battle along the bank of the stream. Now the stream at that place is an ever-flowing one, to be sure, but its volume is so small that it is not even given a special name by the
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πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεταλαγχάνει, ἀλλ’ ἐν
3 ρύακος μοίρα ὤν ομασταί. τούτου δὲ τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ Ὑρμαίοι ἐς τὴν ἐτέραν ὅχθην ὡς ἐκ τῶν
παρόντων παρασκευασάμενοι ἤκουν καὶ ἐτάξαντο
4 ὁδὲ. κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν Μαρτίνος τε καὶ
Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Κυπριανὸς τε καὶ
Ἀλθίας καὶ Μάρκελλος εἶχον καὶ ὅσοι ἀλλοι
φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸν Πάπ-
πος τε καὶ Βαρβάτος καὶ Ἰογάν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν
5 ἰπτικῶν καταλόγων ἢρχον. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον
Ἰωάννης ἐτάσσετο,1 τοὺς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ
dορυφόρους Βελισαρίου καὶ σημεῖον τὸ στρατηγι-
6 κον ἐπαγόμενος. οὖ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριος εἰς καιρὸν
ξύν τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἐπεύσῳν ἁφίκετο, τοὺς
πεξοὺς ὅπισθεν βάδην προσίσταταὶ 2 ἀπολιπόν.
7 οἱ γὰρ Οὐνουι ἀπαντές ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐτάξαντο χώρα,
εἰδισμένοι μὲν σφίαι καὶ πρότερον ἤκουστα ἐπι-
μάγνυσθαι τῷ Ὑρμαίων στρατῷ, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐν
νῦ ἄ προπεδήλωται ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἢν βουλομένους
ξύν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιά τάσσεσθαι. Ὑρμαίοις μὲν
8 οὖν τα τῆς τάξεως ὅδε τῇ εἴχῃ. Βανδίλων δὲ
κέρας μὲν ἐκάτερον οἱ χιλίαρχοι εἶχον, ἐκαστὸς τε
ἡγείτο τοῦ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν λόχου, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ
μέσον Τζάζων ἢν τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, ὅπι-
9 σθεν δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐτετάχατο. αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁ
Γελίμερ πανταχόσε περιοὶ ἐνεκελευτό τε καὶ ἐς
εὐτολμιῶν ἐνήγε. προείρητο δὲ Βανδίλου ἀπασι
μήτε δορατίῳ μήτε ἀλλῳ ὤτρουν ὀργάνῳ ἐς ξυμ-
βολήν τήνδε, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ἐξίφεσι, χρησθαι.
10 Χρόνου δὲ τριβέντος συχνοῦ καὶ μάχης οὔδενὸς

1 ἐτάσσετο ΡΟ: ἢν Ψ.
2 προσίστατα ΨΠ: προιστατα Ο.
inhabitants of the place, but it is designated simply as a brook. So the Romans came to the other bank of this river, after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances, and arrayed themselves as follows. The left wing was held by Martinus and Valerian, John, Cyprian, Althias, and Marcellus, and as many others as were commanders of the foederati; and the right was held by Pappas, Barbatus, and Aëgan, and the others who commanded the forces of cavalry. And in the centre John took his position, leading the guards and spearmen of Belisarius and carrying the general's standard. And Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen, leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could avoid so doing, and at that time especially, since they had in mind the purpose which has previously been explained, it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of the army. Such, then, was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals, either wing was held by the chiliarchs, and each one led the division under him, while in the centre was Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But Gelimer himself was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had been previously given to all the Vandals to use neither spear nor any other weapon in this engagement except their swords.

After a considerable time had passed and no one

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1 "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3 and note.
2 Chap. i. 3.
ἀρχοντὸς ᾗωάννης τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ὀλίγους ἀπολέξας Βελισαρίου γνώμη τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ ἐς τοὺς μέσους ἐσέβαλεν, ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Τζάζων ὠθισμὸν χρησάμενος ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς.  
καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον ἦκον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι διώκοντες ἀχρὶ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἦλθον, οἱ μὲντοι διέβησαν. αὐθίς δὲ ᾗωάννης πλείους τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τζάζωνα ἐσεπήδησε, καὶ αὐθίς ἐνθεὺν ἀπόκρουσθεὶς ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τρίτον ἕως τὰς σχέδους τοῖς Βελισαρίῳ τε δορυφόροις καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον λαβὼν τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ἕως βοὴ τε καὶ πατάγω τολλῷ. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀνδρεῖως τε αὐτῶν υφισταμένων καὶ μόνως χρωμάτων τοῖς ξίφεσι, γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ ἢ μάχη, πίπτοντι δὲ Βανδίλων πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Τζάζων αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός. τότε δὴ ἀπαν τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκινήθη καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν, ἢ τε τροπῇ ἀρξαμένῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου λαμπρὰ ἐγεγονεὶ τοὺς γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο ἐκαστοί. ἢ δὴ ὄρωντες οἱ Μασσαγέται κατὰ τὰ σφῶν ξυγκειμένα ἕως τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὴν διώξιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ μέντοι ἢ δίωξις ἢ ὡς ἐγεγονεὶ. οἱ δὲ γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐς τὸ σφέτερον στρατόπεδον κατὰ τάχος εἰσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίοι, οὐκ ἂν οὐδεμενοὶ ἐν τῷ χαρακτῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμάχεσθαι οἷον τε εἶναι, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὀσοὶ ἐχρυσοφόρουν ἀπεδύσαν καὶ

1 ἦλθον ν.ρ.: ἦκον Ο. 2 λαβὼν ν.ρ.: ἀναλαβὼν Ο.
began the battle, John chose out a few of those under him by the advice of Belisarius and crossing the river made an attack on the centre, where Tzazon crowded them back and gave chase. And the Romans in flight came into their own camp, while the Vandals in pursuit came as far as the stream, but did not cross it. And once more John, leading out more of the guardsmen of Belisarius, made a dash against the forces of Tzazon, and again being repulsed from there, withdrew to the Roman camp. And a third time with almost all the guards and spearmen of Belisarius he took the general's standard and made his attack with much shouting and a great noise. But since the barbarians manfully withstood them and used only their swords, the battle became fierce, and many of the noblest of the Vandals fell, and among them Tzazon himself, the brother of Gelimer. Then at last the whole Roman army was set in motion, and crossing the river they advanced upon the enemy, and the rout, beginning at the centre, became complete; for each of the Roman divisions turned to flight those before them with no trouble. And the Massagetae, seeing this, according to their agreement among themselves\(^1\) joined the Roman army in making the pursuit, but this pursuit was not continued for a great distance. For the Vandals entered their own camp quickly and remained quiet, while the Romans, thinking that they would not be able to fight it out with them inside the stockade, stripped such of the corpses as had

\(^1\) Chap. i. 3.
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ἐς τὸ σφών αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν.
18 ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν ἦσσους ἡ πεντηκόντα, Βαυδίλων δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι μάλιστα.
19 Βελισάριος δὲ τῶν πεζῶν οἱ ἀφικομένων ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν, ἀρας ὡς εἶχε τάχους παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἥει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Βαυδίλων στρατόπεδον.
20 Γελίμερ δὲ γνοὺς Βελισάριον ξύν τε τοῖς πεζοῖς καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν αὐτικά ἰέναι, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε ἐντελέμενος ἐπὶ τε τὸν ἕπον ἀναθρώσκει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νουμίδας φέρουσαν ἐφευγε. καὶ αὐτῷ οἳ τε ἐνυγγενεῖς καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ὅλων τινὲς εἰπόντο καταπεπληγμένοι τε καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐν συγῇ ἔχοντες. καὶ χρόνον μὲν των ἐλαθε Βαυδίλων ἀποδρὰς 1 Γελίμερ, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τε πεθυγέναι ἕσθοντο ἀπαντεῖς καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἵδη καθωρώντα, τότε δὴ οἳ τε ἄνδρες ἔθορύβουν καὶ τὰ παιδία ἀνέκραγε καὶ οἱ γυναῖκες ἐκώκυνον. καὶ οὔτε χρημάτων παρόντων μετεποιησάντο οὔτε τῶν φιλτάτων ὀνυμομένων σφίσιν ἐμελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς ἐφευγεν οὐδεις κόσμῳ ὅπῃ ἔδυνατο. ἐπειλόντες δὲ Ῥωμαίοι τῷ τε στρατόπεδῷ ἄνδρῷς ἐρμον αὐτοῖς χρήμασιν αἴροντο καὶ ἐπιδιώκαντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἄνδρας μὲν ὅσοις ἐντύχοιεν ἔκτεινον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐποιοῦντο ἐν ἄνδραπόδων λόγῳ. χρήματα δὲ τοσάτα τῷ πλῆθος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στρατόπεδῳ εὑρον ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ἐν χωρίῳ εἰνὶ τετύχηκεν εἶναι.
25 οἳ τε γὰρ Βαυδίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἄρχην 2 λησάμενοι συχνὰ χρήματα ἐς Διβύνην

1 ἀποδρᾶς VP: ἀποβᾶς O. 2 ἄρχην VO: χώραν P.

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gold upon them and retired to their own camp. And there perished in this battle, of the Romans less than fifty, but of the Vandals about eight hundred.

But Belisarius, when the infantry came up in the late afternoon, moved as quickly as he could with the whole army and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer, realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his army was coming against him straightway, without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence what was taking place. And for some time it escaped the notice of the Vandals that Gelimer had run away, but when they all perceived that he had fled, and the enemy were already plainly seen, then indeed the men began to shout and the children cried out and the women wailed. And they neither took with them the money they had nor did they heed the laments of those dearest to them, but every man fled in complete disorder just as he could. And the Romans, coming up, captured the camp, money and all, with not a man in it; and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night, killing all the men upon whom they happened, and making slaves of the women and children. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been found, at least in one place. For the Vandals had plundered the Roman domain for a long time and had transferred great amounts of money to Libya,
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μετήνεγκαν καὶ τὴς χώρας αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀγαθὴς ἐν
tois máliста οὐσίας καρποῖς τε τοῖς ἀναγκαῖο-
tatóis ἐσ ἄγαν εὐθυνοῦσις, τὰς τῶν χρημάτων
προσόδους ξυνέβη, αἱ γε ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνη γινομένων
ἀγαθῶν ἡγεῖροντο, οὐκ ἐσ έτεραν τινὰ δαπανᾶσθαι
χώραν ἐμπορία  2 τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' αὐτᾶς
addEventListener οἱ τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοι προσεποιοῦντο ἐσ
πέντε καὶ ἕνενήκοντα έτη, ἐς οἷς δὴ Διβύης οἱ
27 Βανδίλου ἤρξαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς πάμπολυ
χρήμα ὁ πλούσιος χωρίσας ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς
28 τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανῆκεν αὐθεν. ἡ μὲν
οὖν μάχη καὶ δίώξις ἤδε καὶ τοῦ Βανδίλων
στρατοπέδου ἡ ἀλώσις τρισε λησθην ὑπερον
γέγονεν ἢ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐσ Καρχηδόνα
ἠλθε, μεσοῦντος μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μηνὸς, ὅν
Δεκέμβριον Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσι.

IV

Τότε δὲ κατιδὼν Βελισάριος τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρα-
tευμα πλημμελῶς τε καὶ ἦν πολλὴ ἀκοσμία
φερόμενον ἁχάλλη, δεμαίνον τὴν νύκτα ὅλην μὴ
οἱ πολέμιοι, ξυμφρονήσαντες τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
ξυνιστάμενοι, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτοὺς δράσωσιν.
2 ὅπερ εἰ γενέσθαι τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ τημικαία
ξυνέπεσεν, οἷμαι ἃν Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα διαφυγόντα
3 ταύτης δὴ τῆς λείας ἀπόνασθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρα-
tευόταν πένθητες ἀνθρωποὶ κομιδῆ ὄντες καὶ χρη-
mάτων μὲν ἐς ἄγαν μεγάλων, σωμάτων δὲ ὑφαίων

1 αὐτοῖς MSS.: αὐτῆς Theophanes.
2 ἐμπορία VP: ἀπορία O.
and since their land was an especially good one, flourishing abundantly with the most useful crops, it came about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply, but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety-five years during which the Vandals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth, amounting to an extraordinary sum, returned once more on that day into the hands of the Romans. So this battle and the pursuit and the capture of the Vandals' camp happened three months after the Roman army came to Carthage, at about the middle of the last month, which the Romans call "December."

IV

Then Belisarius, seeing the Roman army rushing about in confusion and great disorder, was disturbed, being fearful throughout the whole night lest the enemy, uniting by mutual agreement against him, should do him irreparable harm. And if this thing had happened at that time in any way at all, I believe that not one of the Romans would have escaped and enjoyed this booty. For the soldiers, being extremely poor men, upon becoming all of a sudden masters of very great wealth and of women both young and
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te καὶ ὑπερφυῶς εὑπρεπῶν κύριοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
gεγενημένου κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἔδυ-
ναντο οὐδὲ κόρον τινὰ τῶν σφίσι παρόντων εὑρέιν,
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμέθυνον, καταβεβρημένοι τοῖς ὑπάρ-
χουσι εὐτυχήμασιν, ὡστε αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
ἀπαντά ἄγων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀναστρέφειν ἐβοῦ-
λοντο. καὶ περιήγιοντο οὗ κατὰ συμμορίας,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἐνα ἢ δύο, ὅπερ ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἢ ἔλπις
ἀγοι, ἀπαντά κύκλω διερευνώμενοι ἐν τε νάταις
καὶ δυσχωρίας καὶ εἴ που στιλλαίουν παρατύχοι
ἡ ἄλλο ὑποίων ἐν κίνδυνον ἢ ἐνέδραν ἄγοι. οὐδὲ
γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων φόβος οὐδὲ ἡ Ἐβελ-
σαρίου αἰδῶς ἐσῆι οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν,
ὅτι μὴ ἡ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπιθυμία, ταῦτας τε ὑπερβιαζομένης ἐς ὁλυγωρίαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
ἐτράποντο. ὅ δέ ἀπαντά ἐν ψυχήνους Ἐβελσάριος ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἴχεν ἢ τὸ παρὸν ἰδέσθαι.
7 ἂμα δὲ ἡμέρα ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄγχοι
εἰστήκει, τῆν τε οὐκέτι οὕσαν εὐκοσμίαν ἀνακαλοῦ-
μένους καὶ πολλὰ πάσι στρατιώταις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ
8 ἀρχουσι λοιδοροῦμενος. τότε δὴ ὅσοις τετύχησε
πλησίων που εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Ἐβελσαρίου
οἰκίας οὕτε, τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα σφίσι χρήματά
tε καὶ ἀνδράτοδα ἐξί τοῖς ὁμοσκήνοις τε καὶ
ὁμοτραπέζοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἑπεμπον, αὐτὸι δὲ
παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἑοπτὲ τῶν σφίσι παραγγελ-
λομένοις κατήκοιν.

9 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννην μὲν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἔμοι διακοσίοις
ἐκέλευε Γελίμερι ἑπεσθαι, καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήτε
ἡμέραν ἀνίεντας διώκειν, ἔως αὐτοῦ ἐξόντα ἢ
10 νεκρὸν λάβοιεν. ἐς δὲ Καρχηδόνα τοῖς ἐπιτη-

1 αὐτὸς VO: τούτων P.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iv. 3–10

extremely comely, were no longer able to restrain their minds or to find any satiety in the things they had, but were so intoxicated, drenched as they were by their present good fortunes, that each one wished to take everything with him back to Carthage. And they were going about, not in companies but alone or by twos, wherever hope led them, searching out every-thing roundabout among the valleys and the rough country and wherever there chanced to be a cave or anything such as might bring them into danger or ambush. For neither did fear of the enemy nor their respect for Belisarius occur to them, nor indeed anything else at all except the desire for spoils, and being overmastered by this they came to think lightly of everything else. And Belisarius, taking note of all this, was at a loss as to how he should handle the situation. But at daybreak he took his stand upon a certain hill near the road, appealing to the discipline which no longer existed and heaping reproaches upon all, soldiers and officers alike. Then, indeed, those who chanced to be near, and especially those who were of the household of Belisarius, sent the money and slaves which they had to Carthage with their tentmates and messmates, and themselves came up beside the general and gave heed to the orders given them.

And he commanded John, the Armenian, with two hundred men to follow Gelimer, and without slacken-ing their speed either night or day to pursue him, until they should take him living or dead. And he sent word to his associates in Carthage to lead into
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deiois epéstelle, Baudílois, òsoi ès tà àmfì òtìn
pòliòn xwria èn íerois iktai ékáthnúto, písta
didóusì kai tà òpla, òpwos mh tì neostéríswsin,
ařefloýnous ès te tìn pòliòn èsagagóúsìn èxein,
áxri autós èlboi. òxì òtòs leiostrómenoi
pantaxóse peýriwòs toùs te stratiwòstas spoudì
ýgerie kai Baudílois toùs ùei èn pòsì pítstesís úpér
sotériaas èdídou. ou gárx ètì òn Baudílois
12 oudèna òti mh èn toùs íerois iktetin labeiín.
ìn dh tà òpla àfairoúmenos, òxì stratiwòtais
philáspoussin ès Karxhídóna èstellein, ou didous kairòn
13 sfíssin èpì Rhómaioûs xynistasthai. kai èpetel
ápatatai ói wòs arísteta éxein, èpì Gélimera kai
autòs òxì òtì pleyoû toû stratoû káta tàchos
14 xei. ò dè Íowánjiès ès pénte ýméras te kai
úktas tìn diázwí poiníamenos ou pórrw apo Gélimeros
èdè eganóei, állass òtì ústeraià èmellin ès
kheiras ínai. èpetel dè ouk òdei Gélimera Íowánji
15 állopoi, túchès ènántrima xynnêghth th toûndè.
èn toûs òxì Íowánji deikíoussin Óyliariv tòn Béli-
saríon dorúforon tetúchkein ènai.
ìn dè outhos
ánh thnémêdès mèn kai pròs álkh õuxhè th tè kai
sòmatos ikanòs peýkous, ou lían de kastepou-
dassménos, álì oínw te kai geíloîs òs tò pollá
17 xá irres. outhos Óyliaris ýmérà tòs diázwís èkth
oínwmenos àmfì õlíou ánatoûs òrhìn tìn tà èpì
déndrou kathémwv eide, kai tò tôxov káta tàchos
18 èntevnas káta tòu õrhìdos òfiie tò bèlos. kai
tòu mên õrhìdos àppotugxánei, Íowánjièn dè òptiôsein
19 ès tòn aúghvà outhi èkousias bállei. dè kairián
tupéis èx ànthròpwn xhòwv õlíwv õstéron
êfanísòtê, pollh autòv póthèn basileî te
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the city all the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in sanctuaries in the places about the city, giving them pledges and taking away their weapons, that they might not begin an uprising, and to keep them there until he himself should come. And with those who were left he went about everywhere and gathered the soldiers hastily, and to all the Vandals he came upon he gave pledges for their safety. For it was no longer possible to catch anyone of the Vandals except as a supplicant in the sanctuaries. And from these he took away their weapons and sent them, with soldiers to guard them, to Carthage, not giving them time to unite against the Romans. And when everything was as well settled as possible, he himself with the greater part of the army moved against Gelimer with all speed. But John, after continuing the pursuit five days and nights, had already come not far from Gelimer, and in fact he was about to engage with him on the following day. But since it was not fated that Gelimer should be captured by John, the following obstacle was contrived by fortune. Among those pursuing with John it happened that there was Uliaris, the aide of Belisarius. Now this man was a passionate fellow and well favoured in strength of heart and body, but not a very serious man, but one who generally took delight in wine and buffoonery. This Uliaris on the sixth day of the pursuit, being drunk, saw a bird sitting in a tree at about sunrise, and he quickly stretched his bow and despatched a missile at the bird. And he missed the bird, but John, who was behind it, he hit in the neck by no will of his own. And since the wound was mortal, John passed away a short time afterwards, leaving great sorrow at his loss to the Emperor Justinian and
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'Ιουστινιανὸς καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ Ρωμαίοις ἄπασι καὶ Καρχηδόνιοις ἀπολλυόν. 20 ἀνδρίας τε γαρ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὖ ἦκων, πρῶτον τε τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσι παρεῖχεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπιεικέστατον 1 οὐδενὸς ἦσον. 'Ἰώαννης μὲν οὖν 21 τὴν πεπρωμένην οὕτως ἀνέπλησεν. Οὐλίαρις δὲ ἐπεί ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ἐς κώμην τινὰ πλησίον που οὐσαν καταφυγὼν ἐν τῷ κατὰ ταύτην ἱερὸ ἵκετης 22 ἐκάθητο. οί δὲ στρατιώται Γελίμερα διώκειν οὐκέτι ὄρμητο, ἀλλ' 'Ἰώαννην μὲν ἐως περιῆ ἐθεράπευον, ἐπεί δὲ ἐκείνος ἐτελεύτησε, τά τε νομίζομενα ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁσίαν 2 ἐποίουν καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον. 23 ὁς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἦκουσεν, ἐς τὸν 'Ἰώαννου τάφον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου πάθος ἀπέκλαιεν. 24 ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλήγησας τῇ πάσῃ συμφορᾷ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ 25 τὸν 'Ἰώαννου τάφον ἐτίμησε. δεινὸν μέντοι Οὐλίαριν οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατιώται 'Ἰώαννην σφίσιν ἐπισκέψατο ὁρκοὺς ἐφασκον δευτοτάτοις μηδεμίαν ἐς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τίσιν ἀτε οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τὸ μίασμα ἐργοσάμενον.

26 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν Γελίμερος διαφεύγει τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γενέσθαι. Βελισάριος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐντεύθεν ἐδίωκεν, ἐς πόλιν τε Νομιδῶν ἐχυρᾶν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην, ἀφικόμενος, δέκα ἡμερῶν ἄδω καρχηδόνιος διέχουσαν, ἂν δὴ Ἰππονερέγιον καλοῦσιν, ἐμαθεὶς Γελίμερα ἡς Παπούαν τὸ ὀρος ἀναβάντα οὐκέτι ἀλώσιμον 27 Ρωμαίοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὀρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν

1 ἐπιεικέστατον P pr. m.: ἐπιεικὲς ἂν V, ἐς ἐπιεικείαν Ο, ἐπιεικὴ P pr. m. corr. 2 διαν PO: διαν κηδελαν V.
Belisarius, the general, and to all the Romans and Carthaginians. For in manliness and every sort of virtue he was well endowed, and he shewed himself, to those who associated with him, gentle and equitable to a degree quite unsurpassed. Thus, then, John fulfilled his destiny. As for Uliaris, when he came to himself, he fled to a certain village which was near by and sat as a suppliant in the sanctuary there. And the soldiers no longer pressed the pursuit of Gelimer, but they cared for John as long as he survived, and when he had died they carried out all the customary rites in his burial, and reporting the whole matter to Belisarius they remained where they were. And as soon as he heard of it, he came to John's burial, and bewailed his fate. And after weeping over him and grieving bitterly at the whole occurrence, he honoured the tomb of John with many gifts and especially by providing for it a regular income. However, he did nothing severe to Uliaris, since the soldiers said that John had enjoined upon them by the most dread oaths that no vengeance should come to him, since he had not performed the unholy deed with deliberate intent.

Thus, then, Gelimer escaped falling into the hands of the enemy on that day. And from that time on Belisarius pursued him, but upon reaching a strong city of Numidia situated on the sea, ten days distant from Carthage, which they call Hippo Regius, he learned that Gelimer had ascended the mountain Papua and could no longer be captured by the Romans. Now this mountain is situated at the extremity of

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1 Now Bona; it was the home and burial-place of St. Augustine.
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tois Νομιμίας ἐσχάτως ἀπότομον τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον (πέτραι γὰρ ύψηλας ἐς αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσι), κατώκυκται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἱ τῷ Γελίμεροι φίλοι τε καὶ ἐπίκουροι ἡσαυ, καὶ τόλης ἄρχαία Μηδέος όνομα παρὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἔνταῦθα Γελίμερος ἐν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἡσύχαζε. Βελισάριος δὲ (οὔδὲ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος ὀρᾶ οἶδα τε ἢ, ἔτι τέ οί τῶν πραγμάτων ὑφρημένων Καρχηδόνος ἀπολελείφθαι ἀξύμφορον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι) στρατιώτας τε ἀπολεξάμενος καὶ ἀρχοῦτα Φάραν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους προσεδρεῖα κατέστησεν. ἢν δὲ ὁ Φάρας οὗτος δραστηρίος τε καὶ λιαν κατασπουδασμένος καὶ ἀρετῆς εὐ ἦκων, καίπερ Ἐρουλός διὸ γένος.

30 ἀνδρα δὲ Ἐρουλοῦ μὴ ἐσ ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ μέθυν ἀνείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι, χαλέπτων τε καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. Φάρας δὲ οὐ μόνος τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἀντείχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐρουλοῦ ὅσοι αὐτῷ εἴποντο. τούτων δὴ τὸν Φάραν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα Βελισάριος καθῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὀρᾶν ἐκέλευσε καὶ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ ἔχειν, ὥσ μήτε τὸ ὄρος ἀπολυπτεῖν Γελίμερο δυνατὰ εἶναὶ μήτε τὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εἰς αὐτὸ ἐσκομίζεσθαι.

31 καὶ Φάρας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Βελισάριος δὲ Βανδίλους ὅσοι ἐς Ἰππονερέγοιον πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰκέται ἐκάθηντο, πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἀριστοι, ἀνέστησεν τε πιστὰ λαβόντας καὶ Καρχηδόνα

1 μόνος P; μόνον VO.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. iv. 27–32

Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer, and an ancient city named Medeus lies on the outskirts of the mountain. There Gelimer rested with his followers. But as for Belisarius, he was not able to make any attempt at all on the mountain, much less in the winter season, and since his affairs were still in an uncertain state, he did not think it advisable to be away from Carthage; and so he chose out soldiers, with Pharas as their leader, and set them to maintain the siege of the mountain. Now this Pharas was energetic and thoroughly serious and upright in every way, although he was an Erulian by birth. And for an Erulian not to give himself over to treachery and drunkenness, but to strive after uprightness, is no easy matter and merits abundant praise. But not only was it Pharas who maintained orderly conduct, but also all the Erulians who followed him. This Pharas, then, Belisarius commanded to establish himself at the foot of the mountain during the winter season and to keep close guard, so that it would neither be possible for Gelimer to leave the mountain nor for any supplies to be brought in to him. And Pharas acted accordingly. Then Belisarius turned to the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries in Hippo Regius,—and there were many of them and of the nobility—and he caused them all to accept pledges and arise, and then he sent them to Carthage with a

1 The Eruli, or Heruli, were one of the wildest and most corrupt of the barbarian tribes. They came from beyond the Danube. On their origin, practices, and character, see VI. xiv.

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ξῦν φυλακὴ ἐπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τι
τούνδε ἐμπεσεῖν ἐτυχεν.

33 ἔν τῇ Γελίμερος οἴκια γραμματεύς ἦν τις
Βοιυφάτιος Δέβυς, ἐκ Βυζακίου ὀρμόμενος, πιστὸς
τῷ Γελίμερι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. τούτων δὴ τὸν
Βοιυφάτιον Γελίμερ κατ’ ἀρχὰς τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου
ἐς ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας ἄριστα πλέουσαν, ἐν ταύτῃ
τε ἀπαντά τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνθέμενος
ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἰππονερεγίου λιμένα ὀρμή-
ζεσθαι, καὶ ἢν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν οὐκ ἐξ
καθιστάμενα ἱδοί, τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντα πλεῖν
κατὰ τάχος ἐς Ἰσπανίαν, παρὰ Θεοδίνε το ἀφικέ-
σθαι τὸν τῶν Ὀυσιαγόθων ἤγοιμενον, ἐνθὰ δὴ
καὶ αὐτὸς διασώζεσθαι ἐκαραδόκει, πονηρὰς
γινομένης Βανδίλων τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης.

35 Βοιυφάτιος δὲ, ἐξεὶ μὲν τὰ Βανδίλων ἐπίδει ἔθεν,
αὐτῶν ἐμενεν ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ἡ ἐν Τρικαλάμῳ
μάχη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπερ ἐρήθη ἐγεγόνει, ἄρας τὰ
ἰστία ἐπει διαδέατον οἱ ἐπέστηλλε Γελίμερε.

36 ἀλλὰ πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἐναντίωμα εἰς τὸν τοῦ
Ἰππονερεγίου λιμένα οὐτί ἐκοῦσιν αὐθὶς ἠγεγκεν.
ὡς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἁγχοῦ ἤδη ποὺ ἕκηκοεί
ἐϊναι, τοὺς νάυτας πολλά ὤποσχόμενος ἐλπιᾶτέ
ἐς ἀλλυν τιν τῇ ἦπερον ἡ νήσουν βιασμῆνος ἱέναι.

37 οἱ δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνατο χειμῶνος σφίσι χαλεποῦ
λίαν ἐπιπεσύντος καὶ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ῥόθιον
ἀτε ἐν Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει ἐς ψυχος μέγα ἐγει-
ρούντος), τότε δὴ αὐτὸς το καὶ Βοιυφάτιος ἐς
ἐννοιαν ἤλθον ὡς ἀρα ὁ θεός τὰ χρήματα Ἱρω-
μαίοις διδόναι ἐθέλων τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἀνάγεσθαι.

38 μόλισι μέντοι τοῦ λιμένος ἐξω γενόμενοι ξῦν

1 ἐν ταύτῃ τε Ρ: ἐς αὐτήν τε Ψ, ἐς ταύτην Ο.
guard. And there it came about that the following event happened to him.

In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface, a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceedingly faithful to Gelimer. At the beginning of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and placing all the royal treasure in it commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius, and if he should see that the situation was not favourable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adverse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Hippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a very severe storm had fallen upon them and the waves of the sea were rising to a great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan sea,¹ and then it occurred to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got outside the harbour, they encountered great danger

¹ The Greek implies that the Tuscan Sea was stormy, like the Adriatic. The Syrtes farther east had a bad reputation.
39 κυνύφω μεγάλῳ τὴν ναῦν ἀνεκώχευον. ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο Βελισάριος εἰς τὸ Ἰππονερέγιον, πέμπει τινὰς παρ’ αὐτὸν Βουιφάτιος, ὥσ δὴ ἐν ἱερῷ καθῆσαι ἐκέλευεν, ἑροῦντας μὲν ὡς πρὸς 1 Βουιφάτιον σταλεῖεν τοῦ τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα ἔχοντος, ἀποκρυψομένους δὲ ὅτε ποτὲ εἰ, πρὶν γε δὴ τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιεν ὡς τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάξῃ κακῶν ἀπαθησὶς, ἔχων ὁσα
40 αὐτοῦ οἰκεία εἰ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράσον, Βελισάριος δὲ ἦσθην τε τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ καὶ ὁμείοθεν
41 οὐκ ἀπηξίουν. στείλας τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινῶς τὸν τε Γελίμερος πλοῦτον ἐλαβε καὶ Βουιφάτιοιν ξυν τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε, πάμπολυ τι χρήμα τοῦ Γελίμερος συλήσαντα πλοῦτον.

V

'Ἐπεί δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνέστρεφε, Βανδίλους τε ἀπαντας ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως ἀμα ἦρεν ἁρχομένῳ ὡς Βυζάντιον πέμψεις, καὶ στράτευμα ἐστελλεν ἐφ' ὃ ἀνασώφοιτο Ῥωμαίους ἀπαντα
2 ὅν Βανδίλοι ήρχον. Κύριλλον μὲν οὖν ξυν πληθεὶ τολλῷ ἐς Σαρδὼ ἐπεμψε, τὴν Τξάξωνος κεφαλήν ἐχοντα, ἐπεί οἱ νησιώται οὗτοι ἄκιστα προσχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίους ἐβούλοντο, δεδοτες τε τοὺς Βανδίλους καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἁληθῇ εἶναι ὅσα σφίσι ξυνενεχθήναι ἐν Τρικαλίᾳ ἔλεγετο.
3 τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Κύριλλῳ ἐπήγγελλε μοῖραν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς Κουρσίκὴν πέμψαντα τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ τὴν νήσου ἀνακτήσασθαι, Βανδίλου κατ- ἥκοιν τὰ πρῶτερα οὖσαν, ὡς Κύρινος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω

πρὸς ΡΩ: παρὰ V.
in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon giving Gelimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure.

V

And when he returned to Carthage, he put all the Vandals in readiness, so that at the opening of spring he might send them to Byzantium; and he sent out an army to recover for the Romans everything which the Vandals ruled. And first he sent Cyril to Sardinia with a great force, having the head of Tzazon, since these islanders were not at all willing to yield to the Romans, fearing the Vandals and thinking that what had been told them as having happened in Tricamarum could not be true. And he ordered this Cyril to send a portion of the army to Corsica, and to recover for the Roman empire the island, which had been previously subject to the Vandals; this island was called Cyrnus in early
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χρόνοις ἐπεκαλεῖτο, οὐ πόρρῳ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς

4 ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς Σαρδῶν ἀφικόμενος τὴν τε Τζάζωνος
κεφαλῆς τοῦτα ταῦτα ὀκημένους ἐπέδειξε 1 καὶ ἀμφοῦ
τα νήσω τῇ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγω-

5 γὴν ἀνεσώσατο. ἦς δὲ Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Μαυ-
ριτανοῖς Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ἐξίν λόχῳ πεζικῷ

οὐ δὴ αὐτὸς ἥγετο ἔπεμψεν, ἡ ὄδῷ μὲν ἕμερῶν
προάκτοντα εὐζώνω ἄνδρα Καρχηδόνος διέχει, ἐς
Γάδειρὰ τε καὶ τὰς ἤλιου δυσμᾶς 2 ἵνα τις κεῖται
de ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, μεγάλῃ τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος

6 ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα. Ἰωάννην δὲ ἄλλον, τῶν οἰκείων
ὑπασπιστῶν ἐνα, ἐς τὸν ἐν Γαδείρου πορθμοῦ
καὶ τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν Ἑρακλείους στηλῶν ἐπέμψε, τὸ
ἴκειν φροῦριον, ὅ Σέπττου καλοῦσι, καθέξοντα.

7 ἦς δὲ τὰς νήσους αἴτερ ἀγχοῦ εἰς τὴς ὄκεανοῦ
ἐσβολῆς, Ἑβουσά τε καὶ Μαἰορίκα καὶ Μινορίκα
ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενα, Ἀπολλινάριον ἐστειλεν,
ὅς ἐξ Ταλίας μὲν ὅρμητο, μειράκιαν δὲ ὅν ἐτι ἐς

8 Λιβύην ἀφίκτο. 3 καὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι πρὸς
Ἠλδερίχου τότε Βανδίλων ἠγουμένων διδωρημένος,
ἔπει παρελέυτο τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἱλδερίχος καὶ ἐν
φυλακῇ, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἔρρηθη,
ἐίχετο, ἐς Ἰουστινιαίον βασιλέα ἔξεν Ἰλβυς
tοῖς ἄλλοις οὗ τὰ Ἱλδερίχου ἐπρασσοῦν, ἱκετεύσων

9 ἡλθε. στρατεύσας τε ἐξὸν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ
ἐπὶ Γελιμέρα καὶ Βανδίλους, ἀνήρ ἄγαθος ἐν τῷ
πολέμῳ τὸδε καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ
ἔγνετο. καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔργου Βελισάριος

10 τὰς νήσους οἱ τάσδε ἐπέτρεψε. μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς

1 ἐπέδειξε VO: ἐπέδειξε P.

2 ἤλιου δυσμᾶς VO Theophanes: ἕρακλείους στῆλας P.

3 ἀφίκτο Dindorf: ἀφικέτο MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. v. 3–10

times, and is not far from Sardinia. So he came to Sardinia and displayed the head of Tzazon to the inhabitants of the place, and he won back both the islands and made them tributary to the Roman domain. And to Caesarea\(^1\) in Mauretania Belisarius sent John with an infantry company which he usually commanded himself; this place is distant from Carthage a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller, as one goes towards Gadira and the west; and it is situated upon the sea, having been a great and populous city from ancient times. Another John, one of his own guardsmen, he sent to Gadira on the strait and by one of the Pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call “Septem.”\(^2\) And to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in, called Ebusa and Majorica and Minorica\(^3\) by the natives, he sent Apollinarius, who was a native of Italy, but had come while still a lad to Libya. And he had been rewarded with great sums of money by Ilderic, who was then leader of the Vandals, and after Ilderic had been removed from the office and was in confinement, as has been told in the previous narrative,\(^4\) he came to the Emperor Justinian with the other Libyans who were working in the interest of Ilderic, in order to entreat his favour as a suppliant. And he joined the Roman expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals, and proved himself a brave man in this war and most of all at Tricamarum. And as a result of his deeds there Belisarius entrusted to him these islands. And later Belisarius sent an army also into Tripolis to

\(^1\) About twelve miles west of Algiers, originally Iol, now Cherchel; named after Augustus.

\(^2\) See III. i. 6 and note.

\(^3\) See III. i. 18.

\(^4\) Book III. ix. 9.
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Τρίπολιν Πουδεντώρ τε καὶ Ταττιμοῦθ πρὸς τῶν ἑκείνη Μαυρουσίων πιεζομένως στράτευμα πέμψας τὴν Ρωμαίων δύναμιν ταύτῃ ἐπέρρωσε.

11 Στείλας δὲ καὶ ἔς Σικελίαν τινάς, ἐφ᾽ ὁ τὸ ἐν Διλύβαιῳ φρούριον ἄτε τῇ Βανδίλων ἀρχῇ προσήκον ἔξουσιν, ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, Γότθων ἥκιστα ἄξιοντων Σικελίας τινὰ ξυγχωρεῖν μοῖραν, ὡς οὖδὲν τὸ φρούριον τούτῳ Βανδίλωις

12 προσήκον. ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἦκουσε, πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας οἱ ταύτη ἤσαν ἔγραψε τάδε: Ἰλιλύβαιον τὸ Βανδίλων φρούριον τῶν βασιλέως δούλων ἀποστερεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντες οὐδὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔμφορα, καὶ ἄρχοντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ οὐτὶ ἐκόντι καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πρασομένων ἐκπολεμοῦσα βούλεσθε βασιλεά τὸν μέγαν, οὐ τὴν εὔνοιαν πόλεως κτησάμενος ἔχει.

13 καίτοι πῶς οὔκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθρωπεν τρόπου ποιεῖν δόξατε, εἰ Γελίμερα μὲν ἐναγχος ἔχειν ξυγχωρεῖτε τὸ φρούριον, βασιλεά δὲ τὸν τοῦ Γελίμερος κύριον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τοῦ δούλου

14 κτήματα ἔγνωτε; μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὃ βέλτιστοι. ἀλλ' ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς φιλία μὲν αὐτίς πολλὰς καλύπτειν πέφυκεν, ἔχθρα δὲ οὖδὲ τῶν σμικροτάτων ἀδικημάτων ἄνεχεται, ἀλλὰ διερευνᾶται μὲν ἀπαντα ἀνωθεν, οὐ πειροῦδε δὲ πλουτοῦντας τοῖς

15 γε οὖδὲν προσήκουσι τοὺς πολεμίους. εἴτα

1 οὕτι Haurv : οὕτοι V, οὕτε P, οὐκέτι O.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. v. 10-15

Pudentius and Tattimuth,¹ who were being pressed by the Moors there, and thus strengthened the Roman power in that quarter.

He also sent some men to Sicily in order to take the fortress in Lilybaeum, as belonging to the Vandals' kingdom,² but he was repulsed from there, since the Goths by no means saw fit to yield any part of Sicily, on the ground that this fortress did not belong to the Vandals at all. And when Belisarius heard this, he wrote to the commanders who were there as follows: "You are depriving us of Lilybaeum, the fortress of the Vandals who are the slaves of the emperor, and are not acting justly nor in a way to benefit yourselves, and you wish to bring upon your ruler, though he does not so will it and is far distant from the scene of these actions, the hostility of the great emperor, whose good-will he has, having won it with great labour. And yet how could you but seem to be acting contrary to the ways of men, if you recently allowed Gelimer to hold the fortress, but have decided to wrest from the emperor, Gelimer's master, the possessions of the slave? You, at least, should not act thus, most excellent sirs. But reflect that, while it is the nature of friendship to cover over many faults, hostility does not brook even the smallest misdeeds, but searches the past for every offence, and allows not its enemy to grow rich on what does not in the least belong to them."³ Moreover,

¹ See III. 73.
² Lilybaeum had been ceded to the Vandals by Theoderic as dower of his sister Amalafrida on her marriage to Thrasamund, the African king (III. viii. 13).
³ "Friendship" and "hostility" refer to the present relations between Justinian and the Goths and what they may become.
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μάχεται ὑπὲρ δὲν τοὺς προγόνους ἥδικησθαι φησι· καὶ ἢν μὲν σφαλῇ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ, ἀπόλεσε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οὐδέν, εὐπροερήσασα δὲ μεταμανθάνειν

16 ποιεῖ τοὺς ἡσσημένους τὸ σύγγνωμον. ὑμεῖς οὖν μήτε δράσητε ἡμᾶς μηδὲν περαιτέρῳ κακῶν μήτε αὐτοῖ τάθητε, μήτε πολέμου κατεργάσησθε τῷ Γότθων γένει βασιλεά τὸν μέγαν, ὅν ὑμῖν ἐλεον εἶναι εἰς εὐχῇ ἔστιν. εὖ γὰρ ἢστε ὡς τοῦδε μετα-

17 ποιομένους ὑμῖν τοῦ φρούριον ὁ πόλεμος ἐν ποσὶν ἐσται οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διλυβαίου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ὑμῖν οὐδὲν προσήκου ὑμῖν εἰτα ἀντέχεσθε."

18 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Γότθων δὲ ἀνήνεγκαν τε ταῦτα ἐς τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου τὴν μητέρα καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιστηθηκένιον

19 σφίσων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅδε: "Τὰ γράμματα ἃ γέγραφας, ἀριστε Βελισάριε, παραίνεσι μὲν ἀληθῆ φέρει, ἔς ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπων τιμᾶς, οὐκ

20 εἰς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμᾶς ἦκουσαν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὔδέν τῶν βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ λαβόντες ἔχομεν, μή ποτε1 οὕτω μανεῖμεν Σικελίαν δὲ ἐξυπηρετήσαν προσποιούμεθα ἡμετέραν οὖσαν, ἦς δὴ ἀκρα μία

21 τὸ ἐν Διλυβαίῳ φρούριον ἔστιν. εὶ δὲ Θεουδέριχος τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Βανδίλων βασιλεῖ ξυνοικοῦσαν τῶν τινων Σικελίας ἐμπορίων ἔκελευε σχῆσαι, ἑκατέρου

22 οὔδεν τοῦτο πράγμα. οὐ γὰρ ἄν τοῦτο δικαίω-

23 ματος ὑμῖν ὀστοῦν ἄξιόσειν φέροι. σὺ μέντοι, ὃ

1 ἔστιν τὸ πράγμα τὸ πράττως ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἦν

2 γε τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀντιλεγομένων τὴν διάλυσιν οὐχ

3 ώς πολέμους, ἀλλ' ἀτε φίλοι ποιεῖσθαι θέλοις.2

23 διαφερέι δὲ, ὅτι οἱ μὲν φίλοι τὰ διάφορα ἐν τῇ

1 μὴ ποτε ΡΟ: μήτε Β. 

2 θέλοις Ρ: θέλεις Β, ἐθέλεις Ο.
the enemy fights to avenge the wrongs which it says have been done to its ancestors; and whereas, if friendship thus turned to hostility fails in the struggle, it suffers no loss of its own possessions, yet if it succeeds, it teaches the vanquished to take a new view of the indulgence which has been shewn them in the past. See to it, then, that you neither do us further harm nor suffer harm yourselves, and do not make the great emperor an enemy to the Gothic nation, when it is your prayer that he be propitious toward you. For be well assured that, if you lay claim to this fortress, war will confront you immediately, and not for Lilybaeum alone, but for all the possessions you claim as yours, though not one of them belongs to you."

Such was the message of the letter. And the Goths reported these things to the mother\(^1\) of Antalaric, and at her direction made the following reply: "The letter which you have written, most excellent Belisarius, carries sound admonition, but pertinent to some other men, not to us the Goths. For there is nothing of the Emperor Justinian's which we have taken and hold; may we never be so mad as to do such a thing! The whole of Sicily we claim because it is our own, and the fortress of Lilybaeum is one of its promontories. And if Theoderic gave his sister, who was the consort of the king of the Vandals, one of the trading-ports of Sicily for her use, this is nothing. For this fact could not afford a basis for any claim on your part. But you, O General, would be acting justly toward us, if you should be willing to make the settlement of the matters in dispute between us, not as an enemy, but as a friend. And there is this difference, that friends

\(^1\) Amalasountha.
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diaίτη, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διακρίνειν πεφύ-
κασιν. ἤμεῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεῖ περὶ
tούτων διαιτάν ἐπιτρέψομεν, ὅτι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ
νόμιμα τε εἶναι καὶ δίκαια. Βουλόμεθα δὲ σε ὡς
βέλτιστα βοουλέυσάσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ὡς ταχύτατα
καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι
γνῶσιν. τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν Γότθων γραφή
ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀνενεκῶν ἀπαντά ἐστὶ
βασιλέα ἡσύχαζεν, ἐστὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστέλλοι
ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ Βουλόμενω εἴη.

VI

Φάρας δὲ τῇ προσδερείᾳ ἡδὴ ἄλλως τε καὶ
χειμῶνος ὅρα ἀνθόμενος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ οὖν ἂν οἰό-
μενος οἶους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐκεῖνη Μαυρουσίων
ἐμποδῶν σφίσα στήσεσθαι, τῇ ἐς Παπούαν ἀνα-
βάσει ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. Ἀπαντά-
μὲν οὖν εὐ μᾶλα ἐξοπλίζας τους ἐπομένους ἀνέ-
βαιε. Βεβοπηθηκότων δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄτε ἐν
χωρίῳ ἀνάυτε τε καὶ λίαν δυσβάτω, ἡ κωλύμη
ἐντετῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἐγίνετο. Καρτερῶς δὲ
τοῦ Φάρα βιαζομένου τὴν ἁνόδου, δέκα μὲν καὶ
ἐκατον τῶν ἁμα' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦτῳ ἀπέ-
θανον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἕν τοὺς ἐπιλοίποις ἀποκροσσεῖς
ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἂν ἄντων ἀποπειράσασθαι μὲν
τῆς ἁνόδου, ἀντιστατοῦντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὔκ-
ἐπὶ ἐτόλμα, φυλακὴν δὲ κατεστουδασμένην, ὡς
ἐνι μάλιστα, κατεστήσατο, ὅπως οἱ πιεζόμενοι

1 μᾶλλον added by Haury. 2 γνῶσιν PO: γνώμην V.
3 κωλύμη VO: λύμη P. 4 ὅπως V: εἰπώς PO Christ.

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are accustomed to settle their disagreements by arbitration, but enemies by battle. We, therefore, shall commit this matter to the Emperor Justinian, to arbitrate in whatever manner seems to him lawful and just. And we desire that the decisions you make shall be as wise as possible, rather than as hasty as possible, and that you, therefore, await the decision of your emperor.” Such was the message of the letter of the Goths. And Belisarius, reporting all to the emperor, remained quiet until the emperor should send him word what his wish was.

VI

But Pharas, having by this time become weary of the siege for many reasons, and especially because of the winter season, and at the same time thinking that the Moors there would not be able to stand in his way, undertook the ascent of Papua with great zeal. Accordingly he armed all his followers very carefully and began the ascent. But the Moors rushed to the defence, and since they were on ground which was steep and very hard to traverse, their efforts to hinder those making the ascent were easily accomplished. But Pharas fought hard to force the ascent, and one hundred and ten of his men perished in this struggle, and he himself with the remainder was beaten back and retired; and as a result of this he did not dare to attempt the ascent again, since the situation was against him, but he established as careful a guard as

1 The correspondence between Queen Amalasountha and Justinian is given in V. iii. 17.
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tο̂ι λιμῷ οἱ ἐν Παπούα σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρισεῖαν, καὶ οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου ὡς τι τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐσα αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ τε Γελίμερι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν ἰδελφιδοῖς τε καὶ ἀνεψιαδοῖς οὕσι καὶ ἄλλοις 1 εὐ γεγονόσι ξυνέπεσε κακοπαθεία χρήσθαι ἢν, ὅπως ποτὲ εἶποι τις, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίοι τοῖς πράγμασι φράξοι. ἔθνων γὰρ ἀπάντων ὃν ἡμεῖς ἴσομεν ἀβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων, τάλαυντορῶταν δὲ τὸ Μαυρούσιων 6 τετύχηκεν εἰναι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ, 2 ἐξ ὰτου Διβύην ἔσχον, βαλανεῖοις τε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπεχρώντο ἐσ ἠμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ τραπέζη ἀπασίν εὐθηνούσῃ ὅσα δὴ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἢδοτά τε καὶ ἀριστά 7 φέρει. ἐξουσιοφόρουν δὲ ϊς ἐπὶ πλειστον, καὶ Μηδικῆς ἐσθήτα, ἡν νῦν Σηρικῆν καλοῦσιν, ἀμπεχόμενοι, ἐν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἵπποδρομώοις καὶ τῇ ἀλλη εὐπαθεία, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα κυνηγεῖοι 8 τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ σφίσιν ὄρχησται καὶ μίμοι ἀκοῦσματα τε συχνὰ καὶ θεάματα ἢν, ὅσα μονυσικὰ τε καὶ ἄλλως ἄξιοθέατα ἤμβαίνει 9 ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἰναι. καὶ φώκηντο μὲν αὐτῶν 3 οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν παραδείσοις, υδάτων καὶ δένυρων εὐ ἔχουσιν ξυμπόσια δὲ στὶ πλείστα ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἕργα τὰ ἀφροδίσια πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐν μελέτη πολλῇ ἡσκητο. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν πυγμαῖοις καλύβαις, χειμονὶ τε καὶ θέροις ὃρα καὶ ἀλλο τῷ ξύμπαντι χρόνῳ, οὔτε χιώσιν οὔτε ἡλίου βέρμη ἐνθέντε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὀτροῦν ἀναγκαῖος κακὸν ἡξιστά-

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1 ἄλλοις Maltretus: ἄλλως MSS. Christ.
2 μὲν γὰρ P: μέντοι V, μὲν γε O.
3 αὐτῶν Hoeschel: αὐτοῖς MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vi. 3–10

possible, in order that those on Papua, being pressed by hunger, might surrender themselves; and he neither permitted them to run away nor anything to be brought in to them from outside. Then, indeed, it came about that Gelimer and those about him, who were nephews and cousins of his and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery which no one could describe, however eloquent he might be, in a way which would equal the facts. For of all the nations which we know that of the Vandals is the most luxurious, and that of the Moors the most hardy. For the Vandals, since the time when they gained possession of Libya, used to indulge in baths, all of them, every day, and enjoyed a table abundantly in all things, the sweetest and best that the earth and sea produce. And they wore gold very generally, and clothed themselves in the Medic garments, which now they call "seric,"¹ and passed their time, thus dressed, in theatres and hippodromes and in other pleasureable pursuits, and above all else in hunting. And they had dancers and mimes and all other things to hear and see which are of a musical nature or otherwise merit attention among men. And the most of them dwelt in parks, which were well supplied with water and trees; and they had great numbers of banquets, and all manner of sexual pleasures were in great vogue among them. But the Moors live in stuffy huts² both in winter and in summer and at every other time, never removing from them either because of snow or the heat of the sun or any other discomfort whatever

¹ In Latin *serica*, "silk," as coming from the Chinese (Seres).
² Cf. Thucydides' description of the huts in which the Athenians lived during the great plague.
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11 μενοι. καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κώδιον οἱ εὐ- 
δαίμονες αὐτοῖς, ἂν οὖτω τύχοι, ὑποστρωμώτες.
12 ἵματια δὲ σφίσων οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ἀραι 
ὔμοις, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιον τε ἄδρων καὶ χιτώνα 
τραχὺν ἐς καιρὸν ἀπαντα ἐνδιδύσκονται. ἔχουσι 
δὲ οὕτε ἄρτον οὐτε ὅνων οὕτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν, 
ἀλλὰ τὸν σίτου, ἥ τας ὀλύρας τε καὶ κριθάς, οὕτε 
ἐξοντες οὕτε ἐς ἀλευρα ή ἀλφίτα ἀλούντες ¹ 
οὐδὲν ἀλλοίωτερον ἡ τὰ ἄλλα ἕξα ἐσθίουσι.
14 τοιοῦτοι δὴ οὕτω οἱ Μαυρουσίοι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν 
Γελίμερα συχνῶν ξυνοκήσαντες χρόνων τὴν 
τὴν ἐξουθεσμένην αὐτοῖς δίαιταν ἐς τούτο ταλαιπω- 
ρίας μεταβαλώτες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὰ σφᾶς τὰ 
ἀναγκαία ἡδη ἐπιλειποτε, οὐκέτι ἀντεἶχον, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ τὸ τεθναίναι αὐτοῖς ἢδιστον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν 
ἡκιστα αἰσχρῶν ἐνομίζετο.
15 Ὡς ἡ Φάρας αἰσθώμενος γράφει πρὸς Γελί- 
μερα τάδε· "Εἰμὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς βάρβαρος καὶ 
γραμμάτων τε καὶ λόγων οὕτε ἔθας οὕτε ἄλλως 
ἐμπειρος γέγονα. ὁσα δὲ με ἀνθρωπον ὄντα 
eἰδέναι ἀνάγκη, ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως 
ἐκμαθῶν ἔγραψα. τί ποτε ἄρα πεποιθῶς, ὃ φίλε 
Γελίμερο, οὗ σαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ 
σου γένος ἐς τὸ βαράθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληκας, 
ὅτως δηλαδὴ μὴ γένουο δούλος; πάντως γάρ σε 
καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι τούτο οἴμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν 
προύχεσθαι, ὥς δὴ ἀπαντα ταύτης τὰ μοχθῆρα 
ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι ἄξιον. εἰτα νῦν Μαυρουσίοι 
τοῖς γε ἀτυχεστάτοις οὐκ οἰει δουλεύειν, ὅς τὴν 
ἐλπίδα τοῦ σώζεσθαι, ἣν τὰ κράτιστα φέρῃ, ἔπ 
αὐτοῖς ἔχεις; καίτοι πῶς ἄν οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ 
¹ ἀλούντες Herwerden: άγοντες MSS.
due to nature. And they sleep on the ground, the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a fleece under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change their clothing with the seasons, but they wear a thick cloak and a rough shirt at all times. And they have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it to flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not a whit different from that of animals. Since the Moors, then, were of a such a sort, the followers of Gelimer, after living with them for a long time and changing their accustomed manner of life to such a miserable existence, when at last even the necessities of life had failed, held out no longer, but death was thought by them most sweet and slavery by no means disgraceful.

Now when this was learned by Pharas, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "I too am a barbarian and not accustomed to writing and speaking, nor am I skilful in these matters. But that which I am forced as a man to know, having learned from the nature of things, this I am writing you. What in the world has happened to you, my dear Gelimer, that you have cast, not yourself alone, but your whole family besides, into this pit? Is it, forsooth, that you may avoid becoming a slave? But this is assuredly nothing but youthful folly, and making of 'liberty' a mere shibboleth, as though liberty were worth possessing at the price of all this misery! And, after all, do you not consider that you are, even now, a slave to the most wretched of the Moors, since your only hope of being saved, if the best happens, is in them? And yet why would it not be better in every way to
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ἄμεινον εἰη δουλεύειν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις πτωχεύοντα ἤ
21 τυραννείν ἐν Παπούᾳ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις; πάντως δὲ σοι καὶ τὸ ξυνδούλυφ Βελισαρίῳ εἶναι
22 ὑπερβολὴ τις ὑβρεως φαίνεται. ἀπαγε, ὦ βέλι
tιστε Γελίμερ. ἦ οὐ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς εὐπατριδῶν γεγονότες βασιλεῖ νῦν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐχοῦμεν; καὶ
μὴν λέγουσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἶναι ἐς τε βουλὴν ἀνάγραπτὸν σε ποιήσασθαι,
tιμῆς μεταλαχόντα τῆς ἀνωτάτω, ἢν δὴ πατρι
kίων καλοῦσι, καὶ χόρα πολλή τε καὶ ἀγαθή καὶ
χρήματι μεγάλοις δωρήσασθαι, Βελισάριῳ τε ἐθέλειν ἀναδέχεσθαι πάντα ταύτα ἔσεσθαι σοι,
23 πίστεις διδόντα.1 σοὶ δὲ ἰδαν νὴ τῷ ἡμῶν ἱσθηρᾷ
ήνεκη, φέρειν γενναίως οἷος τε εἰ πάντα τὰ ἐνθένδε ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὧντι ἀναγκαίᾳ εἶναι οἴομενος.
24 ἢν δὲ τινὶ ἀγαθῷ τὰ δυσχερὰ ταύτα ξυγκεραν
νόνει βεβούλευντι, τούτῳ δὲ2 αὐτὸς ἐθελοῦσιος
dẹξασθαί οὐκ ἢν ἀξιοῦσι; ἡ οὔχ ὀμοίως τοῖς φλαύ
ροῖς ἀναγκαίᾳ γε ἢμῖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθὰ λογιστέον; ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς
25 σφόδρα ἀνοστίοις δοκεῖ. σοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν βεβαπτίσ
μένῳ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς, ἀξιοῦσι, ὡς τὸ ἐκός, συμ-
26 βαίνει εἰναί· ἀθυμία γὰρ ἐκπλήξασα εἰς ἄβουλιαν
tρέπεσθαι πέφυκεν; ἢν δὲ φέρει τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναι καὶ μὴ πρὸς τύχην μεταβαλ-
λομένην ἀγανακτεῖν, παρέσται σοι αὐτίκα δὴ
mάλα τὰ τε ξύμφορα ἔλεσθαι ἀπαντά καὶ τῶν ἐπικειμένων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν."

1 διδόντα VP: διδόντι O. 2 δὲ PO: δὴ V.

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be a slave among the Romans and beggared, than to be monarch on Mount Papua with Moors as your subjects? But of course it seems to you the very height of disgrace even to be a fellow slave with Belisarius! Away with the thought, most excellent Gelimer. Are not we,¹ who also are born of noble families, proud that we are now in the service of an emperor? And indeed they say that it is the wish of the Emperor Justinian to have you enrolled in the senate, thus sharing in the highest honour and being a patrician, as we term that rank, and to present you with lands both spacious and good and with great sums of money, and that Belisarius is willing to make himself responsible for your having all these things, and to give you pledges. Now as for all the miseries which fortune has brought you, you are able to bear with fortitude whatever comes from her, knowing that you are but a man and that these things are inevitable; but if fortune has purposed to temper these adversities with some admixture of good, would you of yourself refuse to accept this gladly? Or should we consider that the good gifts of fortune are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? Yet such is not the opinion of even the utterly senseless; but you, it would seem, have now lost your good judgment, steeped as you are in misfortunes. Indeed, discouragement is wont to confound the mind and to be transformed to folly. If, however, you can bear your own thoughts and refrain from rebelling against fortune when she changes, it will be possible at this very moment for you to choose that which will be wholly to your advantage, and to escape from the evils which hang over you."

¹ Pharas and the other Eduli.

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Ταύτα Γελίμερ τὰ γράμματα ἀναλεξάμενος ἀποκλαύσας τε δεινῶς ἀντέγραψεν ὅδε. "Καὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ἦν μοι ἐποιήσω πολλὴν ἔχω σοι χάριν καὶ πολεμὶκον ἀνεκτὸν οἶμαι, παρ’ οὗ ἡ δήκην εὔελπίνη λαβεῖν, εἰ μοι ὁ θεὸς ἱλεως εἴη, ὅσ γε ὤδεν πῶς πῶς ἄχρι πρὸς ἐμοῦ οὕτε ἔργῳ παθὼν οὕτε λόγῳ ἀκούσας πολέμῳ μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντι παρέσχετο σκῆψιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐς τούτο μετήνεγκε τύχης, Βελισάριον οὐκ οἶδα ὅθεν ἐπενεγκών. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὅντι, καὶ βασιλεῖ οὔδεν ἀπεικός ἐμβησθεσθαί τι δὲν οὐκ ἐν ἑλιοτ. ἔγω μέντοι περατέρω τι γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀφείλετο γάρ με τὴν ἔν- νοιαν ἡ παροῦσα τύχην. ἀλλὰ χαίρε μοι, ὁ φίλε Φάρα, καὶ μοι κιθάραν τε καὶ ἄρτον ἓνα καὶ σπόγγον δεομένῳ πέμπτε." ταύτα ἐπεὶ ἀπενεχθέντα ὁ Φάρας ἔγω, χρόνου δὴ τινα διη- πορεῖτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον συμβαλεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἐξοι ὅ ταύτην κομίσας ἐφρα- σεν ὅς ἄρτον μὲν ἐνὸς δέουσι Γελίμερ, ἐπιθυμοῦν ἐς θέαν τε αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ βρῶσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐς Παπούαν ἀναβέβηκεν, οὔδενα ποι ἄρτον ὡπτημένον εἴδε. σπόγγος δὲ οἱ ἀναγκαῖος εἰς τῶν γάρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοῦν ἄτεροι, τραχύνομεν τῇ ἀλουσίᾳ, ἐς ἄγαν ἐπήρται. κιθαριστῇ δὲ ἀναθῷ ὡστὶ ὡδὴ τῆς αὐτῷ ἐς ἐμμερόταυν τὴν παροῦσαν πεποίηται, ἤν δὴ πρὸς κιθάραν θρηνήσαι τε καὶ ἀποκλαῦσαι ἐπελγέται. ταύτα ἀκούσας Φάρας περιαλγήσας τε καὶ τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπολοφυράμενος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐπολει καὶ

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vi. 27–34

When Gelimer had read this letter and wept bitterly over it, he wrote in reply as follows: "I am both deeply grateful to you for the advice which you have given me and I also think it unbearable to be a slave to an enemy who wrongs me, from whom I should pray God to exact justice, if He should be propitious to me,—an enemy who, though he had never experienced any harm from me either in deeds which he suffered or in words which he heard, provided a pretext for a war which was unprovoked, and reduced me to this state of misfortune, bringing Belisarius against me from I know not where. And yet it is not at all unlikely that he also, since he is but a man, though he be emperor too, may have something befall him which he would not choose. But as for me, I am not able to write further. For my present misfortune has robbed me of my thoughts. Farewell, then, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre and one loaf of bread and a sponge, I pray you." When this reply was read by Pharas, he was at a loss for some time, being unable to understand the final words of the letter, until he who had brought the letter explained that Gelimer desired one loaf because he was eager to enjoy the sight of it and to eat it, since from the time when he went up upon Papua he had not seen a single baked loaf. A sponge also was necessary for him; for one of his eyes, becoming irritated by lack of washing, was greatly swollen. And being a skilful harpist he had composed an ode relating to his present misfortune, which he was eager to chant to the accompaniment of a lyre while he wept out his soul. When Pharas heard this, he was deeply moved, and lamenting the fortune of men, he did as was written and sent all
πάντα ἔπεμπεν ὅσων αὐτοῦ ἔχρηζε Γελίμερ. τῆς μέντοι προσεδρέας οὐδὲν μεθείλεις ἐφύλασσε μᾶλ-λον ἢ πρότερον.

VII

"Ἡδη δὲ τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἔτριβη καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ὁ Γελίμερ ἐδεδίει, τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναβήσεσθαι ὑποτοπάζων καὶ τῶν οἱ συγγενῶν παιδῶν τὰ πλεῖστα σῶματα σκώληκας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἤφει. 2 καὶ ἐν ἀπασι μὲν περιώδυνος ἦν, ἐς ἀπαντᾶ δὲ, πλὴν γε δὴ τοῦ θυμάκειν, δυσάρεστος, τῇ μέντοι κακοπαθείᾳ παρὰ δόξαιν ἀντεἶχεν, ἐως οἱ θέαμα 3 ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. γυνὴ τῆς Μαυρουσία σύτων ὀλύγον ἀμωσιγέπως ξυνγκοψαμένη, μᾶζαν δὲ ἐνθένδε βραχείαν κομιδὴ ποιησαμένη ἐς ξένουσαν τὴν σποδιὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάρα ἐνέβαλεν. οὐτω γὰρ νόμος ἐν Μαυρουσίοις τοὺς ἁρτους ὀπτάσθαι. 4 παρὰ ταύτῃ δὴ τὴν ἐσχάραν δύο παίδε καθήμενο καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπεράγαν διαζομένω, ἀτέρω σι μὲν αὐτής τῆς ἀνθρώπου νῖος δὲ τῆν μᾶζαν ἐμβεβλημένη ἐτύγχανεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτέρω Γελίμεροι ἀδελ-
φίδος ὄν, ἐβουλέσθη ταύτῃ δὴ τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσασθαι, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς 1 τάχιστα ὀπτήθησαι 5 δοκῇ. τοὺτων τῶν παιδῶν ὁ μὲν Βανδίλοις προ-
περῆσας ἐθάδας τε τὴν μᾶζαν ἀρπάσας καὶ ζεοῦ-
σαν ἐτὶ ὃς μᾶλιστα σποδιὰς τε ἀνάπλεων οὖσαν, ὑπερβιαζόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἔς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλόμενος ἦσθιεν, ὁ δὲ ἐτέρω λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ

1 αὐτοῖς VP: αὐτῇ O.
the things which Gelimer desired of him. However he relaxed the siege not a whit, but kept watch more closely than before.

VII

And already a space of three months had been spent in this siege and the winter was coming to an end. And Gelimer was afraid, suspecting that his besiegers would come up against him after no great time; and the bodies of most of the children who were related to him were discharging worms in this time of misery. And though in everything he was deeply distressed, and looked upon everything,—except, indeed, death,—with dissatisfaction, he nevertheless endured the suffering beyond all expectation, until it happened that he beheld a sight such as the following. A certain Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little corn, and making of it a very tiny cake, threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth. For thus it is the custom among the Moors to bake their loaves. And beside this hearth two children were sitting, in exceedingly great distress by reason of their hunger, the one being the son of the very woman who had thrown in the cake, and the other a nephew of Gelimer; and they were eager to seize the cake as soon as it should seem to them to be cooked. And of the two children the Vandal got ahead of the other and snatched the cake first, and, though it was still exceedingly hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him, and he threw it into his mouth and was eating it, when the other seized him by the hair of the head

1 Cf. ch. vi. 4.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tὸν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν ἐπάταξε τῇ κατὰ κόρρης καὶ αὐθεσι ῥαπίσας ἴναγκασε τῇ μᾶξαν ξύν βία πολλῇ ἀποβαλεῖν ἥδη ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι οὖσαν.  
6 τούτῳ τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν Γελίμερον (παρηκολούθει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπασιν) ἑθηλύθη τῇ τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς Φάραν ὡς τὰχιστὰ ἔγραψε τάδε. "Εἰ τινὶ καὶ ἄλλῳ τετύχηκε πώστε τὰ δεινὰ καρτερήσαντι ἀπ’ ἐναντίας ἴναν τῶν πρόσθρον αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων, τοιοῦτον δὴ τινα καὶ 8 ἐμὲ νόμιζε εἶναι, ὥ βελτιστε Φάρα. εἰσῆλθε γὰρ μὲ ἡ σῇ ξυμβουλῆ, ἢν δὴ ἄλογησαι ἤκιστα βούλομαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀντιτείνουμι περαιτέρῳ τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν πετρωμένην ξυγομαχοῦν, ἂλλ᾽ ἐψομαί αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅτι ἂν αὐτῇ ἐξηγείσθαι δοκῆ. ὅπως μέντοι τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιμι, ἀναδέχεσθαι Βελισάριον βασιλέα ποιήσειν ἄπαντα 9 τὰ ὅσα μοι ξυναγχεῖς ὑπεδέξω. ἐγὼ γὰρ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τὴν πίστιν δοήτε, ἐμαυτόν τε ὑμῖν ἐγχειρῶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τούσδε καὶ Βαυδίλους ὅσοι ξύν ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα εἰσὶ.”

10 Τοσαύτα μὲν τῷ Γελίμερι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ ἓν ἐγεράττῳ. Φάρας δὲ ταῦτα τε Βελισάριο καὶ τὰ πρότερου γεγραμμένα σφίσι πρὸς ἄλληλους σημήνας ἐδείτο ὡς τάχιστα οἱ δηλώσατο δ τι ἂν 11 αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. Βελισάριος δὲ (καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ ἢν ξύντα Γελίμερα βασιλεῖ ἀγαγεῖν), ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ γράμματα ἄνελέξατο, 1 περιχαρῆς τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Κυπριανὸν φοιδεράτων ἀρχοντα ἐς Παπούν ἐκέλευν ἴναν ξύν ἄλλους τιςίν, ὀρκοῦς τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλε περὶ σωτηρίας Γελίμερος τε καὶ τῶν ξύν αὐτῷ διδόναι, καὶ

1 ἄνελέξατο ΡΟ: ἄνεδέξατο Β.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vii. 5–11

and struck him over the temple and beat him again and thus compelled him with great violence to cast out the cake which was already in his throat. This sad experience Gelimer could not endure (for he had followed all from the beginning), and his spirit was weakened and he wrote as quickly as possible to Pharas as follows: "If it has ever happened to any man, after manfully enduring terrible misfortunes, to take a course contrary to that which he had previously determined upon, consider me to be such a one, O most excellent Pharas. For there has come to my mind your advice, which I am far from wishing to disregard. For I cannot resist fortune further nor rebel against fate, but I shall follow straightway wherever it seems to her best to lead; but let me receive the pledges, that Belisarius guarantees that the emperor will do everything which you recently promised me. For I, indeed, as soon as you give the pledges, shall put both myself into your hands and these kinsmen of mine and the Vandals, as many as are here with us."

Such were the words written by Gelimer in this letter. And Pharas, having signified this to Belisarius, as well as what they had previously written to each other, begged him to declare as quickly as possible what his wish was. And Belisarius (since he was greatly desirous of leading Gelimer alive to the emperor), as soon as he had read the letter, became overjoyed and commanded Cyprian, a leader of foederati,¹ to go to Papua with certain others, and directed them to give an oath concerning the safety of Gelimer and of those with him, and to swear that

¹ "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.
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ός ἑπίτιμος τε παρὰ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐνδείς

12 εἰη. οὗτος ἔπει παρὰ τὸν Φάραν ἀφίκοντο, ἦλθον

ξῦν αὐτῷ ἔς τι χωρίων παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ὅρους πρό-

ποδα, ἔνθα σφίσκες. Γελίμερ μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε καὶ

τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἦπερ ἐβούλετο ἐς Καρχηδόνα

13 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἤκεν. ἔτυγχανε δὲ Βελισαρίων δια-

τριβὴν τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ποιοῦ-

μένος, ὅπερ Ἀκλας καλοῦσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ

παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε, γελῶν γέλωτα οὔτε φαιλὸν

οὔτε κρύπτεσθαι ἰκανὸν ὄντα, τῶν τε αὐτὸν θεω-

μένων ἔνιοι μὲν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῆ ἀπάντων

τε αὐτὸν ἔκστηραι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπόπτευον

καὶ παραπάλοντα ἥδη λόγῳ οὔδενι τῶν γέλωτα

15 ἔχειν. οἱ μέντοι φίλοι ἄγχισον τε τὸν ἀνθρώπον

ἔβουλοντο εἶναι καὶ ἄτε οἰκίας μὲν βασιλικῆς

γεγονότα, εἰς βασιλείαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα, καὶ δύ-

ναμίν τε ἴσχυρὰν χρήματά τε μεγάλα ἐκ παιδὸς

ἄχρι καὶ ἐς γῆρας περιβαλόμενου, ἔιτα εἰς φυγὴν

tε καὶ δέος πολὺ ἐμπεσόντα καὶ κακοπάθειαν τὴν

ἐν Παπούα ὑποστάντα, καὶ νῦν ἐν αἰχμαλώτοις

λόγῳ ἦκουτα, πάντων τε ταύτη τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς

tύχης ἄγαθῶν τε καὶ φλαύρων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα,

ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἄξια τά ἄνθρώπινα ἡ γέλωτος

16 τολλοῦ οἴσθαί εἶναι. περὶ μὲν ὦν τοῦ γέλωτος

ὡς Γελίμερ ἐγέλα, λεγότω ὃς τὴ ἐκαστος γινώ-

17 σκει, καὶ ἑχθρὸς καὶ φίλος. Βελισαρίων δὲ ὡς

βασιλεία ὡς Γελίμερ δορυάλωτος εἴη ἐν Καρχη-

dόνι ἀνενεχκόν ἦτει ξῦν αὐτῷ ὡς Βυζάντιον ἀφι-

κέσθαι. ἀμα δὲ αὐτὸν τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἀπάντας

οὐκ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσε καὶ τὸν στόλον ἐν παρα-

σκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο.

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he would be honoured before the emperor and would lack nothing. And when these men had come to Pharos, they went with him to a certain place by the foot of the mountain, where Gelimer came at their summons, and after receiving the pledges just as he wished he came with them to Carthage. And it happened that Belisarius was staying for a time in the suburb of the city which they call Aclas. Accordingly Gelimer came before him in that place, laughing with such laughter as was neither moderate nor the kind one could conceal, and some of those who were looking at him suspected that by reason of the extremity of his affliction he had changed entirely from his natural state and that, already beside himself, he was laughing for no reason. But his friends would have it that the man was in his sound mind, and that because he had been born in a royal family, and had ascended the throne, and had been clothed with great power and immense wealth from childhood even to old age, and then being driven to flight and plunged into great fear had undergone the sufferings on Papua, and now had come as a captive, having in this way had experience of all the gifts of fortune, both good and evil, for this reason, they believed, he thought that man's lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter. Now concerning this laughter of Gelimer's, let each one speak according to his judgment, both enemy and friend. But Belisarius, reporting to the emperor that Gelimer was a captive in Carthage, asked permission to bring him to Byzantium with him. At the same time he guarded both him and all the Vandals in no dishonour and proceeded to put the fleet in readiness.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

18 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι ἤδη τε κρείσσως ἐλπίδος ἐς πειραν ἠλθει̣ καὶ ἀεὶ ἤξει̣, ἐς ἄν αἱ αὐται τῦχαι ἀνθρώπων ὁς τὰ τε γὰρ λόγοι ἄδινατα δοκοῦντα εἰναι ἔργον ἐπιτελὴ γίνεται καὶ τὰ τέως ἄδινατα φανέντα πολλάκις,
19 εἰτα ἀποβάντα θαύματος ἀξία ἔδωξεν εἰναι· εἰ μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἔργα πῶπτοτε γεγενήσθαι τετύχηκεν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, τὸν Γιζερίχου τέταρτον ἀπόγονον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν δυνάμει ἀκμαζουσαν πρὸς πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύδων τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντων ὁποι οὐρίζοντο εἰν χρόνῳ οὕτω βραχεὶ καταλύσθαι. τοσούτων γὰρ ἦν το τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος τῶν Βελισαρίων ἐπιστομένων, οἱ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον πάντα πρὸς Βανδίλους διήγεγκαν. τοῦτο γὰρ εἴτε τῦχη εἴτε τῳ ἄρτῳ γέγονε, δικαίως ἀν τὸς αὐτὸ ἀγασθεῖ. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμ.

20 VIII

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βανδίλικος πόλεμος ἐτελεύτα ὡδε. ο δὲ φθόνος, οι ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, φάδανεν ήδη ἐς Βελισάριον, καίτερ αὐτῷ οὐδεμίαν παρέχοντα σκῆψιν. τῶν γὰρ ἀρχοντῶν τινὲς διέβαλον αὐτῶν ἐς βασιλέα, τυραννίδα

1 ἠλθει̣ V. 2 ἤξει̣ O. 3 φάδανεν Haury : φάδανεν MSS. 4 αὐτῷ VP : αὐτοῦ O. 5 παρέχοντα P : παρέχοντι V, παρέχοντος O.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. vii. 18–viii. 2

Now many other things too great to be hoped for have before now been experienced in the long course of time, and they will continue as long as the fortunes of men are the same as they now are; for those things which seem to reason impossible are actually accomplished, and many times those things which previously appeared impossible, when they have befallen, have seemed to be worthy of wonder; but whether such events as these ever took place before I am not able to say, wherein the fourth descendant of Gizeric, and his kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength, were completely undone in so short a time by five thousand men coming in as invaders and having not a place to cast anchor. For such was the number of the horsemen who followed Belisarius, and carried through the whole war against the Vandals. For whether this happened by chance or because of some kind of valour, one would justly marvel at it. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

VIII

So the Vandalic war ended thus. But envy, as is wont to happen in cases of great good fortune, was already swelling against Belisarius, although he provided no pretext for it. For some of the officers slandered him to the emperor, charging him, without any grounds whatever, with seeking to set up a kingdom for himself,¹ a statement for which there

¹ i.e. there in Africa, as successor to the throne of the Vandal kings.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

3 αὐτῶ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπικαλοῦντες. βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἡ τὴν διαβολὴν ἐν ὁλιγορίᾳ ποιησάμενος, ἢ καὶ 4 βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη. Σολόμωνα δὲ πέμψας αἴρεσιν Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο ἐλέεσθαι ὅποτέραν ἃν αὐτῷ βουλομένων εἴη, πότερα ἐξὶν Γελίμερι τε καὶ Βανδῖλοις ἐς Βυζάντιου ἦκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένοντι 5 ἐκεῖνους στεῖλαι. οייט δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαθοῦν αὐτῶν οἱ ἀρχοντες τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενεγκόντες) ἐς Βυζάντιου αἰφικέσθαι ἤπειγότο, ὅπως δὴ τὴν τε αἰτίαν ἐκλύσηται καὶ τοὺς διαβαλόντας μετελθεῖν δύνηταί. ὅτι δὲ τρόπῳ τὴν τῶν κατηγόρων πείραι 6 ἔμαθεν, ἐρῶν ἐρχόμαι. ὅτε δὴ τὴν διαβολὴν τὴν ποιεσθαι οἱ διαβαλόντες ἤθελον, δεῖσαντες μὴ σφισάν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μέλλων κομιείων βασιλεῖ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἀφανισθεῖς τὰ πρασόμενα διακωλύσῃ, ἐν δύο γραμματείοις τὴν τυραννίδα γράψαντες, ἀγγέλους δύο ὡς βασιλέα ἐν ναυὶ 7 δύο στέλλειν διενοούντο. τοῦτοι άτεροι μὲν λα-θῶν ἐπελευσαν, ο δὲ έτερος ἐξ ὑποψίας ὅτι τινος ἐν Μανδρακίῳ ἦλθο, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῖς λαβόσιν αὐτῶν ἐγχειρίσασας ἐκπυτα ἐποίει τὰ πρασόμενα. 8 ταύτῃ τε μαθῶν Βελισάριος ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν βασιλείας, ἀσπέρ ἐρρήθη, ἤπειγότο. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐν Καρχηδόνω ἐφέρετο τῇδε. 9 Μαυρούσιοι δὲ ὅσοι ἐν τε Βυζακίω καὶ Νουμιδία φιλητο, ἐς ἀπόστασιν τε ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς εἰδοῦ καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς διαλύσαντες χείρας ἀνταίρειν ἐξαπινάιως Ῥωμαίοις ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τούτο οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῦ οἰκείου σφίσιν ἐπτάσσετο. 10 ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις οὔτε θεοῦ φόβος οὔτε ἀν- 1 ταύτῃ ΒΡ: ταύτα O.

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was no basis whatever. But the emperor did not disclose these things to the world, either because he paid no heed to the slander, or because this course seemed better to him. But he sent Solomon and gave Belisarius the opportunity to choose whichever of two things he desired, either to come to Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, or to remain there and send them. And Belisarius, since it did not escape him that the officers were bringing against him the charge of seeking supreme power, was eager to get to Byzantium, in order that he might clear himself of the charge and be able to proceed against his slanderers. Now as to the manner in which he learned of the attempt of his accusers, I shall explain. When those who denounced him wished to present this slander, fearing lest the man who was to carry their letter to the emperor should be lost at sea and thus put a stop to their proceedings, they wrote the aforesaid accusation on two tablets, purposing to send two messengers to the emperor in two ships. And one of these two sailed away without being detected, but the second, on account of some suspicion or other, was captured in Mandracium, and putting the writing into the hands of his captors, he made known what was being done. So Belisarius, having learned in this way, was eager to come before the emperor, as has been said. Such, then, was the course of these events at Carthage.

But the Moors who dwelt in Byzacium and in Numidia turned to revolt for no good reason, and they decided to break the treaty and to rise suddenly against the Romans. And this was not out of keeping with their peculiar character. For there is among the Moors neither fear of God nor respect for men.
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θρόπων αἰδώς. μέλει γὰρ αὐτοὶς οὕτε ὅρκων οὕτε ὁμῆρον, ἢν καὶ παίδες ή ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν
11 ἡγουμένων τύχωσιν οὕτε. οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ οὐδεὶς εἰρήνη ἐν Μαυροσίοις, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πολεμίων τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν δέει κρατύνεται. ὅτων ἡ δὲ αὐτοὶς αἱ τε πρὸς Βελισάριον σπουδαῖ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅτε
12 διελύθησαν τρόπῳ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἡνίκα ὁ βασιλέως στόλος ἐπίδοξος ἑγεργεῖ ως ἐς Διούν ἀφίξεται, δεῖσαντες οἱ Μαυροσίοι μὴ τι ἐνθένδε κακῶν λάβοσι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν μαντείαις
13 ἔχρωντο. ἀνδρα γὰρ μαντεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ οὐ θέμις, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες σφῶν κάτοχοι ἐκ δὴ τίνος ἠερουργίας γινόμεναι προλέγοντος τὰ ἐσόμενα, τῶν πάλαι χρηστηρίων ὕποδος ἦσσον.
14 τότε οὖν πυνθανομένους αὐτοῖς, ὅστε ἐρρήθη, αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνείλον, στρατῶν ἐξ ὑδάτων, Βανδῖλων κατάλυσιν, Μαυροσίων φθορὰν τε καὶ ἡτταν,
15 ὅτε Ὀρμαίοις ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀγένειος ἔλθοι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Μαυροσίοι, ἔπει τὸ βασιλέως στράτευμα εἰσόν ἐκ θαλάσσης ἦκον, ἐν δὲ τε μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ ξυμμαχεῖν Βανδῖλοις ἦκιστα ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, ὡς πρόσθεν δεδήλωτα, κρατυνόμενοι ἥσυχαζόν τε καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅπῃ ἐκβηθήσεται
16 ἑκαραδόκουν. ἔπει δὲ Βανδῖλων τὰ πρόγματα ἦδη ἐς πέρας ἀφίκτο, πέμποσιν ἐς τὸ Ὀρμαίων στράτευμα, διερευνόμενοι εἰ τὶς αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀγένειος ἔστιν. ἔπει δὲ ἀπανταὶ πώγωνις ἐφόρων ἐμπτυπλαμένους, οὐ χρόνον τὸν παρόντα τὸ μαντεῖον σημαίνειν σφίσιν ὕσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ύστερον, ταύτη τὸ λόγιον ἐρμηνεύοντες, ἥ

1 ὅτε V: ἡ πῶς RO.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. viii. 10-17.

For they care not either for oaths or for hostages, even though the hostages chance to be the children or brothers of their leaders. Nor is peace maintained among the Moors by any other means than by fear of the enemies opposing them. Now I shall set forth in what manner the treaty was made by them with Belisarius and how it was broken. When it came to be expected that the emperor’s expedition would arrive in Libya, the Moors, fearing lest they should receive some harm from it, consulted the oracles of their women. For it is not lawful in this nation for a man to utter oracles, but the women among them as a result of some sacred rites become possessed and foretell the future, no less than any of the ancient oracles. So on that occasion, when they made enquiry, as has been said, the women gave the response: “There shall be a host from the waters, the overthrow of the Vandals, destruction and defeat of the Moors, when the general of the Romans shall come unbearded.” When the Moors heard this, since they saw that the emperor’s army had come from the sea, they began to be in great fear and were quite unwilling to fight in alliance with the Vandals, but they sent to Belisarius and established peace, as has been stated previously,1 and then remained quiet and waited for the future, to see how it would fall out. And when the power of the Vandals had now come to an end, they sent to the Roman army, investigating whether there was anyone unbearded among them holding an office. And when they saw all wearing full beards, they thought that the oracle did not indicate the present time to them, but one many generations later, interpreting the saying in

1 Book III. xxv. 2-4.
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18 αὐτοὶ ἦθελον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν διάλυσιν τῶν σπονδῶν ὄρμηντο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ Βελισαρίου
dέος αὐτοὺς διεκόλυνεν. οὐ γὰρ ποτε πολέμῳ Ῥωμαίων περιέστεθαι, παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ, ἐν
eπιτίδι εἴχον. ὥς δὲ τὴν ἀφοδόν αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόροις ποιεῖσθαι ἥκουσαν, ἥδη τε τὰς ναῦς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τε καὶ Βαν-
dίλων πληροῦσθαι ἐπίθυοντο, τὰ ὅπλα ἐξαπιναῖος ἀράμενοι ἀπασάν κακοῦ ἰδέαν ἐς τοὺς Δίβνας
eπεδείξαντο. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὅλοις τε ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἐσχατίας χώρᾳ καὶ ἑτὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ὄντες, καταθέουσιν οὐκ ἄν εἴχον 1 πανταχόσε τοῖς
βαρβάροις ἀνθίστασθαι, οὗτοι τὰς ἑπεκδρομὰς συχνᾶς τε καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς γνομένας
dιακωλύσεων. ἀλλ’ ἄνδρες μὲν οὔδεν κόσμῳ ἐκτείνοντο, γυναικὲς δὲ σὺν παισίν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ πάσης ἐσχατίας ἥγετο καὶ φυγῆς ἡ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑπεπίμπλατο.
tαῦτα Βελισαρίῳ ἦδη ποιο ἀναγομένῳ ἠγγέλλετο.
23 καὶ αὐτός μὲν ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχε, Σολόμωνι
dὲ διέτειν τὸ Διβύς κράτος παρεῖχετο, ἀπολέξας καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ
μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, ὡστε Σολόμωνε ἐπομένους
Μαυρουσίων ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς ἐπαναστάτας
τῆς ἡς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλὴ
tίσασθαι. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατιῶν ἀλλὰ
Σολόμωνι ἐπεμψε, ξὺν Θεοδώρῳ τε τῷ ἐκ Καππα-
dοκίας καὶ Ἰλδίνερι· ὡς δὴ Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρὸς
25 τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἦν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ
Διβύς χωρίων τοὺς φόρους οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν γραμ-
ματέοις τεταγμένους εὑρεῖν, ἦπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπε-

1 ἀν εἴχον Hoeschel in marg. : ἀντείχον MSS.

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that way which they themselves wished. Immediately, therefore, they were eager to break the treaty, but their fear of Belisarius prevented them. For they had no hope that they would ever overcome the Romans in war, at least with him present. But when they heard that he was making his departure together with his guards and spearmen, and that the ships were already being filled with them and the Vandals, they suddenly rose in arms and displayed every manner of outrage upon the Libyans. For the soldiers were both few in each place on the frontier and still unprepared, so that they would not have been able to stand against the barbarians as they made inroads at every point, nor to prevent their incursions, which took place frequently and not in an open manner. But men were being killed indiscriminately and women with their children were being made slaves, and the wealth was being plundered from every part of the frontier and the whole country was being filled with fugitives. These things were reported to Belisarius when he was just about setting sail. And since it was now too late for him to return himself, he entrusted Solomon with the administration of Libya and he also chose out the greatest part of his own guards and spearmen, instructing them to follow Solomon and as quickly as possible to punish with all zeal those of the Moors who had risen in revolt and to exact vengeance for the injury done the Romans. And the emperor sent another army also to Solomon with Theodorus, the Cappadocian, and Ildiger, who was the son-in-law of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius. And since it was no longer possible to find the revenues of the districts of Libya set down in order in documents,
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γράψαντο ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις Ἡρωμαῖοι, ἀτε
Γιζερίχου ἀνακαινισμένοι τε καὶ διαφθείραντος
κατ' ἄρχας ἀπαντὰ. ¹ Θρύφων τε καὶ Εὐστράτιος
πρὸς βασιλέως ἑςτάλησαν, ἐφ' ὅτι τοὺς φόρους
αὐτοῖς τάξουσι κατὰ λόγου ἐκάστῳ. οὐ δὲ οὗ
μέτροι Δίβυσιν οὐδὲ φορητοί ἐδοξαί εἶναι.

IX

Βελισάριος δὲ ἀμα Γελίμερι τε καὶ Βανδίλωις
ἐς Βυζάντιων ἁφικόμενος γερῶν ἧξιώθη ἦ δὴ ἐν
τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις Ἡρωμαῖων στρατηγοῖς τοῖς νίκαις
τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιας ἀναδησα-
2 μένοις διετέταχατο. χρόνος δὲ ἀμφι ἐνιαυτοὺς
ἐξακοσίους παρφυχῆκε ἦδη ἦξ ὡς ἦ τῶν τὰ
γέρα οὔδεις ἐληλύθει, ὅτι μὴ Τίτος τε καὶ Τραῖ-
ανός, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγῇ-
3 σαντε ἐπὶ τι βαρβαρικῶν ἑθος ἐνίκησαν. τὰ
τε γὰρ λάφυρα ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέση τῶν ἐπόμπευσαν, ὅν δὴ
θρίαμβου καλοῦσι Ἡρωμαῖοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι
τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῆ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς
αὐτοῦ ἀχρί ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον κάναυθα ἐκ
βαλβίδων ² αὕτης ἔως ἐς τὸν χώρον ἀφίκετο οὗ
4 δὴ ὁ θρόνος ὁ βασιλείως ἐστιν. ἦν δὲ λάφυρα
μὲν ὅσα δὴ ὑπουργία τὸ βασιλέως ἀνεῖσθαι

¹ ἀπαντα VM: ἀπαντας P.
² ἐκ βαλβίδων Maltretus: ἐκ βανδίλων MSS.

¹ Examples of the Roman system have come to light in
Egyptian papyri; cf. the declarations of personal property,
ἀπογραφαῖ, Pap. Lond., I., p. 79; Flinders Petrie Pap., III.,
p. 200, ed. Mahaffy and Smyly.
² Since a triumph was granted only to an imperator, after

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as the Romans had recorded them in former times,\textsuperscript{1} inasmuch as Gizeric had upset and destroyed everything in the beginning, Tryphon and Eustratius were sent by the emperor, in order to assess the taxes for the Libyans each according to his proportion. But these men seemed to the Libyans neither moderate nor endurable.

IX

Belisarius, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honours,\textsuperscript{2} except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For he displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers until he reached the place where the imperial throne is.\textsuperscript{3} And there was booty,—first of all, whatever articles are wont

the establishment of the principate by Augustus all triumphs were celebrated in the name of the emperor himself, the victorious general receiving only the \textit{insignia triumphalia}. The first general to refuse a triumph was Agrippa, after his campaign in Spain, about 550 years before Belisarius' triumph in Constantinople.

\textsuperscript{3} The barriers (\textit{carceres}), or starting-point for the racers, were at the open end of the hippodrome, the imperial box at the middle of the course at the right as one entered.
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eἰώθει, θρόνοι τε χρυσοὶ καὶ ὁχήματα οἷς δὴ
tὴν βασιλέως γυναῖκα ὄχεισθαι νόμος, καὶ κόσμος
πολὺς ἐκ χῶν ἐντύμων ἐγκείμενος, ἐπτώματα
tε χρυσὰ, καὶ τάλλα ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐς τὴν
5 βασιλέως θούντων χρῆσιμα. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος
ἐλκών μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλὰς καὶ πάντων
tῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων πάμπολυ τι χρῆμα
(ἀτε Γιζερίχου τὸ ἐν Ἡρώμη σεσυνηκτότος Παλά-
tιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπρόσθεν λόγοις ἔρρήθη),
ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια ἦν, ἀπέρ ὁ
Οὐσπασίανοι Τίτος μετὰ τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ
6 ἀλωσιν ἐς Ἡρώμην ἔνν ἐτέροις τοῖν ἤνεγκε. καὶ
ἀυτὰ τῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἰδῶν καὶ παραστάς τῶν
βασιλείων γνωρίμων τινὶ “Ταῦτα,” ἔφη, “τὰ
χρῆματα ἐς τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Παλάτιον ἑσκομί-
7 ἐσθαι αἰξύμφορον οἰόμαι εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ οἶον τε
ἀυτὰ ἐτέρωθι εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ χῶρῳ οὐ δὴ Ἡρωμὸν
ἀυτὰ πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔθετο.
8 διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Γιζερίχος τὰ Ἡρώματον
βασίλεια εἶλε καὶ νῦν τὰ Βανδιλῶν ὁ Ἡρωμαῖον
9 στρατός.” ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀνενεχθέντα βασιλεὺς
ηκουσεν, ἐδειςε τε καὶ ἐξύμπαντα κατὰ τάχος ἐς
τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰρὰ ἐπέμ-
πεν. ἀνδράποδα δὲ ἦν τοῦ θριμῆδου Γελίμερ
τε αὐτός, ἐσθήτα ποῦ τινα ἐπὶ τῶν ὅμων
ἀμπεχόμενος πορφυρᾶν, καὶ τὸ ἐγγεγένεσ ἀπαν,
Βανδιλῶν τε ὅσοι εὐμήκεις τε ἅγαν καὶ καλοὶ
tα σώματα ἦσαν. ως δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ
Γελίμερ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τὸν τε βασιλέα ἐπὶ βήματι
υπελθὼ καθήμενον τὸν τε ἰχθὺν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα

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to be set apart for the royal service,—thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consort to ride, and much jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and all the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric had despoiled the Palatium in Rome, as has been said in the preceding narrative),¹ and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. And one of the Jews, seeing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them to be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romans, and that now the Roman army has captured that the Vandals." When this had been brought to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christians in Jerusalem. And there were slaves in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himself, wearing some sort of a purple garment upon his shoulders, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of body. And when Gelimer reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofty seat and the people standing on either side and realized as he looked

¹ Cf. Book III. v. 3; that was in A.D. 455. The spoliation of Jerusalem by Titus had taken place in A.D. 70.

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12 ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ βασιλέως βήμα τὴν πορφυρίδα περιελόντες, προσηύχοντα πρὸς Ἁγιουσιανὸν βασιλέα κατηγόρασαν. τούτο δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ἔποιει ἄτε ἱκέτης βασιλέως σὺν αὐτῷ γεγονός. βασιλεὺς τε Ἁγιουσιανός καὶ ἡ βασιλίσσα Θεοδώρα τοῦς Ἰλδερίχου παῖδας τε καὶ ἐκγόνους πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαλεντινανοῦ βασιλέως ξυγγενεῖας χρήσασιν ἰκανοὶ ἐδωρήσαντο, καὶ Γελίμερι χωρία οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητα ἐν Γαλατία δύντες ὑμῶν τοῦς ξυγγενέσιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν συνεχώρησαν. ἐς πατρικίους μέντοι ἀνάγραπτος Γελίμερ ἤκιστα ἐγεγόνει, ἐπειδὲ οὐ μετατίθεσθαι τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης ἦθελεν.

15 Ὅλῳ δὲ ὑστερον Βελισαρίῳ καὶ ὁ θρίαμβος κατὰ δὴ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων ξυνετελέσθη. ἐς ὑπάτους γὰρ προελθόντι οἱ ξυνέπεσε φέρεσθαι τε πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ ὄχυρον μένῳ τῷ δήμῳ ρίπτειν αὐτὰ δὴ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ

16 Βανδίλων πολέμου τὰ λάφυρα. τὰ τε γὰρ ἀργυρώματα καὶ ζώνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἄλλου πλούτου Βανδίλικου πολὺ τι χρήμα ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου ὑπατείας ὁ δήμος ἦρπασε, καὶ τὰ τῶν οὐκ εἰσθότων ἀνανεώσθαι τῷ χρόνῳ ἔδοξε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐσχε.

1 Haury would read μεθάλθεσθαι “abandon.”

1 Ecclesiastes, i. 2.
about in what an evil plight he was, he neither wept
nor cried out, but ceased not saying over in the
words of the Hebrew scripture:¹ "Vanity of vanities,
all is vanity." And when he came before the
emperor's seat, they stripped off the purple garment,
and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and
do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian. This also
Belisarius did, as being a suppliant of the emperor
along with him. And the Emperor Justinian and the
Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic
and his offspring and all those of the family of the
Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money,
and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised
in Galatia and permitted him to live there together
with his family. However, Gelimer was by no means
enrolled among the patricians, since he was unwilling
to change from the faith of Arius.

A little later the triumph² was celebrated by
Belisarius in the ancient manner also. For he had the
fortune to be advanced to the office of consul, and
therefore was borne aloft by the captives, and as he
was thus carried in his curule chair, he threw to the
populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war. For
the people carried off the silver plate and golden
girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals' wealth of
other sorts as a result of Belisarius' consulship, and
it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old
custom was being revived.³ These things, then,
took place in Byzantium in the manner described.

¹ Not an actual "triumph," but a triumphal celebration
of his inauguration as consul.

² The reference is to the old custom of distributing to the
populace largesses (congiaria) of money or valuables on the
occasion of events of interest to the imperial house, such as
the emperor's assumption of the consular office, birthdays, etc.
The first largess of this kind was made by Julius Caesar.
PROCOPIUS OF CESAREA

Χ

Σολόμων δὲ τὸ ἐν Διβύῃ παραλαβῶν στρατευμα, ἐπηρμένων μὲν, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ἡφημένων δὲ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἰχεν ἣ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι. τοὺς τε γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐν Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ οἱ Βαρβαροί ἀνηρρηκέναι καὶ πάντα ἄγειν τε καὶ 3 φέρειν τὰ ἐκείνη ἡγεῖλετο. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτῶν τε καὶ Καρχηδώνα πᾶσαν συνετάραξε τὰ ἐς Ἀιγάν τε τὸν Μασσαγέτην καὶ Ρουφίων τὸν 4 ᾽Θράκα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ξυνενεχθέντα. ἀμφοὶ γὰρ λογίμως ἐς ἁγαν ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίῳ οἰκία ἠστην καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαιών στρατεύματι, ἀτεροὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς Ἀιγάν ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίῳ δορυφόροις παττόμενοι, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος ἀτε ἀπάντων εὐφυχότατος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν εἰσδῆθας φέρειν, ὅπη βαρδοφόρον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαιοί. 5 τότε γὰρ τούτω τῷ ἀνδρεί ἐπικών καταλόγων ἡγομένων ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ἐπεδηδὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους εἶδον τά τε ἐν ποσί λημβομένους καὶ Δίβνας ἀπαντάς ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιησάμενους, τηρήσατε ἐν στενοχωρία ἕνων τοῖς σφίσιν ἐπομένοις τοὺς τὴν λείαν παρατείμποντας, αὐτοὺς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφαιροῦνται 6 πάντας. ὅς δὲ οὕτως ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τους ἄρχοντας ἦκε, Κοντὶζεν τὸ καὶ Ἐσδελάσαν καὶ Ἰουρφοῦθην καὶ Μεδισίώσαν, οὐ μακρὰν τάῦτας δὴ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἀπέχοντας, χωροῦσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν. 7 Ῥωμαιοί δὲ, κομίδῃ τε ὁλίγοι ὑπερὶ καὶ ἐν χόρῳ
AND Solomon took over the army in Libya; but in view of the fact that the Moors had risen against him, as has been told previously, and that everything was in suspense, he was at a loss how to treat the situation. For it was reported that the barbarians had destroyed the soldiers in Byzacium and Numidia and that they were pillaging and plundering everything there. But what disturbed most of all both him and all Carthage was the fate which befell Aīgan, the Massagete, and Rufinus, the Thracian, in Byzacium. For both were men of great repute both in the household of Belisarius and in the Roman army, one of them, Aīgan, being among the spearmen of Belisarius, while the other, as the most courageous of all, was accustomed to carry the standard of the general in battle; such an officer the Romans call "bandifer." 1 Now at the time referred to these two men were commanding detachments of cavalry in Byzacium, and when they saw the Moors plundering everything before them and making all the Libyans captives, they watched in a narrow pass with their followers for those who were escorting the booty, and killed them and took away all the captives. And when a report of this came to the commanders of the barbarians, Coutzinias and Esdilasas and Iourphouthes and Medisinissas, who were not far away from this pass, they moved against them with their whole army in the late afternoon. And the Romans, being a very few men and shut off

1 Cf. Book IV. ii. 1.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

στενῷ ἐς μέσον μυριάδων πολλῶν ἀπειλημμένοι, ἀμύνεσθαι τούς ἐπίοντας οὐχ οὐλοὶ τε ἦσαν. ἔνθα γὰρ ἄν τραπεῖν, ἀεί κατὰ νότον ἑβάλλοντο.

8 τότε δὴ Ῥουφίνος τε καὶ Ἀιγὰν ξῦν ὁλίγοις τισίν ἐς πέτραν ἐγγύς που ὤσαν ἀναδραμόντες ἐνθένδε

9 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἡμύνοντο. ἔως μὲν οὖν τοῖς τόξοις ἐχρώντο, οὐκ ἐτόλμων σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέους εἰς χείρας ἐλθεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐσηκούντιζον ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ βέλη ἄπαντα σφάς ἦδη ἐπιλειλάτει, ο↾ὲ τε Μαυροῦσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐς χείρας ἥλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡμύνοντο. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους τῶν βαρ-

10 βάρων βιαζομένου, Ἀιγὰν μὲν κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἑνταύθα ἔπεσε, Ῥουφίνον δὲ ο↾ῖ πολέμιοι ἄρτασαντες ἡγον. αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν ἀρ-

11 χώνων εἰς Μεδισινύσσας, δεῖσαι μὴ διαφυγὼν πράγματα σφίσιν αὐθις παρέχοι, τῆς τε κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἀφαίρειται καὶ παῦτην ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼν ταῖς γυναιξί ταῖς αὐτοῦ ἑδεικε, μεγέθους τε ὑπερ-

12 βολῆ καὶ τριχῶν πληθεὶς ἀξιοθέατον οὗσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος ἑνταύθα ἡγαγεν, ἐπάναγκες εἰπεῖν ἀνοθεν ὃθεν τε τὰ Μαυροῦσιων ἐθνὴ ἐς Διβύθην ἥλθον καὶ ὅπως ἑνταύθα ὄκησαντο.

13 Ἐπειδὴ Ἑβραῖοι ἔξι Ἀἰγύπτου ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἄγχι τῶν Παλαιστίνης ὅριων ἐγένοντο, Μωσῆς μὲν σοφός ἄνήρ, δὲ αὐτοῖς τῆς ὅδος ἡγήσατο, θυνήσκει, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυή παῖς, δὲ ἐς τὴν Παλαι-

14 στίνην τῶν λεων τούτων εἰσῆγαγε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρείττω ἡ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν χώραν ἐσχε καὶ τὰ ἐθνη
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. x. 7-14

in a narrow place in the midst of many thousands, were not able to ward off their assailants. For wherever they might turn, they were always shot at from the rear. Then, indeed, Rufinus and Aīgan with some few men ran to the top of a rock which was near by and from there defended themselves against the barbarians. Now as long as they were using their bows, the enemy did not dare come directly to a hand-to-hand struggle with them, but they kept hurling their javelins among them; but when all the arrows of the Romans were now exhausted, the Moors closed with them, and they defended themselves with their swords as well as the circumstances permitted. But since they were overpowered by the multitude of the barbarians, Aīgan fell there with his whole body hacked to pieces, and Rufinus was seized by the enemy and led away. But straightway one of the commanders, Medisinissas, fearing lest he should escape and again make trouble for them, cut off his head and taking it to his home shewed it to his wives, for it was a remarkable sight on account of the extraordinary size of the head and the abundance of hair. And now, since the narration of the history has brought me to this point, it is necessary to tell from the beginning whence the nations of the Moors came to Libya and how they settled there.

When the Hebrews had withdrawn from Egypt and had come near the boundaries of Palestine, Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the journey, died, and the leadership was passed on to Joshua, the son of Nun, who led this people into Palestine, and, by displaying a valour in war greater than that natural to a man, gained possession of the land. And after overthrowing all the nations he
ἀπαντά καταστρεψάμενος τὰς πόλεις εὐπετῶς παρεστήσατο, ἀνίκητος τε παντάπασιν ἔδοξεν
15 εἶναι. τότε δὲ ἡ ἐπιθαλασσία χώρα ἐκ Σιδώνων μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὅριων Φοινίκη ξύμπασα
16 ὠνομάζετο. βασιλεὺς δὲ εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτὴ ἐφειστήκει, ὥσπερ ἀπασίων ὁμολογεῖται οἱ Φοινίκες
17 κὼν τὰ ἀρχαῖατα ἀνεγράψαντο. ἐνταῦθα φικηντὸ ἔθνη πολυανθρωπότατα, Γερεγεσαιοὶ τε καὶ Ἰεβουσαίοι καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ὀνόματα ἔχοντα,
18 οἷς δὴ αὐτὰ ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἱστορία καλεῖ. οὕτως ὁ λεώς ἐπεὶ ἀμαχόν τι χρήμα τὸν ἐπηλύτην
19 στρατηγὸν ἐδίον, ἢ ἥθων τῶν πατρίων ἐξαναστάντες ἐτ' Αἰγύπτῳ ὁμόρου ὀφθάλμους ἐχόρρησαν.
20 ἐνθα χώρον οὐδένα ἱκανῶν σφίσιν ἐνοικῆσασθαι εὐρόντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυανθρωπία ἐκ
21 παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἢς Δεβύνη ἐστάλησαν. πόλεις τε ὀἰκήσαστες πολλὰς ξύμπασαν Δεβύνη μέχρι στη-
22 λῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἐσχοῦν, ἐνταῦθα τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τῇ Φοινίκων φοινῇ χρώμανοι φικηνται. ἐδέιμαντο
23 δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἐν Νουμίδα, οὐ νῦν πόλις Τήγισις ἐστὶ τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται. ἐνθα στήλαι δύο ἐκ
24 λίθων λευκῶν πεπουμέναι ἀγχὶ κρῆνης εἰσὶ τῆς μεγάλης, γραμματὰ Φοινικικὰ ἑγκεκολλαμμένα
1 ἐξουσία τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ λέγοντα ὡδε: "Ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ
23 τοῦ λῃστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ," ᾧσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐν Δεβύνῃ πρῶτον ψήφισαν, οἷς διὰ τὸ ἐκ
24 παλαιοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσασθαι αὐτόχθονες εἶναι

1 ἐπηλύτην στρατηγὸν Ρ' ἐπηλύτων στρατὸν Β', ἐπηλύτων στρατηγὸν Ο'.
easily won the cities, and he seemed to be altogether invincible. Now at that time the whole country along the sea from Sidon as far as the boundaries of Egypt was called Phoenicia. And one king in ancient times held sway over it, as is agreed by all who have written the earliest accounts of the Phoenicians. In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, the Gergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews.¹ Now when these nations saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, they emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to Egypt, which adjoined their country. And finding there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since there has been a great population in Aegypt from ancient times, they proceeded to Libya. And they established numerous cities and took possession of the whole of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles, and there they have lived even up to my time, using the Phoenician tongue. They also built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phoenician tongue: “We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun.” There were also other nations settled in Libya before the Moors, who on account of having been established there from of old were said to be children of the soil. And because of this they said that Antaeus, their king, who wrestled with

¹ The Canaanites of the Old Testament.
ΠΡΟΧΩΡΙΟΝ ΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΣΕΝ

25 γής υίδν ἐφασάν εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ύστερον καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ Νιδοές ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνέστησαν ἄτε πρὸς ἐνθαγενεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ φίλημένους ἀφίκοντο. οὐ δὴ αὐτοῖς Καρκηδόνα κτίσαι τε καὶ ἐχεῖν ἑθελούσιοι ἐνεχωρήσαν. προίοντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἡ τῶν Καρκηδόνων δύναμις μεγάλη
27 ἐγένετο καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. μάχης τε σφίσι γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, οἱ πρότεροι, ἀστερ ἐρρήθη, ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ νῦν Μαυρούσιοι καλοῦνται, ἐκράτησαν τε αὐτῶν οἱ Καρκηδόναι καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω οἰκεῖν Καρκηδόνας
28 ἡμῶν σασαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Ἡρωμαῖοι πάντων καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι Μαυρουσίους μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐσχατὰς τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ οἰκουμένης χώρας ἱδρύσαντο, Καρκηδόνως δὲ καὶ Λίβυας τοὺς ἄλλους κατηκοῦσιν σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν
29 ἐποίησαντο. ύστερον δὲ οἱ Μαυρουσίοι πολλὰς κατὰ Βανδίλων νῖκας ἀνελόμενοι Μαυριτανίαν τε τὴν νῦν καλομένην ἐκ Γαδείρων μέχρι τῶν Κασσαρέισ οἴρων τείνουσαν καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἀλλῆς τὰ πλεῖστα ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς Μαυρουσίων ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνοικήσεως ταύτη τῇ ἔσχε.

XI

Συλλέγων δὲ τὰ ἐς Ὁροφίνων καὶ Ἀγαν εὐνεχέντα ἄκουσας τὸν τε πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντας ἐνγραψε τάδε: "Ἡδῆ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις αὐθρώπων

1 i.e., Clypea, or Aspis, now Kalibia, on the Carthaginian coast.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. x. 24–xi. 2

Heracles in Clipea,¹ was a son of the earth. And in later times those who removed from Phoenicia with Dido came to the inhabitants of Libya as to kinsmen. And they willingly allowed them to found and hold Carthage. But as time went on Carthage became a powerful and populous city. And a battle took place between them and their neighbours, who, as has been said, had come from Palestine before them and are called Moors at the present time, and the Carthaginians defeated them and compelled them to live a very great distance away from Carthage. Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in war, and settled the Moors at the extremity of the inhabited land of Libya, and made the Carthaginians and the other Libyans subject and tributary to themselves. And after this the Moors won many victories over the Vandals and gained possession of the land now called Mauretania, extending from Gadira as far as the boundaries of Caesarea,² as well as the most of Libya which remained. Such, then, is the story of the settlement of the Moors in Libya.

XI

Now when Solomon heard what had befallen Rufinus and Aigan, he made ready for war and wrote as follows to the commanders of the Moors: "Other men than you have even before this had the ill

² i.e., from Tangier, opposite Cadiz, to Algiers. On Caesarea see IV. v. 5 and note.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

tiśiν ἀπονενοησθαί· τε καὶ ἀπολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, οἱ οὔδενὶ πρότερον τεκμηρίωσαι ἔσχον ὅτι
3 ποτὲ αὐτοὶς τὰ τῆς ἀπονοιας ἐκβήσεται. ὥμεις
dὲ, οἰς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθην ἐκ τῶν συνοίκων
ῦμιν Βανδήλων ἔστι· τὶ ποτὲ ἄρα παθόντες χείρας
τε ἀνταίρειν ἐγνωτε βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τὴν
4 ὕμων αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν προέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα
ὄρκους τε τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐν γράμμασι δόντες
καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους τῶν ὠμολογη-
5 μένων ἐνέχυρα παρασχόμενοι; ἢ ἐπίδειξιν τινα
ἐγνώκατε ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ὕμιν οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε
πίστεως οὔτε τῆς ξυγγενείας αὐτῆς οὔτε τῆς
σωτηρίας οὔτε ἄλλου ὠνομαί ἐστὶ τις λόγος;
6 καίτοι, εἴ τὰ ἐσ τὸ θείον ὕμων οὕτως ἔσκηται, τίνι
ξυμμάχῳ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίου βασιλέα
7 χωρεῖτε; εἴ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπολούντες στρατεύ-
8 εσθε, τὶ ποτὲ ἐστιν υπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύειν βεβοῦ-
9 λησθε; ἀλλ' εἴ μὲν ἡδὴ τις εἰσήλθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν
φθασάντων μετάμελος, γράψατε ὅτως ὕμιν εὑ τὰ
πεπραγμένα θησομέθα· εἴ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπονοιας
ῦμιν οὖτω λελώφηκε, δέξασθε Ῥωμαϊκὸν πόλεμον
μετὰ τῶν ὄρκων οἷς ἐλωβήσασθε καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς
παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικίας ὕμιν προσέλατα.

9 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Σολόμων ἔγραψεν. οἱ δὲ Μαυρού-
σιοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὅδε· "Βελισάριος μὲν ἐπάγγε-
λίας μεγάλας ἡμᾶς περιελθὼν ἐπεισε βασιλέως
Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατηκόους εἶναι· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν οὖνενοι μεταδόντες λιμφ πιεζο-
μένους ἤξιόνυ φίλους τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ξυμμάχους
fortune to lose their senses and to be destroyed, men who had no means of judging beforehand how their folly would turn out. But as for you, who have the example near at hand in your neighbours, the Vandals, what in the world has happened to you that you have decided to raise your hands against the great emperor and throw away your own security, and that too when you have given the most dread oaths in writing and have handed over your children as pledges to the agreement? Is it that you have determined to make a kind of display of the fact that you have no consideration either for God or for good faith or for kinship itself or for safety or for any other thing at all? And yet, if such is your practice in matters which concern the divine, in what ally do you put your trust in marching against the emperor of the Romans? And if you are taking the field to the destruction of your children, what in the world is it in behalf of which you have decided to endanger yourselves? But if any repentance has by now entered your hearts for what has already taken place, write to us, that we may satisfactorily arrange with you touching what has already been done; but if your madness has not yet abated, expect a Roman war, which will come upon you together with the oaths which you have violated and the wrong which you are doing to your own children."

Such was the letter which Solomon wrote. And the Moors replied as follows: "Belisarius deluded us with great promises and by this means persuaded us to become subjects of the Emperor Justinian; but the Romans, while giving us no share in any good thing, expected to have us, though pinched with
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10 ἔχειν. ὅστε εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον ύμῖν ἡ Μαυρουσίας τὸ μῆ πιστοὶς καλείσθαι προσῆκει. λύονσι γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς οὕχ ὅσοι ἀδικοῦμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τῶν πέλας κατηγοροῦντες ἀφίστανται, ἀλλ' ὅσοι ὑποστόνδους ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντες τινας εἶτα.

12 βιάζονται. καὶ τὸν θεὸν πολέμου σφίσι ποιοῦνται οὐχ οἳ ἂν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν κομιοῦμενοι ἐφ' ἐτέρους χρωίεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιβατεύοντες ἐς κύνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται.

13 παιδῶν μέντοι ἔνεκεν ύμῖν μελήσει, οἷς μίαν ἀγεσθαι γυναῖκα ἀνάγκη· ἡμᾶς γὰρ, οἷς καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἑν συνοικούσι γυναικεῖς, παιδῶν οὔκ ἂν ποτὲ ἐπιλήπτοι γοηῦν."  

14 Ταῦτα ἀναλεξάμενῳ Σολόμωνι τὸ στράτευμα ὅλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίως ἐπάγειν ἔδοξε. διαθέμενος τε τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πράγματα, παντὶ τὸν στρατὸ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἔλει. γενόμενος δὲ ἐς Μάμμης τὸ χωρίον, ἐνθα δὴ οἱ τέταρτες τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἀρχοντες ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὅλῳ ὀλίγῳ πρῶτον ἐπεμνήσθην, χαράκωμα ἐποίησατο. ὅρη δὲ εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα υψηλὰ καὶ χωρίον ὁμαλὲς περὶ τὸν πρόποδα τῶν ὄρων, ἐνθα οἱ βάρβαροι παρασκευάσμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν παράταξιν ὑδε. κύκλων ἐκ τῶν καμήλων ταξάμενοι, ὅπερ καὶ τὸν Καβάωνα ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰργάσθαι ἐρρῆθη, κατὰ δυσκαίδεκα μᾶλιστα τοῦ μετώπου βάθος ἐποίουν. καὶ γυναικές μὲν ἕξιν τοῖς παισὶ κατέθεσε τοῦ κύκλου ἐντός· (τοῖς γὰρ Μαυρουσίως καὶ γυναικές ὀλίγας ἕξιν τοῖς παι-

1 τόχη V: τόχοι ΡΟ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xi. 9–18

hunger, as their friends and allies. Therefore it is more fitting that you should be called faithless than that the Moors should be. For the men who break treaties are not those who, when manifestly wronged, bring accusation against their neighbours and turn away from them, but those who expect to keep others in faithful alliance with them and then do them violence. And men make God their enemy, not when they march against others in order to recover their own possessions, but when they get themselves into danger of war by encroaching upon the possessions of others. And as for children, that will be your concern, who are not permitted to marry more than one wife; but with us, who have, it may be, fifty wives living with each of us, offspring of children can never fail.

When Solomon had read this letter, he decided to lead his whole army against the Moors. So after arranging matters in Carthage, he proceeded with all his troops to Byzacium. And when he reached the place which is called Mammes, where the four Moorish commanders, whom I have mentioned a little before, were encamped, he made a stockade for himself. Now there are lofty mountains there, and a level space near the foothills of the mountains, where the barbarians had made preparations for the battle and arranged their fighting order as follows. They formed a circle of their camels, just as, in the previous narrative, I have said Cabaon did, making the front about twelve deep. And they placed the women with the children within the circle; (for among the Moors it is customary to take also a few

1 "On the borders of Mauretania" according to Procopius, De aedificiis, vi. 6. 18.
2 Chap. x. 6.
3 Book III. viii. 25, 26.
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σὺν ἡ παράταξιν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμος, αὖπερ αὐτοῖς χαρακώματὰ τε καὶ καλύβας ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἱππο- κομοῦσιν ἐμπείρως, καὶ τῶν τε καμῆλων τῆς τε τροφῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται καὶ θήγουσαι τὰ τῶν ὄπλων σιδήρια πολλοὺς σφίσι παραιροῦνται τῶν ἑν ταῖς παρατάξει τῶν ψόνων) αὐτοὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐσ μέσους τῶν καμήλων τοὺς πόδας ἵσταντο, ἁσπίδας τε καὶ ἕψιθε ἔχοντες καὶ δοράτια, οἷς ἄκουτίζειν εἰώθασιν. τούτους δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἤππους ἤσθαχον. Σολόμων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμιον τοῦ Μαυρουσίων κύκλου δ' πρὸς τὸ ὅρει ἑτύγχανον ὅν ἀφῆκεν, οὔτε αὐτοῦ καταστησάμενος. ἔδεισε γὰρ μή κατιόντες τοι ἐν τῷ ὅρει πολέμοι καὶ οί ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἀμφίβολοι εἶν τῇ παρατάξει τοὺς ἑκείνη ταττομένους ποιήσωνται.

ἐν δὲ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ λευτόμενον ὄλον αὐτιτάξας τὸ στράτευμα, ἑπειδὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς εἴδε πεφθημένους τε καὶ ἠθαρσοῦντας, διὰ τὰ ἐσ᾽ Ἀιγάν τε καὶ Ὁρυφίων ἔνθερεθέντα, βουλόμενος ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι αὐτῶς τοῦ θαρσεῖν ἐλεξε τάδε: "Ἀνδρείς οἱ Βελισαρίῳ ἐνπρατευσάμενοι, μηθεῖς ὡμᾶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν δέ φόβος εἰσίτω, μηθεῖ, εἰ Μαυρούσιοι κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε συνειλεγμένοι Ῥωμαίοι ἢδη πεντακοσίων ἐκράτησαν, τοῦτο ὡμῖν ἑν παραδείγματος μοιρὰ γινέσθω. ἀλλ᾽ ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν τῆς ἄρετῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας, ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς Βανδῖλοι μὲν Μαυρουσίων ἐκράτους, ὑμεῖς δὲ Βανδῖλου ἄκουτι κύριοι τῷ πολέμῳ γεγένησθε, καὶ ὡς τῶν τῶν μειζόνων κεκρατήκοτας περὶ τῶν καταδεστέρων

1 Christ would bracket εἰν τοῖς παισίν.
2 περὶ MSS. : παρὰ Hoeschel in marg., Dindorf.

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women, with their children, to battle, and these make
the stockades and huts for them and tend the horses
skilfully, and have charge of the camels and the food;
they also sharpen the iron weapons and take upon
themselves many of the tasks in connection with the
preparation for battle); and the men themselves took
their stand on foot in between the legs of the
camels, having shields and swords and small spears
which they are accustomed to hurl like javelins.
And some of them with their horses remained
quietly among the mountains. But Solomon dis-
regarded one half of the circle of the Moors, which
was towards the mountain, placing no one there.
For he feared lest the enemy on the mountain
should come down and those in the circle should
turn about and thus make the men drawn up there
exposed to attack on both sides in the battle. But
against the remainder of the circle he drew up his
whole army, and since he saw the most of them
frightened and without courage, on account of what
had befallen Aīgan and Rufinus, and wishing to
admonish them to be of good cheer, he spoke as
follows: "Men who have campaigned with Belisarius,
let no fear of these men enter your minds, and, if
Moors gathered to the number of fifty thousand have
already defeated five hundred Romans, let not this
stand for you as an example. But call to mind
your own valour, and consider that while the Vandals
defeated the Moors, you have become masters of the
Vandals in war without any effort, and that it is not
right that those who have conquered the greater

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ΠEΦΘΗΣΘΑΙ ΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΝ. ΚΑΙΤΟΙ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ἄνθρωπων ἐς ἀγώνα πολέμου φαιλότατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ
Μαυρουσίων ἔθνος. γυμνοὶ τε γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ὁσοὶ ἀστικάς ἐχοῦσιν, βραχείας τε
ταύτας καὶ οὐκ εὖ πεποιημένας οὐδὲ ἀπωθεῖσθαι
tὰ προσιόντα δυνάμενας προβέβληται. καὶ τὰ
dύο ταύτα δοράτα ἀπορρίφαντες, ἢν μὴ τι δρά-
σωσιν, αὐτόματοι ἐς φυγήν τρέπονται. ὥστε
πάρεστιν ὑμῶν τὴν πρώτην φυλαξαμένους τῶν
βαρβάρων ὀρμὴν ἀνελέσθαι οὔτει πόνῳ τὸ τοῦ
πολέμου κράτος. τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας ὑπάλλη-
λον πρὸς τοὺς ἑναντίους τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐστὶν
ὁρᾶτε δή ποτε. καὶ τούτων ἕξω, ψυχῶν μὲν ἄρετῆ
καὶ σωμάτων ἁλκῆ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τὸ
θαρσεῖν, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἤδη γενυκεῖναι τοὺς
πολεμίους, ύμῖν πρόσεστιν οἴ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι
tούτων ἀπάντων ἐστερημένοι μόνος τῷ σφῶν αὐ-
tῶν ὀμίλῳ πιστεύοντες. βὰον δὲ ὁλγοὶ ὡς ἀριστὰ
παρεσκευασμένοι πλήθος οὖν ἀγαθῶν τὰ πολέμια
υικῶσιν ἄνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡσσώνται. τῷ
μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ στρατιώτῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ
πάρεστι, τῷ δὲ ἀνάδρῳ τὸ τῶν συντεταγμένων
πλῆθος ἐς ἐπισφαλῆ στενοχωρίων ὡς τὰ πολλά
περιστάται. καὶ μὴν καὶ καμῆλων τῶν ὑπὲρ
ὑπερφορεῦν ἀξίων, αὖ οὔτε ἁμώνει τοῖς πολεμίοις
οἷα τε εἰσὶ καὶ πληγεῖσαν, όσ τὸ εἰκός, μελζους
ταραξῆς τε καὶ ἀταξίας αἰτία τοῦτοις γενήσον-
tαι. καὶ τὸ προπετές ο διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εὐνιμρη-
σαι οἱ πολέμιοι κέκτηται, ύμῖν συναγωνιεῖσθαι
ξυμβηστεῖ. τὸλμα γὰρ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει ξυμμε-

1 πάντας RO; πάντως V.

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should be terrified before those who are inferior. And indeed of all men the Moorish nation seems to be the most poorly equipped for war's struggle. For the most of them have no armour at all, and those who have shields to hold before themselves have only small ones which are not well made and are not able to turn aside what strikes against them. And after they have thrown those two small spears, if they do not accomplish anything, they turn of their own accord to flight. So that it is possible for you, after guarding against the first attack of the barbarians, to win the victory with no trouble at all. But as to your equipment of arms, you see, of course, how great is the difference between it and that of your opponents. And apart from this, both valour of heart and strength of body and experience in war and confidence because you have already conquered all your enemies,—all these advantages you have; but the Moors, being deprived of all these things, put their trust only in their own great throng. And it is easier for a few who are most excellently prepared to conquer a multitude of men not good at warfare than it is for the multitude to defeat them. For while the good soldier has his confidence in himself, the cowardly man generally finds that the very number of those arrayed with him produces a want of room that is full of peril. Furthermore, you are warranted in despising these camels, which cannot fight for the enemy, and when struck by our missiles will, in all probability, become the cause of considerable confusion and disorder among them. And the eagerness for battle which the enemy have acquired on account of their former success will be your ally in the fight. For daring, when it is kept
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τρουμένη τάχα τι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῆς χρωμένους ὄνη-
σει, ὑπεραίρουσα δὲ ταύτην ἐς κινδύνουν ἄγει. ὅν
ἐνθυμοῦμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονοῦντες
συγή τε καὶ κόσμον ἀσκεῖτε· τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμε-
λούμενοι βάλον τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τῆς τῶν βαρβά-
ρων ἀκοσμίας κρατήσομεν.” ταῦτα μὲν Σολόμων
ἐίπεν.

37 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἀρχοντες ἐπειδῆ καὶ αὐ-
τοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν
Ῥωμαίων εὑκοσμίαν εἶδον, βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ
πλήθος ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν αὐθεν ἀντικαθιστάναι,
τοιάδε παρεκελεύσαντο: “Ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπεια Ῥω-
μαίου σώματα ἔχουσι καὶ ολὰ σιδήρῳ πλησόμενα
εἴκειν μεμαθήκαμεν, ὃ εὐστρατιῶται, οἷς αὐτῶν
ἐναγχος τοὺς πάντων ἄριστος πή μὲν καταχω-
σθέντας τοὺς δόρασι τοῖς ἡμετέρους ἐκτείναμεν, τῇ
dὲ ἀρπάσαντες δορυαλώτους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πεποιή-
μεθα. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὡς καὶ νῦν
αὐτῶν τῷ πλῆθει παρὰ πολὺ προέχειν αὐχούμεν,

38 ὀρᾶν πάρεστι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων
ἡμῶν ὁ ἁγῶν ἐστιν, ἡ Διβύθης πάσης κυρίως εἰναι,

39 ἡ τοῖς ἀλαζόσι τοῖς δουλεύειν. ὡστε ἡμῖν ἀν-
ἀγκη ὃς μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι.
οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνος, μὴ ὁχόι εὐψι-
χοτάτως εἶναι ἀξύμφορον. τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων
οπλίσεως ὑπερφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς προσῆκε. ἦν τε γὰρ

40 πεζῇ1 ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἱσωσίν, οὐκ εὐσταλεῖς ἐσοῦται,
ἀλλ’ ἡσοθήσουται τοῦ Μαυρουσίων τάχους, καὶ

41 τὴν ἱππον αὐτοῖς ἢ τε τῶν καμῆλων ὃψις ἐκπλήξ-

42 ἐσα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τοῦ πολέμου θόρυβον ἢ τού-
tων κραυγῇ ὑπερηχοῦσα εἰς ἀταξίαν, ὡς γε τὸ

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1 πεζῇ P: οἱ πεζόλ V, πεζό Ο.
commensurate with one's power, will perhaps be of some benefit even to those who make use of it, but when it exceeds one's power it leads into danger. Bearing these things in mind and despising the enemy, observe silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour.” Thus spoke Solomon.

And the commanders of the Moors also, seeing the barbarians terrified at the orderly array of the Romans, and wishing to recall their host to confidence again, exhorted them in this wise: “That the Romans have human bodies, the kind that yield when struck with iron, we have been taught, O fellow-soldiers, by those of them whom we have recently met, the best of them all, some of whom we have overwhelmed with our spears and killed, and the others we have seized and made our prisoners of war. And not only is this so, but it is now possible to see also that we boast great superiority over them in numbers. And, furthermore, the struggle for us involves the very greatest things, either to be masters of all Libya or to be slaves to these braggarts. It is therefore necessary for us to be in the highest degree brave men at the present time. For it is not expedient that those whose all is at stake should be other than exceedingly courageous. And it behoves us to despise the equipment of arms which the enemy have. For if they come on foot against us, they will not be able to move rapidly, but will be worsted by the agility of the Moors, and their cavalry will be terrified both by the sight of the camels, and by the noise they make, which, rising above the general tumult of battle, will,
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43 εἰκός, καταστήσεται. καὶ τὴν ἐς Βανδίλους ύκην εἰ τις ἐκλογιζόμενος μὴ ἀνταγωνιστοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πολέμου ῥοτή τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἀρετῇ ἡ τύχη κρίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Βελισάριον δὲ, δὲ τῆς Βανδίλου ἑπικρατήσεως αὐτίως 1 γέγονεν, ἐκποδῶν νῦν ἡμῖν ἑστηκέναι πεποίηκε τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡμεῖς Βανδίλους πολλάκις γενικηκότες, περιελόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἐτοιμότερον τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ κατ’ αὐτῶν πεποιήμεθα κράτος. καὶ νῦν δὲ πολεμίων τῶν δικρατήσειν, ἤν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνδραγαθίζησθε, ἐλπίδα ἑξομεν.

47 Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ Μαυροὐσίων ἄρχοντες παρακελευσάμενοι τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἄρχον. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολλὴ ἀκοσμία ἐς τῷ Ῥωμαίοις στράτευμα ἐγεγόνει. οἱ γὰρ ἤπειροι αὐτοῖς τῇ τῇ κραυγῇ καὶ τῇ ὀψεὶ τῶν καμήλων ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαίτιζοντό τε καὶ ἀπορροπούντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας οὐδεὶς κόσμῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐφενοῦν. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἐπεκδρομᾶς ποιούμενοι οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὰ δοράτα ὅσα σφίσαν ἐν ταῖς χερεῖν ἢν ἁκοντιζόντες, θορύβου το αὐτῶν ἐμπιπτασθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐποίον καὶ οὐκέτας ἁμυνομένους οὔτε ἐν ταξί μένουται ἐπλησσόν. ὥστερον δὲ Σολόμων, κατιδὼν τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἕκ τε τοῦ ἤπειρον ἀποθρόσκει πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπαντας ἐς τούτο ἔναγε. 51 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέβησαν, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐνετέλλετο ἰσχύαξουσι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβαλλομένους δεχομένους τε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πεπόμενα ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν αὐτός δὲ στρατιώτας οὐχ

1 aitios V : aitiواتatos PO.
in all likelihood, throw them into disorder. And if anyone by taking into consideration the victory of
the Romans over the Vandals thinks them not to be
withstood, he is mistaken in his judgment. For the
scales of war are, in the nature of the case, turned
by the valour of the commander or by fortune; and
Belisarius, who was responsible for their gaining the
mastery over the Vandals, has now, thanks to Heaven,
been removed out of our way. And, besides, we too
have many times conquered the Vandals and stripped
them of their power, and have thus made the victory
over them a more feasible and an easier task for
the Romans. And now we have reason to hope to
conquer this enemy also if you shew yourselves brave
men in the struggle."

After the officers of the Moors had delivered this
exhortation, they began the engagement. And at
first there arose great disorder in the Roman army.
For their horses were offended by the noise made by
the camels and by the sight of them, and reared up
and threw off their riders and the most of them fled in
complete disorder. And in the meantime the Moors
were making sallies and hurling all the small spears
which they had in their hands, thus causing the
Roman army to be filled with tumult, and they were
hitting them with their missiles while they were un-
able either to defend themselves or to remain in
position. But after this, Solomon, observing what was
happening, leaped down from his horse himself first
and caused all the others to do the same. And when
they had dismounted, he commanded the others to
stand still, and, holding their shields before them and
receiving the missiles sent by the enemy, to remain
in their position; but he himself, leading forward not
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δησον ἡ πεντακοσίοις ἐπαγόμενος ἐσ τὴν τοῦ
52 κύκλου ἐπέσκηψε μοῦραν. οὐς δὴ τὰ ξίφη ἀνελομένους ἐκέλευε τὰς καμήλους αἰς ταύτη
53 εἰστήκεσαν κτείνειν. τὸτε Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὅσοι ἐκείνη ἐτετάχατο ἐς φυγήν ὄρμηντο, οἱ δὲ ξύν τῷ Ἀσλόμωνι κτείνουσι καμήλους ἀμφὶ διακοσίας, αὐτίκα τε ὁ κύκλος, ἐπεὶ αἱ κάμηλοι ἔπεσον,
54 ἐσβατὸς Ἡρωμαῖος ἐγένετο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου μέσον ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα αἱ Μαυρούσιον γυναικὲς ἐκάθητο. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἐκτεταμένοι ὡς τὸ ὄρος ὅπερ αἰχματὰ ἦν ἀποχωροῦσι, φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ξύν πάσῃ
55 ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐπιστόμενοι Ἡρωμαῖοι ἐκτείνουν. καὶ λέγονται Μαυρούσιον μῦροι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ ἀποθανεῖν γυναικεῖς τε πᾶσαι ξύν τοῖς παιῶν
56 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγένετο. καὶ καμήλους οἱ στρατιῶται πάσας, ὅσα οὐκ ἐκτείναν, ἐλπίσαντο. οὕτω τε Ἡρωμαῖοι μὲν ξύν πάσῃ τῇ λείᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἤσεαν, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐορτήν ἄξοντες.¹

XII

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρώμενοι θυμῷ πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ Ἡρωμαῖος αὖθις, οὐδένα σφῶν ἀπολιπώντες, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ καταθεῖν τὰ ἐν Βυζάκιῳ χωρία ἤρθαντο, οὐδεμᾶς ἡλικίας τῶν σφίσι
2 παραπτυπώτων φειδόμενοι. ἄρτι τε Σολόμωνι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐληλακότι βάρβαροι πλήθει μεγάλῳ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἐληλυθέναι καὶ ληξεσθαί πάντα τὰ ἐκείνη ἡγγέλλοντο. ἄρας οὖν κατὰ

¹ ἄξοντες PO: ἀγόντες V Theophanes.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xi. 51–xii. 2

less than five hundred men, made an attack upon the other portion of the circle. These men he commanded to draw their swords and kill the camels which stood at that point. Then the Moors who were stationed there beat a hasty retreat, and the men under Solomon killed about two hundred camels, and straightway, when the camels fell, the circle became accessible to the Romans. And they advanced on the run into the middle of the circle where the women of the Moors were sitting; meanwhile the barbarians in consternation withdrew to the mountain which was close by, and as they fled in complete disorder the Romans followed behind and killed them. And it is said that ten thousand of the Moors perished in this encounter, while all the women together with the children were made slaves. And the soldiers secured as booty all the camels which they had not killed. Thus the Romans with all their plunder went to Carthage to celebrate the festival of triumph.

XII

But the barbarians, being moved with anger, once more took the field in a body against the Romans, leaving behind not one of their number, and they began to overrun the country in Byzacium, sparing none of any age of those who fell in their way. And when Solomon had just marched into Carthage it was reported that the barbarians with a great host had come into Byzacium and were plundering everything there. He therefore departed quickly with his

1 The side toward the mountains; cf. § 20.
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3 τάχος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἦι. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Βουργάωνι, ἤνθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἑστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἠμέρας μὲν τινας ἀντεκάθητο, ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐν τῷ ὦμαλει γένονται

4 οἱ Μαυροῦσιοι, τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἄρχοι. ὅσ, δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔμενον, διειπέ τε ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ διεκόσμη τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ Μαυροῦσιοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον ἦκιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς μάχην ἴεναι διενοοῦντο (ἦδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀμαχόν τι δέος ἐσήκει), ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἠλπίζον ῥαόν αὐτῶν

5 περιέσεθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βουργάων ἐπὶ πλείστον μὲν ἀπότομον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἦλιον δεινῶς ἅβατον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἐστέραν ἐνέφων τὸν καὶ ὑπτίως ἐχον. καὶ σκοπέλω ὑψηλῷ δύο ἀνέχετον νάπην τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν ἐργαζόμενω, στενὴν μὲν κομβή, ἐς

7 βάθος δὲ τὶ ἅβατον 1 κατατείνονσαν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους ἀπέλιπτον ἄνδρῶν ἔρημον, οὕτως ἐνθεύετε πολέμιον οἰόμενοι σφίσιν ἐσεσθαι· ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄμφι τὸν πρότοδα χώρον ἑλίπον οὗ δὴ εὐπρόσδοκος ὁ Βουργάων ἦν.

8 κατὰ δὲ τοῦ μέσα στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ὡς, ἢν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀνίστατος μάχης ἄρξοντο, αὐτὸι ἢδη ὑπερθεν ἐκεῖνων γενόμενοι

9 κατὰ κορυφὴν βάλλονσιν. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ὑποι πόλλοι ἢ ἐς φυγὴν παρεσκευασμένοι, ἢ ἐς τὴν διώξιν, ἢν τὴ μάχης κρατήσωσι.

10 Σολόμων δὲ, ἐπεί εἴδε τοὺς Μαυροῦσίους οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὦμαλει ἐθέλοντας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα τῇ προσεδρείᾳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐν χωρίῳ

1 ἅβατον 

VO: ἅβατον Ρ.
whole army and marched against them. And when he reached Bourgaon, where the enemy were encamped, he remained some days in camp over against them, in order that, as soon as the Moors should get on level ground, he might begin the battle. But since they remained on the mountain, he marshalled his army and arrayed it for battle; the Moors, however, had no intention of ever again engaging in battle with the Romans in level country (for already an irresistible fear had come over them), but on the mountain they hoped to overcome them more easily. Now Mt. Bourgaon is for the most part precipitous and on the side toward the east extremely difficult to ascend, but on the west it is easily accessible and rises in an even slope. And there are two lofty peaks which rise up, forming between them a sort of vale, very narrow, but of incredible depth. Now the barbarians left the peak of the mountain unoccupied, thinking that on this side no hostile movement would be made against them; and they left equally unprotected the space about the foot of the mountain where Bourgaon was easy of access. But at the middle of the ascent they made their camp and remained there, in order that, if the enemy should ascend and begin battle with them, they might at the outset, being on higher ground, shoot down upon their heads. They also had on the mountain many horses, prepared either for flight or for the pursuit, if they should win the battle.

Now when Solomon saw that the Moors were unwilling to fight another battle on the level ground, and also that the Roman army was opposed to making
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ἐρήμῳ ἤχθετο, ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους ἐν
11 Βουργάων ὑπείγετο. ἦδον δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας
κατατεπληγμένους τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμίλῳ πολυ-
πλασίῳ ἦ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ γεγενημένῳ, ξυγ-
καλέσας τὸ πλήθος ἔλεξε τοιάδε: "Τὸ μὲν δέος πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμοι χρῶνται, οὐχ ἐτέρου τοῦ
κατηγόρου δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτεπάγγελτον ἔξελή-
λεγκται τῇ οἰκοδεν ἐπαγόμενω μαρτυρίαν.
13 ὦρατε γὰρ δὴ ποὺ τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς τόσας μὲν
καὶ τόσας μορίας συνειλεγμένους, οὐ τολμῶν-
τας δὲ ἠμῖν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνωντας ξυμ-
βαλεῖν, οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου δυσκολίαν κατα-
φυγόντας. ὥστε ὑμῖν οὐδὲ τι ἐγκελεύεσθαι ἐν ἑν
τῷ παρόντι ἐπάνωκες. οὗς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα καὶ
ἡ τῶν πολέμων ἀσθενεία τὸ θαρσεῖν
didwosin, οὐδὲν οἷμαι τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὕφελείας
15 προσδεί. τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς δεῖσαι
ὡς, ἣν μετὰ εὐπυχίας καὶ τῇ τὴν ἐπι-
βελὴν διενέγκωμεν, λειλείπεται ἡμῖν, Βανδίλων
tε νευκημένων καὶ Μαυρουσίων εἰς ταῦτο τῆς εἰ-
ηλακότων, τῶν δισθής ἀγαθῶν ἀπόνασθαι πάν-
των, οὐδὲν ὃ τι καὶ πολέμου ἐννοεῖν ἔχουσιν.
16 ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατὰ κορυφήν ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμοι
βάλλωσι, μηδὲ τι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἡμῖν γῆνοιτο
βλάβος, ἐγὼ προνοήσο."  
17 Τοσαῦτα παρακαλευσάμενος Σολώμων, Θεό-
δωρον ἐκέλευεν, ὡς τῶν ἐξκουβιτώρων ἡγεῖτο

1 In the late Empire the excubitores, 300 in number, constituted the select guard of the palace. Their commander, comes excubitorum, held high rank at court; cf. 308
a siege in a desert place, he was eager to come to an encounter with the enemy on Bourgaon. But inasmuch as he saw that the soldiers were stricken with terror because of the multitude of their opponents, which was many times greater than it had been in the previous battle, he called together the army and spoke as follows: "The fear which the enemy feel toward you needs no other arraignment, but voluntarily pleads guilty, bringing forward, as it does, the testimony of its own witnesses. For you see, surely, our opponents gathered in so many tens and tens of thousands, but not daring to come down to the plain and engage with us, unable to feel confidence even in their own selves, but taking refuge in the difficulty of this place. It is therefore not even necessary to address any exhortation to you, at the present time at least. For those to whom both the circumstances and the weakness of the enemy give courage, need not, I think, the additional assistance of words. But of this one thing it will be needful to remind you, that if we fight out this engagement also with brave hearts, it will remain for us, having defeated the Vandals and reduced the Moors to the same fortune, to enjoy all the good things of Libya, having no thought whatever of an enemy in our minds. But as to preventing the enemy from shooting down upon our heads, and providing that no harm come to us from the nature of the place, I myself shall make provision."

After making this exhortation Solomon commanded Theodorus, who led the "excubitores" (for thus the

VIII. xxi. 1, where we are told that Belisarius held this position, and Arcana 6. 10, where Justin, afterwards emperor, is mentioned.
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(οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς φύλακας Ἡρωμαίου καλοῦσι), πεζοῦς χιλίους ἐπαγγέλμενον ἀμφὶ δέλην ὀψίαν ἔχοντα τε καὶ τῶν σημείων τινὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνισχοντα ἦλιον τοῦ Βουργάωνος λάθρα ἀναβῆναι, οὐ μάλιστα δύσοδὸν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ σχεδὸν τι ἀπὸντυμν ήν, ἐπιστείλας ὡστε, ἐπειδὰν ἄγχι ἐς τὸν τῶν ὀροὺς κολώνων ἱκώντα, ἑνταῦθα ἡσυχάζοντας τὸ λοιπὸν διανυκτερεύειν, ἀμα τε ἦλιῳ ἀνίσχονται καθύπερθεν φαινομένους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐνδεικνυμένους βάλλειν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπεὶ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἔγγυς τοῦ σκοπέλου ἀφικόμενοι μὴ ὅτι Μαυροσίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡρωμαίους ἀπαντάς ἔλαθον ἐς προφυλακὴν γὰρ τὸ λόγῳ ἐστῆλλοντο, μὴ τις ἔσωθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακοὑργήσων ίοι. ὁρθῶν δὲ βαθέος Σολώμων παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τοῦ Βουργάωνος τὰ ἐσχατὰ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέβαινε· καὶ ἐπείδη πρῶτο ἐγεγόνει ἐγγύς τε τοι πολέμιοι καθεωρώντο, οὐκέτι γυμνήν, ὡστε πο τὸ πρότερον, οἱ στρατιώται την τοῦ ὀροὺς ὑπερβολὴν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ σημεία Ἡρωμαίκα ἐνδεικνυμένων (ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ ὑπέφαινε τι ήμέρας) διηποροῦντο. ἐπεί δὲ τῶν χειρῶν οί ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἤχον, οἱ τε Ἡρωμαίοι τὸ στράτευμα οἰκεῖοι εἶναι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολεμίων γεγονέναι ἤσθανοντο, βαλλόμενοι δὲ ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ οὐ παρόν σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, ἐς φυγὴν δὲ αὐτίκα

1 προφυλακὴν V: πρὸς φυλακὴν P, φυλακὴν O.
2 ἀνέβαινε PO: ἀνέφαινε V.
3 ὑπέφαινε O: ὑπερέφαινε V, ὑπερφαινει P.

310
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. 17–21

Romans call their guards), to take with him a thousand infantrymen toward the end of the afternoon and with some of the standards to go up secretly on the east side of Bourgaon, where the mountain is most difficult of ascent and, one might say, impracticable, commanding him that, when they arrived near the crest of the mountain, they should remain quietly there and pass the rest of the night, and that at sunrise they should appear above the enemy and displaying the standards commence to shoot. And Theodorus did as directed. And when it was well on in the night, they climbed up the precipitous slope and reached a point near the peak without being noticed either by the Moors or even by any of the Romans; for they were being sent out, it was said, as an advance guard, to prevent anyone from coming to the camp from the outside to do mischief. And at early dawn Solomon with the whole army went up against the enemy to the outskirts of Bourgaon. And when morning had come and the enemy were seen near at hand, the soldiers were completely at a loss, seeing the summit of the mountain no longer unoccupied, as formerly, but covered with men who were displaying Roman standards; for already some daylight was beginning to shew. But when those on the peak began their attack, the Romans perceived that the army was their own and the barbarians that they had been placed between their enemy's forces, and being shot at from both sides and having no opportunity to ward off the enemy, they thought no more of resistance but turned, all of them, to a
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22 ξύμπαντες ἀρμηντο. οὔτε δὲ ἐς τοῦ Βουργάνωνος τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ἔχοντες, πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων κατεχομένην, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ὀμαλές διὰ τοῦ πρόποδός πη ἴεναι, ἔνθενδε σφίζων ἐπικειμένων τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔσ τὴν νάπτην καὶ ἐς τῶν σκοπέ- λων τῶν ἐτερον δρόμῳ πολλῷ ἢσαν, οἶ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἢπποις, οἱ καὶ πεζῆ. ἀτε δὲ ὀμίλος πολὺς ἐν φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ φεύγοντες, σφᾶς τε αὐτούς ἐκτεινοῦν καὶ ἐς τὴν νάπτην βαθείαν κομιδή οὕςαν ἐστιπτοντες ἀεὶ οἱ πρώτοι ἐθνησκοῦν, τοῖς μέντοι ὄψιθεν ιαύσιν οὐ παρεῖχοντο τοῦ κακοῦ Αἰσθησιν. ἐτεί δὲ τῶν τεθνεότων ἢππων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡ νάπτη ἐμπλεως γενομένη διάβασιν ἐκ τοῦ Βουργάνωνος ἐς ὀρος ἐποίει τὸ ἐτερον, ἐνταῦθα ἐσώμοντο οἱ ὑπολειπόμενοι, διὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενοι. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ Μαυροσίων μὲν μυριάδες πέντε, ὡς αὐτῶν ἱσχυρίζοντο οἱ περίοντες, 'Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ παρά- παν αὐτοῖς, ὥς μὴν οὐδὲ πληγήν τινα ἔλαβεν ἢ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκμαβάσης τινός, ἀλλ' ἄκραθεὶς πάντες τῆς νίκης ἀπώ- ναν ταύτης. διεφύγουν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγούμενοι πάντες, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι 'Ἑσδιλάςσας πίστεις λαβῶν Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶν ἐνεχείρισε. γυναικῶν μέντοι καὶ παίδων λείαν τοσαύτην τὸ πλήθος Ῥωμαίοι εἶλον ὡς τε προβάτων τιμῆς παίδα Μαυροσίου τοῖς ὁνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις ἀπέδουστο. καὶ τότε Μαυροσίων τοὺς ὑπολειπό- μενους γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων τὸ λόγιον ἔσχει, ὡς ἀρα τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγενεῖον ὀλείται.

1 η ἴεναι ΒΟ: προίεναι Ρ.
hasty flight. And since they could neither run up to the top of Bourgaon, which was held by the enemy, nor go to the plain anywhere over the lower slopes of the mountain, since their opponents were pressing upon them from that side, they went with a great rush to the vale and the unoccupied peak, some even with their horses, others on foot. But since they were a numerous throng fleeing in great fear and confusion, they kept killing each other, and as they rushed into the vale, which was exceedingly deep, those who were first were being killed constantly, but their plight could not be perceived by those who were coming up behind. And when the vale became full of dead horses and men, and the bodies made a passage from Bourgaon to the other mountain, then the remainder were saved by making the crossing over the bodies. And there perished in this struggle, among the Moors fifty thousand, as was declared by those of them who survived, but among the Romans no one at all, nor indeed did anyone receive even a wound, either at the hand of the enemy or by any accident happening to him, but they all enjoyed this victory unscathed. All of the leaders of the barbarians also made their escape, except Esdilasas, who received pledges and surrendered himself to the Romans. So great, however, was the multitude of women and children whom the Romans seized as booty, that they would sell a Moorish boy for the price of a sheep to any who wished to buy. And then the remainder of the Moors recalled the saying of their women, to the effect that their nation would be destroyed by a beardless man.\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. chap. viii. 14. Procopius has explained in III. xi. 6 that Solomon was a eunuch.
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29 Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ἡρωμαῖον στράτευμα ἦν τῇ λεία καὶ τῷ Ἑσδιλάσα ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσθήλαυν τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοι μὴ ἀπολυζόμεναι εὐμβέβηκεν, ἐν Βυζακίῳ μὲν ἱδρύθαι ἀδύνατα ἑδόκει εἶναι, ὡστὸς μὴ ὁλίγοι οὐτες πρὸς Διβύων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων βιάζονται, ἐξὼν δὲ ἀρχουσὶν τοῖς σφετέροις εἰς Νουμιδίαν ἀφικόμενοι ἴκεται γίνονται Ιαύδα, ὅσ τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἡρχε. μόνοι δὲ Μαυρουσίων ἐν Βυζακίῳ διέμειναν ὅτε ἠγείτο Ἀντάλας, ὅσ ἦ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ Ἐρωμαίῳ πίστιν φυλάξας κακῶν ἀπαθὴς ἐξὸν τοῖς υπηκόοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἔμεινεν.

XIII

Ἐν δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν τούτῳ Ιαύδας ὅσ τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἡρχε, πλέον ἡ τρισμυρίων ἁνδρας μαχίμως ἐπαγόμενος ἐκηλίζετο τὰ ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας χωρία, ἕνδρα-2 πόδιζε τε τῶν Διβύων πολλοὺς. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀλθίας ἐν Κεντούριαι τῶν ἐκείνη φρούριων φυλακὴν ἔχουν ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀφε-λέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουν ἔξων ὁμός τοῖς αὐτῶ ἐπομένοις, ἐβδομήκοντα μάλ-3 ἵστα ὑσίων, ἐξὼ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένετο. λογισά-μενὸς τε ὃς ὁμί όδος τε ἐστὶ πλήθει Μαυρουσίων τοσούτῳ ἐξὼν ἁνδράσιν ἐβδομήκοντα ἐστὶ χεῖρας ἴναι, στενοχωρίαι καταλαβεῖν τινὰ ἢθελεν, ὡστὸς ἄν δὲ αὐτῆς ὦν ὑστὶ πολεμίων τῶν τινῶς 4 αἰχμαλώτων ἀναρπάσαι δυνάτος ἐη. καὶ (οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιαύτη τες ἐνυτίθα ὁδὸς, ἐπεὶ πεδία
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xii. 29–xiii. 4

So the Roman army, together with its booty and with Esdilasas, marched into Carthage; and those of the barbarians who had not perished decided that it was impossible to settle in Byzacium, lest they, being few, should be treated with violence by the Libyans who were their neighbours, and with their leaders they went into Numidia and made themselves suppliants of Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium. And the only Moors who remained in Byzacium were those led by Antalas, who during this time had kept faith with the Romans and together with his subjects had remained unharmed.

XIII

But during the time when these things were happening in Byzacium, Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium, bringing more than thirty thousand fighting men, was plundering the country of Numidia and enslaving many of the Libyans. Now it so happened that Althias in Centuriae was keeping guard over the forts there; and he, being eager to take from the enemy some of their captives, went outside the fort with the Huns who were under his command, to the number of about seventy. And reasoning that he was not able to cope with such a great multitude of Moors with only seventy men, he wished to occupy some narrow pass, so that, while the enemy were marching through it, he might be able to snatch up some of the captives. And since there are no such roads there, because flat plains

1 See III. viii. 5.
2 A comes foederatorum, mentioned in III. xi. 6.
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υππία πανταχή τῶν ἐκείνη χωρίων ἐστὶν) ἐπενόει τάδε.

5 Πόλις ἦστι πον πλησίων Τίγυσις ὄνομα, τότε μὲν ἀτείχοντος οὐσα, κρῆμην δὲ μεγάλην
6 τινὰ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῆ ἔχουσα. ταύτην 'Αλθίας τὴν κρῆμην καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, λογισά-
μενος ὡς δίψη ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα πάντως ¹ ἀφίξονται οἱ πολέμιοι. ἄλλο γὰρ ὑδωρ ἄγχιστά
7 πιὸ ὡς ἦκιστά ἦστι. πάσι μὲν οὖν τὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐκλογιζομένους παράλογον ἐδοξεί μανιω-
8 δης αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐννοια εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι κότῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πνίγει μεγάλῳ θέρους ὥρα
orWhere κότῳ, δύση τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μεγαστῇ ἐχόμενοι, παρὰ τὴν κρῆμην δρόμῳ πολλῷ
9 ἥλθον, οὐδὲν ἐναντίωμα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. ἐπειδή
10 δὲ τὸ ὑδωρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμιῶν ἐχόμενον εὗρον, ἀπορούμενοι ξύμπαντες ἐστησαν, τοῦ πλείστου
11 τῆς ἱσχύος ἦδη δαπανηθέντος σφίσθη τῇ τοῦ
12 ὑδατος ἐπιθυμία. διό δὲ 'Ιαύδας τῷ 'Αλθία εἰς
13 λόγους ἥκων τὸ τριτημόριον οἱ δῶσειν ὠμολόγης
14 τῆς λείας, ἑφ’ ὃ δὴ Μαυρούσιοι πίωσιν ἄπαντες.
15 ο δὲ τῶν μεν λόγον ἐνδέχεσθαι οὐδαμὴ ἤθελε,
16 μονομαχεῖν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἥξιον.
17 τοῦ δὲ 'Ιαύδα ταῦτην δὴ δεξαμένου τὴν πρό-
18 κλησιν, ἐνυκέεσθαι ἡσθηθέντος, ἀν οὕτω τύχῃ, τοῦ
19 'Αλθία Μαυρούσιος πιεῖν. ἔχαιρε τε ἄπα τοῦ τῶν Μαυρούσιων στρατός, εὐελπίδεις ὄντες, ἐπεὶ
20 'Αλθίας μὲν ἱσχύς τε ἦν καὶ οὗ μέγας τὸ σῶμα,
21 'Ιαύδας δὲ κάλλιστος τε ἦν καὶ μαχιμάτατος
22 Μαυρούσιων ἀπάντων. ἄμφῳ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς
23 ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. ο δὲ 'Ιαύδας τὸ δοράτιον ἥκον-

¹ πάντως ὅ: πος V.
extend in every direction, he devised the following plan.

There is a city not far distant, named Tigisis, then an unwalled place, but having a great spring at a place which was very closely shut in. Althias therefore decided to take possession of this spring, reasoning that the enemy, compelled by thirst, would surely come there; for there is no other water at all close by. Now it seemed to all upon considering the disparity of the armies that his plan was insane. But the Moors came up feeling very much wearied and greatly oppressed by the heat in the summer weather, and naturally almost overcome by an intense thirst, and they made for the spring with a great rush, having no thought of meeting any obstacle. But when they found the water held by the enemy, they all halted, at a loss what to do, the greatest part of their strength having been already expended because of their desire for water. Iaudas therefore had a parley with Althias and agreed to give him the third part of the booty, on condition that the Moors should all drink. But Althias was by no means willing to accept the proposal, but demanded that he fight with him in single combat for the booty. And this challenge being accepted by Iaudas, it was agreed that if it so fell out that Althias was overcame, the Moors should drink. And the whole Moorish army was rejoiced, being in good hope, since Althias was lean and not tall of body, while Iaudas was the finest and most warlike of all the Moors. Now both of them were, as it happened, mounted. And Iaudas hurled his spear first, but as
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τίσε πρώτος, οúdoπερ Ἀλθίας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἰόντος χειρὶ λαβέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ δόξαν ἰσχύσας 15 Ἰαύδαν τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατεπλήξε. τῇ δὲ λαϊῷ χειρὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ ἀμφιδέξιος ἦν, τὸν Ἰαύδα ἵππων βαλὼν ἐκτείνε. 18 πεσόντος τοις αὐτοῦ ἵππων ἑτερον τῷ ἄρχοντι Μαυρουσίοι 1 ἦγον, ἐφ’ ὃν ἀναθοροῦ Ἰαύδας εὐθὺς ἔφυγε· καὶ οἱ κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς ὁ τῶν Μαυρου- 17 σίων στρατὸς εὐπέτευ. ὦ τε Ἀλθίας τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν λείαιν ἄφελόμενος ἔχυμπασαν ὄνομα μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶσαιν Λιβύην ἐσχέ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇ ἐχώρησε. 18 Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὀλίγον τινὰ διατρίψας χρόνον, ἐπὶ τε ὅρος τὸ Ἀὐράσιον καὶ Ἰαύδαν ἐπήγα τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπενεγκὼν αὐτῷ ὅτι, ἦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στράτος τὴν ἐν Βυζαίῳ ἀσχολίαν εἶχε, πολλὰ ἐληίσατο τῶν ἐν Νομομίδα χωρίων. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως. ὁμοίως δὲ Σολόμων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰαύδαν Μαυρουσίων ἀρχοντες ἑτεροι, Μασσωναὶ καὶ Ὀρταίας, τῆς σφετέρας ἔχθρας ἔνεκα. Μασσωναὶ μὲν, ὅτι οἱ τῶν πατέρα Μεθανίαν κηδεστὶς ἄν Ἰαύδας δόλῳ ἐκτείνεν, ὁ δὲ ἑτερος, ὅτι ἐξ ἧν τῷ Μασσίνα, ὅς τῶν ἐν Μαυριτανία βαρβάρων ἤγει- το, ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τε καὶ Μαυρουσίων ὃν ἤρχεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐβούλευσεν, ἐνθα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ 20 φύκευτο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στράτος, ἤγουμένου αὐτὸς Σολόμωνος, καὶ Μαυρουσίων ὃι οἱ σφίσιν ἐς ψυμμαχίαν ἤλθον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐς ποταμὸν Ἀβίγαν, ὅς τὸ Ἀὐράσιον παραρρέων ἀρδεύει 21 τὰ ἔκεινη χωρία. τῷ δὲ Ἰαύδα ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον τοῖς πολεμίωις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι

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1 Μαυρουσίοι Maltretus: μαυρουσίων MSS.
it was coming toward him Althias succeeded with amazing skill in catching it with his right hand, thus filling Iaudas and the enemy with consternation. And with his left hand he drew his bow instantly, for he was ambidextrous, and hit and killed the horse of Iaudas. And as he fell, the Moors brought another horse for their commander, upon which Iaudas leaped and straightway fled; and the Moorish army followed him in complete disorder. And Althias, by thus taking from them the captives and the whole of the booty, won a great name in consequence of this deed throughout all Libya. Such, then, was the course of these events.

And Solomon, after delaying a short time in Carthage, led his army toward Mt. Aurasium and Iaudas, alleging against him that, while the Roman army was occupied in Byzacium, he had plundered many of the places in Numidia. And this was true. Solomon was also urged on against Iaudas by the other commanders of the Moors, Massonas and Ortaias, because of their personal enmity; Massonas, because his father Mephanias, who was the father-in-law of Iaudas, had been treacherously slain by him; and Ortaias, because Iaudas, together with Mastinas, who ruled over the barbarians in Mauretania, had purposed to drive him and all the Moors whom he ruled from the land where they had dwelt from of old. So the Roman army, under the leadership of Solomon, and those of the Moors who came into alliance with them, made their camp on the river Abigas, which flows along by Aurasium and waters the land there. But to Iaudas it seemed inexpedient to array himself against the enemy in the
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έφαίνετο, τά δέ ἐν Αὔρασίῳ ἐξηρνύετο ἀπ' ἡ οἱ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπιούσιν οἷς δυσκολώτατα ἔσεσθαι. 22 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἦμερῶν μὲν ὀδῷ δέκα καὶ τριῶν μᾶλιστα. Καρχηδόνος διέχει, μέγιστον δὲ ἀπάντων ἐστὶν ὃν ἦμεις ἵσμεν. ἦμερῶν γὰρ τριῶν ἑνταύθα εὐξώνῳ ἀνδρὶ περίοδός ἐστι. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ ἴέναι βουλομένῳ δύσοδόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ δεινώς ἄγριον, ἀνό δὲ ἥκοντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀμαλεί γενομένῳ πεδίᾳ τοῦ μείναι καὶ κρήναι πολλαὶ ποταμοὶ τοῦ ποιουσαί καὶ παραδείσους πολὺ τι χρήμα

24 θαυμάσιον οἶον. καὶ ὁ τε σῖτος δὲ ἑνταύθα φύεται ἢ τε ὁπώρα ἐκάστη διπλασία τὸ μέγεθος ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀλή ἀπάση Διβύψη γίνεσθαι πέφυ-κεν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἑνταύθα τῇ ἀπημέλη-μένα, τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαία τοῖς ταύτῃ θάκημένοις εἶναι. ἐξ ὧν γὰρ τὸ Αὔρασιον Μαυροῦσιον Βαυ-δίλου ἀφείλοντο, οὐδεῖς πω ἐς αὐτὸ πολέμως ἠλθεν οὐδὲ ἐς δέος τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τόλων Ταμουγαδίν, ἢ πρὸς τῷ ὅρει ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς ἀνίσχυντα ἡλιόν πολυ-ἀνθρωπος οὔσα ὄχθος, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων οἱ Μαυ-ροῦσιος ποιησάμενοι ἐς ἑδαφός καθεῖλον, ὅπως μὴ ἑνταύθα ἢ δυνατά ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοῖς πο-λεμίοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ πρὸφασιν τῆς πόλεως

27 ἀγχὴ ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἴέναι. εἰχον δὲ τα ταύτῃ Μαυροῦσιοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ Αὔρασίου χώ-ραν, πολλήν τε καὶ ἄγαθήν οὔσαν. καὶ τούτων ἐπέκεινα Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἐτέρα ὄχθος, ὅπως ἦρχεν Ὀρταίας, ὑσ τιλώμων ὑν καὶ Ὀρμαίων, 28 ὡς ἐμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ἐνμάχον ἠλθε. τούτων τοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἐγὼ λέγοντος ήκουσα ὡς ὑπὲρ τήν χώραν ἑς αὐτῶν ἄρχοι, οὐδένες ἀνθρώπων οἰκοῦ-
plain, but he made his preparations on Aurasium in such a way as seemed to him would offer most difficulty to his assailants. This mountain is about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage, and the largest of all known to us. For its circuit is a three days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And for one wishing to go upon it the mountain is difficult of access and extremely wild, but as one ascends and reaches the level ground plains are seen and many springs which form rivers and a great number of altogether wonderful parks. And the grain which grows here, and every kind of fruit, is double the size of that produced in all the rest of Libya. And there are fortresses also on this mountain, which are neglected, by reason of the fact that they do not seem necessary to the inhabitants. For since the time when the Moors wrested Aurasium from the Vandals,¹ not a single enemy had until now ever come there or so much as caused the barbarians to be afraid that they would come, but even the populous city of Tamougadis, situated against the mountain on the east at the beginning of the plain, was emptied of its population by the Moors and razed to the ground, in order that the enemy should not only not be able to encamp there, but should not even have the city as an excuse for coming near the mountain. And the Moors of that place held also the land to the west of Aurasium, a tract both extensive and fertile. And beyond these dwelt other nations of the Moors, who were ruled by Ortaías, who had come, as was stated above, as an ally to Solomon and the Romans. And I have heard this man say that beyond the country which he ruled there was no

¹ Book III. viii. 5.
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σιν, ἀλλὰ γῆ ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει, ταύτης τε ἐπέκειναι ἀνθρωποί εἰσιν οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μελανόχροοι, ἀλλὰ λευκοὶ τε λίαν τὰ σῶματα καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοὶ. ταύτα μὲν δὴ ὃδε πτη ἐχει.

30 Σολόμων δὲ Μαυρούσιον τε τοὺς ἄνθρωπους ὑψηλότερος χρήμασι μεγάλος καὶ πολλά παρακελευσάμενος1 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς ὄρος τὸ Ἀὐράσιον ὡς ἐς μάχην διατεταγμένος ἀνέβαινεν, οἱμένος ἐκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τε πολεμίως διὰ μάχης ἱέναι καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν διακρίνεσθαι, ὅπη ἀν

31 ἡ Βουλομένη, τῇ τύχῃ. οὐ γὰρ οὐν οὔδὲ τροφάς, ὅτι μὴ ὄλγας, σφίζει τε καὶ τοὺς ἢπποις τοὺς

32 σφετέρους οἱ στρατιώται ἐπῆγοντο. πορευόμενες δὲ ἐν δυσκόρια πολλῇ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίους ἡνίκαστο. τοσαῦτην τε ὅδε ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνύοντες ἐβδομαίοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς χώρον ἑνθα φρούριον τε παλαιὸν ἢ καὶ ποταμὸς τῆς ἀένναιος. Ὁρος Ἄσπιδος τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ

33 καλοῦσι Λατῖνοι τοῦ χώρου. ἐνταῦθα σφίζει στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἡγεῖλλουτοι οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἔπειδή ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο πολεμίων τε οὐδὲν ἀπῆντα, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐς μάχην παρασκευασάμενοι αὐτῷ ἐμενοῦν, ἠμερῶν τε αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα τριῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβει. δὲ δὲ οἱ τε πολέμιοι τὸ παράπαυν σφίζουν ἐκποδῶν ἵσταντο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπον, ἐνθύμησον Σολόμων τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάση ἐγένετο, ὡς ἀρα τοῖς πρὸς Μαυρούσιον τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐπιβουλῆ ἐς αὐτοὺς

35 γίνοντο· οἱ γε, καίπερ οὐκ ἀμελετήτως τῆς ἐν Ἀὐράσιῷ πορείας ἑχοντες, ἐπιστάμενοι τε, ὡς τὸ

36 ἵνα oνοματοθες εἰς τὴν Ἀὐράσιῳ τοῖς ξυμμάχων ἐπιβουλῆ ἐς αὐτῶς

1 παρακελευσάμενος ῬΩ: παρασκευασάμενος Β.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiii. 29–36

habitation of men, but desert land extending to a
great distance, and that beyond that there are men,
not black-skinned like the Moors, but very white in
body and fair-haired. So much, then, for these things.

And Solomon, after bribing the Moorish allies with
great sums of money and earnestly exhorting them,
began the ascent of Mt. Aurasium with the whole
army arrayed as for battle, thinking that on that day he
would do battle with the enemy and just as he was
have the matter out with them according as fortune
should wish. Accordingly the soldiers did not even
take with them any food, except a little, for them-
selves and their horses. And after proceeding over
very rough ground for about fifty stades, they made
a bivouac. And covering a similar distance each day
they came on the seventh day to a place where there
was an ancient fortress and an ever-flowing stream.
The place is called “Shield Mountain” by the
Romans in their own tongue.¹ Now it was reported
to them that the enemy were encamped there, and
when they reached this place and encountered no
enemy, they made camp and, preparing themselves
for battle, remained there; and three days’ time was
spent by them in that place. And since the enemy
kept altogether out of their way, and their provisions
had failed, the thought came to Solomon and to the
whole army that there had been some plot against
them on the part of the Moors who were their allies;
for these Moors were not acquainted with the
conditions of travel on Aurasium, and understood,

¹ i.e. Clypea. Not the place mentioned in IV. x. 24.

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eikós, ὃσα τοῖς πολεμίως βεβουλευμένα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς ἐκάστην μὲν αὐτοῖς ἥμεραν λάθρᾳ ἐπειγόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἔλεγετο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἔνεκα ἐς αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων σταλέντες, οὐδὲν ἀγγείλαι υγιές ἐγνωσαν, ὡς ὅπως δῇ μὴ προμαθόντες τροφᾶς τε σφίσιν ἐς χρόνου πλεῖον ἔχοντες ἐς ὁρὸς τὸ Ἀὐράσιον ἀναβαίνοιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευάσαντο ὅπη ἄριστα ἐσεσθαι ἐμελέλειν.

37 ὅλως δὲ ἐνέδραν σφισὶ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ἐξομάχων γεγενήθαι ὑποτεσσάραντες ἐς δέος ἠλθον, λογιζομένων ὡς ἀπιστοὶ λέγονται εἶναι Μαυροῦσιοι φύσει, ἄλλως τε ἡ ἦν Ρωμαίοις ἂν ἄλλοις τισὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες ἐπὶ Μαυροῦσίους στρατεύονται.

38 ὃν δὴ ἐνθυμηθέντες, ἀμα δὲ καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωροῦσιν ἀπρακτοὶ καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφικόμενοι χαράκωμα ἐποιήσαντο.

39 Μετὰ δὲ Σολόμων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖράν τινα φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐν Νομιμίδα καταστησάμενος (χειμῶν γὰρ ἡδη ἧν) ἔσων τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦσε. ἐνθα δὴ ἐκαστα διείπτε τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ὡποὶ ἀμα ἦρι ἄρχομενῳ πλείον παρασκευή καὶ, ἦν δύνηται, ξυμμάχων Μαυροῦσίων ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἀνθίζε καὶ στρατεύον. ἀμα δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῦς τε καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ νῆων στόλουν ἐπὶ Μαυροῦσίους ἐξηρτύετο οὗ ἐν Σαρδοῖ τῇ νῆσῳ ἔδρυναι: αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ νῆσος μεγάλη μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἄλλος εὐδαίμων, ἐς τὰς δύο μάλιστα τῆς Σικελίας κατατείνουσα μοῖρας (ἠμερῶν γὰρ ὅδον εἰκοσιν εὐξώνῳ ἄνδρὶ τὸ τῆς γῆς περίμετρον ἔχει), Ῥώμης 324
probably, what had been decided upon by the enemy; they were stealthily going out to meet them each day, it was said, and had also frequently been sent to their country by the Romans to reconnoitre, and had decided to make nothing but false reports, in order, no doubt, that the Romans, with no prior knowledge of conditions, might make the ascent of Mt. Aurasium without supplies for a longer time or without preparing themselves otherwise in the way which would be best. And, all things considered, the Romans were suspicious that an ambush had been set for them by men who were their allies and began to be afraid, reasoning that the Moors are said to be by nature untrustworthy at all times and especially whenever they march as allies with the Romans or any others against Moors. So, remembering these things, and at the same time being pinched by hunger, they withdrew from there with all speed without accomplishing anything, and, upon reaching the plain, constructed a stockade.

After this Solomon established a part of the army in Numidia to serve as a guard and with the remainder went to Carthage, since it was already winter. There he arranged and set everything in order, so that at the beginning of spring he might again march against Aurasium with a larger equipment and, if possible, without Moors as allies. At the same time he prepared generals and another army and a fleet of ships for an expedition against the Moors who dwell in the island of Sardinia; for this island is a large one and flourishing besides, being about two thirds as large as Sicily (for the perimeter of the island makes a journey of twenty days for an unencumbered traveller); and lying, as
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te καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἐν μέσῳ κειμένη πρὸς Μαυ-
ρουσίων τῶν ταύτης ἁκίμενων πιέζεται. Βανδίλων
gὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐς τούτους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅργη
χρώμενοι ὀλίγους δὴ τινας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐς
Σαρδῶν πέμφαντες ἐνταῦθα εἶρξαν. χρόνου δὲ
προϊόντος τὰ ὅρη καταλαμβάνουσιν ἢ Καρανά-
λεως ἐγγύς ποὺ ἔστι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληστείας ἐκ
τοῦ ἀφανοῦς ὡς τοὺς περιοίκους ποιούμενοι, ἐπεὶ
dὲ οὐχ ἦσον ἐγένοντο ἢ τρισχῖλιον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς-
μηθανὲς καταθέοντες, λανθάνει τὴ ἡκίστα ἀξιοῦντες
ἀπαντά ἐλπίζοντο τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, Βαρβαρικῶν
πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλοὺμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ
τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ὁ Σολόμων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χει-
μῶν τὸς στόλου ἡτοίμαζε. ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐν
Διβύῃ ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XIV

Ἐν δὲ Ἡταλία κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς αὐτοῖς
tάδε γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Βελισάριος ἐπὶ Θεοδώ-
tὸν τε καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ
βασιλέως ἐστέλλετο, καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς Σικε-
λίαν ταῦτην δὴ τὴν νῆσον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔσχεν.
1 ὃντινα δὲ τρόπον, ἐν τοῖς ὁπισθὲν μοι λόγοις λειλέξ-
etαι, ὅτε μὲ ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν Ἡταλίκων πραγμά-
3 τῶν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄγει. νῦν γὰρ μοι ὁπὸ τοῦ
tρόπον ἔδωκεν εἰναι ἐξύμπαντα ἀναγραφήμενον τὰ
ἐν Διβύῃ ἐγενεθέντα οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον
tὸν ἀμφὶ Ἡταλίαν τε καὶ Γότθως ἴέναι.
4 Τὸν μὲν ὡς ἐν χειμῶνα τούτου Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν

1 ἀφανοῦς VO : ἐμφανός P.
2 ἐς σικελίαν PO : ἐν σικελίᾳ V.

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it does, between Rome and Carthage, it was oppressed by the Moors who dwelt there. For the Vandals in ancient times, being enraged against these barbarians, sent some few of them with their wives to Sardinia and confined them there. But as time went on they seized the mountains which are near Caranalis, at first making plundering expeditions secretly upon those who dwelt round about, but when they became no less than three thousand, they even made their raids openly, and with no desire for concealment plundered all the country there, being called Barbaricini¹ by the natives. It was against these barbarians, therefore, that Solomon was preparing the fleet during that winter. Such, then, was the course of events in Libya.

XIV

And in Italy during these same times the following events took place. Belisarius was sent against Theodatus and the Gothic nation by the Emperor Justinian, and sailing to Sicily he secured this island with no trouble. And the manner in which this was done will be told in the following pages, when the history leads me to the narration of the events in Italy. For it has not seemed to me out of order first to record all the events which happened in Libya and after that to turn to the portion of the history touching Italy and the Goths.

During this winter Belisarius remained in Syracuse

¹ The region in the interior of Sardinia called Barbârgia or Barbâgia still preserves this name. But Procopius' explanation of the origin of the barbarian settlers there has not been generally accepted.
Συμπαύσασις, Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι διέτριψε. 5 καὶ τέρας ἐν τῷ ἔτει ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι δευ- νόστατον. ὁ γὰρ ἡλιός ἀκτίνων χωρὶς τὴν αἰγήν, ὡσπερ ἡ σελήνη, ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπαν- τα ἦσθε, ἐκλείποντι τε ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐφίκει, τὴν ἀμαργήν τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ καθαρὰν οὔδε ἦσθε εἰώθει 6 ποιοῦμενος. ἦ γὰρ τὰ λίθων ὑπὸ τούτο τετύχθηκεν, οὐτε τὸ ἔργα οὐτε λοιμὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐσθανα- του φέρον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέλιπτε. χρόνος δὲ ήν ὅτε δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχειν. 7 Ἀμα δὲ ὦρι ἀρχομένως, ὅτε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ ἔφτινη ἤγιον ἦν δὴ Πασχαλίαν καλοῦσι, στρα- τιώταις ἔστασις ἐν Λιβύη ἐνέπεσεν. ἢ ὧπως τε ἐφί σὲ ἐς τὸ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἔρων ἔρχομαι. 8 Ἑπεὶ δὴ Βανδίλου ἡσύχησαν τῇ μάχῃ, ὡσπερ μοι ἐμπροσθεν εἰρήται, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατιώται 9 ἐποϊήσαντο λόγῳ. ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη τῶν ἄνδρα 10 ενήγε τῶν χωρίων τῆς κτήσεως μεταποιείσθαι δὲ αὐτὴ πρότερον κυρία ἐτύγχανεν οὕσα, οὐχ ὁσιον λέγουσα εἰναι, εἰ Βανδίλους μὲν ξυνοικοῦσαι τοῦτον ἀπώνατο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦς νευκηκόσιν ἐς γάμον ἐξεῖσασα οὗτο δὴ τῶν σφίσιν υπαρχόντων στερήσονται. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιώται ἐν υἱῷ ἔχοντες Σολόμων εἰκείνοις οὐκ φῶντο χρῆναι τὰ 1 Βανδίλου χωρία ἐς τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως οἰκον ἑθέλοντες ἀναγράψασθαι, φάσκοντι τε ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀνδρᾶποδα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα χρῆμα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς λάφυρα ἴεναι οὐκ ἀπεικός εἰναι, γὰρ μέντοι αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ τε καὶ 1 στρατιώταις V : στρατιώτων ΡΟ.
and Solomon in Carthage. And it came about during
this year that a most dread portent took place. For
the sun gave forth its light without brightness, like
the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed
exceedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it
shed were not clear nor such as it is accustomed to
shed. And from the time when this thing happened
men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor
any other thing leading to death. And it was the
time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his
reign.

At the opening of spring, when the Christians
were celebrating the feast which they call Easter,
there arose a mutiny among the soldiers in Libya.
I shall now tell how it arose and to what end it came.

After the Vandals had been defeated in the battle,
as I have told previously,¹ the Roman soldiers took
their daughters and wives and made them their
own by lawful marriage. And each one of these
women kept urging her husband to lay claim to the
possession of the lands which she had owned
previously, saying that it was not right or fitting if,
while living with the Vandals, they had enjoyed these
lands, but after entering into marriage with the con-
queros of the Vandals they were then to be deprived
of their possessions. And having these things in
mind, the soldiers did not think that they were
bound to yield the lands of the Vandals to Solomon,
who wished to register them as belonging to the
commonwealth and to the emperor’s house and said
that while it was not unreasonable that the slaves
and all other things of value should go as booty to
the soldiers, the land itself belonged to the emperor

¹ Book III. xviii. 7 ff.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν ἀρχῇ προσήκειν, ἃπερ αὐτοῦς ἐξέθρεψε τε καὶ στρατιώτας καλεῖσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι πεποίηκεν, οὐκ ἐφ’ ὃ σφίσων αὐτοίς τὰ χωρία κεκτήσωντα ὅσα ἄν βαρβάρους ἐπι- βατεύοντας τῆς Ῥωμαιῶν βασιλείας ἀφέλοντο, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ὃ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα ἴναι, ὅθεν σφίσι τε ξυμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ τὰς σιτῆσις κομίζεσθαι. ἀυτὴ μὲν τῆς στάσεως αὐτίκα ξυνέπεσε μέα. καὶ ἔτεραν δὲ τινὰ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε, ἢ οὔδεν τι ἴσσου, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἀπαντᾷ ξυναπαξάει τὰ ἐν Λιβύη πράγματα ἰσχυσεν. ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαιῶν στρατοπέδῳ τῆς Ἄρειου δόξης οὐχ ἴσσου οὐ χλίους στρατιώτας εἶναι ξυνέπησεν· ὁμίλη τοῖς πολλοὶ βάρβαροι ἴσσαν καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἐκ τοῦ Ἑρουλων ἐθνοῦς. τούτοις δὴ οἱ τῶν Βανδίλων ἱερεῖς ἐς τὴν στάσιν τὰ μάλιστα ὁμογ. οὐ γὰρ σφίσιν ἢν δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐξοσιούσθαι τὰ εἰσόθητα, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκέκλειτο καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἀπάντων. οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶ βασιλεῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄνδρα Χριστιανὸν αὕτως μεταλαχώντα δόξης ὁρθῆς ἡ βαπτίσματι ἡ ἄλλω τῷ μυστηρίῳ χρήσθαι. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοῦς ἡ Πασχαλία ἐορτὴ ξυνετάραξε, καθ’ ἢν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν παιδιά τῷ θείῳ βαπτίζεως λοιπόν, ἡ ἄλλο τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἄγον. ὅσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὰ ταῦτα τῷ δαίμονι διαφθεῖρα τὰ Ῥωμαιῶν πράγματα ἐν σπουδῇ ἑχοῦντι, ξυνεπέσε τι καὶ ἄλλο τοῖς τὴν στάσιν μελετῶσιν ἐφόδιον. τοὺς γὰρ Βανδίλως, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον

1 IV. iv. 30 and note.
and the empire of the Romans, which had nourished them and caused them to be called soldiers and to be such, not in order to win for themselves such land as they should wrest from the barbarians who were trespassing on the Roman empire, but that this land might come to the commonwealth, from which both they and all others secured their maintenance. This was one cause of the mutiny. And there was a second, concurrent, cause also, which was no less, perhaps even more, effective in throwing all Libya into confusion. It was as follows: In the Roman army there were, as it happened, not less than one thousand soldiers of the Arian faith; and the most of these were barbarians, some of these being of the Erulian\(^1\) nation. Now these men were urged on to the mutiny by the priests of the Vandals with the greatest zeal. For it was not possible for them to worship God in their accustomed way, but they were excluded both from all sacraments and from all sacred rites. For the Emperor Justinian did not allow any Christian who did not espouse the orthodox faith to receive baptism or any other sacrament. But most of all they were agitated by the feast of Easter, during which they found themselves unable to baptize\(^2\) their own children with the sacred water, or do anything else pertaining to this feast. And as if these things were not sufficient for Heaven, in its eagerness to ruin the fortunes of the Romans, it so fell out that still another thing provided an occasion for those who were planning the mutiny. For the Vandals whom Belisarius took to Byzantium were

\(^2\) Baptism was administered only during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Justinian had forbidden the baptism of Arians.
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΣΑΡΕΑΤΟΥ

ήγεγκε, κατεστήσατο βασίλειας ἐς κατάλογος ἰππικοὺς πέντε, ὅπως ἐν πόλει ταῖς ἕφαῖς τῶν ἄπαντα ἰδρύσωντα χρόνον οὐς καὶ Ἰουστινιανοῦ Βανδίλους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε ξύν ναυσίν ἐς τὴν ἐν ἐν κομίζεσθαι. τούτων δὴ τῶν Βανδίλων στρατιώτων οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐς τὴν ἐν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοὺς κατάλογους πληροῦντες ἐς οὓς διατετάχαται, ἀρχι τούθε ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύονται: οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντες, ἐπεῖ ἐν Δέσβῳ ἐγένοντο, κεκολπισμένων σφίσι τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς ναύταις βιασάμενοι. Πελοποινῆσφι προσέχον.

19 ἐνθένδε τε ἀπάραντες ἐς Δεβύνην κατέπλευσαν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, οὐ δὴ τὰς ναύς ἀπολυπόντες καὶ συσκευασάμενοι1 ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Αὔρασιον καὶ ἐς Μαυραταίαν ἀνέβησαν. οἷς δὴ ἐπηρμένοι ὦν καὶ στρατιώται οἷς ἦν ἐν ἑπιμελείᾳ ἡ στάσις, ἐτεὶ μᾶλλον ξυνίσταντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. καὶ λόγοι τε πολλοὶ περὶ τοῦτο καὶ ὄρκοι Ἦδη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. ἐπειδὴ τε τὴν ἑφετὴν ἄγεν ἐμελλῶν, αὐτοῖς τῇ κοιλύμῃ τῶν ἱερῶν ὦν Ἀρειανοὶ σφόδρα ἐνέκειντο.

22 Ἐδοξὲ τε αὐτῶν τοῖς κορυφαίοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑφετῆς ἑμέρᾳ, ἦν μεγάλην καλοῦσιν,

23 Σολόμωνα κτείναι. καὶ ἐλαθόν γε οὐδενὸς τούτῳ δὴ ἐξενεγκόντος τὸ βούλευμα. ἀτε γὰρ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἡ δεινὰ βουλευμένων ὁ λόγος περι-

1 συσκευασάμενοι Ρ: ἐξηγκελευσάμενοι Ο.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xiv. 17–23

placed by the emperor in five cavalry squadrons, in order that they might be settled permanently in the cities of the East; he also called them the "Vandals of Justinian," and ordered them to betake themselves in ships to the East. Now the majority of these Vandal soldiers reached the East, and, filling up the squadrons to which they had been assigned, they have been fighting against the Persians up to the present time; but the remainder, about four hundred in number, after reaching Lesbos, waiting until the sails were bellied with the wind, forced the sailors to submission and sailed on till they reached the Peloponnesus. And setting sail from there, they came to land in Libya at a desert place, where they abandoned the ships, and, after equipping themselves, went up to Mt. Aurasium and Mauretania. Elated by their accession, the soldiers who were planning the mutiny formed a still closer conspiracy among themselves. And there was much talk about this in the camp and oaths were already being taken. And when the rest were about to celebrate the Easter festival, the Arians, being vexed by their exclusion from the sacred rites, purposed to attack them vigorously.

And it seemed best to their leading men to kill Solomon in the sanctuary on the first day of the feast, which they call the great day. And they were fortunate enough not to be found out, since no one disclosed this plan. For though there were many who shared in the horrible plot, no word of it was divulged to any hostile person as the orders were passed around, and thus they succeeded completely in escaping detection, for even the spearmen and guards of Solomon for the most part and the

March 23, 536 A.D.
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

οἰκετῶν οἱ πλείστοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν στάσιν

24 ξυνετετάχατο τῇ τῶν χωρίων ἐπιθυμίας. ἡμέρας
dὲ ἦδη τῆς κυρίας παρούσης Σολόμων μὲν ἐν τῷ
erφῶ ἐκάθητο, μακρὰν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος.

25 κακῶν. ἐσελθόντες δὲ οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον
cτείναι ἐδέδοκτο, νεύμασί τε ἀλλήλων ἐγκελευ-
ςάμενοι, τῶν ξιφῶν ἦπτοντο, ἐδρασαν μέντοι
ioδέν, ἦ τὰ τελούμενα τηνικάτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
aiσχυνόμενοι, ἦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δόξαν
ἐρυθρίωντες, ἦ καὶ τὶ θείον αὐτοὺς διεκώλυσεν.

26 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ τέ ιερὰ ἐκεῖνη τῇ ἡμέρα ἡσκετο
ηδὴ καὶ οἶκαδε ἐκομίζοντο ἐκαστοῖς, ἀλλήλων
ητιῶντο οἱ στασιῶται ἄτε μαλαθακοῦς οὐκ ἐν δέοντι
gηγενημένους, καὶ αὐθίς ἀπετίθεντο ἐς τὴν ἐπι-

27 οὖν τὸ βούλευμα. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τῇ ύστεραὶ
dιαγεγονότες ἀπρακτοῖ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνεχόρησαν,
ὲς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλωι ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοὺς ἐλοιδοροῦντο, αὐτός τε ἐκαστος ἀλλα-
θακόν τε τὸν πέλας καὶ τῆς ἐταιρίας διαλυτῆν
ἀποκαλῶν τὴν ἐς Σολόμωνα αἰδώ ὀνειδίζειν οὐκ

28 ἀπηξίου. διὸ δὴ οὐκέτι ἀκίνδυνον σφίσιν φόντο
ἐσεσθαι τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβήν ἀτε ἐς τὸ

29 πάν ἐξευγκόντες τὸ βούλευμα. οἱ μὲν οἷν πολλοὶ
tῆς πόλεως ἔξω κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι τὰ τε
χωρία ἐλήξοντο καὶ Διήνυσιν οἰς ἀν ἐντύχοιεν
ὡς πολεμίως ἐχρώντο οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ πόλει
dιαμείναντες οὐ παρεῖχον αἰσθητῷ ἢ εἶχον
αὐτοὶ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἀγνοεῖν τὰ βεβουλεμένα
προσεποίηντο.

1 τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος VP: ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν οἰκείων Ω.

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majority of his domestics had become associated with this mutiny because of their desire for the lands. And when the appointed day had now come, Solomon was sitting in the sanctuary, utterly ignorant of his own misfortune. And those who had decided to kill the man went in, and, urging one another with nods, they put their hands to their swords, but they did nothing nevertheless, either because they were filled with awe of the rites then being performed in the sanctuary, or because the fame of the general caused them to be ashamed, or perhaps also some divine power prevented them.

And when the rites on that day had been completely performed and all were betaking themselves homeward, the conspirators began to blame one another with having turned soft-hearted at no fitting time, and they postponed the plot for a second attempt on the following day. And on the next day they acted in the same manner and departed from the sanctuary without doing anything, and entering the market place, they reviled each other openly, and every single man of them called the next one soft-hearted and a demoralizer of the band, not hesitating to censure strongly the respect felt for Solomon. For this reason, indeed, they thought that they could no longer without danger remain in Carthage, inasmuch as they had disclosed their plot to the whole city. The most of them, accordingly, went out of the city quickly and began to plunder the lands and to treat as enemies all the Libyans whom they met; but the rest remained in the city, giving no indication of what their own intentions were but pretending ignorance of the plot which had been formed.
30 Σολόμων δὲ ἀκούσας διὰ πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐσθόρυβόν τε πολὺν ἐμπεσόν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκελευόμενος οὐκ ἄνειε ἐς εὐνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως παρακάλων. οὐ δὲ κατ' ἄρχας μὲν εὐδέχεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἑδόκουν, ἡμέρα δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἑξεληλυθότας ἐν βεβαιῶ τυραννεῖν ἤκουσαν, ἐς τὸν ἵπποδρομὸν ἦκλε-γέντες ἐς τε Σολόμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας ἀνέδην ὤβριζον. ἐνθα δὴ πρὸς Σολόμωνος σταλείς Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ τι-θασσεῖναι αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρει, οὔδὲν τε ἐπαίνοτας τῶν λεγομένων. ἦν δὲ τις Θεόδωρος τοῦτῳ δυσ-μένεια τε καὶ ἐπιβουλής ὑποψία ἐς Σολόμωνα.

31 διὰ δὴ οἱ στασιώται στρατηγόν τε αὐτοῦ σφίσιν αὐτίκα τῇ βοῇ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ἐὰν αὐτῷ σιδηρο-φοροῦντες 1 καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον κατὰ τάχος ἥκον. ἐνθα δὴ Θεόδωρον μὲν ἔτερου, 2 δὲ τῶν φυλάκων ἥγειτο, κτείνοντιν, ἀνδρὰ τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀρετής ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντα καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ φόνου τοῦτου ἐγεύσαντο, ἀπαντά ήδη τῶν ἐν ποσὶν ἑκτεινον, εἰτε Δίβυν εἰτε Ῥωμαιοῦν, Σολόμωνυ γνώριμον εἰτε χρήματα ἐν χερσὶν ἐχοντα, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς τὸ ληξίζονται ἀπεχώρησαν, ἀναβάινοντες δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐνθα δὴ μὴ στρα-τιώται ἦμίνοντο, ἀπαντὰ τὰ τιμωτάτα ἦρπαζον, ἄχρι νῦν τε ἐπτυγευμένη καὶ μέθη τῶν πόνων διαδεξαμένη κατέπαυσε.

37 Σολόμων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, ἰ ἐστι μέγα ἐν Παλατίῳ,

1 σιδηροφοροῦντες VO Theophanes : δορυφοροῦντες P.
2 μὲν ἔτερον Maltretus in marg. : μὲν πρῶτον VP, πρῶτον μὲν O.
But Solomon, upon hearing what was being done by the soldiers in the country, became greatly disturbed, and ceased not exhorting those in the city and urging them to loyalty toward the emperor. And they at first seemed to receive his words with favour, but on the fifth day, when they heard that those who had gone out were secure in their power, they gathered in the hippodrome and insulted Solomon and the other commanders without restraint. And Theodorus, the Cappadocian, being sent there by Solomon, attempted to dissuade them and win them by kind words, but they listened to nothing of what was said. Now this Theodorus had a certain hostility against Solomon and was suspected of plotting against him. For this reason the mutineers straightway elected him general over them by acclamation, and with him they went with all speed to the palace carrying weapons and raising a great tumult. There they killed another Theodorus, who was commander of the guards, a man of the greatest excellence in every respect and an especially capable warrior. And when they had tasted this blood, they began immediately to kill everyone they met, whether Libyan or Roman, if he were known to Solomon or had money in his hands; and then they turned to plundering, going up into the houses which had no soldiers to defend them and seizing all the most valuable things, until the coming of night, and drunkenness following their toil, made them cease.

And Solomon succeeded in escaping unnoticed
καταφυγὼν ἔλαθεν, ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Μαρτῖνος αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ δεῖλην ὤψιν ἔλαθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται πάντες ἐκάθευδον, εξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐς τὴν Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐκ Κασπαδοκίας οἰκίαν ἔλθον, ὅπως αὐτοὺς διεπνήσας τε οὐ τι προθυμομένους ἦν ἀγκασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν λεμένα διακομίσας ἐς λέμβον νεῶς δὴ τίνος ἐσεκόμεσεν, δς δὴ ἔνταῦθα Μαρτῖνῳ παρεσκευασμένος ἐτύγχανεν. εἰποντο δὲ Προκόπιος τε, δς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος οἰκίας άνδρες πέντε μάλιστα. σταθοὺς τε τριακοσίους ἀνύσαντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μισοῦν τὸ Καρχηδονίων ἐπίνειον, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεὶ, αὐτίκα Σολόμων ἐκέλευε Μαρτῖνῳ ἐς Νουμιδίαν παρὰ Μαλεμάνων τε καὶ τῶν ξυναρχόντων τούς ἀλλούς ἱέναι, πειράσθαι τε, εἰ πως δύνατο αὐτῶν ἐκαστὸς τῶν τινας γνωρίμων στρατιωτῶν ἡ χρήματι ἡ τρόπῳ ἔτερῳ τῷ υπελθόν ἐς εὐνοιαν τὴν ἐβασιλέως μεταγαγεῖν. καὶ πρὸς Θεόδωρον γράμματα ἐπέμπε, Καρχηδόνως τε ἐπιστέλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διέπειν ὅπως ἄν αὐτῷ δοκῇ δυνατὰ εἶναι, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Προκοπίῳ παρὰ Βελισαρίου ἐς Συρακούσας ἀφίκετο. ἀπαντὰ τε αὐτῷ ἀγγείλας ὅσα ἐν Διβύῃ γενέσθαι εὐνέπτεσεν, ἐδείτο κατὰ τάχος ἱέναι τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀμύναι πάσχοντι πρὸς στρατιωτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀνώσια. καὶ Σολόμων μὲν ταῦτα ἔποιει.

XV

Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπαντὰ λησάμενοι ἐς τῷ Βούλλῃς ξυλλεγέντες πεδίουν

1 στασιῶται ΡΟ: στρατιῶται Β.
into the great sanctuary which is in the palace, and Martinus joined him there in the late afternoon. And when all the mutineers were sleeping, they went out from the sanctuary and entered the house of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, who compelled them to dine although they had no desire to do so, and conveyed them to the harbour and put them on the skiff of a certain ship, which happened to have been made ready there by Martinus. And Procopius also, who wrote this history, was with them, and about five men of the house of Solomon. And after accomplishing three hundred stades they reached Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, and, since they had reached safety, Solomon straightway commanded Martinus to go into Numidia to Valerian and the others who shared his command, and endeavour to bring it about that each one of them, if it were in any way possible, should appeal to some of the soldiers known to him, either with money or by other means, and bring them back to loyalty toward the emperor. And he sent a letter to Theodorus, charging him to take care of Carthage and to handle the other matters as should seem possible to him, and he himself with Procopius went to Belisarius at Syracuse. And after reporting everything to him which had taken place in Libya, he begged him to come with all speed to Carthage and defend the emperor, who was suffering unholy treatment at the hands of his own soldiers Solomon, then, was thus engaged.

XV

But the mutineers, after plundering everything in Carthage, gathered in the plain of Boulla, and
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Στότζαν, τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων ἕνα, τύραννον σφίσιν εἱλοντο, ἀνδρα θυμοειδὴ καὶ δραστήριον, ἐφ' ὧν τοὺς βασιλέως ἁρχοντας ἐξελάσαντες 2 Διβύς πάσης 1 κρατῆσουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἄπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα, ἐς ὀκτακισχίλιους μάλιστα ἐξυπό, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπῆγεν, ὡς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παραστησόμενος οὐδὲν πόνος.
3 ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Βαυδίλους τοὺς τε ἐκ Βυζαντίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ ἀποδράντας καὶ ὅσιοι οὐχ εἰποντο Βελθαρίῳ τὸ ἐξ αρχῆς, ἥ διαλαβόντες, ἥ ὅτι οἱ Βαυδίλους τηρικαύτα παρατέμποντες ἐν λόγῳ 4 αὗτοις οὔδεν ἐποίησαντο. ἦσαν δὲ οὐχ ἦσον ἥ χίλιοι, οὐ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Στότζα ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐξ ἑν ἡμείᾳ ἡλθον. ἀφίκετο δὲ 5 οἱ καὶ δουλὼν πολὺς τῆς ὁμίλους. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο Καρχηδόνος ἐγγὺς, ἐπεμψεν ο Στότζας, κελεύων οἱ ὁς τάχιστα παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν,
6 ἐφ' ὧν κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνοσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ Θεόδωρος, πρὸς ψαυτὰ ἄντικριν ἀπευπότευτες, βασιλεῖ ὁμολόγουν Καρχηδόνα φυλάσσεν. 7 πέμψαντες τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰωσήφιον, τῶν τε βασιλεώς φυλάκων. γραμματέα οὐκ ἀφανῇ γεγονότα καὶ τῆς Βελθαρίων οἰκίας ὄντα, κατὰ χρεῖαν δὲ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐναγχος ἐσταλμένον, ἥξιονοι μὴ σφάς περαιτέρῳ βιάζεσθαι. 8 Στότζας δὲ, ἔπει ταῦτα ἥκουσεν, Ἰωσήφιον τε αὐτίκα ἐκεῖνε καὶ ἐς πολυρκίαν καθιστατο. καταρρωθήσαντες τε οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν κίνδυνων, σφάς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Καρχηδόνα Στότζα ἐγχειρίσαε ὁμολογία διενούντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν Διβύς στρατόπεδον ἐφερετο τῇδε.

1 πάσης V : δλης ΡO.
chose Stotzas,\(^1\) one of the guards of Martinus, and a passionate and energetic man, as tyrant over them, with the purpose of driving the emperor’s commanders out of all Libya and thus gaining control over it. And he armed the whole force, amounting to about eight thousand men, and led them on to Carthage, thinking to win over the city instantly with no trouble. He sent also to the Vandals who had run away from Byzantium with the ships and those who had not gone there with Belisarius in the beginning, either because they had escaped notice, or because those who were taking off the Vandals at that time took no account of them. Now they were not fewer than a thousand, and after no great time they joined Stotzas and the army with enthusiasm. And a great throng of slaves also came to him. And when they drew near Carthage, Stotzas sent orders that the people should surrender the city to him as quickly as possible, on condition of their remaining free from harm. But those in Carthage and Theodorus, in reply to this, refused flatly to obey, and announced that they were guarding Carthage for the emperor. And they sent to Stotzas Joseph, the secretary of the emperor’s guards, a man of no humble birth and one of the household of Belisarius, who had recently been sent to Carthage on some mission to them, and they demanded that Stotzas should go no further in his violence. But Stotzas, upon hearing this, straightway killed Joseph and commenced a siege. And those in the city, becoming terrified at the danger, were purposing to surrender themselves and Carthage to Stotzas under an agreement. Such was the course of events in the army in Libya.

\(^1\) Cf. III. xi. 30.
9 Βελισάριος δέ, ἀνδρας ἀπολέξας τῶν αὐτοῦ
dορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ἐκατόν καὶ Σολό-
μωνα ἑπαγόμενος, μᾶζ υἱὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέ-
πλευσε περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, ἡνίκα τῇ τῶν οἰ
pολιορκοῦτες σφίσιν ἑγχειρεῖσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἐκαραδόκοιν. ἐν ἐλπίδι τε ταῦτα ἔχοντες τῇ
νύκτα ἑκείνην θηλίσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα τε
ἐγεγόνει καὶ Βελισάριον παρεἶναι ἐμαθοῦ,1 λύσαν-
tες ὡς τάχιστα τῷ στρατόπεδῳ αἰσχρῶς τε καὶ
κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς ἐς φυγήν ὀρμήστω. Βελισάριος δὲ
tοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμφὶ δισχιλίων ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτοῦς
ἐς εύνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως λόγοις τῇ ὁμήρους καὶ
χρήματι πολλοῖς ἐπιρρώσασα τὴν διώξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
12 φεύγοντας ἐποιήσατο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς Μέμβρησαν
πόλιν καταλαμβάνει, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίως
13 σταδίως Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν. ἐνθα δὴ ἐκά-
tεροι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς μάχην παρεσκευά-
ζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐς ποταμὸν
Βαγράδαν, οἱ δὲ ἐτεροὶ ἐν χωρίῳ ψηλῷ τε καὶ
14 δυσκόλῳ τὸ χαράκωμα ποιησάμενοι. ἐς γαρ τὴν
πόλιν οὐδέτεροι εἰσελθεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ ἀτεί-
χιστὸς οὐσα ἑτύγχανε. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ καθι-
σταντο ἐς τὴν ἡμιβολήν, οἱ μὲν στασιῶταὶ 2
πλῆθες τῷ σφετέρῳ πιστεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
Βελισάριον ἀτε ἀφρόνων τε καὶ ἀστρατηγήτων
15 ὑπερφοροῦσαν τῶν πολεμίων. ἀ δὴ Βελισάριος
tὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διανοίας ἑναποθέθαι
βουλόμενος βεβαιώς ἀπαντᾶς ἐγκαλέσας ἔλεξε
τάδε:

"Ἐλπίδος μὲν καὶ εὐχῆς ἦσον, ἀνδρε

1 ἐμαθοῦ ΡΟ: ἔλεγον Β.
2 στασιῶτα Ο: στρατιῶτα Ρ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. 9–16

But Belisarius selected one hundred men from his own spearmen and guards, and taking Solomon with him, sailed into Carthage with one ship at about dusk, at the time when the besiegers were expecting that the city would be surrendered to them on the following day. And since they were expecting this, they bivouacked that night. But when day had come and they learned that Belisarius was present, they broke up camp as quickly as possible and disgracefully and in complete disorder beat a hasty retreat. And Belisarius gathered about two thousand of the army and, after urging them with words to be loyal to the emperor and encouraging them with large gifts of money, he began the pursuit of the fugitives. And he overtook them at the city of Membresa, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. There both armies made camp and prepared themselves for battle, the forces of Belisarius making their entrenchment at the River Bagradas, and the others in a high and difficult position. For neither of them saw fit to enter the city, since it was without walls. And on the day following they joined battle, the mutineers trusting in their numbers, and the troops of Belisarius despising their enemy as both without sense and without generals. And Belisarius, wishing that these thoughts should be firmly lodged in the minds of his soldiers, called them all together and spoke as follows:—

"The situation, fellow-soldiers, both for the
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συστρατιώται, βασιλεί τε καί Ἠ'Ρωμαίοις τὰ
17 πράγματα ἔχει. ἐσ ἐνμπολὴν γὰρ ταὐτὸν ἥκομεν
ἐξ ἡς οὐδὲ τὸ νικᾶν ἀκλαστὸν ἔξομεν, ἐπὶ
18 ἐνγίγνενεις τε καὶ ξυντρόφους στρατεύομεν. ἔσχο-
μεν δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ παραψυχὴν τὴνδὲ, οἷς\(^1\) γε οὐ
τῆς μάχης ἔρχοντοι αὐτοὶ, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ἐσ
19 τοῦ κίνδυνου καθιστάμεθα. ὁ γὰρ ἐσ τοὺς φιλτά-
τοςς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸ ἐνγίγνεν
διαλύσας οἷς ἔδρασεν, οὐ πρὸς τῶν φίλων, ἣν
ἀπόληται, θυνῇσει, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίῳ γεγονός
20 μοιρά τοῖς ἡδικημένοις ἐκτίνει τὴν δίκην. πολε-
μίους δὲ καὶ Βαρβάρους καὶ ὁ τι ἀν τις εἴτει
дейνοτέρῳ εἶναι δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐ Διβύτ
μόνον ὑπὸ ταῖς τούτων χερσίν ἐς λείαν ἔλθοισα,
οὔδὲ οἱ ταύτην οἰκούντες οὐ δέον\(^2\) παρ' ἐκείνων
ἀνηρμένοι, ἀλλὰ καί Ἠ'Ρωμαίοις στρατιωτῶν
πλῆθος οὐς οἱ δυσμενεῖς οὗτοι κτείνειν ἐστολμη-
σαν, μίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν
21 ἐπικαλέσαντες εὐνοιαν. οἷς νῦν τιμωροῦντες
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἥκομεν, δυσμενεῖς εἰκότως τοῖς πάλαι
22 φιλτάτοις γεγομένοι. φύσει μὲν γὰρ οὐδένες τῶν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὁικεῖος ἂν ἡ ἐναντίως ἀλλή-
λοις ἔχουν, αἰ δὲ πράξεις ἐκάστων ἂ τῷ ὁμοτρόπῳ
ἐσ ἐνμπολὴν ξυνάπτοσαι ἡ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι
τῆς γνώμης ἐς τὸ δυσμενὲς διακρίνουσαι φίλους,
ἀν οὐτω τύχω, ἡ πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις\(^3\) ποιοῦσιν.
23 ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπως ἄνοσίους τε καὶ
πολεμίους στρατεύομεν, ἰκανῶς ἔχετε ὡς δὲ

\(^1\) \text{οἶς VO: ἦς P, ὡς conjectured by Classen.}

\(^2\) \text{oū déon PO: οὐδὲ οἱ V.}

\(^3\) \text{ἀλλήλοις V: ἐς ἀλλήλους V, ἀλλήλοις PO.}

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emperor and for the Romans, falls far short of our hopes and of our prayers. For we have now come to a combat in which even the winning of the victory will not be without tears for us, since we are fighting against kinsmen and men who have been reared with us. But we have this comfort in our misfortune, that we are not ourselves beginning the battle, but have been brought into the conflict in our own defence. For he who has framed the plot against his dearest friends and by his own act has dissolved the ties of kinship, dies not, if he perishes, by the hands of his friends, but having become an enemy is but making atonement to those who have suffered wrong. And that our opponents are public enemies and barbarians and whatever worse name one might call them, is shewn not alone by Libya, which has become plunder under their hands, nor by the inhabitants of this land, who have been wrongfully slain, but also by the multitude of Roman soldiers whom these enemies have dared to kill, though they have had but one fault to charge them with—loyalty to their government. And it is to avenge these their victims that we have now come against them, having with good reason become enemies to those who were once most dear. For nature has made no men in the world either friends or opponents to one another, but it is the actions of men in every case which, either by the similarity of the motives which actuate them unite them in alliance, or by the difference set them in hostility to each other, making them friends or enemies as the case may be. That, therefore, we are fighting against men who are outlaws and enemies of the state, you must now be convinced; and now I shall
καταφρονεῖσθαί εἰσι παρ' ἡμῶν ἅξιοι, ἐγὼ δηλώ-
σω. ὁμιλοῦ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οὐ νόμῳ συνιότων,
ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ ἄδικου ξυνειλεγμένων ἀνδραγαθί-
ζοσθαί ἢκιστα πέφυκεν, οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἁρετῆς τῷ
παρανόμῳ ξυνοικίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἀλλ’ ἂεὶ 1
25 τῶν οὐχ οὐίων ἀφισταμένης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ
εὐκοσμίαν φυλάξουσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Στότξα
26 παραγγελλομένων ἀκούσοσιν. τυραννίδα γὰρ
ἀρτι· καθισταμένη καὶ οὕπω τῇ τοῦ θαρσείν
ἐξουσίαν λαβοῦσαν ὑπερορᾶσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχο-
μένων ἀνάγκη. οὔτε γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται, ἐπεὶ
μισεῖσθαι ἢ τυραννὶς πέφυκεν, οὔτε φόβῳ ἄγει
τοὺς ὑπηκόους· ἀφελετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τῇ παρρη-
σίᾳ τὸ δεδεῖναι. ἁρετῆς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμίας
ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολεμίων ᾑσσᾶσθαι πρό-
χειρον. πολλῷ τοίνυν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τῷ κατα-
φρονήματι ἐπὶ τούσδε ἡμᾶς τὸν πολεμίους ἱέναι
29 προσήκει. οὐ γὰρ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαχομένων,
ἀλλὰ τάξει τε καὶ ἀνδρία φίλει διαμετρεῖσθαι τὸ
tού πολέμου κράτος.”
30 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.2 Στότξας δὲ
παρεκελεύσατο ὅδε· “Ἀνδρεσ οἳ ξύν ἐμοί τῆς ἐς
Ῥωμαίους δουλείας ἐξω γεγενήσθε, μηδεὶς υμῶν
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαξιούσω τινήκειν, ἢς ἀν-
δρία τε καὶ τῇ ἁλλῇ ἁρετῇ τετυχήκατε. οὐ γὰρ
οὕτω δεινῶ τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ξυνηγαγόσκοτα τελευ-
tῆσαι τῶν βίων ὡς μετὰ τὴν τῶν δυσκόλων ἐλευ-
θερίαν αὕτης ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανήκειν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ
χρόνως τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς γεύσας χαλεπῶστέραν, ὡς
31 γε τὸ εἰκός, τὴν συμφόραν ἀπεργώζεται. τούτων

1 ἂλλ’ ἂεὶ VPO: ἂλλὰ καὶ V₁.
2 εἶπεν V: παρῆνεσε καὶ PO.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xv. 23–33

make it plain that they deserve to be despised by us. For a throng of men united by no law, but brought together by motives of injustice, is utterly unable by nature to play the part of brave men, since valour is unable to dwell with lawlessness, but always shuns those who are unholy. Nor, indeed, will they preserve discipline or give heed to the commands given by Stotzas. For when a tyranny is newly organized and has not yet won that authority which self-confidence gives, it is, of necessity, looked upon by its subjects with contempt. Nor is it honoured through any sentiment of loyalty, for a tyranny is, in the nature of the case, hated; nor does it lead its subjects by fear, for timidity deprives it of the power to speak out openly. And when the enemy is handicapped in point of valour and of discipline, their defeat is ready at hand. With great contempt, therefore, as I said, we should go against this enemy of ours. For it is not by the numbers of the combatants, but by their orderly array and their bravery, that prowess in war is wont to be measured.”

So spoke Belisarius. And Stotzas exhorted his troops as follows: “Men who with me have escaped our servitude to the Romans, let no one of you count it unworthy to die on behalf of the freedom which you have won by your courage and your other qualities. For it is not so terrible a thing to grow old and die in the midst of ills, as to return again to it after having gained freedom from oppressive conditions. For the interval which has given one a taste of deliverance makes the misfortune, naturally enough, harder to bear. And this being so, it is
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dē toioúton òntων ἐπάναγκες ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθῆναι μὲν ὡς Βανδίλους τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους νευκηκότες αὐτοῖ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπώνασθε πόνων, κύριοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν λαφύρων γεγένηται πάντων.

34 ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς στρατιώταις οὕσιν ὑμῖν τὸν πάντα αἰώνα ὀμιλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις ἀνάγκη, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, ἢ γε αὐθεσὶ ἐκείνῳ δουλεύτητε, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἢν

35 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διασώξητε ταύτην, ὃποτερον δὲ ἀμφοῖν αἰρεστῶτεν, τούτο ἐλέεσθαι ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ἢ μαθακιζομένοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ ἀν- δραγαθίζεσθαι βουλομένοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκειον εἰσιέναι ὑμᾶς προσήκει, ὡς ὅπλα κατὰ 'Ρωμαίουν ἀράμενοι, ἢν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἐσεθε, οὐ μετρίων οὐδὲ συγγνωμώνων δεσποτῶν πειραθήσετε, ἀλλὰ πείσεσθε μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, προσεῖται δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ μὴ ἀδίκως ἀπολογλέναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν θάνατος ὅτῳ ἄν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀφίξηται ταύτη, δηλοῦτε

36 εὐκλεής ἔσται: βίος δὲ κρατῆσαι μὲν τῶν πολε- μίων αὐτόνομος τε καὶ ταλλὰ ευδαιμών, ἡσσημέ- νοις δὲ πικρῶν μὲν ἄλλο οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν ἐπίθετα δὲ ἐξυπάρκων εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔχων.¹

37 ἢ δὲ ξυμβολὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσται. τῷ τε γάρ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσῶνται ήμῶν οἱ πολέμοι καὶ ὅσ' ἡκιστα προθυμούμενοι ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἴασιν, οὓς οἴμαι καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν εὐχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεταλαχεῖν." τοσαύτα μὲν καὶ ὁ Στότζας εἶπεν.

38 'Ἰῶτων δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων πνεύμα σκληρόν τε καὶ δεινῶς λυτηρόν κατ' ὅψιν

39 ἔς τοὺς Στότζας στασιώτας ἐνέπεσε. διὸ δὴ ἅξυμ-

¹ ἔχων ΡΩ: ἔχων V.
necessary for you to call to mind that after conquering the Vandals and the Moors you yourselves have enjoyed the labours of war, while others have become masters of all the spoils. And consider that, as soldiers, you will be compelled all your lives to be acquainted with the dangers of war, either in behalf of the emperor's cause, if, indeed, you are again his slaves, or in behalf of your own selves, if you preserve this present liberty. And whichever of the two is preferable, this it is in your power to choose, either by becoming faint-hearted at this time, or by preferring to play the part of brave men. Furthermore, this thought also should come to your minds,—that if, having taken up arms against the Romans, you come under their power, you will have experience of no moderate or indulgent masters, but you will suffer the extreme of punishment, and, what is more, your death will not have been unmerited. To whomsoever of you, therefore, death comes in this battle, it is plain that it will be a glorious death; and life, if you conquer the enemy, will be independent and in all other respects happy; but if you are defeated,—I need mention no other bitterness than this, that all your hope will depend upon the mercy of those men yonder. And the conflict will not be evenly matched in regard to strength. For not only are the enemy greatly surpassed by us in numbers, but they will come against us without the least enthusiasm, for I think that they are praying for a share of this our freedom.” Such was the speech of Stotzas.

As the armies entered the combat, a wind both violent and exceedingly troublesome began to blow in the faces of the mutineers of Stotzas. For this
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φορον σφίσιν ὄντο εἶναι τὴν μάχην αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι, δεδιότες μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερβιάζομενον τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων βέλη ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰδύνοι, βελῶν δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἡ ρύμη ὡς μάλιστα

ἀναστέλλων. ἀραντες οὖν ἑγκάρσιοι ἰησαυ, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἦν καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μεταβάλλουντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ὀπίσθεν ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐνοχλούντο, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα

ἐσταῖ. Βελισάριος δὲ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς εἰδὲ τὴν τάξιν λιπόντας καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιούντας, αὐτίκα δὴ ἐκέλευε τῶν χειρῶν ἄρχειν. οἱ δὲ ἄμφι Στότζαν ἐς ταραχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου καταστάντες ξὺν ἀταξία πολλῆ, ὡς ἐκαστὸς τῇ ἑδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμηντο, ἐς Νουμιδίαν τε ἀφικόμενοι συνελεύσωντο

αὖθις. ὅλοι οἱ μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι Βαυδίλιοι ἦσαν.

ἀκολούθων γὰρ Βελισάριος ἡκιστὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπεὶ οἶ, λίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος βραχεός ὄντος, ἵκανον κατεφαλείτο, εἰ σφίσις οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι νευκημένοι ἐκπονώντας στήσονται.

τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐδίδοι τὸ χαράκωμα τῶν ἐναντίων διαρράσασθαι, αἰροῦσι τε αὐτὸ ἐρημον ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα εὐρηνται πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναικεῖς, ὅπως ἦν ἐνεκα ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη οὖσα ταῦτα Βελισάριος διαπεταμενός ἐς

Καρχηδόνα ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ οὐ τις ἐκ Σικελίας ἤκου ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς στάσεις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιτεθεοῦσα τὰ πράγματα ἀνασοβείν μέλλων, ἦν μὴ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος σφίσιν ἑπανήκων τῇ κωλύ- μην ποιήσεται. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν Διβύῃ ὄπη
reason they thought it disadvantageous for them to fight the battle where they were, fearing lest the wind by its overpowering force should carry the missiles of the enemy against them, while the impetus of their own missiles would be very seriously checked. They therefore left their position and moved toward the flank, reasoning that if the enemy also should change front, as they probably would, in order that they might not be assailed from the rear, the wind would then be in their faces. But Belisarius, upon seeing that they had left their position and in complete disorder were moving to his flank, gave orders immediately to open the attack. And the troops of Stotzas were thrown into confusion by the unexpected move, and in great disorder, as each one could, they fled precipitately, and only when they reached Numidia did they collect themselves again. Few of them, however, perished in this action, and most of them were Vandals. For Belisarius did not pursue them at all, for the reason that it seemed to him sufficient, since his army was very small, if the enemy, having been defeated for the present, should get out of his way. And he gave the soldiers the enemy’s stockade to plunder, and they took it with not a man inside. But much money was found there and many women, the very women because of whom this war took place.1 After accomplishing this, Belisarius marched back to Carthage. And someone coming from Sicily reported to him that a mutiny had broken out in the army and was about to throw everything into confusion, unless he himself should return to them with all speed and take measures to prevent it. He there-

1 Cf. chap. xiv. 8.
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εδύνατο διαθέμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα Ἰλδίγερι τε καὶ Θεοδώρῳ παραδόν· ἐσε Σικελίαν ἤτε.

50 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Νουμίδηα Ῥωμαίων ἀρχοῦτες, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἤκειν τε καὶ ἕλλεγεσθαι ἐν-
tαύθα ἦκουσαν, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς παράταξιν, ἤσαν δὲ ἤγεμόνες φοιδεράτω νὲν Μάρκελλοσ τε καὶ Κύριλλος, καταλόγου δὲ ἱππικοῦ μὲν Βάρ-
βατος, πεζῶν δὲ Τερέντιος τε καὶ Σάρατις. Μαρ-
κέλλῳ μέντοι ἐπήκουν ἀπαντεῖς ἀτε Νουμίδιᾶς
51 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουτο. ὧς ἐπεὶ ἐν χωρίῳ Γαζοφύλῳ,
δυνών μάλιστα ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Κωσταντίνης ἀπέχ-
οντι, Στότζαν ἐξὶν ὀλύγοις τις ἦκουσεν εἶναι,
προτερῆτα πρὶν τοὺς στασιώτας ἀπαντᾶς ἕλλεγ-
ήμας βουλόμενοι, κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπήγε
53 τὸ στράτευμα. ὃς δὲ τὰ τε στρατόπεδα ἐγγὺς ἐγε-
γόνει καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐμελλέν ἐν χερσὶν ἐσεθαί, μόνος
ὁ Στότζας ἐς μέσους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἦκων ἔλεξε
τοιάδε.
54 "Ἀνδρες συστρατίωται, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε
ἐπὶ ἐξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ συντρόφους στρατεύοντες,
ἐπὶ ἄνδρας τε ὅπλα αἰρόμενοι οὐ τοὺς κακοὺς τοὺς
ὑμετέρους καὶ τοὺς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικήμασιν ἀχθόμενοι
55 βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων πολεμεῖν ἔγνωσαν. ἢ
οὐ μέμνησθε ὡς ἐστέρησθε μὲν τῶν ἀνωθεν ὑμῶν
ὅσινομένων συντάξιων, ἀφήρησθε δὲ τῶν πολε-
μίων τὰ λάφυρα, ὡ τῶν ἐν μάχαις κινδύνων ἀθλα
56 ὁ τοῦ πολέμου τέθεικε νόμος; καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῆς
νίκης ἀγαθοῖς ἐτεροι τρυφᾶν ἐς τὸν ἀπαντα χρό-

1 "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.
2 More correctly Gadiaufala, now Ksar-Sbehi.
fore arranged matters in Libya as well as he could and, entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, went to Sicily.

And the Roman commanders in Numidia, hearing that the troops of Stotzas had come and were gathering there, prepared for battle. Now the commanders were as follows: of foederati, Marcellus and Cyril, of the cavalry forces, Barbatus, and of infantry Terentius and Sarapis. All, however, took their commands from Marcellus, as holding the authority in Numidia. He, therefore, upon hearing that Stotzas with some few men was in a place called Gazophyla, about two days' journey distant from Constantina, wished to anticipate the gathering of all the mutineers, and led his army swiftly against them. And when the two armies were near together and the battle was about to commence, Stotzas came alone into the midst of his opponents and spoke as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers, you are not acting justly in taking the field against kinsmen and those who have been reared with you, and in raising arms against men who in vexation at your misfortunes and the wrongs you have suffered have decided to make war upon the emperor and the Romans. Or do you not remember that you have been deprived of the pay which has been owing you for a long time back, and that you have been robbed of the enemy's spoil, which the law of war has set as prizes for the dangers of battle? And that the others have claimed the right to live sumptuously all their lives upon the good things of victory, while you have

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* Cirta, later named Constantina, now Constantine (Ksantina).
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57 νον ἡξίουν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν οἰκετῶν ἐπεσθει μοῖρα; εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, πάρεσθιν ὑμῖν ἐς τόδε μὲν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους διαφυγεῖν μίασμα: εἰ δὲ μοι αἰτίαν οὐδὲ-μίαν ἐπενεγκείν ἔχετε, ὦρα ὑμῖν ὑπέρ αὐτῶν ἀνελέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα. Ὢ μὲν οὖν Στότζας τοσοῦτα εἴπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τούς τε λόγους ἔνεδε-χοντο καὶ αὐτῶν πολλῆ εὐνοίᾳ ἡσπάζοντο. κατ-ιδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γνώμενα σιγῆ τε ὑπεκώρουν καὶ ἐς iερὸν δ ἐν Γαζοφύλων ήν κατα-φεύγουσι. Στότζας δὲ ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατόπεδα ἔς ἐν ξυλλαβῶν ἐπὶ αὐτούς ἦε. καταλαβὼν τε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἀπαντᾶς ἐκτείνει.

XVI

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε,2 Γερμανὸν τὸν ἀνεψίων τὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀνδρὰ πατρίκιον, ἐς Λιβύην
2 ξῦν ὀλόγους τισιν ἐπέμψε. καὶ Σύμμαχος δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Δόμυκος, ἄνδρες ἐκ βουλῆς, εἰποντο, ἀτέρος μὲν ἐπαρχὸς 3 τε καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς δαπάνης ἐσόμενος, Δόμυκος δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπίστατ-τήσων. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἐτελεύτα ἡδη νοσήσασα, φο
3 δὴ ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὐτῆ. ἐπειδὴ τε ἐς Καρ-χηδόνα κατέπλευσαν, τοὺς τε παρόντας σφίσι στρατιώτας ὁ Γερμανὸς ἤρθημε καὶ τῶν γραμμα-τέων ἀναλεγόμενος τὰ βιβλία οὗ πάντα ἀνα-γέγραπται τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ὄνομα, εὕρισκε τὸ μὲν τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐν τε Καρχηδόνι καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὅν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους

1 στρατόπεδα V: στρατεύματα P.
2 ἔμαθε V: ἦκουσε P. 3 ἐπαρχὸς V: ἐπαρχός PO.

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followed as if their servants? If, now, you are angry with me, it is within your power to vent your wrath upon this body, and to escape the pollution of killing the others; but if you have no charge to bring against me, it is time for you to take up your weapons in your own behalf." So spoke Stotzas; and the soldiers listened to his words and greeted him with great favour. And when the commanders saw what was happening, they withdrew in silence and took refuge in a sanctuary which was in Gazophylæa. And Stotzas combined both armies into one and then went to the commanders. And finding them in the sanctuary, he gave pledges and then killed them all.

XVI

When the emperor learned this, he sent his nephew Germanus, a man of patrician rank, with some few men to Libya. And Symmachus also and Domnicus, men of the senate, followed him, the former to be prefect and charged with the maintenance of the army, while Domnicus was to command the infantry forces. For John, who had held the office of prefect, had already died of disease. And when they had sailed into Carthage, Germanus counted the soldiers whom they had, and upon looking over the books of the scribes where the names of all the soldiers were registered, he found that the third part of the army was in Carthage and the other

1 John the Cappadocian, cf. I. xxiv. 11 ff.
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ἀπαντας τῷ τυράννῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις ξυντεταγ- 4 μένουσι. μάχης μὲν ὦν διὰ ταύτα οὐκ ἤρχε, τού δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς μάλιστα. λογισά- μενός τε ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ξυγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοσκήνους τοὺς ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολελειμμένους ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ πᾶσιν ἐφθέγγετο καὶ σταλῆναι πρὸς βασιλέως ὡς Διβύνην αὐτὸς ἐφασκεν, ἥφ' ὦ ἡδικημένοις μὲν στρατιώταις ἀμυνεῖ, 1 κολάσει δὲ τοὺς ἀδικίας τινὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς ἅρξαντας. ἀπερ οἱ στασιώται πυνθανόμενοι κατ' ὁλίγους αὐτῷ προσχωρεῖν ἦρχοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Γερμανός τῇ τε πόλει ἕτων φιλοφροσύνη ἐδέχετο καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἐν τιμῇ εἴχε, τὰς τε συντάξεις αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου ἐδίδου καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ 6 Ῥωμαίοις ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος περιφερόμενος ἀπαντας ἠλθε, κατὰ πολλοὺς ἥδη τοῦ τυράννου ἀποτασσόμενοι ἐστῆλανον. καὶ τότε ὁ Γερμανός ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσεθαί οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν μάχην ἐπίσας τὰ ἐς τὴν παρά- ταξιν ἐξηρτύετο. 7 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Στότζας τοῦ μὲν κακοῦ ἄδη 8 λογοθέμενος, δεδιωε ὡς μὴ οἱ καὶ πλείων στρατιωτῶν 2 τῇ ἀποστάσει ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ στράτευμα ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυμβαίνῃ, διακινδυνεύειν τε ἐν τῷ παρατύκα ἦπειγετο καὶ τού πολέ- 9 μου ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ ἦν γὰρ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶς ἀποστάσεως πέρι, ἦστο τε αὐτοὺς, ἦν τοὺς σφινίν ἀγχιστὰ γένηται, πόνοι οὐδεὶν αὐτομολή-

1 ἀμυνεῖ Dindorf: ἀμύνῃ V, ἀμύνει PO, ἀμύνῃ Theophanes, 2 στρατιωτῶν VP: στασιωτῶν Ο.

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cities, while all the rest were arrayed with the tyrant against the Romans. He did not, therefore, begin any fighting, but bestowed the greatest care upon his army. And considering that those left in Carthage were the kinsmen or tentmates of the enemy, he kept addressing many winning words to all, and in particular said that he had himself been sent by the emperor to Libya in order to defend the soldiers who had been wronged and to punish those who had unprovoked done them any injury. And when this was found out by the mutineers, they began to come over to him a few at a time. And Germanus both received them into the city in a friendly manner and, giving pledges, held them in honour, and he gave them their pay for the time during which they had been in arms against the Romans. And when the report of these acts was circulated and came to all, they began now to detach themselves in large numbers from the tyrant and to march to Carthage. Then at last Germanus, hoping that in the battle he would be evenly matched in strength with his opponents, began to make preparations for the conflict.

But in the meantime Stotzas, already perceiving the trouble, and fearing lest by the defection of still others of his soldiers the army should be reduced still more, was pressing for a decisive encounter immediately and trying to take hold of the war with more vigour. And since he had some hope regarding the soldiers in Carthage, that they would come over to him, and thought that they would readily desert if he came near them, he held out the hope to all his men;
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σειν, ἐς πάντας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐξενεγκόμων ταύτῃ τε αὐτοῦς μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
10 ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τάχος ἤει. γενόμενος τε αὐτῆς ἀπο σταδίων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐστρατο-
πεδεύσατο τῆς θαλάσσης ό µακρὰν ἀποθεῖν, καὶ
Γερμανὸς ἀπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα δια-
τάξας τε ὡς ἐς µάχην ἔσχηγε. καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως
ἐξω ἐγένοντο, ἤκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁ
Στότζας εἶχε, ξυγκαλέσας ἀπαντᾷς ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
12 "Ὤς µὲν οὐδὲν ἀν δικαίως, ὁ ἐστρατιώται,
βασιλεῖ µέµψεσθε1 οὐδὲ τι αἰτιάσεσθε 2 τῶν εἰς
ὑµᾶς αὐτῷ πεπραγµένων, οὐδεὶς ἄν, οἶµαι, τῶν
πάντων ἀντεῖπτον δὲ γε ὑµᾶς ἐξ ἀγροῦ ήκοντας
ἐν τῇ πῆρᾳ καὶ χετωνίσκῳ εἰλιν ξυγκαγῶν ἐς
Βυζάντιον τηλικούσθε εἶναι πεποίηκεν ὅστε τὰ
14 ῾Ρωµαίων πράγµατα νῦν ἐφ’ ὑµῖν κεῖσθαι. ὦς δὲ
οὗ πεµυβρίσθαι µόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων
δεινότατα παρ’ ὑµῶν αὐτὸν πεποιθεῖναι τετύχηκε,
15 ξυνεπίστασθε καὶ ὑµεῖς δήπουθεν. ὥν δὴ τὴν
µνήµην ὑµῖν ἐς ἀεὶ Βουλόµενος διασώζεσθαι τὰς
τῶν ἔγκληµάτων αἰτίας ἀφῆκεν, ὅφθαλµα τοῦτο
γε αὐτῷ µόνον ὀφείλεσθαι παρ’ ὑµῶν ἄξιον, τὴν
16 υπὲρ τῶν πεπραγµένων αἰσχύνην. ταύτῃ τοῖν
ἡµένους ὑµᾶς µεταµανθάνειν τε τὴν πιστὶν
eἴκος καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀγνοµοσύνην ἐπαυρθοῦν.
17 µετάµελος γὰρ ἐν δέοντι τοῖς ἐπταµκόσιν ἐπι-
γινόµενος συγγραµµώνας αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἡδικήµένους
ποιεῖν εἰσθέν, ύποψιά τε εἰς καὶρὸν ἐλθοῦσα
τὸ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὄνοµα µεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ.

1 µέµψεσθε Dindorf : µέµψεσθε MSS.
2 αἰτιάσεσθε P : αἰτιάσεσθαι V, αἰτιάσησθε Ο.
and after encouraging them exceedingly in this way, he advanced swiftly with his whole army against Carthage. And when he had come within thirty-five stades of the city, he made camp not far from the sea, and Germanus, after arming his whole army and arraying them for battle, marched forth. And when they were all outside the city, since he had heard what Stotzas was hoping for, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows:

"That there is nothing, fellow-soldiers, with which you can justly reproach the emperor, and no fault which you can find with what he has done to you, this, I think, no one of you all could deny; for it was he who took you as you came from the fields with your wallets and one small frock apiece and brought you together in Byzantium, and has caused you to be so powerful that the Roman state now depends upon you. And that he has not only been treated with wanton insult, but has also suffered the most dreadful of all things at your hands, you yourselves, doubtless, know full well. And desiring that you should preserve the memory of these things for ever, he has dismissed the accusations brought against you for your crimes, asking that this debt alone be due to him from you—shame for what you have done. It is reasonable, therefore, that you, being thus regarded by him, should learn anew the lesson of good faith and correct your former folly. For when repentance comes at the fitting time upon those who have done wrong, it is accustomed to make those who have been injured indulgent; and service which comes in season is wont to bring another name to those who have been called ungrateful."
18 ἂν δὲ ὑμᾶς δεσίει κἀκεῖνο εἰδέναι, ὡς, ἢ ἐν τῷ παρόντι εἶνοι μάλιστα βασιλεῖ γένησθε, οὐδὲμια τοῖς προλαβοῦσι λειλήφεσαι μνήμη. πάσα γὰρ πράξεις πέφυκεν ἂεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς καταστροφῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀμάρτημα τε γεγονὸς ἀπαξ ἀποίητον μὲν οὖδ᾽ ἂν ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παντὶ γένοιτο, ἐπαυρωθεῖν δὲ πράξει τῶν αὐτὸ εἰργασμένων ἀμείνωσι εὐπρεπούσι τε τῆς σιωπῆς ἐπιτυγχάνει καὶ ἐς λήθην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περι- ἱσταται. καὶ τοῖς, ἢ μὲν ὀλγωρίᾳ τωλὶ ἐς τοὺς δὴ τοὺς καταράτους τὰ νῦν χρῆσθαι, ὕστερον δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τῶν πολεμῶν πολλάκις ἀναδήσησθε κράτος, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὡμοίως ἀνθυπουργηκέναι

19 βασιλεῖ δόξατε, οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες οἷς ἤμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐς ἂεὶ φέρονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς βασιλέα ταύτη τῇ

20 λογιζέσθω ὑμῶν ἑκαστος. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτε ἄδικιας τῶν ἐν ὑμᾶς ἁρξας, ἐνδειξάμενος τε πάση δυνάμει τὴν ἐν ὑμᾶς εὐνοιαν, καὶ τὰ νῦν καθιστά- μενος ἐς κίνδυνον τόιδε, τοσοῦτον ἀιτεῖσθαι ἀπαντᾶς ἑγνώκα: μηδεῖς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς

21 πολεμίους παρὰ γρόμῳ χωρεῖτω. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τῷ ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις ἡ ἰδη βουλομένου ἐστὶ εὐστάτεσθαι, μηδὲν μελλήσας ἔσον τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ἦσον, τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῖν χαριζόμενος, ὅτι οὐ λάθρα ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τού

22 ἐμφανοῦς ἄδικεῖν ἑγνω. τούτου γὰρ ἠνεκα οὐκ ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν μεταχιμῷ γενόμενος τοὺς

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"And it will be needful for you to know well this also, that if at the present time you shew yourselves completely loyal to the emperor, no remembrance will remain of what has gone before. For in the nature of things every course of action is characterized by men in accordance with its final outcome; and while a wrong which has once been committed can never be undone in all time, still, when it has been corrected by better deeds on the part of those who committed it, it receives the fitting reward of silence and generally comes to be forgotten. Moreover, if you act with any disregard of duty toward these accursed rascals at the present time, even though afterwards you fight through many wars in behalf of the Romans and often win the victory over the enemy, you will never again be regarded as having requited the emperor as you can requite him to-day. For those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain for themselves a fairer apology. As regards the emperor, then, let each one of you reason in some such way. But as for me, I have not voluntarily done you any injustice, and I have displayed my good-will to you by all possible means, and now, facing this danger, I have decided to ask this much of you all: let no man advance with us against the enemy contrary to his judgement. But if anyone of you is already desirous of arraying himself with them, without delay let him go with his weapons to the enemy's camp, granting us this one favour, that it be not stealthily, but openly, that he has decided to do us wrong. Indeed, it is for this reason that I am making my speech, not in Carthage, but after coming on the battle-field, in order that I
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λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ὅπως δὲν μηδεὶς αὐτομολεῖν ἐστὶν ἐναντίον καὶ ἐφέλοντι ἐμπόδιον ἐν ἑνήν, παρὰν ἀπασὶ κινδύνου ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐστὶν πολιτείαν ἐνδείκνυσθαι γνώμην. Καὶ Γερμανῶς μὲν τοσάτα ἐπειτε, ταραχὴ δὲ πολλῇ ἐν τῷ Ρωμαίων στρατῷ γέγονεν, ὀπεὶ πρῶτος ἦν οὗτος ἐκαστὸς εὐνοοῖ τῇ ἐν ἑνὴν βασιλεά τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὀρκους δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τοῦτων ὀμείσθαι.

XVII

Χρόνον μὲν ὅσος τῶν ἐκάτεροι ἀλλήλους ἀντικαθήμενοι ἐμενον. μετὰ δὲ στασιῶτα οὐδὲν σφίζει προχωροῦν ἐνορώντες ὁπρὸς ἡγεῖες Στότζος, ἔδεισαν τὸ ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπίδοσι παρὰ δόξαν ψευδέντες, καὶ τὴν τάξιν διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐς τῇ Νουμίδας ἀπήλαυνον, ὥθεν δὴ αὐτοῖς αὐτὸ τῇ γυναικεῖς καὶ τὰ 1 τῆς λείας χρήματα ἔσαν. ἐνθα καὶ ὁ Γερμανός παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὅπυκ εἰς μακρὰν ἦλθε, τὰ τῇ ἀλλὰ παρεσκευασμένος ὡς ἀριστα καὶ ἀμάξας πολλὰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαγαγόν 3 μενός. καταλαβῶν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν χωρίῳ δ ἴδῃ Σκάλας Βέτερες καλοῦσι σιής τριών, τὰς ἀμάξας μετοποιῶν στήσας τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας καὶ αὐτῶς ἔταξαν, ὅτι Δόμυκος ἤρχεσθε, ὅπως τὰ νότα ἐν 4 παράταξιν ἔξηται τὸ ὅρον τοὺς. τᾶς ἀμάξας μετοποιῶν στήσας τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας καὶ αὐτῶς ἔταξεν, ὅτι Δόμυκος ἤρχεσθε, ὅπως τὰ νότα ἐν 5 τῷ ἁσφαλεῖ ἔχοντες ἑλοντὲς θαρσάσωσι μάλλον. τῶν δὲ ἱππῶν ἄνδρας τὰ ἀρίστον καὶ τοὺς ἢν Βυζάντιων ἐν αὐτῷ ἠκούσας αὐτῶς ἐν ἀριστερὰ τῶν πεζῶν ἐχεῖς, τῶν δὲ ἂλλους ἀπαντᾶς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀριστερὰ τῶν δεξιῶν οὐ ἐκ νυτεταχμένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόγους τρεῖς μᾶ- 1 καὶ τὰ Ηερωδέν: καὶ ΜΣ.
might not be an obstacle to anyone who desires to
desert to our opponents, since it is possible for all
without danger to shew their disposition toward the
state.” Thus spoke Germanus. And a great uproar
ensued in the Roman army, for each one demanded
the right to be the first to display to the general his
loyalty to the emperor and to swear the most dread
oaths in confirmation.

XVII

Now for some time the two armies remained in
position opposite each other. But when the muti-
neers saw that nothing of what Stotzas had foretold
was coming to pass, they began to be afraid as having
been unexpectedly cheated of their hope, and they
broke their ranks and withdrew, and marched off to
Numidia, where were their women and the money
from their booty. And Germanus too came there
with the whole army not long afterwards, having
made all preparations in the best way possible and
also bringing along many wagons for the army.
And overtaking his opponents in a place which the
Romans call Scalae Veteres, he made his preparations
for battle in the following manner. Placing the
wagons in line facing the front, he arrayed all the
infantry along them under the leadership of Dom-
icus, so that by reason of having their rear in
security they might fight with the greater courage.
And the best of the horsemen and those who had
come with him from Byzantium he himself had on the
left of the infantry, while all the others he placed
on the right wing, not marshalled in one body but

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6 μιστα ἐστησε. καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ μὲν ἐνὸς ἤγειτο, ἑτέρου δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης, τοῦ δὲ λειτουμένου, μείζονος ὑπότος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Πάππου ἀδελφός, τέταρτος αὐτῶς. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαίοι έτάξαντο.

7 Οἱ δὲ στασιώται ἀντίξου Ῥωμαίοι, ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ταξάμενοι, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους ἐσκεδασμένοι. εὐποτο δὲ αὐτῶς οὖ μακρὰν ἀποθεοῦν Μαυρουσίων μυριάδες πολλαί, ἤν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰαύδας καὶ Ὁρτάνια ἧρχον. οὐ μέντοι ἀπαντεῖ πιστοὶ τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐτύγχανων ὄντες, ἄλλα πολλοὶ παρὰ Γερμανῶν πέμπτοντες πρότερον ὁμολόγουν, ἐπεδάν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένονται, ξύν τῷ βασιλέως

8 στρατῷ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων τετάξασθαι. οὐ μὴν αὐτῶς πιστεῦειν παντάπασιν ὁ Γερμανὸς εἰχὲν, ἐπεὶ ἄπιστον φύσει τὸ Μαυρουσίων γένος ἐστὶν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ξύν τοῖς στασιώταις ἔταξαντο, ἀλλὰ ὀπισθεὶς ἔμενον, καραδοκοῦντες τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὅπως ξύν τοῖς νικήσωσι 1 καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσομένους τικήσωνται. Μαυρουσίωι μὲν τοιαύτῃ γνώμῃ οὐκ ἀναμιγνύμεθε τοῖς στασιώταις ὁπισθεν εὐποτο.

9 Στότζας δὲ ἀγχιστά τα τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον τὸ Γερμανοῦ εἰδε, τοῖς παρούσιν

10 ἐγκελεστάμενον ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ θεί. Ἐρουλοὶ δὲ οὓτοι στασιώται ἀμφὶ αὐτῶν τεταγμένοι ἐτύγχανον, οὕτω εὐποτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ σθενεὶ ἐκώλυνον, φάσκοντες οὐκ εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Γερμανοῦ δύναμιν, ὅταν τοτε ἐστὶν, ἐξεπέστασθαι μὲντοι ὅσι οὐδαμὴ σφίσιν ἀνθέξοντο ὅσοι ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιῶν τῶν

1 νικήσωσι V : νικήσασι P, νικὼσι Ο.
in three divisions. And Ildiger led one of them, Theodorus the Cappadocian another, while the remaining one, which was larger, was commanded by John, the brother of Pappus, with three others. Thus did the Romans array themselves.

And the mutineers took their stand opposite them, not in order, however, but scattered, more in the manner of barbarians. And at no great distance many thousands of Moors followed them, who were commanded by a number of leaders, and especially by Iaudas and Ortaías. But not all of them, as it happened, were faithful to Stotzas and his men, for many had sent previously to Germanus and agreed that, when they came into the fight, they would array themselves with the emperor’s army against the enemy. However, Germanus could not trust them altogether, for the Moorish nation is by nature faithless to all men. It was for this reason also that they did not array themselves with the mutineers, but remained behind, waiting for what would come to pass, in order that with those who should be victorious they might join in the pursuit of the vanquished. Such was the purpose, then, of the Moors, in following behind and not mingling with the mutineers.

And when Stotzas came close to the enemy and saw the standard of Germanus, he exhorted his men and began to charge against him. But the mutinous Eruli who were arrayed about him did not follow and even tried with all their might to prevent him, saying that they did not know the character of the forces of Germanus, but that they did know that those arrayed on the enemy’s
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15 πολεμίων ἐτάξαντο. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνους χωρῆσαιεν, αὐτοὶ τε οὐχ ὑποστάντες ἐς φυγὴν τρέφονται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στρατεύμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, συνταράξουσιν ἦν δὲ γε σφᾶς ἀποσάμενος Γερμανὸς τρέψνηται, ἀπαντά σφώς διαφαρώθηται ἀντίκα δὴ μάλα τα πράγματα. τούτως ο Στότζας ἀναπεισθεῖς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γερμανῶν μάχησθαι εἰάσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔξιν τοὺς ἀρίστοις ἐπὶ τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ἔξιν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους ἤγει.

16 οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες κόσμῳ οὐδεὶς ἐς φυγὴν ὁρμήσαντο. οἱ τε στασιώτατα πάντα μὲν τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐλαβον, φεύγοντας δὲ ἀνὰ κράτος ἐδίσκον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἦλαυνον, ἦδη τε τὴν τάξιν ἐκλαῖπεν οἱ πεζοὶ ἢρξαντο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γερμανῶς αὐτὸς τε τὸ ἱππὸς σπασάμενος καὶ ἄπαν τὸ ταύτη στρατεύμα ἐς τούτῳ ὁρμήσας, πόνῳ τε πολλῷ τοὺς καὶ αὐτὸν στασιώτας ἐτρέψατο καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐχώρησε. τούτου δὲ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἰλδώνερά τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ξυναραμένων, οὕτως ἀλλήλως ἑκάτεροι ἀνεμέγειντο, ὡστε διώκουτε οἱ στασιώται τῶν τινών πολεμίων ύπ’ ἑτέρων καταλαμβάνομενοι ἔθνησκον. τῆς τε ἐγγυόσεως ἐπὶ μέγα χωροῦσις οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γερμανῶν, ὅπεσθε ἱόντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο, οἱ δὲ στασιώται ἐς πολὺ δέος ἐμπεπτωκότες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκῆν ἐξβλεπον. ἐνδηλοι μέντοι οὐδέτεροι οὔτε σφώς αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἀλλήλοις ἐγίνοντο. μᾶ τε γὰρ φωνὴ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ οἱ πάντες ἔχρωντο, οὕτε μορφῇ τινι οὔτε σχῆμα τι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτροῦν διαλλάσ-
right would by no means withstand them. If, therefore, they should advance against these, they would not only give way themselves and turn to flight, but would also, in all probability, throw the rest of the Roman army into confusion; but if they should attack Germanus and be driven back and put to rout, their whole cause would be ruined on the spot. And Stotzas was persuaded by these words, and permitted the others to fight with the men of Germanus, while he himself with the best men went against John and those arrayed with him. And they failed to withstand the attack and hastened to flee in complete disorder. And the mutineers took all their standards immediately, and pursued them as they fled at top speed, while some too charged upon the infantry, who had already begun to abandon their ranks. But at this juncture Germanus himself, drawing his sword and urging the whole of that part of the army to do the same, with great difficulty routed the mutineers opposed to him and advanced on the run against Stotzas. And then, since he was joined in this effort by the men of Ildiger and Theodorus, the two armies mingled with each other in such a way that, while the mutineers were pursuing some of their enemy, they were being overtaken and killed by others. And as the confusion became greater and greater, the troops of Germanus, who were in the rear, pressed on still more, and the mutineers, falling into great fear, thought no longer of resistance. But neither side could be distinguished either by their own comrades or by their opponents. For all used one language and the same equipment of arms, and they differed neither in figure nor in dress nor in any other thing.
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22 σοντες. διὸ δὴ Γερμανοῦ γνώμη οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατιῶται, ὁτου ἄν λάβοντο, ἐπισκέπτοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἶν ἐπειτα, ἣν τις Γερμανοῦ στρατιώτης φήσειν εἶναι, οὖκοιν τὸ Γερμανοῦ ἔνεμον ἐκέλευον λέγειν, τούτο δὲ εἰπεὶν οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντα εὐθὺς ἐκτεινον. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ τὸν Γερμανοῦ ἵππον τῶν τις πολεμίων λαθὼν ἐκτεινεν, αὐτὸς τε ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὸ ἑδαφος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς κύδωνον ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος οἱ δορυφόροι ἐσώσαντο, φραξάμενοι τε ἀμφὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβιβάζαντες ἐφ' ἐτερον ὕππον.

24 'Ο μὲν οὖν Στότζας ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ ξὺν ὀλύγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἱσχύςε. Γερμανὸς δὲ τοῖς ἀμφὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγκελευσάμενοι εὐθὺ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδίου ἐχώρησεν. ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν στασιῶν ὑπηντίαζον ὅσοι τοῦ χαρακῶματος ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἔτετάχατο. μάχης τε ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐισόδουν καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρ' ὀλύγον μὲν οἱ στασιῶται ἦλθον τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀπώσισαν, πέμψας δὲ ὁ Γερμανὸς τῶν οἱ ἐπομένων τινὰς κατ' ἄλλην ἀποπειράσθαι χόραν τοῦ στρατοπεδίου ἐκέλευεν. οἱ δὲ οὐδενὸς ταὐτὴ ἀμυνομένου ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακῶματος ξὺν βραχεί πόνῳ ἐγένοντο. οἱ τε στασιῶται κατεδώντες αὐτοὺς ἐς φυγὴν ἄρμηνον, καὶ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐσεπηδησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπεδον. ἐνταῦθα τὰ χρηματα οἱ στρατιῶται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἀρπάζοντες οὔτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντο τινι οὔτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευσάμενον ἔτι κατήκουν, παρόντων χρημάτων. διὸ δὴ ὁ Γερμανὸς, δείσας μὴ ἐνυφρονήσαντες οἱ

1 οἱ—στρατιῶτα V: οἱ—στρατοῦ P, δ—στράτος Ο.
whatever. For this reason the soldiers of the emperor by the advice of Germanus, whenever they captured anyone, asked who he was; and then, if he said that he was a soldier of Germanus, they bade him give the watchword of Germanus, and if he was not at all able to give this, they killed him instantly. In this struggle one of the enemy got by unnoticed and killed the horse of Germanus, and Germanus himself fell to the ground and came into danger, and would have been lost had not his guards quickly saved him by forming an enclosure around him and mounting him on another horse.

As for Stotzas, he succeeded in this tumult in escaping with a few men. But Germanus, urging on his men, went straight for the enemy's camp. There he was encountered by those of the mutineers who had been stationed to guard the stockade. A stubborn fight took place around its entrance, and the mutineers came within a little of forcing back their opponents, but Germanus sent some of his followers and bade them make trial of the camp at another point. These men, since no one was defending the camp at this place, got inside the stockade with little trouble. And the mutineers, upon seeing them, rushed off in flight, and Germanus with all the rest of the army dashed into the enemy's camp. There the soldiers, finding it easy to plunder the goods of the camp, neither took any account of the enemy nor paid any further heed to the exhortations of their general, since booty was at hand. For this reason Germanus, fearing lest the enemy should get together

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πολέμωι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦς ἱωσίω, αὐτὸς ἔων ὅλωνοις τισὶν ἐς τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν εἰσοδον ἔστη, πολλά τε διαφυρόμενος καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἑπαίνοντας ἐς εὐκοσμίαν παρακαλῶν. τῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων πολλοὶ τῆς τροπῆς οὕτω γεγενημένης τοὺς τε στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἡδη καὶ ἔων τῷ βασιλέως στρατῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξαντες ἐλημῖον τοῖς τῶν ἡσσημένων στρατόπεδον. Στότζας δὲ, κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαυρουσίων στρατῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἔχον, ὡς ἀναμαχούμενος παρ’ αὐτοὺς ἥλαινεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων, ἔων ἑκατὸν ἀρ- δράσι διαφυγεῖν μόλις ἵσχυσεν. αὐθίς δὲ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν πολλοὶ ἔπληγεντες ἐνεχείρησαν μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν, ἀποκρουθέντες δὲ οὐδέν τι ἕσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Γερμανῷ ἄπαν- τες προσεχώρησαν. μόνος δὲ ὁ Στότζας ἔων Βαν- δίλιος ὅλως τισὶν ἐς Μαυρτανοῦς ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παῖδα τῶν τυες ἀρχόντων γυναικα λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἑμείνε. καὶ ἡ μὲν στάσις αὐτη ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.

XVIII

Ἀν δὲ τῆς ἐν τοῖς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Καππαδόκου δορυφόροις, Μαξιμίνος δύναμα, πονηρός μάλιστα. 2 οὕτως ὁ Μαξιμίνος, τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείστους διομοσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔων αὐτοῦ ἔχον, 3 τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διενοεῖτο. ἔτι τε πλείους ἐταιρίζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχον ἄλλοις τε τὸ βοῦ- λεμα φράζει καὶ Ἀσκεληπιάδη, ὑρμημένῳ μὲν ἐκ Παλαιστίνης, εὗ δὲ γεγονότι καὶ πρῶτῳ τῶν

1 πολεμίοις V: ἐκαντίοις PO.
and come upon them, himself with some few men took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, uttering many laments and urging his unheeding men to return to good order. And many of the Moors, when the rout had taken place in this way, were now pursuing the mutineers, and, arraying themselves with the emperor's troops, were plundering the camp of the vanquished. But Stotzas, at first having confidence in the Moorish army, rode to them in order to renew the battle. But perceiving what was being done, he fled with a hundred men, and succeeded with difficulty in making his escape. And once more many gathered about him and attempted to engage with the enemy, but being repulsed no less decisively than before, if not even more so, they all came over to Germanus. And Stotzas alone with some few Vandals withdrew to Mauretania, and taking to wife the daughter of one of the rulers, remained there. And this was the conclusion of that mutiny.

XVIII

Now there was among the body-guards of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, a certain Maximinus, an exceedingly base man. This Maximinus had first got a very large number of the soldiers to join with him in a conspiracy against the government, and was now purposing to attempt a tyranny. And being eager to associate with himself still more men, he explained the project to others and especially to Asclepiades, a native of Palestine, who was a man of good birth and
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4 Θεοδώρον ἐπιτηδείων. ὁ γαῖον Ἀσκληπιάδης
Θεοδώρφος κοινολογησάμενος τὸν πάντα λόγου εὐ-
θύς Γερμανῳ εἰσαγγέλλει. καὶ ὅσοι, οὐκ ἔθελον
ἐτι οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμορμημένων ἑτέρας τινὸς
tαραχῆς ἀρξαί, θωπεία μᾶλλον τινὶ τῶν ἀνθρω-
pον ἡ τιμωρία περιελθεῖν ἔγνω καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτῶν
6 καταλαβεῖν τής ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας. ὅι1
τοῖς εἰθισμένοι ἀπαισί Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ
μηδένα δορυφόρον τῶν τινως ἁρχόντων καθίστα-
σθαι, ὅμη δεινότατος πρότερον ὅρκους παρεχό-
μενος τὰ πιστὰ δοῖ τής ἐς αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν
βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, μεταπεμψάμενος2 τὸν
Μαξιμίνον τής τε εὐτολμίας αὐτῶν ἐπηνει καὶ
7 δορυφορεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν οἱ ἐπετελλεῖν. ὁ δὲ περι-
χάρης γεγονὼς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς, ταῦτη
tε βάνν αὐτῶ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προχωρίσειν ὑποτο-
pάζων, τὸν τε ὅρκον ὑπέστη καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς
Γερμανοῖ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὰ τε ὁμωμο-
μένα εὐθὺς ἀλογεῖν ἥξιον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τυραννίδα
πολλῷ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον κρατύνασθαι.

8 Ἄμνον πόλις ἑορτὴν τινα πανδημεῖ ἤγει,
pολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Μαξιμίνου στασιωτῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν
tοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ἐς Παλάτιον κατὰ τὰ σφῖς
ἐγιγκεῖμενα ἤκουν, οὔ δὲ ἢ μὲν Γερμανῶς τοὺς ἐπιτη-
δείους εἰστία, παρεσχέει δὲ τῇ θολῇ ἔξω τοῖς
9 ἄλλοις δορυφόροις ὁ Μαξιμίνος. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ
πότου, εἰσελθὼν τις Γερμανός ἀπαγγέλλει στρατι-
ώτας πολλοὺς κόσμο ὀὐδεὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας
ἔστωτας αἰτιάσαται συντάξεις χρόνου πολλοῦ τὸ
10 δημόσιον σφῖς ὁφείλειν. καὶ δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων

1 ὅν MSS.; ὅν editors.
2 μεταπεμψάμενος <οὐν> conjectured by Hoeschel.

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the first of the personal friends of Theodorus. Now Asclepiades, after conversing with Theodorus, straightway reported the whole matter to Germanus. And he, not wishing as yet, while affairs were still unsettled, to begin any other disturbance, decided to get the best of the man by cajoling and flattering him rather than by punishment, and to bind him by oaths to loyalty toward the government. Accordingly, since it was an old custom among all Romans that no one should become a body-guard of one of the commanders, unless he had previously taken the most dread oaths and given pledges of his loyalty both toward his own commander and toward the Roman emperor, he summoned Maximinus, and praising him for his daring, directed him to be one of his body-guards from that time forth. And he, being overjoyed at the extraordinary honour, and conjecturing that his project would in this way get on more easily, took the oath, and though from that time forth he was counted among the body-guards of Germanus, he did not hesitate to disregard his oaths immediately and to strengthen much more than ever his plans to achieve the tyranny.

Now the whole city was celebrating some general festival, and many of the conspirators of Maximinus at about the time of lunch came according to their agreement to the palace, where Germanus was entertaining his friends at a feast, and Maximinus took his stand beside the couches with the other body-guards. And as the drinking proceeded, someone entered and announced to Germanus that many soldiers were standing in great disorder before the door of the court, putting forward the charge that the government owed them their pay for a long period. And
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tοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκέλευσε λάθρα τὸν Μαξιμίλιον ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, αἰσθησιν αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ ποιομένου ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν στασιώτατον ἔτιν τε ἀπειλῇ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόδρομον δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν οἳ τε τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῖς μετασχόντες κατὰ βραχὺ ἀγειρόμενοι ἐκ τῶν 12 οἰκημάτων ἐνταῦθα ξυνέρρεον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ἤνιεκλεγήναι ἀπαντᾶς ἐς ταύτου ἑστυχεν, οὐκ ἀν τις, οἶμαι, 13 καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν εὐπετῶς σχεῖ νῦν ὅπερ Γερμανὸς προτερήσας ἐτί ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ πλείστου ἁμίλου ἀπαντᾶς αὐτίκα τους αὐτῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ εὐνοικῶς ἑχοντας ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπεμψεν. 14 οἵ δὲ οὖ προσδεχομένους τοὺς στασιώτατος εἰς χείρας ἤλθον. οἱ δὲ οὕτω Μαξιμίλιον σὺν αὐτοῖς ἵκοντες, ὅπερ φύλασσα τοῦ κινδύνου ἐκαραδόκουν, οὕτω τὸ πλῆθος ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς, ξαπλώντο, ἤλθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαχομένους παρὰ δόξαινο σφίζοντο τοὺς ἑστατομένας θεῶμενοι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς ὁλογρίαι 1 ἐλθόντες ἤσσωσθήσαν τοῖς ῥαδίοις τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν 15 ὕστερον. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἑναντίοι πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκτεινοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ παρὰ Γερμανὸν ἑγγράψαντες 16 ἦγεν. ὅσοι μέντοι οὕτω ἔβαλαν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἵκοντες, οὐδεμίαν αἰσθησιν τῇ ἐπὶ Μαξιμίλῳ 17 παρέσχοντο ἤμων. Γερμανὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν διερζεύσαθαι οὐκέτι ἤξιον, ἀνεπυθάνετο δὲ εἰ Μαξιμίλῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὁμομόκει, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἑπιβολήν ἦσθητο. ἐληλεγέον τε ὡς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐτί μᾶλλον ποιοθε, ἀγχιστὰ πην αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καρχηδόνος περιβολοῦ

1 οὐλογορίαι MSS.: Haury would prefer ὅρρωδιαν.
he commanded the most trusty of the guards secretly to keep close watch over Maximinus, allowing him in no way to perceive what was being done. Then the conspirators with threats and tumult proceeded on the run to the hippodrome, and those who shared their plan with them gathered gradually from the houses and were assembling there. And if it had so chanced that all of them had come together, no one, I think, would have been able easily to destroy their power; but, as it was, Germanus anticipated this, and, before the greater part had yet arrived, he straightway sent against them all who were well-disposed to himself and to the emperor. And they attacked the conspirators before they expected them. And then, since Maximinus, for whom they were waiting to begin the battle for them, was not with them, and they did not see the crowd gathered to help them, as they had thought it would be, but instead even beheld their fellow-soldiers unexpectedly fighting against them, they consequently lost heart and were easily overcome in the struggle and rushed off in flight and in complete disorder. And their opponents slew many of them, and they also captured many alive and brought them to Germanus. Those, however, who had not already come to the hippodrome gave no indication of their sentiment toward Maximinus. And Germanus did not see fit to go on and seek them out, but he enquired whether Maximinus, since he had sworn the oath, had taken part in the plot. And since it was proved that, though numbered among his own bodyguards he had carried on his designs still more than before, Germanus impaled him close by the fortifications of Carthage, and in
ΧΙΘ

Γερμανὸν δὲ ξύν τε Συμμάχῳ καὶ Δομίνικῳ μεταπεμφάμενος βασιλεὺς Σολώμωνι αὕθεις ἀπαντᾶ τα Διβύς τὰ πράγματα ἐνεχείρισε, τρισκαίδεκάτου ἐτῶν τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχον ἀρχήν: στρατευμά τε αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος καὶ ἀρχοντας ἄλλους τε καὶ Ῥουφίνου καὶ Λεόντιον, τῶν Ζαινία τοῦ Φαρεσάμουν, καὶ Ἦσιάνην τὸν Σισιμυλόν γενομένων. Μαρτῖνος γὰρ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤδη πρότερον ἐστι. Βυζάντιον μεταπεμπτοί ἠλθον. Σολόμων δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ τῆς Ἐκτοτζας στάσεως ἀπαλλαγεὶς μετρίως τε ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ Διβύς άσφαλῶς διεφύλασσε, διακοσμών τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἶ τι μὲν ὑποττόν ἐν αὐτῷ εὐρίσκεν, ἐς τε Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμπτων, νέους δὲ στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου ἀριθμὸν καταλέγων καὶ Βανδίλων τοὺς ἀπολειμμένους καὶ οὐχ ὡς κιστά νεανίας ἀπάσις ὅλης ἐξοικείζον Διβύς. πόλιν τὴν ἐκάστην περιέβαλε τείχει καὶ τῶν νόμων ξῦν ἀκριβεῖα φυλάξας πολλὴ τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς μάλιστα διεσφόρω. καὶ ἐγένετο Διβύς ἐπὶ ἐκείνου χρημάτων τὸ προσόδον δυνατὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαίμων.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπαντᾶ ὁ ἀριστᾶ διετέτακτο, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰαύδαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Λύρασίφῳ Μαυροσίους αὕθεις ἐστράτευε. καὶ πρώτα μὲν Γόνθαριν, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα, ἀνδρὰ ἀγαθον τὰ
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xviii. 18–xix. 6

this way succeeded completely in putting down the sedition. As for Maximinus, then, such was the end of his plot.

XIX

And the emperor summoned Germanus together with Symmachus and Domnicus and again entrusted all Libya to Solomon, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and he provided him with an army and officers, among whom were Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanas, and John, the son of Sisiniolus. For Martinus and Valerianus had already before this gone under summons to Byzantium. And Solomon sailed to Carthage, and having rid himself of the sedition of Stotzas, he ruled with moderation and guarded Libya securely, setting the army in order, and sending to Byzantium and to Belisarius whatever suspicious elements he found in it, and enrolling new soldiers to equal their number, and removing those of the Vandals who were left and especially all their women from the whole of Libya. And he surrounded each city with a wall, and guarding the laws with great strictness, he restored the government completely. And Libya became under his rule powerful as to its revenues and prosperous in other respects.

And when everything had been arranged by him in the best way possible, he again made an expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Aurasium. And first he sent forward Gontharis, one of his own
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7 πολέμια, ξυν στρατεύματι ἔπεμψεν. δὲ δὴ ἐσ 'Αβίγαν ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο
8 ἀμφὶ Βάγαϊν, τόλμην ἔρημον. ἐνταῦθα τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς χεῖρας ἔλθων καὶ μάχῃ ἥσσηθεν ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀποχωρήσας τῇ Μαυροσίῳν
9 προσεδρεία ἐπιέζετο ἡδη. ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἀφικόμενος, ἐπείδη στάδιοις ἐξήκοντα τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ ἀπείχειν οὐ Γόνθαρις ἤγειτο, χαράκωμά τε ποιησάμενος αὐτὸν ἔμενε καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γόνθαριν ἀπαντα ἀκούσας μοιρὰν τε αὐτοῦ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔπεμψε καὶ χαρσοῦντας ἐκέλευε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
10 οἱ δὲ Μαυροσίοι καθυπέρτεροι ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ,
11 ἀστερ ἐρρήθη, γενόμενοι ἑποίουν τάδε. 'Αβίγας ὁ ποταμὸς δὲ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφρασίου, κατιῶν δὲ ἐς πεδίον ἀρδεύει τὴν γην οὐτῶς ὅπως ἄν βουλο-
12 μένοις ἢ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. περιάγοντες γὰρ τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦτο οἱ ἑπιχώροι ὅποι ποτὲ σφίσιν ἐς τὸ παραυτίκα ξυνοίσειν οἶονται, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀπώρυγας οὐχιαλ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαί, ἐς ὅς δὴ ὁ 'Αβίγας σχεδόμενος τε καὶ ἐς πάσας ἱδὼν ὑπὸ γην ἑρεται καὶ αὖθις ὑπὲρ γῆν διαφαίνεται,
13 ξυνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα. τοῦτο τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ πεδίου ξυμβαίων ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῖς ταύτῃ ὁμη-
14 μένοις τίθεται εἶναι, ἐπιβύσσας χώματι τοὺς ρωξοῦν ἢ αὖθις αὐτοὺς ἀποκαλύψας τοῖς ὑδάσι
to τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ὁ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι. τότε οὖν ἀπάσας οἱ Μαυροσίοι τὰς ἐκείνης ἀπώρυγας ἀποφράζαντες ἀφιάζει τὸ ῥεῦμα ὅλων ἑρεσθαι
15 ἀμφὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τέλμα βαθὺ γεγονός καὶ ἀπόρευτον ἔξεπληξε τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν κατέστησε.
body-guards and an able warrior, with an army. Now Gontharis came to the Abigas River and made camp near Bagais, a deserted city. And there he engaged with the enemy, but was defeated in battle, and retiring to his stockade was already being hard pressed by the siege of the Moors. But afterwards Solomon himself arrived with his whole army, and when he was sixty stades away from the camp which Gontharis was commanding, he made a stockade and remained there; and hearing all that had befallen the force of Gontharis, he sent them a part of his army and bade them keep up the fight against the enemy with courage. But the Moors, having gained the upper hand in the engagement, as I have said, did as follows. The Abigas River flows from Aurasium, and descending into a plain, waters the land just as the men there desire. For the natives conduct this stream to whatever place they think it will best serve them at the moment, for in this plain there are many channels, into which the Abigas is divided, and entering all of them, it passes underground, and reappears again above the ground and gathers its stream together. This takes place over the greatest part of the plain and makes it possible for the inhabitants of the region, by stopping up the waterways with earth, or by again opening them, to make use of the waters of this river as they wish. So at that time the Moors shut off all the channels there and thus allowed the whole stream to flow about the camp of the Romans. As a result of this, a deep, muddy marsh formed there through which it was impossible to go; this terrified them exceedingly and reduced them to a state of helplessness. When
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16 ταύτα ἀκούσας Σολόμων κατὰ τάχος ἦς. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι δείχνανες ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Ἀὐρασίου τὸν πρόποδα. καὶ ἐν χώρῳ δὲ Βάβωσιν καλοῦσι, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἀρας τε
17 Σολόμων τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἦκε. καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κρατήσας τε παρὰ
18 πολὺ αὐτῶν ἐς φυγήν ἔτρεψε. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μάχην μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διενεχέον ἀξύμφορον σφίσαν φοντό εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν περίσσεσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ἠλπίζον· ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἀὐρασίου τῆς δυσχωρίας ἐλπίδα ἐξέχων ἀπολέγοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Ῥωμαίους χρόνῳ ὅλῳ ἐνθένδε ἐξανίστασθαι ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἐς τε Μαυριτανόν καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ Ἀὐρασίου Βαρβάρον όχοντο, Ἰαῦδας δὲ ἐξ Μαυρούσιων δυσμυρίους ἐνταῦθα ἔμενεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ φρούριον οἰκοδομησόμενον ἐν Ἀὐρασίῳ, Ζερβούλη ὄνομα. οὗ δὴ ἐσελθὼν σὺν πάσι Μαυρούσιοι ἡσύχαζε.
19 Σολόμων δὲ χρόνον μὲν τρίβεσθαι τῇ πολυρκίᾳ ἤκιστα ἦθελε, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταμουγάδην πετίλα σίτου ἀκμᾶζοντος ἐμπλεα εἶναι ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπήγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐγκαθεξόμενος ἐδήσον τὴν γῆν. πυρπολήσας τε ἀπαντὰ ἐς Ζερβούλη τὸ φρούριον αὐθίς ἀνέστρεψεν.
20 'Εν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ὃ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδήσον τὴν γῆν, Ἰαῦδας καταλήτων Μαυρούσιων τινάς, οἱς μάλιστα φεῖτο ἐς τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν φυλακὴν ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Ἀὐρασίου ὑπερβολῆν ἐξεν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέβη, ὅπως μὴ πολυρκομένους ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφᾶς

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this was heard by Solomon, he came quickly. But the barbarians, becoming afraid, withdrew to the foot of Aurasium. And in a place which they call Babosis they made camp and remained there. So Solomon moved with his whole army and came to that place. And upon engaging with the enemy, he defeated them decisively and turned them to flight. Now after this the Moors did not think it advisable for them to fight a pitched battle with the Romans; for they did not hope to overcome them in this kind of contest; but they did have hope, based on the difficult character of the country around Aurasium, that the Romans would in a short time give up by reason of the sufferings they would have to endure and would withdraw from there, just as they formerly had done. The most of them, therefore, went off to Mauretania and the barbarians to the south of Aurasium, but Iaudas with twenty thousand of the Moors remained there. And it happened that he had built a fortress on Aurasium, Zeroule by name. Into this he entered with all the Moors and remained quiet. But Solomon was by no means willing that time should be wasted in the siege, and learning that the plains about the city of Tamougade were full of grain just becoming ripe, he led his army into them, and settling himself there, began to plunder the land. Then, after firing everything, he returned again to the fortress of Zeroule.

But during this time, while the Romans were plundering the land, Iaudas, leaving behind some of the Moors, about as many as he thought would be sufficient for the defence of the fortress, himself ascended to the summit of Aurasium with the rest of the army, not wishing to stand siege in the fort and
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22 ἐπιλήσοι. χὼρον τε εὐρῶν κρῆμνοις τε πάντοθεν ἀνεχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἀποτόμουν πετρῶν καλυπτόμενον, Τούμαρ ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα ἁσύχαζε. Ὡρμαῖοι δὲ Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον ἐς τρεῖς ἐπολιόρκουν ἡμέρας. καὶ τόξοις χρώμενοι, ἄτε οὐχ ὑψηλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι βαρβάρων ἐβαλλον. τύχῃ δὲ τινὶ ξυνέπεσεν ἀπαντὰς Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τούτοις δὴ ἐντυχόντας τοῖς βέλεσι θυνήσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦ τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐπρίβη καὶ νῦς ἐπέλαβε, Ρωμαῖοι μὲν οὔδεν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι τῶν ἐν Μαυρουσίων ἡγεμόνων πυθόμενοι διαλύειν ἐβουλεύοντο τῇ προσεδρείᾳ. ἀμείνων γὰρ Σολόμωνοι ἐφαίνετο ἐπὶ τέ Ἰαῦδαν καὶ Μαυρουσίων τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι, οἰομένῳ, ἂν ἐκείνους πολιορκία ἐλεῖν δύνηται, ρᾶν τε καὶ ἀπονότερον τοὺς ἐν Ζερβούλῃ βαρβάρους προσχωρήσειν σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐκ θετεί ἀντέχειν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ οἴομενοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷς ἀπαντεῖσ ἢ δὴ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἀνήρηντο, φεύγειν τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπολλαπεῖν ἐγνωσαν. αὐτίκα γοὺς ἀπαντεῖσ σιγῆ τε καὶ οὐδεμιάν τοῖς πολεμίωσις αἰσθησίν παρεχόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἱ τε Ὡρμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἁμα ἡμέρα παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τείχει οὐδείς, καὶ περὶ πολεμίων ἀναχωροῦσιν, ἐφαίνετο, ἑθαύμαζον τε καὶ ἐς ἅλλην ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διηποροῦντο. ἦν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ τὸ φρούριον περιπότες ἀνακεκλιμένην τὴν πῦλα εὐρίσκομεν ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Μαυρουσίοι ἄχοντο φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ φρούριον ἑσελθόντες ἐν ἀρπαγῇ

πάντοθεν V : πανταχόθεν PO.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xix. 21–31

have provisions fail his forces. And finding a high place with cliffs on all sides of it and concealed by perpendicular rocks, Toumar by name, he remained quietly there. And the Romans besieged the fortress of Zerboule for three days. And using their bows, since the wall was not high, they hit many of the barbarians upon the parapets. And by some chance it happened that all the leaders of the Moors were hit by these missiles and died. And when the three days' time had passed and night came on, the Romans, having learned nothing of the death of the leaders among the Moors, were planning to break up the siege. For it seemed better to Solomon to go against Iaudas and the multitude of the Moors, thinking that, if he should be able to capture that force by siege, the barbarians in Zerboule would with less trouble and difficulty yield to the Romans. But the barbarians, thinking that they could no longer hold out against the siege, since all their leaders had now been destroyed, decided to flee with all speed and abandon the fortress. Accordingly they fled immediately in silence and without allowing the enemy in any way to perceive it, and the Romans also at daybreak began to prepare for departure. And since no one appeared on the wall, although the besieging army was withdrawing, they began to wonder and fell into the greatest perplexity among themselves. And in this state of uncertainty they went around the fortress and found the gate open from which the Moors had departed in flight. And entering the fortress they treated everything as plunder, but they
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ἀπαντα ἐποιήσαντο, διόκειν μέντοι ἥκιστα τοὺς πολεμίους διενοούντο, ἀνδρὰς κούφως τε ἐσταλ-
32 μένους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης χωρίων ἐμπείρους. καὶ ἐπείδη ἀπαντὰ ἐλθόσαντο, φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου καταστησάμενοι πεξῆ ἀπαντεῖ ἐχώρουν πρόσω.

XX

'Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς Τούμαρ τῶν χώρων, οὗ δὴ καθείρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἠσύχαιζον οἱ πολέμοι, ἀγχὶ που ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν δυσχωρία, ἐνθὰ οὔτε ὦδας ὅτι μὴ ὄλγου οὔτε ἄλλου τοῦ ἀναγ.
2 καίν ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ἐσεθαί ἐμελλὼν. χρόνου δὲ τριβομένου συχνοῦ τῶν τε βαρβάρων οὐδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπεξίοντο, αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τι ἔσουσιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τῇ προσεδρείᾳ πιεζόμενοι ἡσχαλλον.
3 μάλιστα δὲ παντῶν τῇ τοῦ ὦδας ἀπορίᾳ ἡχθοντο, ὃ δὴ αὐτὸς Σολόμων ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐσ ἡμέραν ἐδίδουν, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι
4 κύλικα μίαν ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰδὲ δυσανασχετοῦντάς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ τὰ παρόντα δυσχερὴ φέρειν οὐκέτι οίους τε ὄντας, ἀποπειράθαι τε τοῦ χωρίου, καίπερ δυσπροσό-
δον ὄντος, διενοείτο καὶ ἐνυγκαλέσας ἀπαντας
5 παρεκκελεύσατο δὲ: ‘Ἐπειδὴ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς Ὁρμαῖοις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους πολιορκεῖν, πράγμα πρῶτον τε κρείσσων ἐλπίδος καὶ τῶν τοῖς γε οὐχ ὄρωσι τὰ δρόμενα παντελῶς ἄπιστον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ήμᾶς τῇ ἄνωθεν ὑποργοῦντας ἐπικουρίᾳ ταύτῃ δὴ μὴ καταπροδίδοναι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑφισταμένους σὺν προθυμίᾳ τῶν
1 ἡχθοντο ῬΟ: πιεζόμενοι ἡχθοντο Β. 

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xix. 31–xx. 5

had no thought of pursuing the enemy, for they had set out with light equipment and were familiar with the country round about. And when they had plundered everything, they set guards over the fortress, and all moved forward on foot.

XX

And coming to the place Toumar, where the enemy had shut themselves in and were remaining quiet, they encamped near by in a bad position, where there would be no supply of water, except a little, nor any other necessary thing. And after much time had been spent and the barbarians did not come out against them at all, they themselves, no less than the enemy, if not even more, were hard pressed by the siege and began to be impatient. And more than anything else, they were distressed by the lack of water; this Solomon himself guarded, giving each day no more than a single cupful to each man. And since he saw that they were openly discontented and no longer able to bear their present hardships, he planned to make trial of the place, although it was difficult of access, and called all together and exhorted them as follows: "Since God has granted to the Romans to besiege the Moors on Aurasium, a thing which hitherto has been beyond hope and now, to such as do not see what is actually being done, is altogether incredible, it is necessary that we too should lend our aid to the help that has come from above, and not prove false to this favour, but undergoing the danger with enthusiasm, should
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κύνδυνον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώσειν εὐτυχήματος
6 ἐφίεσθαί. ὡς πᾶσα μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγ-
μάτων ὅση ἐς τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν περισταται,
ἡν δὲ τις ἑθελοκακήσας προδοδοθῇ τὴν τύχην, οὐκ
ὰν αὐτὴν αἰτιώτο δικαίως, αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τὴν
7 αἰτίαν πεποιημένος. Μαυρονοί῍ων μὲν τὴν ἀσ-
θένειαν ὄρατε δὴπ ο καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ δὴ πάντων
ἀπολελειμένου τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθείρζαντες αὐ-
8 τους τηροῦσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ δυσοὶ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἔτερον,
ἡ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ μηδαμῶς ἀχθομένους τὴν τῶν
πολεμίων ὁμολογίαν προσδέχεσθαι, ἡ πρὸς ταύ-
την ὀλιγοφρούντας τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κυνδύνου προσ-
9 ἱεσθαί 1 νίκην. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν πρὸς
tοῦτο ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκύδυνον ἔσται, οὐδὲ
ἡ τῷ λειμῷ μαχομένους ὡς οὐποτε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς
χείρας ἀφίξεσθαι οίμαι. ἀπέρ ἐν τῷ παρόντι
ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐχοῦντα ἀπαντᾷ προσήκει προθύμως
tὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἀκτελεῖν."

10 Τοσαῦτα Σολόμων παρακελευσάμενος διεσκοπ-
eῖτο ὅθεν ἀν σφίσι τοῦ χωρίου πειράσασθαι
ἀμείνον εὖ, ἀπορομμένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐφίκει.
11 Λίαν γὰρ οἱ ἁμαχοὶ τῆς ἡ δυσχωρία ἐφαίνετο. ἐν
φ' δὲ Σολόμων ταῦτα ἐν νῷ ἐποιεῖτο, ἡ τύχη ὅδον
12 τινα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπορίσατο τὴν δε. Γέζων
ἢ τις ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις πεζὸς, τοῦ καταλόγου
ὅππιών εἰς ὅν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέρατο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν
13 τῶν συντάξεων χορηγὸν καλοῦσι Ρωμαίοι. οὕτος
ὁ Γέζων, εἰτε παῖς εἰτε θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἢ καὶ
τι αὐτὸν θείου ἐκάινησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἱέναι
δοκῶν ἀνέβαινε μόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀποθεν

1 προσλεσθαί editors: προσλεσθαι V, προεσθαι O.

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reach after the good fortune which is to come from success. For in every case the turning of the scales of human affairs depends upon the moment of opportunity; but if a man, by wilful cowardice, is traitor to his fortune, he cannot justly blame it, having by his own action brought the guilt upon himself. Now as for the Moors, you see their weakness surely and the place in which they have shut themselves up and are keeping guard, deprived of all the necessities of life. And as for you, one of two things is necessary, either without feeling any vexation at the siege to await the surrender of the enemy, or, if you shrink from this, to accept the victory which goes with the danger. And fighting against these barbarians will be the more free from danger for us, inasmuch as they are already fighting with hunger and I think they will never even come to an engagement with us. Having these things in mind at the present time, it behooves you to execute all your orders with eagerness."

After Solomon had made this exhortation, he looked about to see from what point it would be best for his men to make an attempt on the place, and for a long time he seemed to be in perplexity. For the difficult nature of the ground seemed to him quite too much to contend with. But while Solomon was considering this, chance provided a way for the enterprise as follows. There was a certain Gezon in the army, a foot-soldier, "optio"¹ of the detachment to which Solomon belonged; for thus the Romans call the paymaster. This Gezon, either in play or in anger, or perhaps even moved by some divine impulse, began to make the ascent alone, apparently going against the enemy, and not far from him.

¹ See Book III. xvii. 1 and note.
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tῶν τινες ξυστρατιωτῶν ἦσαν, ἐν θαύματε πολλά χοιρινόμενοι τὰ γονόμενα. ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ Μαυροουσίων τρεῖς οὐ ἐσ τὸ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἰσόδον ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ σφαῖς ἵναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀπήντων δρόμῳ. ἀτε δὲ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐ ξυστεταγμένοι ἐβάδιζον, ἀλλὰ χωρίς ἕκαστος ἦει. παῖσας δὲ τὸν πρώτον οἱ ἐνυχύοντα ὁ Γέζων ἔκτεινεν, οὔτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάτερον διειργάσατο. ὦ δὴ κατεδόντες οἱ ὁπίσθεν ιόντες πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχορον. ὅς δὲ τὰ δρόμενα ἦκουσὲ τε καὶ εἶδεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων στρατιά ἐξύμπασα, οὐτε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναμείναντες τῆς πορείας σφόσιν ἡγήσασθαι οὔτε τὰς σάλπιγγας τὴν ξυμβολὴν σημήνας, καθάπερ εἰδιστό, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν φυλάσσοντες, ἀλλὰ πατάγῳ τε πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐγκελευόμενοι ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. ἐνταῦθα Ἡροφίνος τε καὶ Λεόντιος, οἱ Ζαύνα τοῦ Φαρεσσάμανος, ἐργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀρετὴς ἁξια. οἷς δὴ ὁ Μαυρούσιοι καταπεταλημένοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας σφῶν ἀνηρήσαθαν ἔμαθον, αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο ἦσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταλάμβανομενοι ἐθνησκον. Ἰαύδας τε αὐτὸς ἀκοντιόν πληγείς τὸν μηρὸν ὅμως διέ- φυγε τε καὶ ἔς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀπεχώρησε. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ διαρπάσαντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον οὐκέτι τὸ Ἀυράσιον ἐκλείπειν ἐγνώσαν, ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνος ἐνταῦθα φρούρια οἰκοδομημένου φυλάσσει,1 ὅπως μὴ αὕτης τούτο δὴ τὸ ὄρος Μαυρουσίοις ἐσβατὸν ἐσται.

1 φυλάσσειν Ο : φυλάσσουσιν Β.
went some of his fellow-soldiers, marvelling greatly at what he was doing. And three of the Moors, who had been stationed to guard the approach, suspecting that the man was coming against them, went on the run to confront him. But since they were in a narrow way, they did not proceed in orderly array, but each one went separately. And Gezon struck the first one who came upon him and killed him, and in this way he despatched each of the others. And when those in the rear perceived this, they advanced with much shouting and tumult against the enemy. And when the whole Roman army both heard and saw what was being done, without waiting either for the general to lead the way for them or for the trumpets to give the signal for battle, as was customary, nor indeed even keeping their order, but making a great uproar and urging one another on, they ran against the enemy's camp. There Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunæs the son of Pharesmanes, made a splendid display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And by this the Moors were terror-stricken, and when they learned that their guards also had been destroyed, they straightway turned to flight where each one could, and the most of them were overtaken in the difficult ground and killed. And Iaudas himself, though struck by a javelin in the thigh, still made his escape and withdrew to Mauretania. But the Romans, after plundering the enemy's camp, decided not to abandon Aurasium again, but to guard fortresses which Solomon was to build there, so that this mountain might not be again accessible to the Moors.
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23 Ἑστὶ δὲ τις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πέτρα ἀπότομος κρημνών ἐς μέσον ἀνέχουσα: πέτραν αὐτὴν Γε-μυνανοῦ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. Οὔ δὲ πῦργον οἱ πάλαι ἀνθρώποι βραχὺν κομιδὴ ποιησάμενοι καταφυγή τινα ἵσχυραν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης ἐδεί-μαντο. Ἕνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν Ἰαύδας τά τε χρή-ματα καὶ τάς γυναίκας ἥμερας πρότερον ὀλύγας ἐναποθέμενος, ἐνα τε γέροντα Μαυρούσιον φύ-λακα τῶν χρημάτων καταστησάμενος. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτὲ ὑπετόπασεν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τόνδε τῶν χώρων ἀφίξεσθαι οὔτ' ἀν βία ἐς τὸν ἀπαντᾷ αἴωνα τὸν πῦργον ἐλείν. ἀλλὰ Ὀρμαῖοι τότε τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὰς δυσχωρίας διερευνώμενοι Ἕνταῦθα ἰκὸν, καὶ αὐτῶν τίς ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν πῦργον ἐτῶν γέλωτι ἐνεχείρησεν αἰ δὲ γυναίκες ἐτῶθαζον, ἀτε δὴ τῶν ἀμηχάνων ἐφιεμένου κατα-γελῶσαι τότῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἀπὸ τοῦ πῦργου διακύψας ἐποίησε. ὁ δὲ Ὀρμαῖος στρα-τιώτης ἐπειδὴ χερσὶ τε καὶ ποσὶν ἀναβαίνων ἐγγὺς ποὺ ἐγεγόνει, σπασάμενος ἰσχὺς τὸ χίφος ἐξῆλατο τε ὦς εἴχε τάχους καὶ τοῦ γέροντος εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχῶν παίει, τεμείν τε αὐτὸν διαμπτὰ ἵσχυσεν. ἢ τε κεφαλὴ ἐξῆπεσεν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται θαρσοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἄλληλων ἔχομενοι εἰς τὸν πῦργον ἀνέβαινον, καὶ τὰς τοὺς γυναίκας τὰ τέχνηφα, μεγάλα κομιδὴ ὑμνα, ἐνθένδε ἐξῆλιον. ἀφ' ὄν τῇ Σολό-μων πολλὰς τῶν ἐν Διβύη πόλεων περιέβαλε τείχεσαι.

30 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Νοῦ- 1 ἐξῆλατο Ο Theophanes: ἐξειλετό V.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xx. 23–30

Now there is on Aurasium a perpendicular rock which rises in the midst of precipices; the natives call it the Rock of Geminianus; there the men of ancient times had built a tower, making it very small as a place of refuge, strong and unassailable, since the nature of the position assisted them. Here, as it happened, Iaudas had a few days previously deposited his money and his women, setting one old Moor in charge as guardian of the money. For he could never have suspected that the enemy would either reach this place, or that they could in all time capture the tower by force. But the Romans at that time, searching through the rough country of Aurasium, came there, and one of them, with a laugh, attempted to climb up to the tower; but the women began to taunt him, ridiculing him as attempting the impossible; and the old man, peering out from the tower, did the same thing. But when the Roman soldier, climbing with both hands and feet, had come near them, he drew his sword quietly and leaped forward as quickly as he could, and struck the old man a fair blow on the neck, and succeeded in cutting it through. And the head fell down to the ground, and the soldiers, now emboldened and holding to one another, ascended to the tower, and took out from there both the women and the money, of which there was an exceedingly great quantity. And by means of it Solomon surrounded many of the cities in Libya with walls.

And after the Moors had retired from Numidia,
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μυδίας νικηθέντες, ὄσπερ ἐρρήθη, Ζάβην τε τὴν χώραν, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὅρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ἔστι Μαυριτανία
tε ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται μητρόπολιν Σίτιψιν ἔχουσα, τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆν προσε-
ποίησε: Μαυριτανίας γὰρ τῆς ἔτερας πρώτη
Καισάρεια τυχχάνει οὖσα, οὐ δὴ ὁ Μαστύγας ἤ
Μαυρουσίως τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἴδρυτο, ξύμπαντα
tὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία κατήκοα τε καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ

31 32 33

πλὴν γε δὴ πόλεως Ἐκαστρείας ἔχων. ταύτην
gὰρ Ῥωμαίων Βελισάριος τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέσω-
σατο, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται
λόγοις: ἐς ἣν Ῥωμαίοι ναυσὶ μὲν εἰς ἀεὶ στέλλο-
tαί, πεζῇ δὲ ἵναι οὐκ εἰς δυνατοὶ Μαυρουσίων
eν ταύτη φικημένων τῇ χώρα. καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
Δίβυνες ἀπαντεῖ, οἱ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοι ἦσαν,
eἰρήνης ἄσφαλοι τυχόντες καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος
ἀρχῆς σώφρονος τε καὶ λίπαν μετρίας, ἐς τοῦ
λοιπῶν πολέμων ἐν νῷ οὔθεν ἔχοντες, ἐδοξα
εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων.

XXI

Τετάρτῳ δὲ ὑπερον ἐναντίῳ ἀπαντᾶ σφίσιν
ἀγαθά ἐς τουναντίων γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. έτος
γὰρ ἐβδομὸν τε καὶ δέκατον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασι-
λέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, Κύρος τε
καὶ Σέργιος, οἱ Βάκχον τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφοῦ
παῖδες, πόλεως τῶν ἐν Διβύῃ πρὸς βασιλέως
ἀρχειν ἑλαχὸν, Πενταπόλεως μὲν Κύρος ὁ πρεσ-
2 βύτερος, Ἐπιτόλεως δὲ Σέργιος. Μαυρουσίων
dὲ οἱ Δενάθαι καλούμενοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xx. 30–xxi. 2

defeated in the manner described, the land of Zabe, which is beyond Mt. Aurasium and is called "First Mauretania," whose metropolis is Sitiphis,\(^1\) was added to the Roman empire by Solomon as a tributary province; for of the other Mauretania Caesarea is the first city, where was settled Mastigas\(^2\) with his Moors, having the whole country there subject and tributary to him, except, indeed, the city of Caesarea. For this city Belisarius had previously recovered for the Romans, as has been set forth in the previous narrative\(^3\); and the Romans always journey to this city in ships, but they are not able to go by land, since Moors dwell in that country. And as a result of this all the Libyans who were subjects of the Romans, coming to enjoy secure peace and finding the rule of Solomon wise and very moderate, and having no longer any thought of hostility in their minds, seemed the most fortunate of all men.

XXI

But in the fourth year after this it came about that all their blessings were turned to the opposite. For in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian, Cyrus and Sergius, the sons of Bacchus, Solomon's brother, were assigned by the emperor to rule over the cities in Libya, Cyrus, the elder, to have Pentapolis,\(^4\) and Sergius Tripolis. And the Moors who are called Leuathae came to Sergius

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\(^1\) Now Setif. \(^2\) Called Mastinas in IV. xiii. 19. \(^3\) Book IV. v. 5. \(^4\) Cyrenaica.
Δεπτίμαγγαν πόλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, ἐπιθρυλ-λούντες ὅτι δὴ τοῦτον ἑνεκα ἤκοεν, ὅπως ὁ Σέργιος διδρά τε καὶ ξύμβολα σφήσε τὰ νομιζό-μενα δοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην κρατώνηται. Σέργιος δὲ Πουδεντύλῳ ἀναπεισθεῖς, Τριτολίτῃ ἀνδρί, οὔπερ ἐν τοῖς ἑμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἀτε κατ' ἄρχας τοῦ Βανδιλικοῦ πολέμου Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεί ἔτι Βανδίλους ὑπηρετήσατοσ, ὦγιοθ-κοντα μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς μάλιστα δοκίμους τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο, ἀπαντά ἐπιτελέσειν ὑποσχό-μενος τὰ αὐτοῦμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ μὲνεν ἐκέλευσε. τοῦτος δὴ τοῖς οὐγοκόντα πίστεις ἄμφι τῇ εἰρήνῃ παρασχό-μενος, οὔτω δὴ αὐτοὺς ἔπὶ θοινὴν ἐκάλεσε. τοῦτος δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους νῦ ἀλερω ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, ὅπως Σέργιουν ἐνεδρεύσατο

5 κτείνωσιν. ἔπειθή τε αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἡλθον, ἄλλα τε Ἡρωμαίοις ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ λήμα σφίσων οὐ δεόν δηιώσαι. ἀπερ ὁ Σέργιος ἐν ἡλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου ἔξωστάς ἐφ' οὔτερ καθήστο, ἐβούλετο ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.

6 καὶ τις αὐτοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ἐπωμίδος λαβόμενος ἐνεχείρει οἱ ἐμπόδιοι εἶναι. ἐς τε βαρυβοὺ ἐνθένδε καταστάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ἄμφ' αὐτῶν ἱδῇ ἔννερρειν. τῶν δὲ τῶν Σεργίου δορυ-φόρων τὸ ἔφος σπασάμενος τοῦτον δὴ τῶν Μαυ-ρούσιον διεχρήσατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταραχῆς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ μεγάλης, οἱ Σεργίου δορυφόροι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπαντασ-

1 κτείνωσιν V: διαφελωσιν O. 2 βάθρου O: βαράθρου V. 3 βαρβάρων V: μαυρουσίων O. 4 ἐνθένδε O: ἐνθάδε V.

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with a great army at the city of Leptimagna, spreading the report that the reason they had come was this, that Sergius might give them the gifts and insignia of office which were customary and so make the peace secure. But Sergius, persuaded by Pudentius, a man of Tripolis, of whom I made mention in the preceding narrative as having served the Emperor Justinian against the Vandals at the beginning of the Vandalic War, received eighty of the barbarians, their most notable men, into the city, promising to fulfil all their demands; but he commanded the rest to remain in the suburb. Then after giving these eighty men pledges concerning the peace, he invited them to a banquet. But they say that these barbarians had come into the city with treacherous intent, that they might lay a trap for Sergius and kill him. And when they came into conference with him, they called up many charges against the Romans, and in particular said that their crops had been plundered wrongfully. And Sergius, paying no heed to these things, rose from the seat on which he was sitting, with intent to go away. And one of the barbarians, laying hold upon his shoulder, attempted to prevent him from going. Then the others began to shout in confusion, and were already rushing together about him. But one of the bodyguards of Sergius, drawing his sword, despatched that Moor. And as a result of this a great tumult, as was natural, arose in the room, and the guards of Sergius

1 Now Lebida.  
2 Cf. III. xxv. 4 ff.  
3 Book III. x. 22 ff.
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11 ἐκτείναν. καὶ αὐτῶν ἔς, ἐπεἴδη κτεινομένους τοὺς ἄλλους εἶδε, τοῦ τε οἰκήματος ὲνα δὴ ταῦτα ἐπράσσετο ἐκπεπήδηκε, λαθὼν ἀπαντας, ἔς τε τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἀφικόμενος τὰ σφίσι ἤμπεσοντα ἐδήλου. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔς τε τὸ οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδου κομίζονταί δρόμῳ καὶ ἔνν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένοντο.

12 οἷς δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Δεπτίμαγνον ἀφικόμενον Σέργιος τε καὶ Πουδέντιος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ὑπηντίξουν. τῆς τε μάχης ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένης τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐνίκων Ῥωμαιοί καὶ τῶν πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἐκτείναν, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον λησάμενοι τῶν τε χρημάτων ἐκράτησαν καὶ γυναικῶν τε καὶ παιδῶν ἐξηνδραπόδισαν μέγα τι χρῆμα. ὅστερον δὲ Πουδέντιος θράσει ἀπερίσκεπτῳ ἐχόμενος θυήσκει. Σέργιος δὲ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ συνεσκόταζεν, ἐς Δεπτίμαγναν ἐσῆλασε.

13 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὅστερον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι μείζουν παρασκευή ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστράτευσαν. Σέργιος δὲ παρὰ Σολόμωνα τὸν θείον ἐστάλη, ἐφ’ ὦ καὶ αὐτὸς μείζουν στρατῷ ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων Ἰου. οὐ δὴ καὶ Κύρων τῶν ἄδελφων ἐδρεύει. οὐ τε βάρβαροι ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι πλείστα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἔλησαντο τῶν ἐκείνης χωρίων Ἀντάλας δὲ (οὐτερ ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήθην ἀτε Ῥωμαιοῖς πιστοῦ διαμεμενήκοτος καὶ δὲ αὐτῷ μόνου ἐν Βυζάκιῳ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντος) ἤδη Σολόμων ἐκπεπολεμωμένος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτι τε τὰς σιτῆσις αἰς αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμήκει Σολόμων ἀφεῖλε καὶ τῶν ἄδελφῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε, ταραχὴν τινα αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζακηνοὺς γινομένην

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killed all the barbarians. But one of them, upon seeing the others being slain, rushed out of the house where these things were taking place, unnoticed by anyone, and coming to his tribemates, revealed what had befallen their fellows. And when they heard this, they betook themselves on the run to their own camp and together with all the others arrayed themselves in arms against the Romans. Now when they came near the city of Leptimagna, Sergius and Pudentius confronted them with their whole army. And the battle becoming a hand-to-hand fight, at first the Romans were victorious and slew many of the enemy, and, plundering their camp, secured their goods and enslaved an exceedingly great number of women and children. But afterwards Pudentius, being possessed by a spirit of reckless daring, was killed; and Sergius with the Roman army, since it was already growing dark, marched into Leptimagna.

At a later time the barbarians took the field against the Romans with a greater array. And Sergius went to join his uncle Solomon, in order that he too might go to meet the enemy with a larger army; and he found there his brother Cyrus also. And the barbarians, coming into Byzacium, made raids and plundered a great part of the country there; and Antalas (whom I mentioned in the preceding narrative¹ as having remained faithful to the Romans and as being for this reason sole ruler of the Moors in Byzacium) had by now, as it happened, become hostile to Solomon, because Solomon had deprived him of the maintenance with which the emperor had honoured him and had killed his brother, charging him with responsibility for an uprising against the people of Byzacium.

¹ Book IV. xii. 30.
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18 ἐπενεγκών. τότε οὖν ἦν τούτους Ἀντάλας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἁσμενοὺς τε εἶδε καὶ ομαιχύναν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ Σολόμωνα τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα σφίσσεις ἤγησατο.

19 Σολόμων δὲ, ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἤκουσε, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἄρας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤμει, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τεβέστην, ἐξ ἁμερῶν ὡδὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ Βάκχοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παιδὸς Κύρος τε καὶ Σέργιος καὶ Σολόμων ὁ νεώτατος. δεῖσας τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἐπεμψε παρὰ τῶν Δευσάνων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, μεμφόμενος μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἐνσπονδοὶ Ρωμαίῶν ὄντες εἶτα ἐν ὅπλοις γενόμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἀξίων ἐν σφίσι κρατύνασθαι, ὅρκους τε ὁμείσθαι τοὺς δεινοτάτους ὑπέσχετο, ἢ μὴν ἀμυνστία τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐς αὐτοὺς χρήσεσθαι. χλευάζοντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα οἱ βάρβαροι πάντως αὐτὸν ὁμεῖσθαι τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἔφασαν, ἀπερ καλεῖν εὐαγγέλια

22 γενομέκας. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ Σέργιος ταύτα ὁμόσας εἶτα τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἔκτεινε, βουλομένως σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἴη ἐς μάχην ιδώσι τοῦτων δὴ τῶν λογίων ἀποπειράσθαι, ὅποιαν τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόρκους δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς βεβαιοτατα πιστεύσαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ξυ νθήκας καθιστώται. ταύτα Σολόμων ἀκούσας τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύτεο.

23 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραῖα μοίρᾳ τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων λείαν

1 οὖν V: γοῦν RO.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxi. 17–23

So at that time Antalas was pleased to see these barbarians, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with them, led them against Solomon and Carthage.

And Solomon, as soon as he heard about this, put his whole army in motion and marched against them, and coming upon them at the city of Tebesta, distant six days' journey from Carthage, he established his camp in company with the sons of his brother Bacchus, Cyrus and Sergius and Solomon the younger. And fearing the multitude of the barbarians, he sent to the leaders of the Leuathae, reproaching them because, while at peace with the Romans, they had taken up arms and come against them, and demanding that they should confirm the peace existing between the two peoples, and he promised to swear the most dread oaths, that he would hold no remembrance of what they had done. But the barbarians, mocking his words, said that he would of course swear by the sacred writings of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call Gospels. Now since Sergius had once taken these oaths and then had slain those who trusted in them,¹ it was their desire to go into battle and make a test of these same sacred writings, to see what sort of power they had against the perjurers, in order that they might first have absolute confidence in them before they finally entered into the agreement. When Solomon heard this, he made his preparations for the combat.

And on the following day he engaged with a

¹ A reference to his slaughter of the eighty notables, IV. xxi. 7, where, however, nothing is said of an oath sworn on the Gospels.
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ὅτι πλείστην ἀγούσῃ ξυμβαλὼν καὶ μάχη νικήσας
24 ἀφελών τε τὴν λείαιν ἐφύλασσε πάσαν. δυσανα-
σχετούσι δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δεινὰ ποιου-
μένους, ὅτι ἡ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδου τὰ λάφυρα,
εφασκεν ἀναμένειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ὅπως
ἡ ἀπαντα τηνικάτα διανείμωνται, καθάπερ
ἀν ἐς τὴν ἄξιαν ἐπιβάλλον ἐκάστῳ φαίνηται.
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖθις οἱ βαρβαροὶ πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς
ξυμβολὴν ὥρμητο, ἑνταῦθα Ὁρμαῖον τὲ τινες
ἀπελείποντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐχ ἤξιν προθυμία ἐς τὴν
26 παράταξιν ἔσαν. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἀγχώμαλος
ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, ὑστερον δὲ πληθεὶ τολλῷ ὑπερ-
βαλλόμενων τῶν Μαυροσίων, Ὁρμαῖων μὲν οἱ
πολλοὶ ἐφευγον, Σολόμων δὲ καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ τινες
χρόνον μὲν τινα βαλλόμενοι ἀντεἴχον, ὑστερον δὲ
ὑπερβιαζόμενων τῶν πολεμίων σπουδῇ ἐφευγον
ἐς τε ρύκας ἐκεῖνη ἑσοντος χαράδραν ἀφίκοντο.
27 ἐνθα δὴ ὁκλάσαντος οἱ τοῦ ἱπποῦ Σολόμων ἐκ-
πίπτει ἐς ἐδαφοῖς, καὶ αὐτόν κατὰ τάχος ταῖς
χεριν οἱ δορυφόροι ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱπποῦ
28 καθίζουσι. περιώδουν δὲ γεγονότα καὶ ἀδύνατον
ἐτὶ τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἔχεσθαι καταλαβόντες οἱ βαρ-
βαροι αὐτόν τε κτείνουσι καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων
πολλοὺς. αὕτη τε τοῦ βίου τελευτῆ Σολόμωνοι
ἐγένετο.

XXII

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σολόμωνος, Σέργιος αὐτοῦ,
ὡςπερ εἴρηται, ἀδελφίδοις οὐν, δόντος βασιλέως,
2 παρέλαβε τὴν Δεσφίνην ἄρχην. ὅσ ὑπὶ φθορᾶς
πολλῆς αἰτιῶτατος τῷ Διβύων γένει ἐγένετο,
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portion of the enemy as they were bringing in a very large booty, conquered them in battle, seized all their booty and kept it under guard. And when the soldiers were dissatisfied and counted it an outrage that he did not give them the plunder, he said that he was awaiting the outcome of the war, in order that they might distribute everything then, according to the share that should seem to suit the merit of each. But when the barbarians advanced a second time, with their whole army, to give battle, this time some of the Romans stayed behind and the others entered the encounter with no enthusiasm. At first, then, the battle was evenly contested, but later, since the Moors were vastly superior by reason of their great numbers, the most of the Romans fled, and though Solomon and a few men about him held out for a time against the missiles of the barbarians, afterwards they were overpowered by the enemy, and fleeing in haste, reached a ravine made by a brook which flowed in that region. And there Solomon's horse stumbled and threw him to the ground, and his body-guards lifted him quickly in their arms and set him upon his horse. But overcome by great pain and unable to hold the reins longer, he was overtaken and killed by the barbarians, and many of his guards besides. Such was the end of Solomon's life.

XXII

After the death of Solomon, Sergius, who, as has been said, was his nephew, took over the government of Libya by gift of the emperor. And this man became the chief cause of great ruin to the people of Libya,
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ἀπαντές τε αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἦχθοντο, ἀρχοντες μὲν, ὁτι ἀσύνετος ὃν κομιδὴ καὶ νέος τὸν τε τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλαζονικώτατος γέγονεν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, ὑβριζὲ τὸ λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερέωρα, πλούτου τε ἕνεκα τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσία ἐς τούτο αἰὲ ἐπιχρώμενος· οὐ δὲ στρατίωται, ὅτι ὁ ἀνανδρός τε καὶ μαλθακὸς παντάπασιν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Δίβυνες διὰ τὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι γυναικῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἀλλοτρίων ἄτοπος

3 τις ἐραστής ἐγεγόνει. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάννης ὁ Σισινίδου τῇ Σεργίου δυνάμει χαλεπῶς εἶχεν. ἀγαθὸς γάρ ὃν τὰ πολέμια καὶ διαφερόντως εὐδόκιμος, ἀχαρίστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀτεχνῶς ἐτυχε. διὸ δὴ οὐτε αὐτὸς οὐτε ἄλλος τῶν πάντων οὐδεὶς ὁπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολεμίως ἡβοῦν·

5 λετο. τῷ δὲ Ἀντάλα, οὗ τε Μαυρούσιοι σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντες εἶποντο καὶ Στότζας ἐκ Μαυριτανίας

6 μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ἔπει τε οὐδεὶς σφίσαι ἐπεξε- ὑμεῖ τῶν πολεμίων, ἤγον τε καὶ ἐφερον λησίομενοι ἀδεῶς 2 ἀπαντα. τότε Ἀντάλας Ἰουστινιανῷ

7 βασιλεῖ γράμματα ἐγραψὲν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε·

"Δούλος μὲν εἶναι τῆς σής βασιλείας οὐκ ἄν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀρνηθείην, Μαυρούσιοι δὲ πρός Σολόμωνος ἐν σπουδαὶς πεπονθότες ἀνόσια ἐργα, ἐν ὅπλοις ὃς μάλιστα ἠγακασμένοι γεγόνασιν, οὐ σοι ταῦτα ἀνταίροντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἔχθρον ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἔγω, οὐ γὰρ μόνον 3 με τῶν σιτήσεων ἀποστερεῖν ἔγων ἀσπέρ μοι πολλῷ πρότερον χρώνῳ. Βελσάριος τε διόρισε

1 πλούτου τε Β· πλούτω τε καὶ ΡΟ.
2 ἀδεῶς Ρ· ἀτεχνῶς Ο. 3 μόνον: μόνον Β, δισον ΡΟ.

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and all were dissatisfied with his rule—the officers because, being exceedingly stupid and young both in character and in years, he proved to be the greatest braggart of all men, and he insulted them for no just cause and disregarded them, always using the power of his wealth and the authority of his office to this end; and the soldiers disliked him because he was altogether unmanly and weak; and the Libyans, not only for these reasons, but also because he had shown himself strangely fond of the wives and the possessions of others. But most of all John, the son of Sisiniolus, was hostile to the power of Sergius; for, though he was an able warrior and was a man of unusually fair repute, he found Sergius absolutely ungrateful. For this reason neither he nor anyone else at all was willing to take up arms against the enemy. But almost all the Moors were following Antalas, and Stotzas came at his summons from Mauretania. And since not one of the enemy came out against them, they began to sack the country, making plunder of everything without fear. At that time Antalas sent to the Emperor Justinian a letter, which set forth the following:

"That I am a slave of thy empire not even I myself would deny, but the Moors, having suffered unholy treatment at the hands of Solomon in time of peace, have taken up arms under the most severe constraint, not lifting them against thee, but warding off our personal enemy; and this is especially true of me. For he not only decided to deprive me of the maintenance, which Belisarius long before
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καὶ σὺ¹ δέδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἄδελφόν τὸν ἐμὸν ἐκτεινέω, οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχων. τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην παρὰ τοῦ ἁδικηκότος ἡμᾶς λαβόντες ἔχομεν. εἰ δὲ σοι βουλομένῳ ἑστὶ δουλεύειν τε Μαυρουσίους τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν ἄτερ εἰώθασι, Σέργιον μὲν τὸν τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἄδελφιδοῦν ἐνθέντε ἀπαλλαγέντα ἐπανήκειν παρὰ σὲ κέλευε, ἄλλου δὲ στρατηγὸν εἰς Διβύνην πέμπτε. οὐ γὰρ σε ἐπιλείψουσιν ἀνδρεῖς ξυνετοί τε καὶ Σέργιον τῷ παντὶ ἀξιώτερον· ἑως γὰρ οὗτος τῷ σῷ ἐξηγεῖται στρατῷ, εἰρήνην ἐς τε Ρωμαίους καὶ Μαυρουσίους ξυνίστασθαι ἀμήχανα ἐστίν.

'Ἀντάλας μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ μαθὼν τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἐς Σέργιον ἔχθος,² οὐδὲ ὡς παραλύειν αὐτὸν τῆς ἁρχῆς ἤθελε, Σολόμωνος τὴν τε ἄλλην ἄρετὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰσχυνόμενος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

12 Σολόμων δὲ, ὁ Σέργιον ἄδελφός, δόξας ἔνν τῷ θείῳ Σολόμων εἶ ἄνθρωπων ἀφαιρεθήναι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἄδελφου ἡμελήθη. οὐ γὰρ τῶς αὐτὸν περίοντα ἐγώ. ἐτύχανον δὲ ἄγρησταις αὐτὸν ἄτε νέων κομιδή ὡς Μαυρουσίων,

13 καὶ αὐτὸς³ ἀνεπηνθάνοντο ὡστὶ ποτὲ εἰ. ὁ δὲ Βανδίλος μὲν γένος, Σολόμωνος δὲ δούλος ἐφασκεν εἶναι. φίλον μέντοι τῶν τῖνα ἱατρῶν, Πηγάσιον ὄνομα, εἰναί οἱ ἐν πόλει Δαρίβω, πλησίον που

14 σὺ V: αὐτὸς PO.

15 οὐση, δὲ αὐτὸν ὀνησίατο τὰ λύτρα διδοῦσ. οἱ

² ἔχθος V: ἔχθος PO.

³ αὐτοῦ V: αὐτοί PO.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxii. 8–15

specified and thou didst grant, but he also killed my own brother, although he had no wrongdoing to charge against him. We have therefore taken vengeance upon him who wronged us. And if it is thy will that the Moors be in subjection to thy empire and serve it in all things as they are accustomed to do, command Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, to depart from here and return to thee, and send another general to Libya. For thou wilt not be lacking in men of discretion and more worthy than Sergius in every way; for as long as this man commands thy army, it is impossible for peace to be established between the Romans and the Moors.'

Such was the letter written by Antalas. But the emperor, even after reading these things and learning the common enmity of all toward Sergius, was still unwilling to remove him from his office, out of respect for the virtues of Solomon and especially the manner of his death. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Solomon, the brother of Sergius, who was supposed to have disappeared from the world together with his uncle Solomon, was forgotten by his brother and by the rest as well; for no one had learned that he was alive. But the Moors, as it happened, had taken him alive, since he was very young; and they enquired of him who he was. And he said that he was a Vandal by birth, and a slave of Solomon. He said, moreover, that he had a friend, a physician, Pegasus by name, in the city of Laribus near by, who would purchase him by giving ransom. So the
μὲν οὖν Μαυρούσιοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενοι ἐκάλουν τε τῶν Πηγάσιων καὶ οἱ Σολόμονα ἔπεδείκνυον, ἡρώτων τε εἰ οἱ τούτων ἄνωσθαί πρὸς ἡδονής ἔστι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁμολόγει ὡνήσεσθαι, πευτὴν κοιτά οἱ χρυσῶν ἀπέδωντο τὸν Σολόμωνα. ἔντος δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενοι Σολόμονα τοὺς Μαυροσίους, ἀτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μειρακίων ὤντος ἐξηπατημένους, ἐτώθαζεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ Σολόμων ἐφασκεν, ὁ Βάκχου μὲν παῖς, Σολόμωνος δὲ ἀδελφίδοις εἶναι. Μαυροσίους δὲ τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλγοῦντες καὶ δεινὰ ποιοῦμενοι, οὗ τῇ Σεργίῳ τε καὶ Ἐρωμαίων ἐνέχυρον κρατερῶν ἔχοντες εἶτα οὔτω παρέργοις ἀφήκαν, ἐς Λάριβον τε ἄφικοντο καὶ αὐτὴς 1 ἐς πολιορκίαις κατέστησαν, ὅπως τὸν Σολόμωνα ξῦν τῇ πόλει αἰρήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκοῦμενοι τῶν βαρβάρον τὴν προσεδρείαν κατορρωδῆσαντες, ἔπει οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομμισμένοι ἔτυχον, τοὺς Μαυροσίους ἐς λόγους ἤλθον, ἐφ’ ὁ χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενοι τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθύς διαλύσασιν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀν ἑλεῖν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν οἴομενοι, ἐπεὶ Μαυροσίους τειχομαχεῖν οὕδαμη ἡσκηται, σπανίζειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοὺς πολιορκομένους ἠκιστα ἔγνωσαν, τοὺς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τρισχοίους κεκοιμημένους χρυσοῦς τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, καὶ οἱ Δενάθαι ἐπ’ οἴκου ἐξεποτοῦντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

XXIII

'Αντάλας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυροσίων στρατὸς ἐνυπνεύσατο αὐθίς ἐν Βυζακίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς Στότ-406 1 αὐτὴς V: αὐτοῖς PO.
Moors came up close to the fortifications of the city and called Pegasius and displayed Solomon to him, and asked whether it was his pleasure to purchase the man. And since he agreed to purchase him, they sold Solomon to him for fifty pieces of gold. But upon getting inside the fortifications, Solomon taunted the Moors as having been deceived by him, a mere lad; for he said that he was no other than Solomon, the son of Bacchus and nephew of Solomon. And the Moors, being deeply stung by what had happened, and counting it a terrible thing that, while having a strong security for the conduct of Sergius and the Romans, they had relinquished it so carelessly, came to Laribus and laid siege to the place, in order to capture Solomon with the city. And the besieged, in terror at being shut in by the barbarians, for they had not even carried in provisions, as it happened, opened negotiations with the Moors, proposing that upon receiving a great sum of money they should straightway abandon the siege. Whereupon the barbarians, thinking that they could never take the city by force—for the Moors are not at all practised in the storming of walls—and at the same time not knowing that provisions were scarce for the besieged, welcomed their words, and when they had received three thousand pieces of gold, they abandoned the siege, and all the Leuathae retired homeward.

XXIII

But Antalas and the army of the Moors were gathering again in Byzacium and Stotzas was with
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ξας ἐξυνῆν, στρατιώτας τε ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ
2 Βαυδίλους ἔχων. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Σιωνίλου, πολλὰ λυπαροῦντον ¹ Διβύων, στράτευμα ἄγει-
3 ρας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἤλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἰμέριος
Θρᾶς τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἄρχων, ὥς ἡ
τότε Ἰωάννης ἐκέλευε πάντας ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς
ταύτης καταλόγους ξὺν τοῖς ἐκάστῳ ἡγουμένοις
ἐλθόντα ἐσ' χορίον Μενεφέσης, ὦ ἐστὶν ἐν Βυζα-
κίῳ, σφίσι ξυμμέξαι. ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας ἐν-
ταύθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύσθαι τοὺς πολέμιοις, Ἰμε-
ρῆς ἐγραφεί τὰ τε ἐμπεσόντα δηλῶν καὶ σφίσιν
ἐπαγγέλλων ἐτέρῳ ἀναμένωσθαι, ὅπως μὴ
κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἄπαντες ἐπαντιάσωσι
5 τοὺς πολέμιοις. τύχῃ δὲ τινι οἱ ταῦτα τὰ γράμ-
ματα ἔχοντες ὁδῷ ἔτερα χρησάμενοι τὸν Ἰμέριον
εὑρέτων οὐδαμῆν ἵσχυσαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ
ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐστὶν τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον
6 γέγονεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκεῖνων χερσίν. ὥν δὲ τις ἐν
tούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ στρατῷ νεανίᾶς Σεβηριανός,
'Ασιατικοῦ παῖς, Φοῖνιξ, Ἔμεσηνὸς γένος, κατα-
7 λόγου ἵππικοῦ ἄρχων. δὲ δὴ μόνοις ξὺν τοῖς
ἀμφ' αὐτῶν στρατιῶταις, πεντήκοντα οὖσι, τοῖς
8 πολέμιοις ἐσ' χειρὰς ἠλθε. καὶ χορίον μὲν ἀντ-
εἰχόν τινα, ἐπειτα δὲ πλήθει πολλῷ βιαζομένοι
ἐς λόφον ἀνέδραμον ἐνταύθα πη ὅντα, οὐ δὴ καὶ
9 φρούριον οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν. διὸ δὴ ὁμολογία
σφάς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνταύθα ἐτ' αὐτοῦ
10 ἀναβεβηκόσι παρέδωκαν. οἱ δὲ οὕτω αὐτῶν οὕτε
tῶν στρατιῶτῶν τινα ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ ξωγρῆσαν-
tες ἄπαντας, Ἰμέριον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον, τῷ
dὲ Στότζα τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέδωσαν, ὁμολο-

¹ λιπαροῦντων ἦν: παρακαλοῦντων οἴ.
them, having some few soldiers and Vandals. And John, the son of Sisiniolus, being earnestly entreated by the Libyans, gathered an army and marched against them. Now Himerius, the Thracian, was commander of the troops in Byzacium, and at that time he was ordered by John to bring with him all the troops there, together with the commanders of each detachment, and come to a place called Mene-phesse, which is in Byzacium, and join his force there. But later, upon hearing that the enemy were encamped there, John wrote to Himerius telling what had happened and directing him to unite with his forces at another place, that they might not go separately, but all together, to encounter the enemy. But by some chance those who had this letter, making use of another road, were quite unable to find Himerius, and he together with his army, coming upon the camp of the enemy, fell into their hands. Now there was in this Roman army a certain youth, Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoenician and a native of Emesa, commanding a detachment of horse. This man alone, together with the soldiers under him, fifty in number, engaged with the enemy. And for some time they held out, but later, being overpowered by the great multitude, they ran to the top of a hill in the neighbourhood on which there was also a fort, but one which offered no security. For this reason they surrendered themselves to their opponents when they ascended the hill to attack them. And the Moors killed neither him nor any of the soldiers, but they made prisoners of the whole force; and Himerius they kept under guard, and handed over his soldiers to Stotzas, since they agreed with
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gούντας σφίσι ξύν προβυμία πολλή ἐπὶ Ὀ-μάιους στρατεύσοντοι τοῦ μέντοι Ἰμέριον, ἣν μὴ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ποιῦ, κτείνειν ἡπείλουν. 11 ἐπήγγελλον 1 δὲ πόλιν Ἀδραμητὸν ἐπιθαλασσίαν μηχανὴ τινι σφίσιν ἐνδοῦναι. καὶ ἐπεὶ οἱ ἰσχυρί-ξετοι θουλομένωι εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἀδραμητὸν ξύν αὐτῷ ἤςαν. τῆς τε πόλεως ἄγχου γενόμενοι Ἰμέριον μὲν ὀλίγῳ ἐμπροσθεν ξύνο στρατιώταις τῶν Στότζα ἐπομένων τισὶν ἐπεμψαν, Μαυρουσίων δεδεμένους δὴθεν ἐφέλκοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὁπίσθεν εἶποντο. καὶ τῷ Ἰμερίῳ εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πύλαις ἐπέστηλλον, ὡς νικῶν μὲν κατὰ κράτος ὁ βασιλέως στρατός, ἤξε ἐδὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, πλήθος Μαυρουσίων δορυαλωτῶν ἄγων ἀριθμοῦ κρείσσου οὕτω τε τῶν πυλῶν σφίσιν ἀνοιγμένων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ξύν τοῖς ἀμα 14 αὐτῷ ἤσσοι γενέσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἔπολει. Ἀδραμητὴν δὲ οὕτως ἔξαπατηθέντες (οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ πάντων ἀρχον τῶν ἐν Βυζάκῳ στρατιωτῶν εἶχον) τὰς πύλας ἀναπετά- 15 σαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέχοντο. τότε δὴ οἱ ξύν τῷ Ἰμερίῳ ἔσβαντες σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη τὰς πύλας ἐπιτιθέναι τοὺς ταῦτα φύλακας ὅυκετι ἔιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ πόλει αὐτίκα ἐδέξαντο τὸν 16 τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατόν. λησάμενοι τε αὐτῆς οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φύλακας καταστησάμενοι ὀλί- 17 γους τινᾶς ἀπηλλάσσοντο. Ὀρμαῖων δὲ τῶν ξωγρηθέντων τινές μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἤλθον, ἐν όις Σεβηριανὸς τε καὶ Ἰμέριος ἦν. ἐκ Μαυρουσίων γὰρ τοῖς φεύγειν ἐθέλουσιν οὐ χαλε-

1 ἐπήγγελλον Maltretus: ἐπήγγελλε MSS.

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great readiness to march with the rebels against the Romans; Himerius, however, they threatened with death, if he should not carry out their commands. And they commanded him to put into their hands by some device the city of Hadrumetum on the sea. And since he declared that he was willing, they went with him against Hadrumetum. And upon coming near the city, they sent Himerius a little in advance with some of the soldiers of Stotzas, dragging along, as it seemed, some Moors in chains, and they themselves followed behind. And they directed Himerius to say to those in command of the gates of the city that the emperor’s army had won a decisive victory, and that John would come very soon, bringing an innumerable multitude of Moorish captives; and when in this manner the gates had been opened to them, he was to get inside the fortifications together with those who went with him. And he carried out these instructions. And the citizens of Hadrumetum, being deceived in this way (for they could not distrust the commander of all the troops in Byzacium), opened wide the gates and received the enemy. Then, indeed, those who had entered with Himerius drew their swords and would not allow the guards there to shut the gates again, but straightway received the whole army of the Moors into the city. And the barbarians, after plundering it and establishing there some guards, departed. And of the Romans who had been captured some few escaped and came to Carthage, among whom were Severianus and Himerius. For it was not difficult for those who wished it to make
πὸν ἦν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξὺν τῷ Στότζᾳ οὐτὶ ἀκοντες¹ ἔμεναν.

18 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τῶν τις ἱερέων, Παῦλος ὤνομα, δὲ δὴ ἐφεστήκει ² τῇ τῶν νοσουντων ἐπιμελεία, κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίμων τισίν, "Ἄκωτος μὲν," ἐφι, "ἐς Καρχηδόνα σταλῆσομαι καὶ κατὰ τάχος ξὺν στρατῷ ἐπανήξειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, ὡμών δὲ μελησει τῇ πόλει τὸ βασιλεῖον στράτευμα δέξασθαι." οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν βρόχοις τισίν ἀνάπαυτες νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ περίβολου καθίκαν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἡμώνα γενόμενος, ὀλκάδος τε ἀλίεων ἐπιτυχόν ἐνταῦθα τῇ σάλφης χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας

19 τοὺς ταῦτας κυρίους ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐπλεί. οὐ δὴ καταπλεύσας καὶ Σέργιῳ ἐς ὅνιν ἔλθων τὸν τις λόγον ἀταμνα ἐφρασε καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἀξίον ἀς ὰ Ἀδραμητῶν ἀνασωσομένῳ διδόναι ἥξιον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα Σέργιον ἧκιστα ἤρεσκεν, ἀτε τοῦ ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατοῦ οὐ πολλοῦ ὕπτος, ὃς ὀλίγος οἱ στρατιωτῶς τινᾶς διδόναι ἐδεῖτο, λαβὼν τε ἄνδρας οὐ πλέον ὑγδοκέντα, ἐπενευ τοιάδε.  

22 νηῶν τε τοὺς ἀθροσκιν καὶ ἀκάτων συχρῶν ποιησάμενος ναύτας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐσεβίβασε καὶ Δίβνας ἄλλοις, ἰμάτια περιβεβλημένους δὴ ὅ ῥομαῖοι οἱ στρατιῶται εἰώθασιν ἑνδοῦσκεσθαι. τοῖς τοῖς παντὶ στόλῳ εὐθὺς ⁴ Ὀδραμητοῦ κατὰ τάχος ἐπλεί. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἀγγίστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψας τινὰς λάθρα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως δοκίμοις ἐσήμαινεν ὡς Γερμανὸς ὁ βασιλεῶς ἀνεψίδως ἐς

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¹ ἀκοντες V: ἀκούσιοι PO.
² ἐφεστήκει Scaliger: ἐφεστήκει R, ἐφεστήκει O.
³ ὃς Christ, ὃς MSS.
⁴ εὐθὺς Dindorf: εὐθὺς MSS.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. 17-23

their escape from Moors. And many also, not at all unwillingly, remained with Stotzas.

Not long after this one of the priests, Paulus by name, who had been appointed to take charge of the sick, in conferring with some of the nobles, said: "I myself shall journey to Carthage and I am hopeful that I shall return quickly with an army, and it will be your care to receive the emperor's forces into the city." So they attached some ropes to him and let him down by night from the fortifications, and he, coming to the sea-shore and happening upon a fishing-vessel which was thereabouts, won over the masters of this boat by great sums of money and sailed off to Carthage. And when he had landed there and come into the presence of Sergius, he told the whole story and asked him to give him a considerable army in order to recover Hadrumetum. And since this by no means pleased Sergius, inasmuch as the army in Carthage was not great, the priest begged him to give him some few soldiers, and receiving not more than eighty men, he formed the following plan. He collected a large number of boats and skiffs and embarked on them many sailors and Libyans also, clad in the garments which the Roman soldiers are accustomed to wear. And setting off with the whole fleet, he sailed at full speed straight for Hadrumetum. And when he had come close to it, he sent some men stealthily and declared to the notables of the city that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had recently come to
Καρχηδόνα ἐναγχός ἦκων Ἀδραμητηνοῖς λόγον
24 πολλοῦ ἄξιον στράτευμα πέμψειεν. οἷς δὴ θαρσοῦτας ἐκέλευε τὴν νῦκτα ἐκείνην ἀνακλίνας
25 σφίσι πυλίδα μίαν, οἷς δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίοιν. οὔτω τε ὁ Παῦλος ξύν τοῖς ἐπομένοις
ἔντος τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἀπαντας ἔκτεινε καὶ βασίλει τὸ Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνεσώριστον. ἢ τε ἄμφι Γερμανωθη τῆς ἔνθεν ἅρμαμένη
26 ἀχρὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔχωρησεν, οἷς δὲ Μαυροῦσιοι καὶ ὁ Στότζας ξυν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες κατ' ἄρχας μὲν κατωρρώθησαν τε καὶ ἐς τᾶς Διβύης ἐσχατιὰς φεύγοντες ὄχυντο, ἔπειτα δὲ γνώντες τὸν ἄλθῃ λόγον δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ αὐτοὶ Ἀδραμητηνῶν φεισάμενοι πάντων τοιῶντα
27 πρὸς ἐκείνων πεπόνθασι. διὸ δὴ παινταχῇ ἐπισκηφάντες ἀνόσια Δίβυνας ἔργα εἰργασαντο, οὐδεμίας ἡλικίας φεισάμενοι, γέγονε τε τὸτε ἁνωθεν τοις καὶ τοις διεσπαραγον, οἱ δὲ ἐς τε Σικελίαν καὶ νῆς τῶν ἄλλας. οἱ μέντοι λόγιμοι σχεδὸν τι ἀπαντῆς ἐς Βυζάντιον ἠλθον, έν τοῖς καὶ Παῦλος ἦν, ὁ τὴν
28 Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσάμενος βασίλει. οἱ τε Μαυροῦσιοι ἀδεέστερον, ἀτε οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξεύροντο, ἡγόνι τε καὶ ἔφερον ἀπαντα καὶ ἐξ οὗτος ὁ
29 Στότζας ἐν δυνάμει ὅν ἤδη. 'Ρωμαιοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ στρατιώται πολλοὶ εἴποντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτόμολοι ἤκοντες, οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄρχας μὲν αἰχμαλωτοὶ γε
30 γενημένοι, ἐθελοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῦ μείναντες. Ἰωάννης δὲ, οὗ δὴ λόγος τῆς ἦν ἐν Μαυροῦσίοις, Σεργίῳ προσκεκρουκὼς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἰσυχίαν ἠγεν.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiii. 23–32

Carthage, and had sent a very considerable army to the citizens of Hadrumetum. And he bade them take courage at this and open for them one small gate that night. And they carried out his orders. Thus Paulus with his followers got inside the fortifications, and he slew all the enemy and recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor; and the rumour about Germanus, beginning there, went even to Carthage. And the Moors, as well as Stotzas and his followers, upon hearing this, at first became terrified and went off in flight to the extremities of Libya, but later, upon learning the truth, they counted it a terrible thing that they, after sparing all the citizens of Hadrumetum, had suffered such things at their hands. For this reason they made raids everywhere and wrought unholy deeds upon the Libyans, sparing no one whatever his age, and the land became at that time for the most part depopulated. For of the Libyans who had been left some fled into the cities and some to Sicily and the other islands. But almost all the notables came to Byzantium, among whom was Paulus also, who had recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor. And the Moors with still less fear, since no one came out against them, were plundering everything, and with them Stotzas, who was now powerful. For many Roman soldiers were following him, some who had come as deserters, and others who had been in the beginning captives but now remained with him of their own free will. And John, who was indeed a man of some reputation among the Moors, was remaining quiet because of the extreme hostility he had conceived against Sergius.
XXIV

Ἐν τούτοις δὲ βασιλεὺς ἄλλον ἐς Διβύην στρατηγὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἔχων στρατιώταις ὅληγοις τισίν ἐπεμψεν, ἀνδρὰ ἐκ βουλῆς μὲν καὶ εὐ γεγονότα, ἐργῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὐδαμῶς ἐμπειροῦν. καὶ ξύν αὐτῷ Ἀθανάσιον ἔπαρχον ἀρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἡκούτα ἐστελλε καὶ Ἀρμενίους ὅληγος τινάς, ὃν Ἀρταβάνης τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἤρχον, Ἰωάννου παῖδες, Ἀρσακίδαι μὲν γένος, ἐναγχος δὲ ἀπολυτόντες τὸ Περσῶν στρατεύμα, ἔσ τε Ἀρμαίους αὖθις ἕν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίους αὐτόμολοι ἡκουτες. συνὴν δὲ τῷ Ἀρεόβινδῳ Ἡ τε ἄδελφῃ καὶ Πρειέκτα ἡ γυνή, Βυζλευτίας θυγάτηρ τῆς βασι-

λέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἄδελφῃς. οὐ μὴν οὕδε Σέργιον μετεπέμπτετο, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον Διβύης στρατηγοῦς ἐκελευεν εἴναι, τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους διελομένους.

ἐπέβαλε δὲ Σέργιῳ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον διενεχέκειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ βαρβάρους, Ἀρεόβινδῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐν Βυζικῷ Μαυρουσίοις ἂνε διαμάχεσθαι.

καταπλεύσατος τε τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἐς Καρχη-

δόνα, Σέργιος μὲν ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας ἔχω τῶν οἰκεῖων στρατῷ ἀπιῶν ὅχετο, Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Στότζαν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι μαθῶν ἁμβί πόλιν Σικκαβενερίαν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν Καρχη-

δόνος διέχουσαι, Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινολοῦ ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκελευεν ἵνα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον

ἐξ τοῖς ἄριστοιν ἓν τῷ τοῦ Σέργιῳ ἡγαρφε τοῖς ἁμβί τῶν Ἰωάννην ἀναμίγγυσθαι, ἐφ᾽ ὁ κοινὴ ἄπαντες

1 αὖθις PO: om. V.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiv. 1–7

XXIV

At this time the emperor sent to Libya, with some few soldiers, another general, Areobindus, a man of the senate and of good birth, but not at all skilled in matters of warfare. And he sent with him Athanasius, a prefect, who had come recently from Italy, and some few Armenians led by Artabanes and John, sons of John, of the line of the Arsacidae,¹ who had recently left the Persian army and as deserters had come back to the Romans, together with the other Armenians. And with Areobindus was his sister and Prejecta, his wife, who was the daughter of Vigilantia, the sister of the Emperor Justinian. The emperor, however, did not recall Sergius, but commanded both him and Areobindus to be generals of Libya, dividing the country and the detachments of soldiers between them. And he enjoined upon Sergius to carry on the war against the barbarians in Numidia, and upon Areobindus to direct his operations constantly against the Moors in Byzacium. And when this expedition landed at Carthage, Sergius departed forthwith for Numidia with his own army, and Areobindus, upon learning that Antalas and Stotzas were encamped near the city of Siccaveneria, which is three days' journey distant from Carthage, commanded John, the son of Sisiniolus, to go against them, choosing out whatever was best of the army; and he wrote to Sergius to unite with the forces of John, in order that they might all with one common force engage

¹ Cf. Book II. iii. 32.
8 ὁμόσε τοὺς πολεμίους χωρήσουσι. Σέργιος μὲν οὖν τῶν τε γεγραμμένων καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὅλης ὑμετέρων ἔγνω, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ξύν ὁλόγροφ στρατῷ ἀμυθήτῳ ἥν ἄγκαστο πολεμίων πλήθει ἐς χεῖρας ἵναι. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Στότζα μέγα τι ἄει ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχθῶς, ἐκατέρος τε αὐτοῖς ἄψωτο φονεῖς ὑπάτερος γενόμενος οὗτος δὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθήμαι. τὸτε γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ μάχη ἐν χερσὶ γίγνεσθαι ἐμελλεν, ἀμφότεροι τῶν στρατευόμενων ἐλαύνοντες ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἤλθον. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον ἐτί προσιόντα τῶν Στότζαν κατὰ βουβώνα τὸν δικόν ἐπιτυχὸν βάλλει, ὁ δὲ καιρῶν πληγεὶς ἅτου, ἐπεσεν, οὕτω μὲν τεθνεώς, χρόνον δὲ τίνα ὅληγον ταύτη ἡ ἐπιβιωσόμενος τῇ πληγῇ. ἐπελθόντες δὲ πάντες αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ εἰποντο καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυροσίων στρατός, Στότζαν μὲν ὁλογρυ-χοῦντα ἐπὶ δέδουρο τινὸς ἔθεντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ θυμός πολλῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρήσαντες τῶν τε Ἰωάννην καὶ Ῥωμάιονς ἀπαντας, ἄτε πληθεῖ πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντες, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο. τὸτε δὲ φασιν εἰπειν τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἦδων τινα θάνατον τινής καὶ ὑπελαβοντας εἰπειν οἷ τὰς τις εὐχής ἀμβλύ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐς πέρας ἀφίκται, χώρος δὲ τις ἁν κατάντης ἐνταῦθα, οὐ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀποβάλλει ὁ ὅμως ὁ Ἰττόπος ἔφε δυν αὐθιὸν αὐτοὺ ἀναθρώπῳ σκεῖν πειρῶμενον καταλαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κτείνουσιν, ἀνδρα γενόμενον δόξη τε καὶ ἁρτῆ μέγαν. ὁπερ ὁ Ἰωάννῃ μαθῶν ἐτελεύτησε, τοσοῦτον ἐιπὼν, ὡς ἦδηστα τὸ λοιπὸν θυνήσκοι. ἐν ταύτῃ

1 ἐχθός VPO corr.: ἐχθὸς O pr. m.

2 πληγεῖς V : τυπεῖς P, τυπεῖς O.

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with the enemy. Now Sergius decided to pay no heed to the message and have nothing to do with this affair, and John with a small army was compelled to engage with an innumerable host of the enemy. And there had always been great enmity between him and Stotzas, and each one used to pray that he might become the slayer of the other before departing from the world. At that time, accordingly, as soon as the fighting was about to come to close quarters, both rode out from their armies and came against each other. And John drew his bow, and, as Stotzas was still advancing, made a successful shot and hit him in the right groin, and Stotzas, mortally wounded, fell there, not yet dead, but destined to survive this wound only a little time. And all came up immediately, both the Moorish army and those who followed Stotzas, and placing Stotzas with little life in him against a tree, they advanced upon their enemy with great fury; and since they were far superior in numbers, they routed John and all the Romans with no difficulty. Then, indeed, they say, John remarked that death had now a certain sweetness for him, since his prayer regarding Stotzas had reached fulfilment. And there was a steep place near by, where his horse stumbled and threw him off. And as he was trying to leap upon the horse again, the enemy caught and killed him, a man who had shown himself great both in reputation and in valour. And Stotzas learned this and then died, remarking only that now it was most sweet to die.
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tη μάχη καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταβάνου ἀδελφὸς θυνῆσκει, ἔργα ἐσ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ-

dειξάμενος ἀρετής ἀξία. βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας περιώδυνος τε τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀρετή-

gεγονὼς μάλιστα, ἀξύμφορον τε νομίσας εἶναι τοῖν δυὸν στρατηγοῖν 1 τὴν ἄρχην διέπειν, 2 τὸν

μὲν Σέργιον εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἔσ Ἰταλίαν

ξῦν στρατῷ ἐπέμψει; 3 Ἀρεόβινδῳ δὲ ἄπαν τὸ

Διβύς παρέδωκε κράτος.

XXV

Γόνθαρις δὲ δυὸν μησίν ὑστερον ἡ Σέργιος

ἐνθέντε ἀπιὰν ὑχετο, τυραννίδι ἐπέθετο τρόπῳ

τοιῷδε. ἐτύγχανε μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν Νουμίδαις καταλόγων ἡγούμενος διατριβήν τε διὰ τοῦτο

ἐνταῦθα ἔχων, ἐπρασσε δὲ λάθρα ἐς Μαυρουσίους

3 ὡπὼς ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα 4 χωρῆσωσιν. αὐτόκα τοῖν

ἐκ τοῖς Νουμίδαις καὶ Βυζακίου πολεμίων στρατὸς

ἐς ταὐτὸ ἀγγειερμένοις ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα σπουδῇ

πολλῆ ψεσαν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Νουμιδῶν μὲν Κουτζίνας

3 τε καὶ Ἰαύδας, Βυζακηνῶν δὲ Ἀντάλας. ξυνὴν

δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τύραννος ξὺν τοῖς ἐπο-

μένοις, δὲ δὴ οἱ στασιώται; 5 Στότζα τετελευτη-

κότος, ἀρχοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστῆσαι τον.

4 γροὺς δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὴν ἐφοδοῦ ἄλλους τε τῶν

ἀρχόντων ξὺν τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ

Γόνθαριν μεταπέμπετο. παρὴγ δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν τοῖς

1 Haury prefers τὰ δύο στρατηγά.

2 διέπειν: μάλιστα διέπειν V, ἔχειν PO.

3 ἐπέμψει V: ἐστείλει O.

4 καρχηδόνα P pr. m., Theophanes: καρχηδόνοι VP corr., O.

5 στασιώται V: στρατιώται PO.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxiv. 15–xxv. 4

In this battle John, the Armenian, brother of Artabanes, also died, after making a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And the emperor, upon hearing this, was very deeply grieved because of the valour of John; and thinking it inexpedient for the two generals to administer the province, he immediately recalled Sergius and sent him to Italy with an army, and gave over the whole power of Libya to Areobindus.

XXV

And two months after Sergius had departed from there, Gontharis essayed to set up a tyranny in the following manner. He himself, as it happened, was commanding the troops in Numidia and spending his time there for that reason, but he was secretly treating with the Moors that they might march against Carthage. Forthwith, therefore, an army of the enemy, having been gathered into one place from Numidia and Byzacium, went with great zeal against Carthage. And the Numidians were commanded by Coutzinas and Iaudas, and the men of Byzacium by Antalas. And with him was also John, the tyrant, and his followers; for the mutineers, after the death of Stotzas, had set him up as ruler over themselves. And when Areobindus learned of their attack, he summoned to Carthage a number of the officers with their men, and among them Gontharis. And he was
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5 Ἀρμενίου καὶ Ἀρταβάνης. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρεο- 

6 βινδος Γόνθαριν ἔξηγεσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ 

6 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευσεν. ὁ δὲ προθύμως 

οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπηρετήσειν ὑποσχόμενος 

ἐστοί τάδε. τῶν οἰκετῶν ἦνα, Μαυρούσιοι μὲν 

γένος, τέχνην δὲ μάγειροι, ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων 

1 στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι, καὶ δόκησαν μὲν 

τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ τῶν δεσπότην 

ἀποδρὰς φόντο, λάθρα δὲ τῷ Ἀντάλα εἰπεῖν ὡς 

αὐτῷ Γόνθαρις κοινωνεῖν βούλοιτο τῆς Διβύων 

7 ἀρχής. ὁ μὲν οὖν μάγειρος κατὰ τάυτα ἐποίει, 

ὁ δὲ Ἀντάλας τὸν μὲν λόγον ἁσμέσις ἤκουσε, 

τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς αἱ γενναίαι τῶν 

πράξεων οἷς διὰ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιγίνεσθαι τοῖς 

8 ἀνθρώπων πεφύκασι. ταύτα ἐπει Γόνθαρις 

ήκουσε, τῶν δορυφόρων ἔνα, Οὐλίθεον ὅνομα, ὃ 

δὴ μάλιστα πιστοτάτῳ ἔχρητο, παρὰ τὸν Ἀν-

τάλαν εὐθὺς ἐπεμψεν, ὡς αγχοτάτῳ Καρχηδόνος 

9 αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν ἰέναι. οὕτω γὰρ οἱ τὸν Ἀρεό-

10 βινδον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαινεῖν ἐπηγγέλλετο. ὁ 

μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων 

Ἀντάλα ἐμβαίνειν, ἐφ᾽ ὃ Βυζακίων μὲν Ἀντάλας 

ἄρχοι, τὸ τε ἡμιν τῶν Ἀρεοβίνδου χρημάτων 

ἐχων καὶ πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας 

Ῥωμαίοις σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόμενος, Γόνθαρις δὲ τὸ 

βασιλέως ἀξίωμα λάβοι, Καρχηδόνος τε τὸ 

11 κράτος καὶ Διβύης τῆς ἄλλης ἔχων. ταῦτα τε 

diαπετραγμένοι ἐπανήκεν ὡς τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατό-

πεδον, ὅπερ ἄπαν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίητο, ἐν 

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ φυλακτήρια πύλης ἐκάστης

1 πολεμίων V: ἐναντίων PO.

2 πεποίητο Hoeschel in marg. : πεποίηται MSS.
joined also by Artabanes and the Armenians. Areobindus, accordingly, bade Gontharis lead the whole army against the enemy. And Gontharis, though he had promised to serve him zealously in the war, proceeded to act as follows. One of his servants, a Moor by birth and a cook by trade, he commanded to go to the enemy's camp, and to make it appear to all others that he had run away from his master, but to tell Antalas secretly that Gontharis wished to share with him the rule of Libya. So the cook carried out these directions, and Antalas heard the word gladly, but made no further reply than to say that worthy enterprises are not properly brought to pass among men by cooks. When this was heard by Gontharis, he immediately sent to Antalas one of his body-guards, Ulitheus by name, whom he had found especially trustworthy in his service, inviting him to come as close as possible to Carthage. For, if this were done, he promised him to put Areobindus out of the way. So Ulitheus without the knowledge of the rest of the barbarians made an agreement with Antalas that he, Antalas, should rule Byzacium, having half the possessions of Areobindus and taking with him fifteen hundred Roman soldiers, while Gontharis should assume the dignity of king, holding the power over Carthage and the rest of Libya. And after settling these matters he returned to the Roman camp, which they had made entirely in front of the circuit-wall, distributing among themselves the guarding of each
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12 νεμάμενοι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐ πολλῷ ὑστεροῦν εὔθυ Καρχηδόνος σπουδῆ πολλῇ ἤσαν, ἐν τε χωρίῳ τῷ Δεκίῳ καλουμένῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἐνθένδε τε ἄραντες τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρόσω ἐξώρουν. τινὲς δὲ ὑπαντόσαι τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἐς χείρας τε αὐτοῖς ἀποστολοκητοῦ ἠλθον καὶ Μαυρουσίους οὐ1 συχνοὺς ἐκτειναν. οὐς δὴ ὁ Γόνθαρις εὐθὺς ἀνεκάλει κακίζων ἀτε ἀνεπισκέπτως τε θρασυνομένους καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐθέλοντας ἐς προοπτὸν τινα ἐμβαλείν κιάδυνον.

15 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀρεοβίνυδος πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Κουτζίναν λάθρα ἔπρασσε προδοσίας πέρι. καὶ οἱ οὐ Κουτζίνας ὁμολόγησεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένονται, ἕπὶ τε Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ τραπέσαται. Μαυρουσίων γὰρ οὕτε πρὸς ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς οὕτε πρὸς ἄλληλους το τιστὸν ἔχουσι. ταῦτα ἐς Γόνθαριν Ἀρεο-

17 βίνυδος ἔξηγεν. δὲ δὲ παρακρούσθαι τε καὶ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν πραξαν ἑθέλων παρῆκε τῷ Ἀρεοβίνυῳ τῷ τιστὸν ἐς Κουτζίναν ὡς ἰκιστα ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὀμήρῳ λόγῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ λάβοι. Ἀρεοβίνυδος μὲν οὖν καὶ Κουτζίνας λάθρα παρ' ἄλληλους ἀεὶ πέμποντες ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐς

19 Ἀντάλαν ἐπιβουλὴ διατριβὴν εἶχον. Γόνθαρις δὲ αὖθις τοῦ Οὐλίθου στείλας ἐκπυτα τῷ Ἀν-

20 τάλα ἐποίησε τὰ πρασόμενα. καὶ δὲ οὕτε τι τῷ Κουτζίνα ἐπικαλεῖν ἐγνω οὕτε ὅτι ἐπέπυστο τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνδήλος αὐτῷ ἐγείρονε, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὶ ἐξῆγενε τῶν αὐτῶ τε καὶ Γόνθαριδι

21 ἐξυγκείμενων. ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἅμως πολέμιοι τε

1 μαυρουσίους οὐ V: μαυρουσίων ΡΟ.
gate. And the barbarians not long afterwards proceeded straight for Carthage in great haste, and they made camp and remained in the place called Decimum. And departing from there on the following day, they were moving forward. But some of the Roman army encountered them, and engaging with them unexpectedly, slew a small number of the Moors. But these were straightway called back by Gontharis, who rebuked them for acting with reckless daring and for being willing to give the Romans foreknowledge of the danger into which they were thrown.

But in the meantime Areobindus sent to Coutzinias secretly and began to treat with him with regard to turning traitor. And Coutzinias promised him that, as soon as they should begin the action, he would turn against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacium. For the Moors keep faith neither with any other men nor with each other. This Areobindus reported to Gontharis. And he, wishing to frustrate the enterprise by having it postponed, advised Areobindus by no means to have faith in Coutzinias, unless he should receive from him his children as hostages. So Areobindus and Coutzinias, constantly sending secret messages to each other, were busying themselves with the plot against Antalas. And Gontharis sent Ulytheus once more and made known to Antalas what was being done. And he decided not to make any charges against Coutzinias nor did he allow him to know that he had discovered the plot, nor indeed did he disclose anything of what had been agreed upon by himself and Gontharis. But though enemies and

1 Cf. Book III. xvii. 11, xxi. 23.
καὶ δυσμενεῖς ταῖς γυνῶναι ὁντες καὶ τα πονηρὰ ἐξευτασσαντο, ἐπὶ τε τῶν οἰκείων ἑκάτερος φιλον
22 ἀλλήλους ἔστιν τοιαύτη μὲν γυνῆς Κουντζίνας τε καὶ Αυλάλας ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα
τῶν Μαυροσίων στρατὸν ἐπήγαγον. Γόνθαρμος δὲ κτείνα υμνὸν ἀρχηγὸν 
23 ἀνεκλέσαι τὴν Διβύσην ἀρχήν. ἀπάτη τούτων 
τοῦ Ἀρεόβινδου περιελθὼν πείθει τοῖς πολέμιοις
ἐπεξελόντα ὁμοίως ἵναι, ἂν πον Καρχηδόνος
24 ἀγχιστὰ ἥκουσιν. ἐδόκει γοῦν αὐτῷ 
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ 
παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέ-
25 μίους ἀμα ἡλιω ἀνίσχοντι. ἂλλα Ἀρεόβινδος 
ἀπείρως τε λίαν ἐς τὸ πρᾶγμα τούτο καὶ ὀκυπρῶς
26 ἔχου μελλήσει ἐχρήτο οὐδεν λόγῳ. μελετῶν τιν 
γὰρ ὅπως ἐνδύσατο τῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν σκευή καὶ 
τᾶλα ἐξαρτύμενος ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον τὸν πλείστου
27 τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάλωσε χρόνον. δίδ ἡ τῇ παρά-
ταξιν ἐς τὴν ἐπισύλλευτο ἀποθέμενος ἄσπυχη ἐμενε.
28 Γόνθαρμος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες τὴν μελλήσιν 
πεποίησαι ὑποτοπήσας ἀπὸ τῶν πρασομένων 
αἰσθανόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ἔμφανος τὸν τε φόνον τοῦ 
στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπι-
τελείων ἔγνω.

XXVI

'Ἡμέρα τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἐποίει τάδε. τὰς 
πύλας ἀναπτάσας οὖ δὴ αὐτὸς φυλακὴν εἰς,

1 ἀναγκασθεὶς V: ἀναγκασθεὶς PO.

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hostile at heart to one another, they were arrayed together with treacherous intent, and each of them was marching with the other against his own particular friend. With such purposes Coutzinias and Antalas were leading the Moorish army against Carthage. And Gontharis was intending to kill Areobindus, but, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at sole power, he wished to do this secretly in battle, in order that it might seem that the plot had been made by others against the general, and that he had been compelled by the Roman army to assume command over Libya. Accordingly he circumvented Areobindus by deceit, and persuaded him to go out against the enemy and engage with them, now that they had already come close to Carthage. He decided, therefore, that on the following day he would lead the whole army against the enemy at sunrise. But Areobindus, being very inexperienced in this matter and reluctant besides, kept holding back for no good reason. For while considering how he should put on his equipment of arms and armour, and making the other preparations for the sally, he wasted the greatest part of the day. He accordingly put off the engagement to the following day and remained quiet. But Gontharis, suspecting that he had hesitated purposely, as being aware of what was being done, decided openly to accomplish the murder of the general and make his attempt at the tyranny.

XXVI

And on the succeeding day he proceeded to act as follows. Opening wide the gates where he himself
ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΣ Ο ΦΕΙΔΙΑΣ

λίθους μὲν ὑπερφυεὶς ἐνερθεὶς ἔθηκεν, ὡς μὴ τις αὐτὰς ἐπιτιθέναι εὐπετῶς δύνατο, ἀνδρας τε τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν χερσὶν ἐχοντας ἀμφὶ τὰς ἑπάλξεις πολλοὺς ἔστησεν, αὐτὸς τε τὸν θώρακα ἐνδύς εἰστήκει ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πύλαις.

2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ Μαυρουσίων ἐνεκα, ὅπως τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ δέχηται (ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ Μαυρουσίων παντάπασιν ὄντες ὑπόπτως ἔχουσιν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. τούτῳ τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος γενέσθαι ἐξυμβαίνει ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἀπιστος ἐς τοὺς πέλας καθέστηκε φύσει, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πιστεύειν ὅτι δύναται, ἀλλὰ ὑπόπτως ἔχειν ἀναγκάζεται ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης τὸν πέλας σταθμώμενος τρόπων. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ Μαυρουσίων ἢλπὶς Γόνθαρις πιστεύσαντας οἱ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενήσεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως Ἄρεοβίνδους ἐμπέσων ἐς μέγα τι δέος ἐς φυγήν τε εὐθὺς ὀρμηθεὶς καὶ κατὰ τάχος Καρχηδόνα ἀπο- λυπὼν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζοιτο. καὶ ἔτυχεν γε τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐνυσίας, εἰ μὴ χειμὼν μεταξὺ ἐπὶ- 6 γενόμενος διεκώλυσε. μαθὼν δὲ Ἄρεοβίνδος τὸ ποιοῦμενα, τὸν τε Ἀθανάσιου καὶ τῶν δοκίμων τινὰς μετετέμπετο. παρῆν δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρίτος αὐτός, τῷ τε Ἄρεο- βίνδῳ παρῆμεν μὴν ἀναπεπτωκόμαι μὴν τόλμη τῇ Γόνθαρίδος ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλ’ αὐτίκα μᾶλα ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὁμοῦ ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς οἱ ἐπομένους ἴσων ἔργων ἔκεισαν, πρὶν τι περαιτέρω γεγονέναι 8 κακόν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψας Ἄρεοβίνδος παρὰ Γόνθαριν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰ, Φρέδαν ὄνομα, ἐκέλευεν ἀποσπειράσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης.

1 ἐς Ρ: πρὸς Ο.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxvi. 1-8

kept guard, he placed huge rocks under them, that no one might be able easily to shut them, and he placed armoured men with bows in their hands about the parapet in great numbers, and he himself, having put on his breastplate, took his stand between the gates. And his purpose in doing this was not that he might receive the Moors into the city; for the Moors, being altogether fickle, are suspicious of all men. And it is not unnatural that they are so; for whoever is by nature treacherous toward his neighbours is himself unable to trust anyone at all, but he is compelled to be suspicious of all men, since he estimates the character of his neighbour by his own mind. For this reason, then, Gontharis did not hope that even the Moors would trust him and come inside the circuit-wall, but he made this move in order that Areobindus, falling into great fear, might straightway rush off in flight, and, abandoning Carthage as quickly as he could, might betake himself to Byzantium. And he would have been right in his expectation had not winter come on just then and frustrated his plan. And Areobindus, learning what was being done, summoned Athanasius and some of the notables. And Artabanes also came to him from the camp with two others and he urged Areobindus neither to lose heart nor to give way to the daring of Gontharis, but to go against him instantly with all his men and engage him in battle, before any further trouble arose. At first, then, Areobindus sent to Gontharis one of his friends, Phredas by name, and commanded him to test the
9 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Φρέδας ἐπανήκων οὐδαμῇ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι
Γόνθαρι τὴν τυραννίδα ἐσήγγελλεν, ἦδη ἐπὶ
αὐτὸν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἴεναι διενοεῖτο.
10 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γόνθαρις Ἀρεόβινδον εἰς τοὺς
στρατιώτας διέβαλεν, ὡς ἀνανδρόσ τε εἰῇ καὶ ἄμα
μὲν δέει ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενοι, ἄμα δὲ τὰς
συντάξεις σφίσιν ὡς ἦκιστα ἑθέλων διδόναι,
δρασμὸν τε ἔιν Ἀθανασίῳ βουλεύεται καὶ αὐτίκα
ἐκ Μαυρακίου ἀποπλεῖν μέλλουσιν, ὅπως οἱ
στρατιῶται λιμῷ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους μαχόμενοι
dιαφθείρωνται,1 ἐπιυθάνετο τε εἰπερ αὐτοῖς βου-
λομένοις ἐ ὃ ἀμφω ξυλλαβοῦσιν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν.
11 οὕτω γὰρ ἦλπιζεν Ἀρεόβινδον ἡ τοῦ θρόνου
ἡσθημένον φυγὴν χρῆσοντα, ἡ καταληφθέντα
πρὸς τῶν στρατιώτῶν διαφθαρῆσον τοὺς
λόγοι. χρήματα μέντοι αὐτῶν οἰκοθεν ὠμολόγη
tοῖς στρατιώταις προέσθαι ὁσπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ
δημόσιον ὁφλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοὺς τε λόγους
ἐπήνουν2 καὶ τυμῷ ἐς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον πολλῷ
eἴχοντο, μεταξὺ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ἐιν τε Ἀρταβάνη
14 καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκεται. καὶ γίνεται
μάχη ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεις καὶ κάτω ἄμφι τὰς
πύλας οὐ Γόνθαρις εἰστήκη, ἐν η ὀυδέτεροι τὸ
15 ἐλασσὸν ἔσχον. ἐμελλόν τε ἐν ἔνθελημένοι ἐκ τῶν
στρατεύοντες, ὃσοι βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἐξον, τοὺς
στασιώτας3 κατὰ κράτος ἔλειν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαντᾷ
ὁ Γόνθαρις πω ἐξηπατήκη, ἀλλὰ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι
16 ταῖς γνώμαις ἀκραίφυεις ἐμενοῦν. Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ
tότε πρῶτον ἀνάρας κτεινομένους ἱδὼν (οὐ γὰρ

1 μαχόμενοι διαφθείρωνται V, διαφθείρωνται μαχόμενοι PO.
2 ἐπήνου—εἴχοντο V : ένεδέχοντο PO.
3 στασιώτας V : στρατιώτας PO.
other's purpose. And when Phredas returned and reported that Gontharis by no means denied his intention of seizing the supreme power, he purposed immediately to go against him arrayed for battle.

But in the meantime Gontharis slandered Areobindus to the soldiers, saying that he was a coward and not only possessed with fear of the enemy, but at the same time quite unwilling to give them, his soldiers, their pay, and that he was planning to run away with Anastasius and that they were about to sail very soon from Mandracium, in order that the soldiers, fighting both with hunger and with the Moors, might be destroyed; and he enquired whether it was their wish to arrest both and keep them under guard. For thus he hoped either that Areobindus, perceiving the tumult, would turn to flight, or that he would be captured by the soldiers and ruthlessly put to death. Moreover he promised that he himself would advance to the soldiers money of his own, as much as the government owed them. And they were approving his words and were possessed with great wrath against Areobindus, but while this was going on Areobindus together with Artabanes and his followers came there. And a battle took place on the parapet and below about the gate where Gontharis had taken his stand, and neither side was worsted. And all were about to gather from the camps, as many as were well disposed to the emperor, and capture the mutineers by force. For Gontharis had not as yet deceived all, but the majority remained still uncorrupted in mind. But Areobindus, seeing then for the first time the killing of men (for he had not yet, as it

1 The port of Carthage; see III. xx. 3.
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πω έθάς τοῦ θεάματος τούτου ἐτύγχανεν ὅν) κατεπλάγη τε καὶ ἀποδειλάσας οὐκ ἐνεγκών τε τὰ ὀρόμενα φεύγει.

17 Ἐστι δὲ τις ἔντος τοῦ Καρχηδόνος περιβόλου νεῶς πρὸς τῇ τῆς βαλάσσης ἀκτῇ, οὐ δὴ ἀνδρὲς οἰκουῦν οὐκ ἔσ τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ήσκηται· μοναχὸς καλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἁεὶ νεομίκαιμεν· τούτοις Σολώμων δειμάμενος τὸν νεῶν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον τείχισματι τε περιβαλλόν φρούριον ἐχυρώσατο κατεστήσατο. ἐνταῦθα καταφυγὼν 'Αρεόβινδος ἑσπερίδησεν, ἐνθα τὴν τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὴν

18 ἀδελφὴν ἐτύγχαναι πέμψας. τότε καὶ 'Αρταβάνης ἀπιῶν ξέκει, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐνθένες

20 ἀνεχόμενω ὡς ἐκαστὸς τῇ ἐδώει. Γόνθαρις δὲ κατὰ κράτος νεοκηκῶς ξὺ ν τοὺς στασιώτατους ἃ τὸ Παλάτιον ἔσχε, καὶ τάς τε πύλας τῶν τε λυμένα

21 ἐνδελεχέστατα νήῃ ἐφύλαττε. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸν 'Αθανάσιον μετεπέμπτε, καὶ δὲ αὐτὸ σοῦ, σοὶ τὸν οἰκοδομεῖσιν παρεῖχετο ὡς αὐτὸν ἔδει σοὶ μᾶλλον τῇ πρὸς ἀρέσκοιο.

22 ἐπείτα δὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἱερὰς πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδου ἐκέλευε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντα ἐς Παλάτιον ἢκεν, ἀπείλησας πολυρκήσεις τοὺς ἄρεισταν καὶ μηκέτι αὐτὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ πιστὰ

23 δῶσειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσῃ μηχανῇ ἔξελσιν κεινοῖν. ο μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς 'Ρεπάρατος ισχυρίζετο Γονθάριδος γνώμη τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ὁμείσκας, μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄχρι πρὸς ἑκεῖνον ἐξεμβήσεσθαι, φράσας καὶ

25 ὅσα μὴ πειθομένῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἡπείλησε. δείσας δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ὠμολογήσεν αὐτίκα τῷ ἱερεῖ

1 στασιώτατος ΒΟ: στρατιώτατος Ρ.
HISTORY OF THE WARS, IV. xxvi. 16–25

happened, become acquainted with this sight), was terror-stricken and, turning coward, fled, unable to endure what he saw.

Now there is a temple inside the fortifications of Carthage hard by the sea-shore, the abode of men who are very exact in their practice of religion, whom we have always been accustomed to call “monks”; this temple had been built by Solomon not long before, and he had surrounded it with a wall and rendered it a very strong fortress. And Areobindus, fleeing for refuge, rushed into the monastery, where he had already sent his wife and sister. Then Artabanes too ran away, and all the rest withdrew from Carthage as each one could. And Gontharis, having taken the city by assault, with the mutineers took possession of the palace, and was already guarding both the gates and the harbour most carefully. First, then, he summoned Athanasius, who came to him without delay, and by using much flattery Athanasius made it appear that what had been done pleased him exceedingly. And after this Gontharis sent the priest of the city and commanded Areobindus, after receiving pledges, to come to the palace, threatening that he would besiege him if he disobeyed and would not again give him pledges of safety, but would use every means to capture and put him to death. So the priest, Reparatus, stoutly declared to Areobindus that in accordance with the decision of Gontharis he would swear that no harm would come to him from Gontharis, telling also what he had threatened in case he did not obey. But Areobindus became afraid and agreed that he would follow the priest immediately, if the
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ἐφεσθαὶ, ἂν τὸ θείον λοιπῶν ἱερουργῆςας, ἦπερ εἰθίσται, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπομοσάμενοι ἀμφὶ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη. ὅ μὲν οὖν ιερεὺς κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίηε. 'Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ οὐδέν τι μελλήσας αὐτῷ εἴπετο, ἰμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος οὐτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἀλλῷ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτηδεῖος ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ ἡ ἰδιωτὴ παντάπασι πρέπον κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Δατίνων φωνῇ καλοῦσι 'Ῥωμαιοῦ. ἐπειδὴ τε ἄγχοι τοῦ Παλατίου ἐγένοντο, τὰ θεία ἐν χερσὶ λόγια παρὰ τοῦ ιερέως λαβὼν τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς ὅψιν ἦλθε. πρηνής τε πεσῶν χρόνου πολὺν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνο, τὴν ἰκετηρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ τε θεία λόγια προτεινόμενος καὶ τὸ παιδίον ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου ἄξιωσθεν λοιπῶν ἐτυγχανε, ἐφ' οὗ ὦ τὴν πίστιν ὁ ιερεὺς, ὧσπερ μοι ἕρρηθη, παρέσχετο. ἔπει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξανέστησεν ὁ Γονθάρις μόλις, πρὸς τὸν ιερῶν ἀπάντων ἀνεπυθάνετο τοῦ Γονθάριδος, εἰ οἱ τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται. καὶ δὲ θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρότατα ἤδη ἐκέλευεν οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχαρι πρὸς αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ύστεραίᾳ ξύν τε τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐκ Καρχηδῶνος οἶχ’ σεσθαί. εἶτα τὸν ιερέα 'Ῥεπάρατον ἀποσεμψάμενος, Ἀρεόβινδον τε καὶ Ἀθανάσιον δειπνεῖν ἐξὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκέλευεν. καὶ δειπνοῦντα μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἔτιμα· πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς στειβάςδος κατέκλιε. δειπνησάντα δὲ οὐ μεθήκεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδειν ἐν κοιτῶι μόνον ἡνάγκαζεν οὗ δὴ τὸν Οὐλίθεου ἐξὺν ἐτέροις τεσσαρὰ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπέμψεν. οὐπερ αὐτῶν κωκύντα τε καὶ ὀλολυγαῖς συνχαίς χρώμενον πολλὰ τε πρὸς

1 παρὰ ΡΟ: πρὸς Ψ. 2 πρὸς Ψ: παρὰ ΡΟ.

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priest, after performing the rite of the sacred bath in the usual manner, should swear to him by that rite and then give him pledges for his safety. So the priest did according to this. And Areobindus without delay followed him, clad in a garment which was suitable neither for a general nor for any one else in military service, but altogether appropriate to a slave or one of private station; this garment the Romans call “casula” in the Latin tongue. And when they came near the palace, he took in his hands the holy scriptures from the priest, and so went before Gontharís. And falling prone he lay there a long time, holding out to him the suppliant olive-branch and the holy scriptures, and with him was the child which had been counted worthy of the sacred bath by which the priest had given him the pledge, as has been told. And when, with difficulty, Gontharís had raised him to his feet, he enquired of Gontharís in the name of all things holy whether his safety was secure. And Gontharís now bade him most positively to be of good cheer, for he would suffer no harm at his hands, but on the following day would be gone from Carthage with his wife and his possessions. Then he dismissed the priest Reparatus, and bade Areobindus and Athanasius dine with him in the palace. And during the dinner he honoured Areobindus, inviting him to take his place first on the couch; but after the dinner he did not let him go, but compelled him to sleep in a chamber alone; and he sent there Ulitheus with certain others to assail him. And while he was wailing and crying aloud again and again and speaking many entreatings

1 i.e. baptism.
2 A garment with a cowl, like the cucullus.
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ἐλεοῦν ἐπαγγελθη φθεγγόμενον ἐς αὐτοὺς κτείνουσιν. Ἀθανασίου μέντοι ἐφείσαντο, τὸ γῆρας, οἷμαι, τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπεριδόντες.

XXVII

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγυνωμένη ἡμέρᾳ τῇ μὲν Ἁρεόβινδου κεφαλή παρὰ τὸν Ἁντάλαν ὁ Γόνθαρις ἔπεμψε, τὰ δὲ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ ἀπο- 2 στερεῖν ἔγνω. Ἁντάλας τῶν ν, οἳ τε οἱ τῶν ἔνεκειμένων οὐδὲν ἔπετέλει, δεινὰ ἔποιεῖτο, καὶ τά τε ὄνεομοσμένα τά τε εἰργασμένα τῷ Γονθαρίδι 3 ἐς τὸν Ἁρεόβινδου ἐννοών ἡσχαλλε. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἐδόκει τοῖς τοιούτους ὅρκους ἡδικηκός οὔτε αὐτῷ 4 ποτὲ οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὅτροθιν πιστῶς ἔσσεσθαί. πολλὰ γοῦν ἐν αὐτῷ λογισάμενοι Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἁρσάχωρεῖν ἠθελε· διὸ δὴ ὁπίσω ἀπήλαυε. 5 ἡμοῦς τε Μαρκέντιου, δς τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἡρχεν, ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ταύτη ἐπικειμένων καταφυγεῖν, πέμψας παρ’ αὐτὸν φράσας τε τῶν πάντα λόγου καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δούσ, τὸν ἀνθρωπον 6 ἐπηγάγετο. καὶ Μαρκέντιος μὲν ἔμενε ἔνυν τῷ Ἁντάλα ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ, στρατιώται δὲ ὅσοι ἐν Βυζακίῳ διατριβήν εἶχον, εὐνοικῶς βασιλεῖ 7 ἔχοντες, Ἀδραμητῶν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ Στότζα στρατιώται, οὐχ ἠσσοῦς οἵ χίλιοι ὄντες, ἀισθόμενοι τῶν ποιομένων, Ἰωάννου σφίσθην ἡγουμένου, παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐχώρησαν 8 δρόμῳ καὶ δς αὐτοὺς ἀσμένως τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο. ἦσαν δὲ Ρωμαίοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Οὐννοι δὲ ὅγγοψέντα μάλιστα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Βανδίλαι 436
words to them to move them to pity, they slew him. Athanasius, however, they spared, passing him by, I suppose, on account of his advanced age.

**XXVII**

And on the following day Gontharis sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but decided to deprive him of the money and of the soldiers. Antalas, therefore, was outraged, because he was not carrying out anything of what had been agreed with him, and at the same time, upon considering what Gontharis had sworn and what he had done to Areobindus, he was incensed. For it did not seem to him that one who had disregarded such oaths would ever be faithful either to him or to anyone else at all. So after considering the matter long with himself, he was desirous of submitting to the Emperor Justinian; for this reason, then, he marched back. And learning that Marcentius, who commanded the troops in Byzacium, had fled to one of the islands which lie off the coast, he sent to him, and telling him the whole story and giving pledges, persuaded him by kind words to come to him. And Marcentius remained with Antalas in the camp, while the soldiers who were on duty in Byzacium, being well disposed to the emperor, were guarding the city of Hadrumetum. But the soldiers of Stotzas, being not less than a thousand, perceiving what was being done, went in great haste, with John leading them, to Gontharis; and he gladly received them into the city. Now there were five hundred Romans and about eighty Huns, while all the rest
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9 ἀπαντεῖς. καὶ Ἁρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἐστε τῷ Παλατίῳ ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίους ἀνέβη καὶ τῷ τυράνῳ ὑπηρετήσετε ἐπιτάσσοντι ὁμολογήσετε.
10 λάθει δὲ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Γόνθραν ἐβουλεύετο, Γρηγορίῳ τῷ ἀνεψιῷ καὶ Ἁρτασίρῃ τῷ δορυφόρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸ βούλευμα τούτο. Γρηγόριοι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν πρᾶξιν ἐνάγων ἐλέξει τοιάδει·
11 "Ἑρταβάνη, νῦν οὐ πάρεστι μόνω ¹ τῷ Βελισαρίῳ ἀνάσφασθαι κλέος, ² μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῷ ἐτί ὑπερβαλέσθαι. ὃ μὲν γὰρ στρατιᾶν ἀξιολογοῦσάτην καὶ χρῆμα ἐπαρά βασιλείως λαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ἤκε, ἀρχοντας μέν ἐχὼν τοὺς ὑπομένους καὶ ἐμβουλουσίς πολλοὺς, στόλον δὲ νηών οἷόν οὔπω ἤμεῖς ἀκοῆ ἴσμεν, ὑπὸ τοὺς πολλῆς καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀπλῶς εἴπειν ἀπαντα ἐπαξίως οἱ παρεσκευασμένα τῆς
12 Ἁρμαῖων ἀρχῆς. οὕτω τε πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀνεσώσατο ³ Διβύην Ἁρμαίως. ἀπερ ἀπαντα οὖτως ἀπολουλεῖν ὅστε, εἰ μηδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνει, ἐν γε ἐν παρούσι ἐν ἱσό εἰναι: πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀποκεκριται Ἁρμαῖως ταύν ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίων ὄσκης τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐξημιώθαι, καὶ πρὸς γε τὸ μηδὲ φυλάξαι τάγαθα δυνατῶς γεγονέναι.
13 τὸ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀνασώσασθαι ταύν βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ σῇ μονῇ ψυχῇ τε καὶ γημύναι καὶ δεξιὰ
14 κεῖται. οὐκοῦν ἐκλογίζου μὲν ὡς εἰ Ἁρσακίδης ἀνέκαθεν γένος, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὡς τοὺς εὐ γεγονόσιν ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἵνα τε καὶ πανταχή πρέπει.
15 πολλὰ γονὺν σοι ἐργα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας θαυ-

¹ μόνῳ ΒΡ: πόνω Ο. ² κλέος ΒΡ: κράτος Ο. ³ ἀνεσώσατο Β: διεσώσατο Ρ, ἀνενεώσατο Ο.

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were Vandals. And Artabanes, upon receiving pledges, went up to the palace with his Armenians, and promised to serve the tyrant according to his orders. But secretly he was purposing to destroy Gontharis, having previously communicated this purpose to Gregorius, his nephew, and to Artasires, his body-guard. And Gregorius, urging him on to the undertaking, spoke as follows:

"Artabanes, the opportunity is now at hand for you, and you alone, to win the glory of Belisarius—nay more, even to surpass that glory by far. For he came here, having received from the emperor a most formidable army and great sums of money, having officers accompanying him and advisers in great numbers, and a fleet of ships whose like we have never before heard tell of, and numerous cavalry, and arms, and everything else, to put it in a word, prepared for him in a manner worthy of the Roman empire. And thus equipped he won back Libya for the Romans with much toil. But all these achievements have so completely come to naught, that they are, at this moment, as if they had never been—except indeed, that there is at present left to the Romans from the victory of Belisarius the losses they have suffered in lives and in money, and, in addition, that they are no longer able even to guard the good things they won. But the winning back of all these things for the emperor now depends upon the courage and judgment and right hand of you alone. Therefore consider that you are of the house of the Arsacidae by ancient descent, and remember that it is seemly for men of noble birth to play the part of brave men always and in all places. Now many remarkable deeds have been performed by you in
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μαστὰ πέπρακται. Ἄκακιον γάρ, νέος ὅν ἔτι,
tὸν Ἅρμενίων ἀρχοντα, καὶ Σίτταν τὸν Ῥωμαίων
strateγὸν ἐκτεινάς, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Χορσάθη βασι-
λεῖ ηγώριμος γεγονός ἐξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
ἐστράτευσας. ἐπεί δὲ τηλικόςδε εἶ, ὥς σὸν εἶναι
μὴ περιορῶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὅποι καὶ καὶ, μεθύ-
οντι κείσθαι, ἐνδείκνυσο ταῦτα ὡς εὐγενεία τε καὶ
ψυχῆς ἀρετῆ ἐκείνα, ὃ ’γαθε, τὰ πρόσθεν εἰρ-
γάσω. ἐγὼ δὲ σου καὶ ’Ἀρτασίρης δ’ ἀπαντᾷ
ἐπιτάττοντι ὁσοὶ δύναμις ὑπορηγῆσομεν.”

Γρηγόριος μὲν τοσάῦτα εἰπεν ’Αρταβάνων δὲ
tὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁρμήσεν.

ὁ δὲ Γόνθαρις Ἀρεοβίωνος μὲν τὴν τε γυναῖκα
καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου ἔξαγαγόν ἐπὶ
τινὸς οἰκίας ἡγάγακε μένειν, ὦτε τι υβρίσας
λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὅταν ἐς αὐτὰς ὦτε τὰ ἐπιτήθεια
ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐχούσας ὦτε τι
ἄλλο βιασθείσας εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι, πλὴν γε δὴ
ὅτι γράψαι πρὸς τὸν θείον ἡ Πρειέκτα ἡγάγακαστο
ὡς Γόνθαρις μὲν αὐτὰς τε τιμῆν ἐς ἁγαν καὶ
καθαρὸς εἰς παντάπασι τοῦ τάνδρος φόνου,
Οὐλιθέω δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐργασθείη, Γονθάριδος

οὐδαμὴ ἐπανοῦντοι.

ἐπρασσε δὲ ταύτα ὁ Γόν-
tharīs Ὁσιφίλω ἀναπεισθεὶς, ἀνδρὶ γεγονότι μὲν
τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στασιωτῶν πρῶτος, τινάραμένῳ
δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν.

ἰσχυρίζετο γάρ ὁ Ὁσιφίλος, ἵνα ταύτα ποιήση,
ξυνοικεῖν τε αὐτῷ βασιλέα τὴν κόρην καὶ προῖκα

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behalf of freedom. For when you were still young, you slew Acacius,¹ the ruler of the Armenians, and Sittas,² the general of the Romans, and as a result of this becoming known to the king Chosroes, you campaigned with him against the Romans. And since you have reached so great a station that it devolves upon you not to allow the Roman power to lie subject to a drunken dog, show at this time that it was by reason of noble birth and a valorous heart that at the former time, good sir, you performed those deeds; and I as well as Artasires here will assist you in everything, so far as we have the power, in accordance with your commands.”

So spoke Gregorius; and he excited the mind of Artabanes still more against the tyrant. But Gontharis, bringing out the wife and the sister of Areobindus from the fortress, compelled them to remain at a certain house, showing them no insult by any word or deed whatsoever, nor did they have provisions in any less measure than they needed, nor were they compelled to say or to do anything except, indeed, that Prejecta was forced to write to her uncle ³ that Gontharis was honouring them exceedingly and that he was altogether guiltless of the murder of her husband, and that the base deed had been done by Ulitheus, Gontharis by no means approving. And Gontharis was persuaded to do this by Pasiphilus, a man who had been foremost among the mutineers in Byzacium, and had assisted Gontharis very greatly in his effort to establish the tyranny. For Pasiphilus maintained that, if he should do this, the emperor would marry the young woman to him, and in view of his kinship with her would

Κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενῆς ἐπιδώσειν χρημάτων μεγάλων.
23 Ἀρταβάνην τε τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τε Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρούσιος τοὺς ἐν Βυζάκῳ ἐκέλευε. Κουτζίνας γὰρ, ἀτε τῷ Ἀντάλα προσκεκρουκός, ἀπέστη τε αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ Γουνθάριδι προσεχόρθησεν ὁ δὲ τὸν τε παίδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέσχετο. τὸ μὲν οὖν στράτευμα ἥγουμένου Ἀρταβάνου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ἐχώρει. ξυψῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἄρχων, καὶ Οὐλίθεος ὁ δορυφόρος· εἶπον τὸ δὲ καὶ Μαυρούσιοι,
26 ὁν Κουτζίνας ἤρχε. πόλιν τε Ἀδραμητὸν διαμείναντες καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐνταῦθα τῇ ὤντος, καὶ στρατοπεδευσμένοι διήλθοι
27 ἀποθεν τῶν πολεμών πυλίσαντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Οὐλίθεος, μοιράν τινα τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐγινομετ' αὐτοῦ ἐμεναν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ καὶ Κουτζίνας ἐτήθης ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ στράτευμα. οὐδ' δὴ οὐ ξυνενεγκόντες1 οἱ ἐκ τῷ Ἀντάλα Μαυρούσιοι ἐς φυγὴν ὀρμήντο. ἀλλ' ἐθελοκακῆς Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου στρέψας τε τὸ σημείον ὁπίσω ἀπῆλαυν. διὸ δὴ Οὐλίθεος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦκοντα κτένειν
31 διενοεῖτο. παραιτούμενος δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἐφασκε δείσαι μὴ Μαρκέντιος ἐξ Ὀδραμητοῦ πόλεως ἐπιβοθήσας τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανον ἄν' ῥάρει ἄν' ἄν' ῥάρεις ἐργάζεται. ἀλλὰ Γόνθαριν χρήναι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοῦς
32 πολεμίους ἑκατον. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐβουλεύετο ἐς Ὀδραμητοῦ ἤν ἐκ τοῖς ἐπομένοις τῷ βασιλέως

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give also a dowry of a large sum of money. And Gontharis commanded Artabanes to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium. For Coutzinbas, having quarrelled with Antalas, had separated from him openly and allied himself with Gontharis; and he gave Gontharis his son and his mother as hostages. So the army, under the leadership of Artabanes, proceeded immediately against Antalas. And with Artabanes was John also, the commander of the mutineers of Stotzas, and Ulitheus, the body-guard of Gontharis; and there were Moors also following him, led by Coutzinbas. And after passing by the city of Hadrumetum, they came upon their opponents somewhere near there, and making a camp a little apart from the enemy, they passed the night. And on the day after that John and Ulitheus, with a detachment of the army, remained there, while Artabanes and Coutzinbas led their army against their opponents. And the Moors under Antalas did not withstand their attack and rushed off in flight. But Artabanes of a sudden wilfully played the coward, and turning his standard about marched off towards the rear. For this reason Ulitheus was purposing to kill him when he came into the camp. But Artabanes, by way of excusing himself, said he feared lest Marcentius, coming to assist the enemy from the city of Hadrumetum, where he then happened to be, would do his forces irreparable harm; but Gontharis, he said, ought to march against the enemy with the whole army. And at first he considered going to Hadrumetum with his followers
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34 στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι. ἀμείνων δὲ οἱ πολλὰ διαλογισμάτων ἐδοξεῖν εἰναι Γόνθαριν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίσαντι βασιλέα τε καὶ Διβύνην πραγμάτων ἀπαλλάξας δυσκόλων. ἀναστρέψας οὖν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι δὴ στρατεύματος αὐτῷ πλείονος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ Πασιφίλως κοινολογησάμενος ἄπαντα μὲν ἔξωπλάσας τὸν στρατὸν ἥθελεν, αὐτὸς δὲ φυλακὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καταστησάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσασθαι. πολλοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀνήρει ἐς οἶς ὑποψία τινὶ καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἔχουσῃ ἔχριτο. τῷ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ὅν δὴ καταστήσεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος φυλακῇ ἔμελλε, τοὺς Γραικοὺς ἄπαντας οὖν ὑπολογισμένῳ κτεῖναι.

XXVIII

Τά τε ἄλλα διοικησάμενος ὅτι οἱ ἐδόκει ὡς ἁριστὰ ἔχειν, τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἐστίναν ἔγνω, ὡς 2 ἡμέρα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν ἔξοδου ποιησάμενος. ἐν τε οὐκήματι οὐ δὴ στιβάδες ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν 3 ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρεῖς, τὴν θοῖνν ἐποίει. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατεκλύνετο, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῆς πρώτης, ἐνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀθανάσιος τε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἦσαν, τῶν τε Γονθάριδι γνωρίμων τινές, καὶ Πέτρος Θραξ μὲν γένος, δορυφόρος δὲ Σολὸς 4 μονος γενόμενος πρότερον. ἐν ἀμφοτέραις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις στιβάσι Βανδίλων οἱ πρῶτοι τε καὶ 5 ἁριστοὶ ἦσαν. Ἦωνην μέντοι, ὅς τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἦρχε, Πασιφίλος ἰδίᾳ εἰστία, καὶ τῶν 1 καταστησάμενος V: παραστησάμενος ΡΟ.
and uniting with the emperor's forces. But after long deliberation it seemed to him better to put Gontharis out of the world and thus free both the emperor and Libya from a difficult situation. Returning, accordingly, to Carthage, he reported to the tyrant that he would need a larger army to meet the enemy. And Gontharis, after conferring with Pasiphilus, consented, indeed, to equip his whole army, but purposed to place a guard in Carthage, and in person to lead the army against the enemy. Each day, therefore, he was destroying many men toward whom he felt any suspicion, even though groundless. And he gave orders to Pasiphilus, whom he was intending to appoint in charge of the garrison of Carthage, to kill all the Greeks⁷ without any consideration.

XXVIII

And after arranging everything else in the very best way, as it seemed to him, Gontharis decided to entertain his friends at a banquet, with the intention of making his departure on the following day. And in a room where there were in readiness three couches which had been there from ancient times, he made the banquet. So he himself reclined, as was natural, upon the first couch, where were also Athanasius and Artabanes, and some of those known to Gontharis, and Peter, a Thracian by birth, who had previously been a body-guard of Solomon. And on both the other couches were the first and noblest of the Vandals. John, however, who commanded the mutineers of Stotzas, was entertained by Pasiphilus in

⁷ A contemptuous term for "subjects of the emperor."
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ἀλλων ἐκαστον, ὁπη ἐκάστῳ τῶν Γονθάριδι ἐπι-6 τηδείων φίλον ἐδοξεῖν εἶναι. Ἀρταβάνης τοίνυν ἥνικα ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν θοίνην ἐκαλεῖτο, τούτῳ οἴ τὸν καίρον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν ἐς τὸν τοῦ τυράννου φόνον οἴόμενος, τὸ βούλευμα ἐπιτελεῖν
7 διενοεῖτο. ἐς Γρηγόριον οὖν καὶ Ἀρτασίρην καὶ ἀρμοφόρους ἐτέρους τρεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξενεγκών τοὺς μὲν ἀρμοφόρους ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκέλευσεν εἰσὶν γενέσθαι (ἀρχόντων γὰρ ἐστιμώμενων ὁπι-5 σθεν ἐστάναι τοὺς ἀρμοφόρους νόμος) εἰσὶν δὲ γενομένους ἐγχείρειν ἄφω, ἥνικα ἄν σφις δοκῆ 6 ο λαίρος ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν, πρῶτον τε 7 τὸν Ἀρτασίρην ἑργον ἔχεσθαι. τῷ δὲ Γρηγορίῳ ἐπέστελλε τῶν Ἀρμενίων πολλοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα εὐτολμοτάτους ἀπολεξάμενοι ἐς τὸ Παλάτιου ἐπαγαγέσθαι, τὰ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας. (ἄλλω γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοὺς τοῖς ἀρχοσιν ἐν πόλει ἐπομένους ὀπλίζεσθαι θέμας) τούτους ἐπὶ τῷ προστώφι ἀπολυπόντα εἰσὶν τοῖς ἀρμοφόροις γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν βούλευμα μηδενὶ ἐξειπεῖν, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰπεῖν μόνου, ὡς ἐς τὸν Γόνθαριν ὑπόπτως ἔχοι, ἐπὶ τονηρῷ τῷ Ἀρτα-
8 βάνους ἐς τὴν θοίνην αὐτὸν κεκληκέναι. βούλει-
9 σθαι τοῖνυν ἔσταναι μὲν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς Γονθάριδος φύλακας οἴπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φύλακῆ ἐτετάχατο, τοῦν δὲ παίζειν δόκησιν τινα παρεχο-
4 μένους τῶν μὲν ἀσπίδων ἀσπερ ἐκείνου φέρουσιν ἀπτεσθαί, πάλλοντας δὲ αὐτῶς καὶ ἄλλως κινοῦ-
τας ἄνω κάτω ἐς ἄει στρέφειν θορύβου δὲ ἡ κραυγὴς ἐντὸς γενομένης ἀραμένους τὰς ἀσπίδας

1 ἐκαστον Β.: ἐκαστος ΡΟ. 2 Haury would prefer φιλος. 3 φέροντας ΒΡ.: ἰχοντας Ο. 4 τοῦ Haury: τοὺς MSS.

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his own house, and each of the other leaders wherever it suited the several friends of Gontharis to entertain them. Artabanes, accordingly, when he was bidden to this banquet, thinking that this occasion furnished him a suitable opportunity for the murder of the tyrant, was planning to carry out his purpose. He therefore disclosed the matter to Gregorius and to Artasires and three other bodyguards, bidding the body-guards get inside the hall with their swords (for when commanders are entertained at a banquet it is customary for their bodyguards to stand behind them), and after getting inside to make an attack suddenly, at whatever moment should seem to them most suitable; and Artasires was to strike the first blow. At the same time he directed Gregorius to pick out a large number of the most daring of the Armenians and bring them to the palace, carrying only their swords in their hands (for it is not lawful for the escort of officers in a city to be armed with anything else), and leaving these men in the vestibule, to come inside with the body-guards; and he was to tell the plan to no one of them, but to make only this explanation, that he was suspicious of Gontharis, fearing that he had called Artabanes to this banquet to do him harm, and therefore wished that they should stand beside the soldiers of Gontharis who had been stationed there on guard, and giving the appearance of indulging in some play, they were to take hold of the shields which these guards carried, and waving them about and otherwise moving them keep constantly turning them up and down; and if any tumult or shouting took place within, they were to take up these very shields and come to the rescue on the
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10 αὐτὰς ἔβοθεῖν δρόμῳ. Ἠρταβάνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐπήγγειλεν, ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει, ὁ τε Ἠρτασίρης ἐπεννόει τάδε: τῶν βελῶν τινα διελῶν δίχα τῷ καρπῷ τῆς εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἐπέθετο κατὰ τὰς τομὰς μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἀγκώνα. ἤμασί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφύγξας ὑπερθε τὸ ταύτη τοῦ χιτωνίσκου μέρος ἐπέβαλλεν. ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἢν τις αὐτῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινάμενος ἐγχειρῆ τοὺς, μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεινὸν πεπονθέναι εὐμβαίη, προβεβλημένῳ μὲν τὴν λαίαν χεῖρα, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρου ἀποκαυλιζομένου ἐν τῇ ἐς τὸ ἔσολόν ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀψάσθαι οὐδαμῆ ἐχοῦτοσ.

Τοιαύτη μὲν γνώμη Ἠρτασίρης, ὥσπερ μοι ἐποίηθη, ἐποίει. τῷ δὲ Ἠρταβάνη ἔλεξεν ὅδε: "Ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἐγχειρῆμα ὀκνῆσει οὐδὲν ὑποστήσεσθαι καὶ ξίφει τώδε τοῦ Γουθάριδος σώματος ψάυσεν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένει σὺν ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πότερα ὁ θεὸς τῷ τυράννῳ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ἐνγκατεργάσεται μοι τὸ τόλμημα τοῦτο, ἦ τίνα ἐμὴ ἀμαρτάδα τιμυύμενος ἐνταῦθα τα ἀπαντήσας ἐμπόδιοι εἰς. ἦν τοῖνυν σὺν καιρῷ πληγέντα τῶν τυράννων ὕδρα, σὺν δὲ με τῷ ξίφει τῷ ἐμῷ μηδὲν τι μελημάτα ἀπόκτεινον, ὅπως μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ αἰκίζομενος γνώμη τῆς σῆ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὀρμηκέναι εἰπῶν αἰσχρὰ τα αὐτῶς διαφθαρεῖν καὶ σε προσαπολεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖν ἀκούσιος.

13 τοσαύτα καὶ Ἠρτασίρης εἰπῶν ξύν τῷ Γρηγόριῳ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐνι παρὰ τὰς στιβάδας ἐλθὼν

1 Haury would read αὐτοὺς.
2 Haury proposes κατὰ μίας, "one by one," for κατὰ τὰς τομὰς.
3 δὴ Hoeschel: δὲ MSS.

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run. Such were the orders which Artabanes gave, and Gregorius proceeded to put them into execution. And Artasires devised the following plan: he cut some arrows into two parts and placed them on the wrist of his left arm, the sections reaching to his elbow. And after binding them very carefully with straps, he laid over them the sleeve of his tunic. And he did this in order that, if anyone should raise his sword over him and attempt to strike him, he might avoid the chance of suffering serious injury; for he had only to thrust his left arm in front of him, and the steel would break off as it crashed upon the wood, and thus his body could not be reached at any point.

With such purpose, then, Artasires did as I have said. And to Artabanes he spoke as follows: "As for me, I have hopes that I shall prove equal to the undertaking and shall not hesitate, and also that I shall touch the body of Gontharis with this sword; but as for what will follow, I am unable to say whether God in His anger against the tyrant will co-operate with me in this daring deed, or whether, avenging some sin of mine, He will stand against me there and be an obstacle in my way. If, therefore, you see that the tyrant is not wounded in a vital spot, do you kill me with my sword without the least hesitation, so that I may not be tortured by him into saying that it was by your will that I rushed into the undertaking, and thus not only perish myself most shamefully, but also be compelled against my will to destroy you as well." And after Artasires had spoken such words he too, together with Gregorius and one of the body-guards, entered the room where the couches were and took his
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ὅπως ὄν τοῦ Ἀρταβάννου ἐστήκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παρὰ τοὺς φύλακας μένοντες τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα ἐποίον ἦν.  
15. Ὡ μὲν οὖν Ἄρτασίρης, ἀρξαμένης που τῆς θοίνης, ἔργον ἔχεσθαι διενοιτο, ἦδη τε τῆς τοῦ ἀκινάκου λαβῆς ἤπτετο. άλλ' αὐτὸν ὁ Γρηγόριος διεκόλυσεν ἐτι τῶν Γόνθαριν ὄλον ἕπος τῇ Ἀρμενίων φωνῇ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι, οὗτος ἐκπεπωκότα τοῦ οὖν τι μέγα. ἀνοιμάξας τοίνυν Ἀρτασίρης, "Θ στρατεύς," εἶπεν, "ὡς καλὴν ἔχοντα μὲ ψυχὴν οὐ δέον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεκόλυκας."  
16. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, ἦδη που καταβεβρεγμένος ὁ Γόνθαρις τοὺς δορυφόρους τῶν βρώσεων ἐδίδουν, φιλοτιμία τινὶ χρώμενοι. οὐ δὲ ταύτας λαβόντες ἐσθίειν ἦδη τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐμελλον, μόνοις ἀπολελειμμένων παρὰ τῶν Γόνθαριν δορυφόρων τριῶν, ὑπέρ Οὐλίθεου εἰς ἐτύγχανεν ὃν. ἐξῆκε δὲ καὶ Ἄρτασίρης, ὡς τῶν βρώσεων ἐξο αὐτὸς ἔτεροις γενόμενοι. ἐνταῦθα τις αὐτῶν γέγονεν ἐννοια μὴ τί οἱ σπάσασθαι  
17. βουλομένω τῶν ἀκινάκην ἐμπόδιον εἶν. ἔξω τοίνυν γενόμενος ἐρρίψε μὲν λάθρα του ἐξόφυς τὴν θήκην, γυμνὸν τε αὐτῶ ὑπὸ μάλης λαβών πρὸς τῆς ἐπωμίδος κεκαλυμμένον παρὰ τῶν Γόνθαριν ἐστεπήθην, ὅσα κρύφα τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐρών.  
18. ὑπὲρ Ἀρταβάνης ἰδὼν τῷ τα θυμῷ ζεῶν καὶ τῇ τῆς ἀγωνίας ὑπερβολὴ ής βαθείαν τινὰ ἐμπεσών μέριμναν, κινεῖν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄρβατο καὶ πολλὰς ἀμείβειν τοῦ προσώπου χρώας, ἐνθους τε τῶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πράξεως γεγενήθαι παντελῶς ἐδοξεῖν. ὑπὲρ ὁ Πέτρος ἵδὼν ξυνήκε τὸ ποιοῦμε-  
18 οἶνον  V: om. Ρ.Ο.
stand behind Artabanes. And the rest, remaining by the guards, did as they had been commanded.

So Artasires, when the banquet had only just begun, was purposing to set to work, and he was already touching the hilt of his sword. But Gregorius prevented him by saying in the Armenian tongue that Gontharis was still wholly himself, not having as yet drunk any great quantity of wine. Then Artasires groaned and said: "My good fellow, how fine a heart I have for the deed, and now you have for the moment wrongfully hindered me!" And as the drinking went on, Gontharis, who by now was thoroughly saturated with wine, began to give portions of the food to the body-guards, yielding to a generous mood. And they, upon receiving these portions, went outside the building immediately and were about to eat them, leaving beside Gontharis only three body-guards, one of whom happened to be Ulitheus. And Artasires also started to go out in order to taste the morsels with the rest. But just then a kind of fear came over him lest, when he should wish to draw his sword, something might prevent him. Accordingly, as soon as he got outside, he secretly threw away the sheath of the sword, and taking it naked under his arm, hidden by his cloak, he rushed in to Gontharis, as if to say something without the knowledge of the others. And Artabanes, seeing this, was in a fever of excitement, and became exceedingly anxious by reason of the surpassing magnitude of the issue at stake; he began to move his head, the colour of his countenance changed repeatedly, and he seemed to have become altogether like one inspired, on account of the greatness of the undertaking. And Peter, upon seeing
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νον, οὐ μέντοι ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινά, ἐπει δὲ αὐτὸν βασιλέα εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα λίαν ἦρεσκε τὰ πρασσόμενα. τὸν δὲ Ἀρτασίρην, ἄγχιστά πη τοῦ τυράννου ἐλθόντα, τῶν τις οἰκετῶν ὴσε, μικρὸν τε ὁπισθεν ἀποκεχωρηκότος κατενόησε τὸ ξίφος γυμνὸν ἀυέκραγέ τε, "Τι τοῦτο, βέλτιστε";

26 λέγων. ὦ μὲν οὖν Γόνθαρις παρὰ τῶν ὡτῶν τὸ ἐξίδιον τὴν χείμα ἐπιβαλὼν στρέψας τε τὸ πρόσωπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἐβαλεπεν. Ἀρτασίρης δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ ξίφει μεταξὺ ἔπαισε καὶ τοῦ βρέγματος μοίραν τινὰ ξύν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἀπέκοψε. Πέτρος δὲ ἀναβοήσας ἐνεκελεύετο τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸν ἀνοσιώτατον κτείνειν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. ἀναθρόσκοντα δὲ Γόνθαριν Ἀρταβάνης ἱδὼν (ἐγνύθη γὰρ κατεκλυντὸ) μάχαιραν ἀμφήκη σπασάμενος, ἢ οἱ παρὰ τὸν μηρον ἀπεκρέματο μεγάλη τις σύσα, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ τυράννου πλευρὰν ἄχρι ἐς τὴν λαβὴν ξύμπασαν ὁσας ἑπταυθα μεθήκε. καὶ δὲς οὐδὲν τι ἡσον ἀναθορεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἀτὲ δὲ καιρίαν λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἐπέσεν.

30 ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸ ξίφος ὡς κατὰ κόρρης κατὰξων ἐπήνεγκεν. ὦ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς χειρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν προβαλλόμενος τῆς ἐνοιας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο. τοῦ ξίφους γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἄκμην ἀποθεμένου ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν βελῶν ἐκτομαῖς, αὐτὸς ἀπαθῆς γεγονὼς ἐκτεῖνε τὸν Οὐλίθεον οὐδὲνι πῶς. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης, ὁ μὲν τὸ Γονθάριδος ξίφος, ὁ δὲ τὸν Οὐλίθεον πεπτωκοτός ἀρτάσας, τῶν δορυφόρων τοὺς λειτομένους αὐτοῦ ἐκτείναν. γέγονε τοῖς

1 τῶν ὡτῶν τὸ V: τού νωτον τοῦ RO.
this, understood what was being done, but he did not disclose it to any of the others, because, being well disposed to the emperor, he was exceedingly pleased by what was going on. And Artasires, having come close to the tyrant, was pushed by one of the servants, and as he retreated a little to the rear, the servant observed that his sword was bared and cried out saying: “What is this, my excellent fellow?” And Gontharis, putting his hand to his right ear, and turning his face, looked at him. And Artasires struck him with his sword as he did so, and cut off a piece of his scalp together with his fingers. And Peter cried out and exhorted Artasires to kill the most unholy of all men. And Artabanes, seeing Gontharis leaping to his feet (for he reclined close to him), drew a two-edged dagger which hung by his thigh—a rather large one—and thrusting it into the tyrant’s left side clean up to the hilt, left it there. And the tyrant none the less tried to leap up, but having received a mortal wound, he fell where he was. Ulitheus then brought his sword down upon Artasires as if to strike him over the head; but he held his left arm above his head, and thus profited by his own idea in the moment of greatest need. For since Ulitheus’ sword had its edge turned when it struck the sections of arrows on his arm, he himself was unscathed, and he killed Ulitheus with no difficulty. And Peter and Artabanes, the one seizing the sword of Gontharis and the other that of Ulitheus who had fallen, killed on the spot those of the body-guards who remained.
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όσ τὸ εἰκός, κραυγῆς τε καὶ ταραχῆς μέγα τι χρῆμα. αἰσθόμενοι τε ταύτης ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρμενίων παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ τυράννου φύλακας ἰσταντο, τὰς ἀσπίδας εὐθὺς ἀνελόμενοι κατὰ τὰ σφίσι ἔνεχειμεν ἐπὶ τὰς στιβάδας ἑχόμενον δρόμῳ, καὶ τοὺς τε Βανδίλους ξύμπαντας τοὺς τε Γονθάριδε ἐπιτηδείους ἀνεῖλον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντιστατόντος.

35 Τότε Ἀρταβάνης τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐμαρτυρατο ἑπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ χρημάτων. ὅσα γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἐλέειπτο ἑπιτεθα

36 εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φύλακες τῆς Γονθάριδος τελευτήν ἔμαθον, ἐνυντάσσοντας τοὺς Ἀρμενίους αὐτίκα πολλοῖς τῆς γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδου οἰκίαις οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. ἔμφρονήσατες τοῖς Ἰου-

37 στινανῶν ἀνεβόων καλλίκικοι. ἥ τε φωνὴ προιόντα μὲν ἐκ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαισθανόμενος δὲ ὑπερφυσικῶς οὕσα ἐσὶ πόλιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν πολλὴν ἴσχυσεν. ἐνθεύνει δὲ τὸ βασιλεῖ εὐνοικίκως ἑχοντες ἐστηθάνατες ἐς τῶν στασιωτῶν τὰς οἰκίας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸν αἱρουμένους, τοὺς δὲ σιτία, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἐθαμβηθάνατας τε τῷ δέει καὶ ἀπορία δεινὴ ἑχομένους εὐθὺς ἐκτεναν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Πασίφιλος ἦν. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἦν Βανδίλων τινὶ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν

38 καταφεύγει. οἷς δὴ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ παρασχόμενος ἐνθευσθῆσαι ἐς Βυζάντιου ἐπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν βασιλεῖ ἀνασωσάμενος

39 διεφύλαξε. γέγονε δὲ ὁ τοῦ τυράννου φόνος ἐκτητι καὶ τριακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρᾳ, ἐνατον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἑχοντος.

40 Ἀρταβάνης τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου κλέος

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Thus there arose, as was natural, an exceedingly great tumult and confusion. And when this was perceived by those of the Armenians who were standing by the tyrant's guards, they immediately picked up the shields according to the plan which had been arranged with them, and went on the run to the banquet-room. And they slew all the Vandals and the friends of Gontharis, no one resisting.

Then Artabanes enjoined upon Athanasius to take charge of the money in the palace: for all that had been left by Areobindus was there. And when the guards learned of the death of Gontharis, straightway many arrayed themselves with the Armenians; for the most of them were of the household of Areobindus. With one accord, therefore, they proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant. And the cry, coming forth from a multitude of men, and being, therefore, an exceedingly mighty sound, was strong enough to reach the greater part of the city. Wherefore those who were well-disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and straightway killed them, some while enjoying sleep, others while taking food, and still others while they were awe-struck with fear and in terrible perplexity. And among these was Pasiphilus, but not John, for he with some of the Vandals fled to the sanctuary. To these Artabanes gave pledges, and making them rise from there, sent them to Byzantium, and having thus recovered the city for the emperor, he continued to guard it. And the murder of the tyrant took place on the thirty-sixth day of the tyranny, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. 545-546 A.D.

And Artabanes won great fame for himself from
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1 ΑΥΤΟΙ ΒΟ: ΑΥΤΟΥ Ρ. 2 ΔΕ ΒΠ: ΔΕ ΟΥ ΠΟΛΛΩ Ο.
this deed among all men. And straightway Prejecta, the wife of Areobindus, rewarded him with great sums of money, and the emperor appointed him general of all Libya. But not long after this Artabanes entreated the emperor to summon him to Byzantium, and the emperor fulfilled his request. And having summoned Artabanes, he appointed John, the brother of Pappus, sole general of Libya. And this John, immediately upon arriving in Libya, had an engagement with Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium, and conquering them in battle, slew many; and he wrested from these barbarians all the standards of Solomon, and sent them to the emperor—standards which they had previously secured as plunder, when Solomon had been taken from the world.\footnote{See Book IV. xxii. 27.} And the rest of the Moors he drove as far as possible from the Roman territory. But at a later time the Leuathae came again with a great army from the country about Tripolis to Byzacium, and united with the forces of Antalas. And when John went to meet this army, he was defeated in the engagement, and losing many of his men, fled to Laribus. And then indeed the enemy, overrunning the whole country there as far as Carthage, treated in a terrible manner those Libyans who fell in their way. But not long afterward John collected those of the soldiers who had survived, and drawing into alliance with him many Moors and especially those under Coutzinias, came to battle with the enemy and unexpectedly routed them. And the Romans, following them up
PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

te autois feugonoi kosmow oudenv epistomeunoi moiraen men auton pollhn ekteinon, oí de loiptol 52 es tis Diwvhs tas eschatias diefugon. oútow te Diwvoun tois perigeneoménois, gligois te kai lian ptwchois oussin, ópsè kai molis hsoxian tiná xunh-
vékhs genvésthai.
as they fled in complete disorder, slew a great part of them, while the rest escaped to the confines of Libya. Thus it came to pass that those of the Libyans who survived, few as they were in number and exceedingly poor, at last and after great toil found some peace.
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